U. S. Congress.

J11
R5
2d Sess

Appendix

What the Steel Settlement Means to America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WINT SMITH
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. SMITH of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I suppose there are many who believe that the settlement of the steel dispute was a grand and glorious achievement for all America—and should be a feather in the cap of those who put it across. To me, however, this is simply the white feather of surrender to international labor union bossism.

It is beyond my comprehension how anyone can believe that this settlement in the long run cannot help but be ruinous to the one Boss McDonald said he wanted to help most—the steelworker. It is a bit difficult to understand how a steel union boss can advocate increased wage rates when he knows full well his actions will cause the import of more steel at ruinous competitive prices. Certainly working on a job at $2.81 per hourly rate is better than an hourly rate of $3.50 with no job.

The whole question involved here is who got helped—if the worker in the steel mills loses his job to foreign competition I am certain this settlement won't help that individual.

I am sure the settlement will not help the thousands of little stockholders all over America—but then it seems fashionable these days not to concern ourselves about any policies except those that benefit big labor, big business or big government. I am sure this settlement was not in the interest of Mr. Average American citizen and of course the American farmer will be hit again because of the increase in steel prices which is sure to follow. There are those that say this would not happen but to increase wages 40 cents an hour during the term of this contract over the next 2½ years cannot help but absorb any increased efficiency that might be installed by the companies if they are permitted by labor bosses to become more efficient.

One has to have his head buried in sands of unrealities not to know that this settlement was dictated by the political power of the Government and union bosses.

The union bosses think they won but in final analysis they lost because the purchasing power of the American dollar will decrease in value. Boss McDonald's statement that this settlement would be lasting happiness to everyone is as empty as hollering down an empty rain barrel.

In final analysis this boss-dictated settlement is a union victory and a further push down the already geared road to inflation.

On the day this inflationary settlement was announced Mr. Roger Blough of U.S. Steel made a public statement relative to this forced settlement. Anyone who heard this statement over the TV, of necessity, must have been impressed with the sincerity of a man who had lost a losing battle with forces that were beyond his personal control. He gave the impression of a general standing undaunted on a battlefield who at last realizes his army and generals have left him.

The conclusion is inescapable to anyone who wants to look at this settlement that this was a labor bosses' victory. The pattern is perfectly clear in that all those in industry and those in Government who have been trying to halt the inflationary spiral suffered a tremendous defeat in the settlement. Can anyone believe that a yearly wage increase of $600 million or more than a billion dollars for period of contract can do anything but add to the inflationary spiral. Some have said this settlement was less inflationary than those in the past—but no one has said it was noninflationary.

This controversy has been called not a dictated settlement by anyone—but fairly arrived at over the bargaining table. This is rather a loose statement because unseen but ever-present economic and political factors sometime wields a bigger club than a czar or boss. Political expediency has facets—and sometimes the true picture shining through these facets is a bit obscure.

There is one picture, however, that stands out in bold relief—who is to protect the unorganized person on retirement pay, those drawing social security or persons who have worked and saved all their life—and those thrifty average Americans who invested in stocks of American industry—continuing inflation—47-cent dollar is ruinous to them.

There is also one very clear question that still has not been answered—who benefited by this settlement—except Dave McDonald, boss, chief architect of the inflationary tide.

In order that some of the basic facts of this steel settlement may be known I herewith append the statement made by Mr. Roger M. Blough, chairman of U.S. Steel on January 4, 1960, over the NBC–TV. I commend it most highly.

WHAT THE STEEL SETTLEMENT MEANS TO AMERICA

(By Roger M. Blough, Chairman of U.S. Steel, speaking for the Steel Companies Coordinating Committee over the National Broadcasting Company's Television Network, January 4, 1960)

Good evening. This is John Cameron Swayze speaking.

The threat of another nationwide steel strike was ended today when the steelworkers union and 11 of the Nation's major steel companies reached agreement on a basis for settling the primary issues in the dispute.

Final contracts should be signed before the week is out, and would assure labor peace in the industry for the next 2½ years at least—that is until July 1962.

The deadlock which had persisted for nearly 9 months was broken today when both sides accepted settlement terms recommended to them by Vice President NIXON and Secretary Mitchell.

The new package calls for increased wages and benefits—including cost-of-living adjustments—which the industry estimates will increase its hourly employment costs by an average of 3½ to 3¾ percent a year over the life of the new agreement.

While this is above the 2.7 percent offer which the companies have described as the "outer limits" of a noninflationary settlement, and which did not cover their provisions for cost-of-living, it is below the previous "rock-bottom" demands of the steelworkers union.

The Government's recommendation also calls for a compromise regarding the controversial "local working conditions" provisions of the previous contracts, and commits each party as a matter of policy to encourage prompt settlement of problems in this area by agreement at the local level. It also provides for an impartial study of the whole question under a neutral chairman with recommendations by November 30, 1960.

This sudden and unexpected settlement—coming, so to speak, in the 11th hour of the Taft-Hartley injunction period—was a welcome relief to officials in Government and brightened greatly the Nation's prospect for a prosperous new year.

Several weeks ago 11 of the Nation's major steel companies who have been spearheading the negotiations, arranged to purchase this time on the NBC network tonight in order to state their case to the Nation, and to seek the views and advice of our television audience regarding the offer they had made to the steelworkers.

The settlement which was brought about today through the intercession of the Government has changed much of that; but it leaves unanswered a number of serious questions about this whole dispute and its probable effects upon the national economy.

What does this new steel package mean to the people of America—and to their pocketbooks? How will it affect the companies, the steelworkers, and the competitive position of the American steel industry? Is it inflationary and, if so, how inflationary?

These are some of the critical questions that clamor for an answer, and it is to provide that answer that the companies will use their time on this program tonight.

My assignment here is to introduce to you the spokesman for these 11 companies. He is Roger M. Blough, chairman of the board of United States Steel. Together with the heads of the 10 other companies, he bears joint responsibility for the stand that the steel industry has taken in these negotiations and for the decision to accept the Government's recommended terms of settlement. So he should know all the answers.

AUTHENTICATED
U.S. GOVERNMENT
INFORMATION
GPO

Mr. BLOUGH. That is a very broad assumption you just made there, Mr. Swayze. If there is any answer to the problem that American industry faces when it tries to reach a noninflationary labor agreement, it's pretty obvious that we, in the steel industry, haven't found it.

Mr. SWAYZE. I gather from that, Mr. Blough, that the settlement is not all that the steel industry would like it to be.

Mr. BLOUGH. You gather correctly, Mr. Swayze. We are glad, of course, that it is settled. It had to be settled for the good of the Nation. We are glad, too, that the settlement terms were better than any we had been able to win from the union at any time during the negotiations. And we find great consolation in the fact that these terms appear less inflationary, at least, than any which the steel industry has actually experienced since the end of World War II.

None of his alters the fact, however, that the agreement that we must now live with is not what we tried so long and so hard to obtain.

Mr. SWAYZE. Well, then, how did this settlement come about?

Mr. BLOUGH. I suppose the most accurate way to express it, would be to say that it was imposed upon us—not by Government—but by circumstances, and the circumstances were these:

It was clear that the union—having won substantial settlements in other industries in which it has contracts—was unwilling to agree to terms we thought we could live with.

It was clear, too, that the union had the power to subject the Nation to another crippling strike and might do so.

It also seemed clear that the Government would not permit the Nation to be paralyzed by such a strike; and that it must therefore obtain a settlement, either by persuasion if possible, or by new legislation which might involve compulsion on both sides.

And, looking down that long, unhappy road in the light of the steel industry's past experience, it was apparent to us that an enforced settlement would be no more favorable than the one which the Government had proposed to us; and that, in the process of reaching that enforced settlement, not only the companies but the steelworkers and the Nation might suffer serious consequences.

And, finally, it was evident to us, after much study and exploration of the matter, that the terms which had been carefully worked out by Government officials were probably the only terms which could conceivably win even reluctant acceptance from both sides.

Mr. SWAYZE. Well, Mr. Blough, your answer raises just one more question that—as a news reporter—I have long wanted to ask you; and I'll never get a better chance.

Mr. BLOUGH. All right, Mr. Swayze, go ahead.

Mr. SWAYZE. You referred a moment ago to substantial settlements which the steelworkers union has won recently from other industries. I assume you were talking about the copper, aluminum and canmaking agreements.

Mr. BLOUGH. Yes, that's right.

Mr. SWAYZE. Well, the question that has puzzled me—and probably a good many other people as well—is this: If these companies could accept the union's terms, why couldn't the steel companies have done the same thing, and so ended this disastrous deadlock long ago.

Mr. BLOUGH. That is a tough question, and a fair question, Mr. Swayze, and I think it goes to the very heart of this dispute. And in answering it, let me make one thing very clear at the outset:

Every company has its own individual problems, and in the light of those problems, it must act in its own best judgment, in the interest of its owners, its employees and its customers, who—after all, are the general public.

So we in the steel industry have had no quarrel with any company, anywhere, which signed on the union's terms; nor have we any wish to challenge the judgment of those who met their own situations in that way.

But we were deeply convinced that to accept the terms which the union offered the steel industry would not be in the interest of the steel companies, the steelworkers or the American people generally.

Mr. SWAYZE. Why not, Mr. Blough?

Mr. BLOUGH. Well suppose we just look at the record:

In each of these industries, the steelworkers union hailed their agreement as a "noninflationary settlement." And almost simultoneously with the signing of the contracts, an upward movement in prices which had previously been lowered for competitive reasons occurred in all of these same industries.

Now, that, of course, may have been coincidence, pure and simple. But let's look a little farther.

Last year other unions signed other agreements with other companies in many parts of the country, and prices went up also—prices of such things as milk, textiles, carfare, and cement, to name only a few.

And this, too, may have been sheer coincidence.

But that is precisely what has been happening in the steel industry ever since the end of World War II; and believe me, Mr. Swayze, it was not a coincidence.

It was part and parcel of the inflationary wage-price spiral that has been sweeping this country for the past 20 years, and that has cut the purchasing power of the dollar by more than half, during that time.

It is certainly one of the major reasons why bread sells for 25 cents a loaf instead of 12 cents and why automobiles sell for $3,000 instead of $1,500. It is surely a major reason why your friend's pension will only buy half as much as he expected it would provide 20 years ago.

For us in the steel business, the effect of this wage-price spiral is exactly the same. It is, for example, the big reason why a steelmaking open hearth shop that we recently replaced cost us more than six times as much to build today as it did 30 years ago; and why all of our other new plant and equipment costs are so high.

And that is what this struggle in steel is all about. That is the problem we have never been able to resolve with the union. Yet that is the problem the steel companies must solve if they are to keep their industry strong, vigorous, and competitive. And it is a problem which the American people must face if this endless tide of wage inflation is to be checked.

So this is what faces us all tonight. May I tell you about it?

Mr. SWAYZE. All right, Mr. Blough, go ahead and tell us about it. I want very much to hear your story, and I know you want to tell it in a connected way without a lot of interruption. So I'll just sit back and listen, if I may.

Mr. BLOUGH. Thank you, Mr. Swayze. And if you and your friends of the television audience will bear with me for the next few minutes, I would like to show you on your television screens just what our situation is, what we have tried to do about it, and what this settlement means to us, to the steelworkers, and to all of you.

Now there comes a time in the life of each of us when we must face up to the fact that we have to live within our means—when the prospect of getting more money from the boss—or from customers—is pretty dim, and when we simply have to cut our pattern to our cloth.

That was exactly the situation which the steel companies faced when these labor negotiations began last April. As we looked over our records, and struggled with our budgets, here's what we found:

We found that during the past 20 years our employment costs per man-hour had been going up, on the average, about four times as far and as fast as the increase in shipments per man-hour * * * at about 8 percent per year on the one hand, compared to 2 percent on the other. And our other production costs were being swept upward at about the same rate.

The savings the companies managed to make through improved efficiency had lagged far behind their skyrocketing costs; and prices had to go up. They did so—at the rate of about 5½ percent a year, on the average.

But clearly this could not go on forever. Our customers are trying to hold down their production costs, just as we are, and price increases face mounting competitive resistance.

So we found that in many cases, our customers were buying foreign-made steel at prices considerably below American costs; and that in other cases they were finding it economical to turn to substitutes for steel products—like prestressed concrete, wood, plastics, glass, and aluminum and other metals, produced right here in America.

Now here, for example, is a ship which has brought a consignment of steel bars across the ocean and up the St. Lawrence Seaway to Cleveland. This foreign-made steel was sold to a customer in Cleveland for $118 per ton—which is $55 a ton below the price that an American steel mill, right there in Cleveland, must get for the same product. And this, of course, is only one among scores of vessels which are constantly unloading foreign-made steel products at American ports for American users.

Do you know that our industry once produced almost all of the barbed wire used in this country, but today more than half is brought in from abroad?

But how can these products—shipped thousands of miles across the seas—undersell our own right here in the shadow of America's steel mills?

Basically, the answer lies in the fact that the wages of American steelworkers are from three to seven times as much as steelworkers get abroad. The latest official reports show that average hourly earnings of steelworkers in 1957 were 41 cents in Japan; less than 90 cents in Luxembourg, Belgium, England, and West Germany, and about a dollar in Australia. But here in America, wages in 1957 were almost $3, and they have risen considerably, of course, since then.

Now, until a few years ago, American producers were able to meet this handicap because our modern mills and methods gave us a great technological advantage. But today, many of the worn out—and bombed out—plants abroad have been replaced with facilities just as efficient as our own.

So foreign steel producers have been gaining steadily on us in the competitive race for markets both here and abroad—especially in the past 2 years. Not only have imports of steel from abroad been increasing regularly, but exports of American-made steel to foreign markets have been declining sharply.

Putting both sides of the picture together, we find that the total advantage gained by foreign producers in the recession year of 1958 was 3,200,000 tons; and last year—aided by the strike—they scored an additional gain of more than 3,400,000.

Here then, was a combined loss of 6,600,000 tons of steel production to American mills and to American workers. Had this steel been made here at home, instead of abroad, it would have provided full-time employment for nearly 52,000 people in the

steel industry. But it was not made at home, and those jobs went to the lower-paid workers abroad.

So the widening gap between the rapidly-rising wage rates of American workers, and the slowly rising rates of workers abroad, is not only threatening the competitive position of the American steel companies; but it is also undermining the job security of the American steelworker as well.

Nor is this situation confined to the steel industry by any means. In a recently published interview, Mr. John L. Lewis—of the United Mine Workers Union—stated that 1,000 American companies have plants abroad and employ 1 million foreign workers.

And while American steel companies generally, have not followed this course, this trend to build plants outside our country should be cause for serious thought, not only in the councils of labor, but among all those who are concerned about our national growth and industrial strength in the great economic struggle that is being waged between the free world and the forces that are challenging it from behind the Iron Curtain.

Artificial trade barriers, such as tariffs and quotas, cannot, I believe, provide a basic solution to this problem, however, useful they may be. Fundamentally, it is a competitive problem which can only be met by holding American production costs down to competitive levels.

And this was the task which confronted the steel companies at the outset of the negotiations last year.

To close the enormous gap between American and foreign wages would be impossible; but to prevent it from widening still more was an immediate and paramount necessity—not just for the companies, but for the steelworkers themselves and for the Nation as well.

Even here at home, in fact, the high employment costs in steel have been putting the industry and its workers at a growing disadvantage in relation to those who produce substitute materials and metals; and today the steelworker's earnings place him among the highest paid industrial workers in the world.

His average earnings, as reported by the Federal Government last June were $3.11 an hour, compared to $2.94 in aluminum; $2.65 in cans and containers; $2.34 in copper smelting; $2.69 in automobiles; and $2.24 in all manufacturing, generally.

You may not know that steel wages have gone up much faster and farther than those in American industry as a whole. Ten years ago, they were 25 cents an hour above the average for all manufacturing, but last year they were 87 cents an hour above that average.

So in the light of all these circumstances, the steel companies proposed, early last April, that the high wages and benefits then in effect should be extended for another year. And since then, the companies have made six additional offers in an earnest effort to reach a negotiated agreement; but all of these were rejected by the union negotiators.

To give you an idea, however, of the lengths to which we went in our attempts to meet the demands of the union officials, let me simply say that under our last offer, the average steelworker—who was already getting nearly $30 a day in wages and benefits—would have gained a total of more than a thousand dollars during the next 3 years.

To the steel industry as a whole this would have meant that its direct employment costs would rise by at least $850 million over the 3 years.

Now you may wonder how the steel companies could possibly have increased their employment costs so enormously without suffering another inflationary rise in their production costs; and frankly, I am by no means certain that they could have done so in the end. But we believed it might have been possible if every one of us who works in our respective companies could join in a united effort to constantly improve the way we were doing our work and to eliminate wasteful and unnecessary expense.

Against this background, then, we come to the actual terms of the new settlement which would become effective as of January 1, and under which the industry will operate until the middle of 1962. How inflationary are they? How do they compare with those of past settlements? Well, here is the picture:

As I said, hourly employment costs in the steel industry as a whole have been rising at an average rate of about 8 percent a year, for the past 20 years. Under the new agreement they will rise by an average of about 3½ to 3¾ percent a year, including the proposed cost-of-living increases.

So instead of going up four times as fast as shipments per man-hour, they will be going up a little less than twice as fast.

The cumulaltive cost of the new agreement to the steel industry will amount to well over $1 billion—and that astronomical figure is something to think about.

So the end result is a settlement which could hardly be regarded as noninflationary but which does curb to some considerable extent, at least, the past excesses from which some of our troubles are flowing.

But the effects of this settlement cannot be thought of merely in terms of dollars, machines, markets and profits, nor in such abstract economic concepts as inflation, purchasing power, and productivity. Personally, I think they are meaningful only when expressed in terms of people—their hopes, their aspirations, their job security, and the welfare of their families. And measured in these terms, I doubt that any settlement will ever recoup for the steelworkers the losses suffered by them during the strike—to say nothing of the losses of the many people including other wage earners—in or outside of the steel industry—who were personally affected by the strike.

The settlement, of course, will provide increased benefits for the steelworkers in the form of better pensions, insurance, and wages; and on the other hand it can certainly weaken further their ability to compete in the marketplace against the workers in steel mills abroad, as the gap between wage costs on opposite sides of the oceans continues to widen.

What will happen to the job security of American steelworkers during the next 3 years depends in great measure upon the steelworkers themselves and upon the management of their union at all levels, local and national.

Contract language is important in removing roadblocks to progress as we have stated all during the negotiations but when we have common problems to solve as we do in the local work practice area, the truly important thing is the cooperative spirit of all of the people who are banded together in a common effort.

There is no problem in this field of production that cannot be solved through this cooperative spirit, for there is no basic conflict of interest between the needs of the company and the needs of the steelworkers. We are all in the same boat and we need to pull on the oars together.

We can do almost anything in a spirit of cooperation and accomplish almost nothing if we have a spirit of dispute and distrust.

I personally believe that the steel industry can witness one of the greatest improvements in its productive efficiency that it has known in modern times.

This will require constantly better machines of production and all the innovation that bubbles up through the great research efforts that are now being made throughout the industry. And it will also require an end to stagnating work practices.

But ending unnecessary work does not mean that the men who performed that work must necessarily be laid off. On the contrary about a hundred thousand jobs open up in the steel industry each year as employees voluntarily leave work for personal reasons; and these jobs must be filled either by retraining experienced steelworkers moved from other jobs, or by hiring and training new and inexperienced people.

So there is little reason why any steelworker should fail to help in an effort to get the work done in the best possible way. He has everything to gain by so doing.

To demonstrate this, let me just point out that today the steel industry has the capacity to produce about 30 million more ingot tons of steel than it has ever been able to sell in the peak year of demand. And if, by strengthening its competitive position, it could sell even half of this available tonnage, it would provide more than 100,000 new full-time jobs in the industry.

I want to say that throughout this whole injunction period, most steelworkers have worked loyally and uncomplainingly to provide this Nation with the steel that it has needed so badly. And with that kind of loyalty and spirit there is no problem in any single company that cannot be faced and solved.

And now in conclusion, I would like to take this opportunity to express our deep appreciation to all of our customers and our stockholders, to the editors, columnists, and commentators and to those of you in the general public who have supported and encouraged us in our long struggle to stem the forces of inflation in steel.

The thousands of letters of encouragement you have written have offered an almost infinite variety of suggestions as to how we should tell our story and what course we should follow.

We have not always been able to follow all of these suggestions, or even to express adequately our thanks to you. But we want you to know we feel indebted to you, just the same, and we hope you will continue to give us the great benefits of your thoughts, your counsel, and your suggestions in the months ahead.

For the problems I have described here tonight are still with us and they are not alone problems of the steel industry: If you live in America they are your problems, too.

Now problems like we have been talking about just don't go away by themselves. When a 10-cent bus fare eventually costs 27 cents, it is a very practical matter. You cannot sweep problems like that under the rug and forget them. You have to work your way out of them. You can't wish your way out of them, nor should you bargain your way into them more deeply.

This, then, is a common problem and an unsolved problem, and every member of this television audience can—and I believe should—make his opinion felt in his local community.

Thank you, and may all of us enjoy a prosperous and more peaceful 1960.

"Why I Am a Democrat"—Address by Senator Randolph, of West Virginia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very able address, entitled "Why I Am a Democrat," by the senior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. RANDOLPH], which was delivered recently before Bethany College.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHY I AM A DEMOCRAT

(Address by Senator JENNINGS RANDOLPH, Democrat, West Virginia, to the Bethany College Convocation, Bethany, W. Va., December 17, 1959)

President Gresham, members of the faculty, and students, I am appreciative of the opportunity to talk on the subject which has been assigned—Why I Am a Democrat.

Representative ARCH MOORE, my personal friend, preceded me on this platform 2 weeks ago and argued the case for the Republican Party. Knowing ARCH as a man of talents, I trust that he compensated in eloquence for that which his position on party may have lacked. Those of us in the Democratic Party ranks are more fortunate. Confident in the knowledge that truth will triumph, we can afford to exercise a measure of forbearance toward those persons who have not yet seen the light.

Therefore, to those of you who may yet be laboring in the shadows and darkness of political philosophy, I address you more with inquiry than censure. To the rest of the young ladies and the young gentlemen who are or will become Democrats, I welcome you into the challenging struggle of the unfinished business of America.

Now, why am I a Democrat?

First, I am a Democrat because I am young. And do not, in your own youth, be unkind to one who still retains the vision of his. Even though the years are magnified, I will be young with the Democratic Party.

THE YOUNGEST PARTY IN THE UNITED STATES

And the Democratic Party, though the oldest political party in existence, is still the youngest in this country measured by vitality. Ours is the party of youth, for it sees the world in terms of its tomorrows while not relying entirely upon its yesterdays. Ours is the party with eyes in its forehead—not in its hindhead.

In this respect I have sometimes thought that, rather than the elephant, a more appropriate symbol for the other party would be the vain and strutting peacock with a thousand eyes in its tail—all looking backward. However, the elephant, with much memory but little imagination, will do.

It is because the Democratic Party surveys the present in terms of the future that, with only slight interruptions in the past 28 years we have merited the confidence of the majority of the American people. There is justice in this condition, for our party itself has confidence in the citizen and in the American future.

An Englishman once wrote a book "America Is West," a statement which very aptly captures the essential quality of our national strength.

These qualities—of youth, of optimism, of confidence in the frontiers of the future—lie at the heart of the American spirit and of the Democratic Party. It was this spirit which again resulted in the mandate of the electorate having been given to our party in 1958, and enabled us virtually to sweep the congressional and State elections from Maine to California.

It is this purpose which continues to animate the Democratic Party and provides it with new vigor and new ideas.

We hear much today of the need for new faces in politics. But what of the need for new ideas? It is no paradox that the grand matriarch of the Democratic Party, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, is still intellectually one of the most youthful members of our party, looking always for the infusion of fresh ideas to solve the problems of our times.

But the Republican Party, which occasionally brings forth new faces—as it did in 1952—still espouses the time-worn doctrines of the age of McKinley—or, at best, begrudgingly accepts some of the ideas of the New Deal as unfortunate necessity.

The valid concept of the New Deal and the Fair Deal—and most of them were valid—have become an enduring part of our national, political, and economic life, and have prevented the recurrence of the tragedies of the era of the thirties. Just as the great depression tested the assumptions of the philosophy of "let nature take its course"—and found those assumptions insufficient, so has the period since World War II tested the basic principles of the New Deal—and found them valid. Three times since World War II—in 1949, 1954, and 1958—we have been faced with recession, and on each occasion the reforms of the New Deal have helped turn the tide before it reached a full-scale depression. Thus, the New Deal and Fair Deal programs—social security, protection for bank depositors and investors, wage and hour legislation, expansion of the public works sector of the economy, and agricultural benefits—among many others—have been fully justified.

And yet these three recent recessions have cost the Nation an estimated $400 billion in the loss of production of goods and services—enough to retire the entire national debt, modernize our highway system, provide the necessary schools and hospitals for our people, and cleanse our slums.

FULL-TIME REQUIREMENTS MUST BE MET

We can conclude, therefore, that the programs of the past need to be reevaluated and supplemented. The ever-present fact of change brings forth new problems that demand solutions. Part-time attention to full-time requirements will not suffice.

Emerson once stated that "conservatism is a fault of character." The desire merely to hold to what we have—to be satisfied with the status quo—the failure to explore the future for fear of the unknown—are attitudes born of little faith and less vision.

Now I do not wish to imply that there is no place for the function of conservatism. On the contrary, the Democratic Party has its conservative elements which provide the invaluable asset of assuring that all interests will be weighed and considered before party action is taken. The southerners, by and large, represent such an attitude, and not solely on matters of race relations. The farmers, in certain respects, represent another. And even labor, which has its vested interest in maintaining job security as a property right, occasionally acts as a conservative force in the broad sense.

But all of these elements must be balanced by the force of innovation and invention. Conservatism and experimentation in the body politic are paralleled by memory and imagination in the individual. And in both organisms, both qualities are equally necessary for life to proceed at a truly human level.

It is not enough merely to hold the ground established by those who have gone before us. It is not sufficient to rest with the legacy of the past. But, we must know what we want if we are to improve upon the world we have inherited. We must strengthen the foundation of the society we want.

There is a second reason why I am a Democrat: The Democratic Party is not afraid to dare. Our party, since its founding by Thomas Jefferson in 1794, has been willing to experiment in the public interest.

And it is no accident of history that throughout our national life the significant surges of growth toward the realization of the American dream have been associated with the Democratic Party. In the early days of the Republic it was the states-rights agrarianism of Jefferson's Democratic-Republican Party which routed the narrow mercantile philosophy of the Federalists. (I might add, parenthetically, that although Jefferson's party dropped the Republican suffix in 1828, one still finds a Democrat here and there who has not heard of that simplification.

Later, under what we now call Jacksonian Democracy, the western frontiersmen and the eastern mechanics and laborers joined forces to assert their rights of self-government. They were a vigorous group who challenged the patrician prerogatives of the gentry, but they dramatized the ideal of universal suffrage. Then, as in more recent times, it was fashionable to hold the Democratic Party in contempt in so-called polite drawing room circles. As the future Mrs. Jefferson Davis wrote in astonishment of husband-to-be in the early 1840's, "Would you believe it, he is refined and cultivated, and yet he is a Democrat."

And in the 20th century, the New Freedoms of Woodrow Wilson, the New Deal of Franklin Roosevelt, and the Fair Deal of Harry S. Truman—all stand as bench marks for the rising tide of American achievement.

A PARTY OF WORLD LEADERSHIP

The Democratic Party has been no less creative in the field of international relations now that the United States has been propelled into the international community. Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, his "self-determination of nations" and his idea of the League of Nations—though defeated by the circumstances of history—served their time in stirring men's aspirations for international peace and justice.

Today, we Americans and the world at large live in debt to Franklin Roosevelt's idea of the United Nations. Nor could this hope have been brought to fruition without the courage and compassion of the Marshall plan and the point 4 program under President Truman. Party loyalties and partisan bias cannot lessen the importance of these achievements.

Before continuing with a discussion of the present challenge to the creativity of the Democratic Party, there is a third reason why I am a Democrat. It is the party which embraces the broadest interests of the American people. And I say, with all respect—and some sympathy for members of the minority party—ours is the only really national party.

The American political party system is not ideologically oriented as are most of the European systems, and, to a somewhat less extent, the British. Our parties are based upon the representation of different geographic, vocational, economic, and ethnic interests rather than political ideologies. But there is a difference between them.

It can be shown from a study of American history that the Republican Party, and its forebears, the Whig and Federalist, have been largely and sometimes almost exclu-

sively concerned with the protection of private property interests. In the 18th and early 19th centuries, when the concept of property was based upon the ownership of land and the mechanisms of a mercantile economy, the Federalists and Whigs dominated the landed gentry and the wealthy merchants.

Later, during the dynamic 19th century industrial expansion the concept of private property became identified with the ownership of factories, mines, and railroads. Thus, after the Civil War it was the powerful industrial and railroad barons who captured the Republican Party and defeated the hopes of Abraham Lincoln.

Finally, during the 20th century, the concept of private property has again shifted under the development of the corporation as the major economic institution. And in this century we have found that the representatives of the major corporations have gained ascendancy in the councils of the Republican Party. The farmer, the small businessman, the worker, the aged and the unemployed may advance their claims only if the budget is balanced to the satisfaction of the dominant business executives.

BELIEVERS IN PRIVATE PROPERTY PRESERVATION

And though some of our opponents in the Republican Party would have you believe otherwise, the Democratic Party is also dedicated to the preservation of private property. The main difference between the two parties in this respect would seem to be that we in the Democratic Party have a broader understanding of the meaning of private property.

The property interests of the corporation are only a segment of the total area of the meaning of property rights. Without a fair price for his commodities, the farmer's property rights become an ironic jest—and a poor one.

Without protection against predatory competition and monopolistic trade practices the property rights of the small businessman are void and meaningless.

Finally, within an economic system in which more and more people are becoming salaried workers, we must recognize that the pattern of property rights must be extended to the right of a worker to secure productive employment, the right of the scholar and the scientist to perform the functions in society.

In thus recognizing a broader definition of property rights the Democratic Party has sought to extend the fruits of democracy to an ever widening number of people. For this reason the Democratic Party continues to attract, in ever increasing numbers, the farmer, the laborer, the small businessman, the intellectual—and all those who look to the future, rather than to the past.

IMPORTANT TASKS CHALLENGE YOUTH

And now, before closing, a few words to you young ladies and gentlemen who are the custodians of the not-so-distant future: The suffrage battles of the 19th century have been won. And many of the critical economic issues of the 20th century have been solved. But much remains to be done today—and history will see to it that there will be ample tasks for your generation tomorrow.

Yet it is not heartening to learn that only one-third of the young men and women between ages 21 and 35 bother to vote, in comparison to two-thirds of the middle-aged and three-fourths of those 60 years and older. To some extent your elders and instructors have failed you by not communicating the meaning of democratic responsibilities. But in a larger sense, if you are among the eligible who do not or will not vote, you have failed yourselves and your community. It is not another's responsibility to lead you by the hand. It is your responsibility and yours alone to learn the meaning of democracy and to give substance to that meaning as a free individual. And to be free, to be truly free, means to be free of ignorance and apathy as well as fear.

This, then, is the first injunction your times lay upon you: To seek, to explore, and to learn the meaning of democracy. Then on the basis of reasoned evaluation—not from habit or inertia—and only partly from self-interest—to make your choices and to take part in the great dialogue of democracy.

The foremost, and the final, issue for each of you is to make your life significant—to participate, at whatever level, in the destiny of your times—and regardless of party affiliations—to make your weight felt for truth and justice and the dignity of the individual.

An Act of Heroism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, unselfish acts of heroism happen every day and yet we are thrilled by the spirit that prompts them, but when a dear friend performs such an act it assumes a special personal significance and one wants to let the world know about it. This is natural and as it should be because we Americans are proud of the brave acts of our countrymen and derive strength and courage from their exemple. Such an American is my great and good friend Roger Ryan who operates a garage and service station in Sea Bright, N.J. He is a man past middle age, a veteran of World War I, a friendly man, modest to a degree, with a character with the highest standards and during his active life has performed many an act of bravery to help others even at the risk of his own safety. His life is an example of highest service and is a stimulating influence for the benefit of mankind.

Not long ago, September 2 last, he saved from drowning the life of a total stranger at the risk of his own and within a few hours after the incident he was back tending to his business as though he had done nothing out of the ordinary. Only a great man could act that way.

I append to these brief remarks a copy of a letter addressed to the "Town Council at Sea Bright" in which the man whose life Mr. Ryan saved, Mr. R. Drapeau, describes his act of heroism and expresses his appreciation. It is a brave thing to be willing to lay down one's life for a friend but how can courage be measured when one is willing to lay down his life for someone who is not even an acquaintance?

GENIN, TRUDEAU & CO., LTD.,
Montreal, October 6, 1959.

TOWN COUNCIL,
Borough of Sea Bright, N.J.

GENTLEMEN: On September 2 of this year, while swimming off D. Comita's property in Sea Bright, I was carried out to sea by a strong tide and found myself exhausted and unable to swim back to shore.

After calling for help, my daughter summoned by two ladies on the beach came to my rescue and she also became overpowered by this tide; she soon became helpless and called for help.

When my daughter reached me I was semiconscious, unable to keep afloat any longer, and within seconds of drowning.

We were both joined by Roger Ryan, owner of Ryan's Garage, in your city, who had heard the frantic calls for help from these two ladies running along the street. This gentleman came scurrying toward the beach undressing along the way, swam out to us and held us afloat while reassuring us that further help would be coming soon.

This help came a few minutes later from lifeguards Alfred West, Robert Kennedy, and John C. Bouton, of Sea Bright Borough beach a half mile away. I am immensely grateful to these three lifeguards who brought us ashore and without whose help this incident might have turned into a triple tragedy.

I wish to commend, however, for your special notice the courageous action of Mr. Ryan who, oblivious to his age and lack of training did not hesitate a moment in plunging into the sea and to whose bravery I owe my life and that of my daughter.

Mr. Ryan nor the above mentioned three lifeguards would accept any monetary token of gratitude, and I feel it my duty to bring their brave action to the knowledge of the leaders of your city.

I am naturally deeply grateful to my daughter who left a 2 months' old baby to the care of others and at the risk of her own life swam out to me. For this brave action I will have many opportunities to show her my undying gratitude in future years and which I will try to repay by every means possible.

Your first-aid ambulance took me to the Long Branch Hospital for medical care and a short rest, after which I was allowed to go home. To them also my heartfelt thanks.

Yours very truly,

R. DRAPEAU,
Vice President.

Address by Hon. Thomas H. Kuchel Before National Convention of National Rivers and Harbors Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the distinguished Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL], speaking before the 46th National Convention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress in Washington, D.C., on May 14, 1959, made some very challenging remarks. I ask unanimous consent that the address delivered by him on that occasion be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GREETINGS OF U.S. SENATOR THOMAS H. KUCHEL TO THE 46TH NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL RIVERS AND HARBORS CONGRESS, THURSDAY, MAY 14, 1959, MAYFLOWER HOTEL

Mr. Chairman, it gives me great pleasure to greet you this morning and to welcome you to the Nation's Capital.

We have much in common. You are concerned with water resources and their sound utilization in behalf of all Americans. I share this concern, although I am certain you will forgive me for what may appear to you to be a sometimes parochial interest in the needs of my own State.

In most parts of the country, water is something that is there when and where it

is needed, and people simply take it for granted. But to those of us who live in the West, the scarcity of water has been and remains a chronically serious condition that needs constant attention.

California is one of the 17 States generally defined as belonging to the semiarid West. In our part of the continent, water is and always has been the key to survival. Not long ago, a distinguished American historian from Senator JOHNSON's famed State declared that the greatest unifying force in the West has been the great American Desert.

Very early in this century, President Theodore Roosevelt signed the Federal Reclamation Act into law. Since the beginnings of that act, the Federal Government in cooperation with the States has sought the means and techniques needed to meet the ever-increasing demands of the States with the greatest water scarcity.

Storage facilities have been built to conserve the eratic runoff of melting snow water. Great dams have been built, and a natural byproduct, hydroelectric power generation, has followed from these storage dams and reservoirs.

I have said in the Senate and in my State many times that the people of California are indebted to the Federal Government. The Central Valley project represents the difference between economic life and death in the two central valleys. In southern California where my home is, we are indebted to the great Hoover Dam, which was fought through the Senate years ago by the late great Hiram Johnson, who fought against tremendous odds in order finally to win approval by the Senate, and thereafter by the House of Representatives, of a gigantic multipurpose structure which today brings water and hydroelectric power into almost every area of southern California.

But our needs are very great. There must be an assured supply of water for people in our cities and for industrial use. There must be water for irigation and for the expansion of industry. Since 1940 the West has experienced the greatest population growth of any part of the Nation. It most likely will continue to experience this expansion for many years to come.

It is anticipated that the population of the United States will increase to 225 million people by 1975. Water needs will skyrocket from 185 billion gallons a day in 1950 to 450 billion gallons by 1975. Can there be any doubt that meeting this demand is the proper concern of all Americans?

Spectacular developments may come in finding an economically sound method of converting sea water into fresh water. If so, we may find the earth capable for the first time in human history of providing enough food for all its inhabitants.

Your organization plays a vital role in stimulating a continuing interest in water resources. From your interest may emerge the solution to problems such as that confronting the semiarid West and perhaps, thereby, the solution of water problems on a worldwide scale.

Phenomenal Success of TVA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE CANNON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, it is gratifying to read in the conservative New York Times an editorial under date of January 4, 1960, expressing unqualified approval of the Tennessee Valley Authority and its quarter of a century of successful and efficient service to the Nation.

While the editorial confines its comments to a discussion of the contributions of TVA to the commercial and industrial life of the Nation, we can never forget that it was an atomic bomb developed with TVA power that ended the war and saved half a million men who otherwise would have died in a frontal assault on Japan. And that TVA energy is powering the development of atomic energy upon which we must rely for future defense, and the fertilizer pilot plants which will make it possible to feed more effectively the rapidly expanding population of generations yet unborn.

The editorial is as follows:

TVA KEEPS GROWING

When we speak of the TVA we mean the Tennessee Valley Authority and not that entertainment gadget that so many of us have in our homes. When we say that TVA grows, as it has been doing, we don't mean that it has been spreading geographically, but only that it has been putting out more power.

In general, TVA, as revealed in its current report, continues to generate a little more than 8 percent of the total electricity sold in the United States. Of the electric power which it created during the last fiscal year, a little more than one-third was produced by running water and steam. Of the total actually sold and paid for, about one-half went into Federal defense operations, mainly the Atomic Energy Commission's plants at Oak Ridge and Paducah.

When TVA was launched more than a quarter of a century ago the real object was to develop the waterpower of the Tennessee River and its tributaries. This has been largely done, with some additional power from the Cumberland River. It was also planned to improve navigation on the main Tennessee, to modernize agricultural practices and facilities, to promote forestry, to offer recreation, and to raise the level of living in the Tennessee Valley. These things have been done and now, in addition, TVA is one of the front lines of our military defense.

It has achieved all this without being a heavy burden on Federal, State, or local taxpayers. Specifically, TVA and the communities and cooperatives to which it sells power pay in taxes 6.8 percent of all electric revenues from private customers. This situation seems to satisfy people in the valley. In addition, TVA is now authorized by a law passed last August to issue revenue bonds just like any other power company. These will have to be maintained and paid off in the usual businesslike fashion.

Meanwhile, private power production in the country has not languished, but has multiplied five or six times over in magnitude. In many respects TVA has shown the way, but it has been a leader and a builder, not a destroyer.

Address by Archbishop Bernard J. Sheil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, on November 11, 1959, His Excellency the Most Reverend Bernard J. Sheil, auxiliary archbishop of Chicago, made a notable speech at the 1959 Israel Bond Man of the Year banquet, Chicago, Ill.

I ask unanimous consent that the archbishop's speech be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, and I extend to the archbishop my compliments and high commendation for the great intellectual statesmanship and social consciousness portrayed by his speech.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE MOST REVEREND BERNARD J. SHEIL, AUXILIARY ARCHBISHOP OF CHICAGO AT THE 1959 ISRAEL BOND MAN OF THE YEAR BANQUET

To answer to the things that were said about me this evening would be very difficult and very hard. And, perhaps, if you will allow me just a little bit of sentimentality—it's deep—it may, in some little way, express to all of you exactly how I feel, and what it means.

And, at this moment I would like to say just a few words to my beloved mother and father, whom I know are in heaven before the throne of the Eternal God. I ask that they will pray to bless you, and that God through their prayers will inspire you to greater efforts, for Israel.

The return of the Jewish people to their homeland, after centuries of exile, is an event of prophetic importance to the history of man. These immigrants to their own country are much like the early settlers of America. For, they possess, as these did, the ideals, the knowledge and the skills necessary to bring about a social revolution in a large area of the world. Like the founders of America, their achievement may serve as a model for other peoples who seek an escape from the oppressive past.

The establishment of the State of Israel is an indispensable step toward this larger goal. Its creation, like most human endeavors, meant much bitter sacrifice and suffering. But, these have been transcended in that satisfaction which comes only from good accomplished. There are thousands of children in Israel today who have been given a second chance at life. For years their world was one bounded by barbed wire. Now, their lost childhood has been restored to them. Their happiness is, in itself, a sufficient reward for the struggle endured.

After 10 years, Israel stands as the living, concrete embodiment of two traditional Jewish ideals, namely, human freedom and social justice. Moreover, Israel proves that both are requisite to the founding of a genuinely human community. It is only in a climate of freedom and justice that man's knowledge and skills can be used for the true betterment of man. To change a desert into a garden, to harness the powers of nature, to build factories—these are high achievements. But they must always serve the enlargement of human freedom and the promotion of justice. Otherwise, they may become subtle instruments for the enslavement of man. Israel has laid her foundations deep in the soil of freedom and justice. That is why her accomplishments carry such an important lesson for the world.

It is of crucial moment that we grasp the full meaning of this lesson. We are witnessing a farflung attempt by the Communist world to place science and technology at the service of politics. The philosophy underlying this type of politics either denies or distorts the common concepts of freedom and justice. That is why the attempt is of such immediate danger to us.

The world is fully aware that science and technology are one of the keys to the future. For, they have the power to transform the world. They can do strong battle against poverty, ignorance and disease. They can

leap across centuries and bring to people everywhere a standard of living undreamed of in a primitive yesterday. They are capable of answering the aspirations of man for a physical existence compatible with his spiritual dignity.

These are tempting prospects for all men. Moreover, the people of the world are becoming more conscious of the fact that a better life is within their reach. It is no longer a distant possibility. It is a present opportunity.

These people shall not be denied their legitimate desires for a better existence. Even now, the surface of the world is stirring, continents are surging, time itself is being telescoped. Everywhere there is movement, agitation, awakened hopes, new horizons. And all of this springs from the knowledge, no longer liable to suppression, that human life can mean more than a deadening subsistence. The time bomb of human expectancy is loudly ticking. Those who close their ears to it shall have them rudely opened by its explosion.

To help all people in their struggle for human integrity is our obligation. It is a moral duty, because it is the application of that belief in human freedom and social justice which we publicly profess. These are ends to be sought after for their own value, independently of any advantage to us. Too often they are being used merely as strategic defenses against Communist expansion.

This reversal of means and ends, perhaps, explains our partial failure to inspire much hope and confidence in the oppressed and dispossessed people of the world. In spite of a good deal of talk about our own idealism, these people think that our objective is not to help them achieve freedom and justice. They suspect, rather, that we are primarily concerned with our own security. And this suspicion, well founded or not, may explain much of the cynicism and pessimism that exist among them.

It is time, I think, for the West to return to the practice of its traditional faith in the truth of human freedom and justice. And this should be done according to our own convictions and moral standards. There is grave danger in allowing our actions to become mere countermoves against Communist policies. In so doing we not only lose the initiative in world affairs. We also sacrifice the moral leadership so necessary, if freedom and justice are to be achieved.

We are sometimes told that peace is maintained by such means. We might answer that this kind of peace is a precarious one. It rests upon our acceptance of the enslavement of hundreds of millions of people by a regime of legalized terror. Furthermore, it is a peace secured at the point of a gun. For, it is obvious that the constant threat of nuclear destruction has become a form of political blackmail. Finally, one might question the ultimate value of a peace, if it is purchased at the cost of compromising our ideals and convictions. Peace can only be built upon justice. And, neither the niceties of protocol nor the delicacies of diplomacy are capable of clouding this truth.

Let us, I say, discover again our own historic path. Let us, on our own initiative and out of our own convictions, rededicate ourselves to the task of bringing the hope of freedom and justice to all mankind. This is the way of truth. It alone can lead to genuine peace. Only it can be the foundation of a truly human society in which men may find their real fulfillment.

You may well ask what all this has to do with Israel. And I answer: a great deal. The founders of modern Israel carved it out of a wasteland. Today, it is literally an oasis in a desert. For, Israel stands in a barren land of human oppression and destitution. Millions of her neighbors exist in an outmoded society built upon ignorance and exploitation. Trapped in a dead end of history, these people have had no choice but to submit to serfdom.

Here precisely lies the importance of Israel in the wider context of history. For, Israel can become for all the people of the Middle East the model and symbol of a more humanly satisfying life. She opens up the prospect of a community founded, not on ignorance but on knoweldge; not on exploitation but an opportunity. Israel proves that human freedom, anchored in justice, is the only lasting foundation upon which the city of man can be erected.

To be this model and symbol of hope for millions of dispossessed people is the mission of Israel. To accomplish it, she herself must be made strong and impregnable. Otherwise, she becomes an easy target for those who see in her a threat to their selfish privileges. Those who benefit from the past, fear the future. To them the future may destroy these benefits. That is the reason that every weapon of passion and propaganda is being used against Israel. It is her enemies who are most aware of the real meaning of modern Israel. That is why they fear her.

If Israel is to remain strong, if she is to carry out her historical destiny she must have the support of all who recognize her importance to the cause of human freedom. The meaning of Israel extends far beyond her national borders. She is part of the free world. She is an embattled outpost of all who believe that God has endowed men with the right to life, freedom, and justice.

We who profess this belief have the serious obligation to help all those who protect and propagate its truth. To do this is more than a duty. It is a privilege. For, to serve the cause of freedom is to serve the cause of man. Man, without the dignity of his liberty, is less than man. And it is precisely this dignity of freedom which is at stake today. What we do now for the cause of human freedom shall determine in large measure the whole future of mankind.

Israel, against heavy odds, is doing her part in this struggle for man. To help her is to help the cause of human freedom everywhere. There is no endeavor more worthy of our support. Nor could there be any more satisfying return than the knowledge of having shared in the defense of man, his dignity, and his freedom. Israel offers us the privilege of participating in this effort on behalf of man. I am certain that we shall accept the offer and respond to it gentrously.

The Farm Problem Can Be Solved With the Soil Bank Withdrawal Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BEN F. JENSEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, on November 16 I wrote President Eisenhower as follows:

President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I am sure you remember well when in August 1952 you called me to your western campaign headquarters in the Brown Palace Hotel at Denver, Colo., to debate the question of 90-percent supports for the six basic crops—corn, wheat, cotton, tobacco, peanuts, and rice versus flexible supports; and almost immediately afterward you announced in your speech at Kansas City that you were for 90-percent supports, at least, so long as that law, which was then in effect, and would be in effect until 1954.

After the flexible parity supports was made law in 1954, it was necessary for the corn and wheat farmers to not only increase their acres, but also to fertilize to the hilt in order to produce enough bushels of cash crops, corn and wheat, in order to have enough dollars to pay increased operating costs—higher machinery costs, taxes, etc.—in the diversified farming section of the United States, "the breadbasket of America." Now, as we all know, since 1954 our corn and wheat surpluses have mounted year after year, which was inevitable under the farm program which has been in effect since 1954, to the end that the costly price depressing surplus of corn for example, has had the effect of not only forcing down the price of corn, but has taken hog, cattle, and poultry prices down, down with it; and unless we put into effect a program which will effectively reduce our staggering corn surplus held by the CCC which now hangs dangerously over the head of all our corn and livestock farmers of the breadbasket of America, nothing can stop the further decline in such prices, and the end result can only be complete disaster for our farmers, and finally for our entire national economy. Let us never forget for a minute that all new wealth springs from the soil, is mined or pumped out of the bowels of the earth, or is fished out of the waters, in the form of raw products, on which every American must depend for employment in producing, transporting, processing, marketing or using the finished product. Also, since that is a fact, it is plain to see our economic growth can only be soundly generated from its source, and our farmers always spend over twice as many dollars, when his dollar is worth 100 cents at the counter, than the rest of us Americans spend on an average for manufactured commodities made by the wage earners of the United States.

Were it not for the fact that we have for the past several years been spending over $40 billion for military purposes, which has in effect created here an artificial prosperity, generated from the top (but which we cannot forever endure) the overall economic effect of our farmers' 80-cent dollar has been offset by employment in the manufacturing of military supplies of every nature; while sound, deep-thinking Americans everywhere are asking, "What will the harvest be if farming, our basic industry, goes down the drain?" Disaster for all, will be our lot.

Now, Mr. President, there is an answer. You had that answer in your address to Congress on January 9, 1956, when the Soil Bank Act was afterward made law, but without your recommendation that it be financed with commodities already owned and paid for by the Government; but your recommendation was ignored, as you well remember. Had your recommendation of 1956 been made law at that time, our farmers would not be in the squeeze they find themselves today. You are no doubt aware that the American Farm Bureau Federation in its convention at Boston, Mass., last December affirmed its support of the soil bank program to retire land from production with payments in kind (in corn and wheat, for instance) from Government stocks for participation in the soil bank program. You will, I am sure, be greatly interested in reading the Soil Bank Withdrawal Plan by Mr. Dave Livingston, our mutual farmer friend of Washington, Iowa, in which he gives facts and figures which prove that by paying very liberally in kind, we can solve the farm problem for the livestock and grain farmers, quickly and effectively.

Respectfully,

BEN F. JENSEN.

THE SOIL BANK WITHDRAWAL PLAN

(By Dave Livingston, Washington, Iowa)

Hog prices are now disastrously low. There are now too many hogs. There is an increase of 5 percent in the Corn Belt in the last 3 years.

Poultry prices are also too low and for the same reason.

Cattle feeders have 20 percent more cattle and calves on feed in the 21 major feed in States over a year ago. Thirteen of these States have a record number on feed as of October 1, 1959.

There is only one reason for all of this and that is the fact that there is too much feed available. The only time we have too many animals is when we have too much feed. Livestock numbers always adjust themselves to feed supplies.

There is, therefore, one answer and only one answer to the whole farm problem and that is to find a way to reduce the surplus feed supply without injuring the whole agricultural setup.

The only way this can be done is to set up a Soil Bank Withdrawal Plan whereby the surplus grain, now in the hands of the Government, as the result of accumulation under the soil bank and previous plans, can be withdrawn to pay the rent on feed grain acreage to be put out of production in 1960.

How can this be done?

First of all the Acreage Reserve Section of the Soil Bank Act should be reinstated for a period of at least 3 years. There never was anything wrong with the Soil Bank Act that could not have been corrected by stopping cash rental payments and paying the rent in grain on a realistic basis of using one bushel of surplus to stop the production of one bushel of new crop.

This would return feed grains to acreage allotments as they were at the close of 1958. In other words, we would start over again where we left off at the end of 1958 but this time we would use the grain surpluses for money to eliminate the surpluses. To quote from President Eisenhower's speech to Congress on January 9, 1956, when the Soil Bank Act was introduced, "It will be financed with commodities already owned and paid for by the Government. Time and shrinkage, storage and other costs are eroding away the present value of these stocks." To quote again:

"There are virtues in the plan.

"It will reduce the massive and unproductive storage costs on Government holdings—costs that are running into a million dollars a day.

"It will reduce the crushing burden of surpluses, the essential precondition for the successful operation of a sound farm program.

"It will provide an element of insurance since farmers are assured income from the reserve acres even in a year of crop failure.

"It will ease the apprehension of our friends abroad over our surplus-disposal program.

"It will harmonize agricultural production with peacetime markets."

The same situation obtains now as at the time this original plan was introduced and the above quotes fit the present situation precisely.

Each year beginning in 1960, 10 percent of the corn acreage allotments, as they existed in 1958, should be set aside and seeded and the rent on these acres paid with corn out of Government storage. Beginning with the oldest corn in storage (1952) this offer would be on the basis of 100 percent of the rated yield for each farm on the ASC listing at the county office. If your farm was rated at 80 bushels per acre, then you would be offered 80 bushels of 1952 corn for each acre you seeded down in 1960. When the 1952 corn was gone, then 1953 would be used and so on until all the corn in bins in this county was used up. Of course, the 1952 corn would not have the feed value of new corn, which you would raise, but on the other hand, you would not have the cost of ploying, disking, harrowing, planting, cultivating and harvesting. Therefore, it would be pretty good deal for any farmer aside from the fact that he would be assisting in the elimination of the greatest problem we have in agriculture today.

It would be voluntary. No farmer would be forced to participate. Each year every farmer would be allowed to bid acreage between 10 and 25 percent of his acreage allotment to put under the plan. This would give each farmer a chance to place whole fields under the plan. In case there were more acres bid than there was corn to go around, then "First come, first serve" just as the conservation reserve is handled now.

All this requires no new law, no new organization and no new expense. All that is required is an extension of an old law to be administered by the ASC committees to use up the corn now owned by the government. All that is required is to spell out the details more clearly, some imagination and determination and probably some new faces at top levels. To quote again from the President's speech, "It will help remove the crushing burden of surpluses, the essential precondition for the successful operation of a sound farm program."

THE COUNTYWIDE PICTURE

Now take a look at Washington County. Let's see what would happen. This same analysis can be made for the other counties too.

Amount of corn in storage in Washington County by years:

	Bushels
1953 and older	967,509
1954	111,976
1955	87,660
1956	144,090
1957	11,499
1958	11,819
Total	1,334,553

Total corn acreage 1958, 180,558.

Average yield per acre, 71.1 bushels.

This means then that we would take this corn in storage and offer it in Washington County at the average rate of 71.1 bushels per acre to get 10,855 acres of Washington County farmland out of production in 1960. Your allotment would vary one way or the other from the 71.1 figure depending on the rating of your farm in the ASC office. If you wanted to participate you would sign up next spring for the number of acres you would be willing to put under the plan (between 10 percent and 25 percent of your allotment) and then you would get your corn in October in payment.

If you take 10,855 acres out of production at 71.1 bushels per acre then you come up with 771,790 used up in 1960 as money and taken from Government bins and no new corn will be raised to take its place. It would get rid of nearly 80 percent of the 1952 and 1953 corn in this county. And that corn would not have to be shipped away or handled except to get it to the farms in this county. Do the same thing again in 1961 and all the corn in Washington County, now in Government bins, would be used up.

THE STATEWIDE PICTURE

Take a look at the totals for the State of Iowa and here is what you come up with:

1953 and older	67,658,715.05
1954	24,114,592.04
1955	36,752,156.45
1956	47,529,442.31
1957	13,547,009.95
1958	9,113,128.82
Total	198,715,044.62

Total corn acreage, 1958, 9,979,258.

Average yield, approximately 56 bushels.

Put 10 percent out of production in 1960, 997,925 acres.

At 56 bushels per acre, 56 bushels.

Number of bushels used in 1960, 55,883,800.

When that 55 million bushels is gone it is gone. No new bushels will be raised under this plan to replace them and it costs no new money.

On November 25, 1959, I received the following reply from the President:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, November 25, 1959.

The Honorable BEN F. JENSEN,
Member of Congress,
Extra, Iowa.

DEAR BEN: I have your letter and I shall have your suggestion studied seriously; later you will receive a report of the results.

Sincerely,

DWIGHT EISENHOWER.

Mr. Speaker, just as soon as I can get reprints made of this speech I will send copies to all farm magazines in the United States, many newspapers and radio stations, to hundreds of people in and outside of my district, to Members of Congress, including every member of the Senate and House Agriculture Committees.

Now, Mr. Speaker, surely every unbiased, thinking American, including every Member of Congress is concerned about the farm problem and are anxious to have an early, effective, economical solution to it, which can be accomplished with the soil bank withdrawal plan, if Congress does its duty, and quickly.

Freedom in the New World Order

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I invite the attention of the Senate to an excellent address by John Cowles, president of the Minneapolis Star and Tribune, entitled, "Will America Survive in Freedom in Coming New World Order?" which was published in the Minneapolis Star on November 30, 1959.

Mr. Cowles is a keen student of world affairs, in addition to being a gifted writer. In this address to the Minneapolis Rotary Club, Mr. Cowles predicts that in the 1960's a new world order is going to take shape and form. In this shaping of the new world order, Mr. Cowles states:

The paramount thing for us is to try to make certain that we are following national policies that will insure that our descendants can survive in freedom. He argues coherently and logically that it is a naive illusion for anyone to assume that we could live and prosper in freedom in an isolated fortress America.

I ask unanimous consent that this thoughtful and challenging speech be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Minneapolis Star, Nov. 30, 1959]

WILL AMERICA SURVIVE IN FREEDOM IN COMING NEW WORLD ORDER?

(By John Cowles, president of the Minneapolis Star and Tribune, a speech to the Minneapolis Rotary Club)

Most of us would agree, if we really thought about it, that the thing we most deeply want is for our children and grandchildren and great-grandchildren to be able to survive in freedom. And of course in addition to freedom we want them to have as full and satisfying lives as possible.

The paramount thing for us is to try to make certain that we are following national policies that will insure that our descendants can survive in freedom.

Probably some of you are shocked that I even suggest the possibility that the United States may not be surviving in freedom a generation or two from now. But if you will think about the implications of what is taking place in the world today, I believe you will conclude that our long-range national security is a good deal less certain than most of us have assumed.

To start with, most people fail to understand that we happen to be living in the midst of the greatest combination of world revolutions that has ever occurred in the history of mankind. Separate scientific, political and social revolutions, any one of which would have had a momentous effect on the world, have happened to coincide at this particular time.

The scientific discoveries and developments that have occurred in our generation are probably greater than all the scientific discoveries of the preceding thousands of years combined. More than 90 per cent of all the scientists who have ever lived since the dawn of history are living and working today. Most of us don't yet comprehend the significance and future effects on the world of the new scientific discoveries that have been and are being made.

Simultaneously, we are having another revolution. This is the alarmingly rapid rate of population growth. The introduction of better sanitation and improved health and medical measures throughout the world has caused a sharp reduction in mortality. As a result we are having an extraordinarily fast population growth everywhere, particularly in the less developed areas. Most people ignore or grossly underestimate the calamitous effect that a doubling of the world's population in the next 30 or 40 years will have.

COLONIAL AREAS WIN FREEDOM

A third revolution that is taking place stems from the fact that more than a billion people who, up to the end of the Second World War, were under colonial rule, have recently won their freedom. In addition, other presently colonial areas, largely in Africa, will also become independent nations within the next year or two.

Most of these new countries don't have a sufficient number of educated people to make a democratic form of government function responsibly. Most of the people in these new nations are illiterate and desperately poor.

It does no good to say that these peoples should not have independence until they are qualified for it. They are determined to have their independence now. They are also equally determined to try rapidly to industrialize their nations and raise their educational and living standards.

I recently studied some estimates of world income broken down by nations, with the population of each. If one assumes that $100 a year per person is required for food, clothing, and shelter—about 27 cents per day for sustenance and all living expenses of every kind—and if one then computes the amount of excess annual income above $100 a year per person that each country has, the figures are staggering.

The United States alone has 47 percent, or almost half, of the total excess world income above $100 per person.

If one adds together the excess income, that is the amount above $100 per inhabitant, of Canada, Great Britain, Japan, Australia, and the European countries including Russia, that total is only slightly greater than that of the United States alone.

These countries that I have mentioned, including the United States, therefore have between them more than 95 percent of the whole world's total income above $100 per person.

In other words, the rest of the world—Asia, Africa, Central America, and South America combined—has less than 5 percent of the world's total income above $100 per person.

The per capita income of these Asians, Africans, and Latin Americans is only slightly more than $100 a year, or less than one-twentieth of the per capita income of Americans.

DEVELOPMENT CAPITAL NEEDED

There are only two possible ways for these underdeveloped areas to get the capital necessary for their development. They obviously don't have enough of their own to make sufficient voluntary savings to raise the funds needed for schools and roads, water systems and improved ports, powerplants, and factories.

They can raise these funds internally only if a ruthless dictatorship forces savings out of them, impoverished as they are, by grinding down their already pitifully low standard of living, by reducing what each human being has to live on, from slightly over $100 a year down to $75 or $30 a year. Of course, this would mean starvation to many and serious malnutrition to more.

Although Russia started from a much higher living standard base than exists in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, this is the precise method the Communist dictatorship in Russia used to secure the billions that it has put into its capital improvement in Russia from about 1920 on.

As a result, today, the Russians are turning out enough gross national product so that they can significantly increase the average standard of living above what it formerly was and still have sufficient resources left to put as much money into military expenditures as the United States is doing.

Red China is following exactly this same policy. The government is ruthless and cruel. Probably hundreds of thousands of Red Chinese have starved to death, but China, with some help from Russia, is lifting itself by its bootstraps.

The only other way for underdeveloped countries to get the capital that they desperately need is from foreign aid: foreign investment, foreign loans and foreign grants.

Unless the United States and the other developed and industrialized countries of the free world are willing to extend aid on a massive scale for the next 10 or 20 years, I expect to see most or all of Asia and Africa and much of Latin America slide into similar Communist-controlled totalitarian dictatorships.

The United States and Western Europe cannot live permanently in freedom with most or all of the rest of the world under Communist rule. The Communists would disrupt normal capitalistic world trade. They would dump products at far below cost to disrupt international markets.

They would cut off the natural resources—minerals, oil, etc.—that are essential to the free world. The United States is much more dependent on foreign natural resources for our own prosperity than most Americans believe. We are rapidly becoming a have-not Nation so far as many natural resources are concerned.

It is a naive illusion for anyone to assume that we could live and prosper in freedom in an isolated fortress America. Every additional country that goes under Communist control reduces our own margin of future national security.

Although I am delighted that in recent months President Eisenhower has broken through the diplomatic deadlock and has opened the door at least to the possibility that within the next few years we may be able to liquidate the cold war, anyone is reckless if he assumes that the danger of the cold war turning hot has been eliminated. The Russians occasionally change their tactics, but there is no reason whatsoever for us to assume that the Russians have in any way changed their long-range ambition for world domination.

It would be an act of suicidal recklessness for us to reduce our defense expenditures until and unless we are certain that Russia is simultaneously reducing hers, and until and unless we are satisfied that we are going to have an ironclad system of international inspection and control.

I hope that events will prove that Russia does want to end the cold war, but until there is proof of that, it would be foolhardy for us to reduce our defense expenditures even a penny. I, for one, think that we should be increasing our defense expenditures so that we would have an adequate capability to meet nonnuclear limited aggression without our having to go to the alternative of an all-out nuclear holocaust.

Undoubtedly there is great waste in our armed services. Possibly several billion dollars could be saved if we could eliminate some of the overlap and discontinue further production of obsolescent weapons. But when one is dealing with our national security, with our very national survival, one must not take chances.

UNITED STATES LAGS BEHIND RUSSIA

Every informed person knows that we are far behind the Russians in outer space development. It will probably be at least 3 years before we are able to develop engines with as much propulsive power to send heavy weights into space as the Russians have already demonstrated that they now possess.

Every informed person knows that we are behind Russia—opinions of the time lag differ—in our development of intercontinental ballistic missiles.

Every informed person knows that our strategic air force or SAC bases are what is called soft, that they are too concentrated and are relatively unprotected, and that we might suffer a catastrophic devastating blow if the Russians, a couple of years from now, did decide to attack us with intercontinental ballistic missiles with hydrogen warheads and with the intermediate-range missiles which they could fire from their submarines.

While we could even then undoubtedly make a severe retaliatory strike, probably our capability, if we had suffered the initial blow, would not prove nearly as massive and destructive as most of the American public erroneously assumes.

The thing that concerns me most about America today is the fact that the public seems complacent and largely indifferent to what I regard as the realities of the international situation.

One such reality is the obvious fact that the old world order, as we have known it all our lives, is dying. It seems to me not simply probable, but certain, that during the next decade, the crucial 1960s, a new world order is going to take shape and form.

Whether or not this new world order will be one in which our children and grandchildren will be able to lead full, happy lives in peace and freedom is the paramount question confronting America, but most people are too absorbed in their personal affairs even to recognize that this question exists.

SYSTEM OF WORLD LAW VITAL

If we do move forward courageously and intelligently, with a thorough understanding of what we are doing and why, I think we probably can end up with a new world order that is to our liking. Achieving this will probably require higher taxes, or at least no reduction in present tax rates, but the tax angle becomes inconsequential if one comes to realize what the probable alternative is, if one comes to understand that we may be dealing with the question of our continued survival as a free nation.

And if we are going to be able to secure the kind of world order we want for our children and grandchildren, we are also going to have to develop a system of world law. This will involve strengthening the United Nations and making basic changes in its setup. This will also obviously involve some abridgement of what has traditionally been called national sovereignty, but nations as we have known them in the past are becoming obsolescent in an era of intercontinental missiles, nuclear-propelled ships and aircraft, and space vehicles.

The problems facing us are enormous, but certainly not insoluble.

In conclusion, I would like to quote a statement by Arnold Toynbee, who is probably the greatest living philosopher of history. Toynbee has written, I hope not too optimistically, that "the 20th century will be remembered, not as the age of the atomic bomb, but as the first time when man thought it was practicable to distribute all the benefits of civilization to all people."

U.S. Naval Academy: Reservoir of Great Traditions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARK W. THOMPSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, among the many exacting duties that members of the Congress are called upon to perform I know of none that they take more seriously than the selection of young men for appointment to the great academies of the armed services. Not only that, they watch the progress of their appointees after graduation. When some of them attain distinction, they often ponder the steps by which they rose to fame.

High among these factors are their experiences at the academies where their character and ability were tested. Thus, I read with special interest in the October 1959 issue of Trident, the professional magazine of the brigade of midshipmen at the U.S. Naval Academy, a moving story by Capt. Miles P. DuVal, Jr., U.S. Navy, retired, of two midshipmen, one of whom later became an important Member of the House of Representatives from Alabama.

The article is accompanied by the following biographical sketch of its distinguished author:

Graduating from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1918 (class of 1919), Captain DuVal has had an extensive naval career spanning World Wars I and II. During 1946–49 he was Navy Department liaison officer and head of its isthmian canal studies under the Chief of Naval Operations. He is author of a Panama Canal series: "Cadiz to Cathay" and "And the Mountains Will Move"; as well as other writings on interoceanic canal problems. This is his second article in Trident.

At this point, Mr. Speaker, I wish to stress that the Nation's academies serve as reservoirs of great tradition so vitally important to the morale of the officer corps. Captain DuVal's story of the experiences of two midshipmen will no doubt become a part of naval tradition and serve as an inspiration for many other midshipmen.

The editor in chief of Trident, Midshipman Thomas E. Hutt, Jr., and other members of its capable staff are to be commended for the choice of such an article for publication. I trust that they will seek other stories of like character in the future and publish them.

In order that the indicated story may be recorded in the permanent annals of the Congress and thus be available to the libraries of the Nation, I include it as part of my remarks:

EMERGENCE FROM COVENTRY

(By Capt. Miles P. Du Val, Jr., U.S. Navy, retired)

In 1888 a number of midshipmen returning from the summer practice cruise, who did not go home, were spending their September leave at the old U.S. Naval Academy. One Sunday afternoon some first classmen went sailing in the harbor with Midshipman Richmond Pearson Hobson in charge.

Temporarily free from the burdens of study and removed from the close scrutiny always prevailing within the academic limits, they were thoroughly enjoying the outing on the Severn. Taking advantage of the opportunity, some started smoking in the sailboat—a violation of Naval Academy regulations.

Their supposed security, however, did not last long, for the officer on duty that day chose that time to make an inspection of the harbor in a steam launch. Thus, Midshipman Hobson, who did not smoke, became concerned about the violation of rules by his classmates lest he, himself, be charged with neglect of duty for failure to enforce the antismoking regulation and requested them to desist. They did not comply.

The steam launch came closer. Hobson directed those smoking to stop, warning that he would report them for that offense if they did not. Instead of obeying, they guarded against discovery by holding their cigarettes under the gunwhale of the sailboat as the launch approached.

Though the duty officer did not spot the offenders, Hobson, after arrival at quarters, reported his violating classmates for smoking in the boat—an action that started a long chain of related events.

After return of the midshipmen from their September leave to resume studies for the academic year, the first class, largely under the leadership of one member, met to consider what they thought a serious infraction of class traditions by Midshipman Hobson, and voted him into coventry.

All members of the class obeyed this ruling except one—Midshipman Louis M. Nulton. Thereupon, the class held another meeting.

Calling Nulton before it, the class spokesmen demanded that he comply with the coventry ruling. Nulton explained that he and Hobson were close friends and that he would not accede to their demands. The class, promptly voted him into coventry along with Hobson.

The greatest part of that academic year passed without any relaxation in the persecution. Toward its end, however, the members of the class were shocked by the forced separation from the Naval Academy of its leader—the one who had engineered the proscription of Hobson and Nulton.

Thus awakened, the class called another meeting to reconsider their actions. Members explained to Hobson and Nulton that the class had come to realize that they had wronged both of them and asked for their forgiveness and friendship.

Hobson rose and stated: "During the past year you have done your utmost to ruin my life and career. In spite of your determined efforts, I have stood one in this class and proved to myself that I do not need your support. You may go your way and I shall go mine."

Nulton followed Hobson with these words: "Though I can never forget, I can forgive. I shall welcome your friendship in the future."

The years passed. By the winter of 1917–18, both Hobson and Nulton had attained real stature: Hobson, as a hero in the Spanish-American War; and Nulton, as the author of textbooks used at the Naval Academy and commandant of midshipmen (1915–18).

It was during this winter that Captain Nulton told the moving story of his midshipman experiences to another first class, when I was present, in Memorial Hall at the new Naval Academy. To it he added: "Even today, as I pass by some of the familiar landmarks of the old Naval Academy, I can recall the sneering voices of some of my classmates. Those who were my worst enemies then are now among my best friends."

He further explained that Hobson and he had resolved the same problem by different solutions and that he was glad that he had chosen the one that he had.

Fifteen years passed. On March 25, 1933, the U.S.S. *Dupont* (DD 152), my first command, arrived at Boston for duty. One of the first duties was to call on the commandant, First Naval District—Rear Adm. Louis M. Nulton.

In the ensuing conversation, I expressed appreciation of his 1918 story of his midshipman days and what a deep impression that it had made on all who heard it. He repeated the story, confirming significant points.

Knowing of his distinguished record, I could not resist saying: "Admiral, your treatment at the Naval Academy must have been a profound psychological experience serving as a drive in your later career."

"Yes, it was," he replied, "but I never thought of it in that light."

Now, that both of these men and their classmates are dead, what are some of the highlights in their careers that distinguished them?

Hobson first attracted national attention by sinking the collier *Merrimac* in the entrance to Santiago, Cuba, on June 3, 1898, in a heroic attempt to bottle up the Spanish fleet, for which he was subsequently awarded a Congressional Medal of Honor. Resigning from the Navy on February 6, 1903, he started a second career, serving in the Congress as a Representative from Alabama, 1907–15, and becoming a national and international leader in causes related to the suppression of nar-

cotics. Finally, he was promoted in 1934 by act of Congress to the rank of rear admiral.

Nulton, in addition to the achievements already mentioned, became Superintendent of the U.S. Naval Academy, 1925–28, and commander in chief, U.S. Pacific Fleet (then called Battle Fleet), 1929–30, with the rank of admiral.

Today, when scanning the roster of the class of 1889, which produced a number of eminent officers, including one Chief of Naval Operations, and judging its members on the basis of recognized attainment, two names stand out—Hobson and Nulton.

Civil Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by Maj. Gen. Ralph J. Olson, Wisconsin State Director of Civil Defense, before the Wisconsin Associated Press Association at Milwaukee, Wis., on December 5, 1959.

This address deals with a subject in which we are all interested, and it is of vital importance, particularly in the light of the President's address of today, that we keep our house in order.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY MAJ. GEN. RALPH J. OLSON, STATE DIRECTOR OF CIVIL DEFENSE BEFORE WISCONSIN ASSOCIATED PRESS ASSOCIATION, MILWAUKEE, WIS., DECEMBER 5, 1959

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, ladies, and gentlemen, I am going to operate on the premise that a threat exists and there is a definite need for civil defense for our individual and collective survival. I, therefore, submit that civil defense as a full copartner of military defense is necessary as a vital arm of total national security to protect our people, the economy, our military bases, and to serve itself as a strong deterrent to an all-out attack on this country.

Prior to World War I there was actually little need for civil defense, but with the advent of modern submarines and long-range aircraft plus the mounting missile threat, our cities, industrial centers, and military bases present a lucrative target. Our military leaders admit that we lack the air defense to prevent an all-out attack on this country at the present time. You will recall the late General Vandenburg estimated that 70 percent of attacking planes would reach their targets. Then, too, we must realize that one plane or missile today carries more destruction than our entire Air Force did in World War II. And with the present thermonuclear weapons there is a new dimension of modern warfare; namely, fallout.

What is fallout? When the fireball from a nuclear weapon touches the earth's surface, great masses of dust and debris are sucked up, mix with the minute particles of the weapon, and become intensely radioactive. Radioactive fallout may carry lethal destruction hundreds of miles downwind from a bomb burst. Therefore, a strike on the twin cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul could endanger the lives in many Wisconsin communities. This fallout, except for the dust it carries along, is invisible, odorless, and tasteless. That means that no village or city is immune from radioactive fallout, nor can anyone predict the area where the bombs may strike.

What is our defense against fallout? Only by putting distance or mass between you and the radioactive fallout can you be protected. If there is time, it would seem logical to evacuate the target areas prior to attack and get people into fallout shelters. The Federal plan recommends the construction of fallout shelters stocked with food, water, and medical supplies for 14 days.

Survival for 2 weeks is essential, but the big question is: What do we do on the 15th day?

The answer must be in a well conceived survival plan which spells out procedures to be followed by all echelons of government and their people. Since 1950 it has been my firm conviction that if civil defense is to be realistic and effective, it must be an expansion of existing government functioning under emergency conditions. This means the utilization of existing State departments, city, county, and village agencies functioning under their regular department heads and permanent employees plus whatever volunteers are necessary to meet the situation.

This philosophy of civil defense being government in its entirety mobilized for emergency purposes has been recognized at both the National and State levels. The Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization, an integral part of the Office of the President, exercises control at the Federal level and the same concept has now been developed in the State of Wisconsin. Only this week the legislature completed action on a substantial revision of the Wisconsin Civil Defense Act, establishing the bureau of civil defense as a part of the executive department. This bill is now awaiting the Governor's signature. The Governor is given broad emergency powers in the event of war, and he may employ all of the resources of State and local government in the civil defense effort. The State director of civil defense is, in effect, the chief of staff to the Governor and exercises authority delegated by the chief executive. May I suggest to you that you of the fourth estate give this legislation your careful attention. It is a significant and far-reaching step toward effective civil government in a war emergency. In addition to the revised Civil Defense Act, the Wisconsin Legislature has passed and the Governor has signed a series of bills known commonly as the Continuity of Government Acts. There is now authority for both State and local governments to move their headquarters beyond the limits of their established jurisdictions; provision has been made for succession to office at the local level, and the first step has been taken toward amending the constitution in order that succession will be provided for State offices in the executive, legislative, and judicial branches. The legislature has also provided a system for preservation of essential State records.

Related to the basic statutory authority we have promulgated the State survival plan. The State plan is a comprehensive operations guide covering the general scheme of operations for survival and spelling out the responsibilities of the several agencies of the State government and the responsibilities of local units of government.

Our Wisconsin plan has just been distributed throughout the State together with prototype plans for city and county civil defense organizations, as well as operational plans for the target areas of Superior, Green Bay, Madison, and the Milwaukee-Racine-Kenosha complex.

The Wisconsin survival plan provides for administrative and operational control by dividing the State into 10 areas. These consist of 4 target areas, 4 reception areas to receive evacuees from the target areas, and 2 support areas. The division of the State into 10 areas permits the giving of direct guidance and the exercise of administrative control throughout the State in this period of preparation. In time of emergency, it will give the Governor and his State director firm command and control of all activities within the State.

It must provide for the orderly evacuation of people, when time permits, to reception areas. This will necessitate the marking of routes and the organization and training of reception teams.

Mr. Wilbur J. Schmidt, Director of the Department of Public Welfare, who is my codirector for emergency welfare services, has the responsibility of the reception of evacuees which includes their housing, clothing, feeding and rendering financial assistance. He is also responsible for the care of institutionalized personnel, groups that need special assistance, and State institutions under his control.

All the work that has been carried on during the past 9 years is incorporated in this plan.

To mention just a few, first we have the warning system. This warning system is complete down to the counties and in some instances to cities, villages, and institutions within the county. Much work remains to be done. Every man, woman, and child should be familiar with the warning signals and the plans for action in their particular communities.

2. Communications: Our communications plan is under the supervision of Norman E. Blume, my codirector for communication. This plan calls for the utilization of not only landline telephones and teletypewriter but radio as well, be it commercial, police and fire, or amateur radio.

3. Medical services: It is difficult to comprehend the requirements of our professional services, our hospitals and institutions. We know our requirements will be fantastic, and you may be interested to know that at present we have 45 emergency 200-bed hospitals strategically located in various parts of our State. These hospitals cannot be opened except in an enemy-caused disaster, but we do have one training unit which is in use throughout the State. These hospitals cost the Federal Government $27,000 each and are complete with surgical and sterilizing equipment plus medical supplies.

Dr. Carl N. Neupert, State health officer, my codirector for medical services, has the responsibility for planning to staff and operate these hospitals in time of emergency. This calls for close cooperation with county medical societies throughout the State and the recruitment of volunteers necessary in this program. He is also responsible for the organization and training of medical teams which can be dispatched to disaster areas in time of need. It must be quite apparent to all of you that professional services will be in such demand that we may be forced to call on our own first aid training to tide us over the initial period. Even if we never have an attack on our country, there are numerous occasions when first aid has saved a life, similar to the young Boy Scout who breathed life into his baby sister until the doctor arrived. In natural disasters such as fire, flood, and tornadoes, we find that, first aid is essential; and I have always recommended that at least one person in every family be trained in first aid.

4. Police services: Our police services will face a monumental task in traffic and panic control. No city, village, or county will have adequate police-trained personnel. Therefore, one of the important facets of our training program has been the training of auxiliary police throughout the State. Under the supervision of Commissioner James L. Karns, who is my codirector for safety services, we have an exten-

sive training program in existence today. Already we have approximately 6,000 men trained in accordance with standards and specifications drafted by the State office of civil defense as recommended by my police chiefs advisory committee.

5. Economic control program: Certainly the control of food and fuel supplies, which includes monetary stabilization and transportation services, will require careful preattack planning. The Governor has a committee which is studying the problem and will recommend procedures which may be adopted in an emergency.

Time will not permit a detailed discussion of our State office operations. Our administrative and training program demand much of our time, especially the surplus property program and the Federal matching fund program which is the responsibility of the State office.

Although much has been accomplished, much remains to be done. Our country can never expect to have a perfect civil defense or survival plan, and therefore we must operate on the basis of doing first things first. I know there are many who feel that the problems are of such magnitude that many communities do not go beyond the first steps in organizing civil defense.

I submit that a nominal effort is not enough. Lip service and catch-as-catch-can organization will not suffice. There is no question but what a total war emergency would create problems the like of which the world has never experienced. Having recognized the threat and considered the magnitude of the effects of total war, we must make an all-out effort to prepare for a potential catastrophe. This effort will require the best of all of us and we must have positive direction from the leadership echelon at all levels of society. If this informed and positive leadership is forthcoming, I have no doubt that our people will respond. We in the Middle West are only two generations away from the pioneer generation, and I firmly believe that we have within us the courage and ability to face up to the problems of our age in the same manner that our forebears met the challenge of the frontier.

You as editors have a responsibile and influential position in your communities. I sincerely hope that we in government who are charged with the direct responsibility for the civil defense mission, can count on you for continued interest, counsel and support.

Our First Year Under the New Education Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, it might be well to review some of our accomplishments during the first year under the new National Defense Education Act.

U.S. Commissioner of Education Lawrence G. Derthick has just announced that 35 modern foreign language institutes for the training of 2,000 elementary and secondary school language teachers will be established at colleges and universities next summer, and that he has approved 406 programs of graduate study involving 1,500 3-year fellowships authorized by the National Defense Education Act. The fellowship awards, provided under title IV of the act, are for study during the 1960–61 academic year.

I include here a fine and informative article by a good friend and former constituent of mine, who at one time was connected with Princeton University in the New Jersey district which I have the honor to represent. The article was carried in the Washington (D.C.) Star, October 18, 1959.

OUR FIRST YEAR UNDER THE NEW EDUCATION ACT

(By George W. Oakes)

Appraisal of the accomplishments under the National Defense Education Act, in its first year of operation, finds educators and officials agreed that considerable progress has been made.

In brief the act, signed in September 1958, has resulted in:

More emphasis on language study.

Improvement of science and mathematics instruction.

Stimulation of the abilities of talented schoolchildren.

Easing the financial burden of college students.

Increasing the numbers of qualified college teachers.

"Better teaching of foreign languages probably is the biggest single step forward under the act," according to Office of Education officials. Various programs now in operation will help considerably to correct the decline in foreign language instruction which, oddly enough, has occurred during the last 40 years, just at the time this country rose to a position of world leadership.

LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION

School and college foreign language teachers are learning new methods of instruction, in such ways as these:

1. Last summer 925 elementary and secondary schoolteachers of French, German, Spanish, and Russian attended 12 special 6- or 8-week institutes on the campuses of universities in Michigan, Texas, and Colorado. They concentrated on the latest audiolingual methods of teaching modern languages which involve first hearing the language through audio aids, then speaking it, and finally writing it. Foreign language teachers have been particularly lacking in modern methods of instruction.

Most teachers took French and Spanish. The demand for admission to the institutes was so great that 5,000 teachers who applied could not be accepted. As a result, next summer 35 courses will be held for 2,200 schoolteachers in the same languages, plus Italian. In addition, full academic year institutes are now being held in 4 universities for 95 schoolteachers of French, Spanish, and Russian to offer them a more concentrated course of study.

2. Audiovisual laboratory equipment is being installed in public elementary and secondary schools. Federal funds are made available on a matching basis to the States who—with the local school authorities—determine how and where the money is spent. A foreign language laboratory for beginners in a junior high school costs between $3,000 and $4,000. State allocations of Federal money are decided on the basis of the number of students and the average income per child of school age. Consequently the poorer States with large school populations benefit the most.

ENCOURAGING THE STATES

3. The stimulus of Federal activity has had the additional benefit of encouraging the States to speed up their own efforts to improve foreign language teaching. Only four States had supervisors of foreign language instruction before the act got under way. Now 27 States have 32 supervisors.

4. Several research projects are being financed by the Federal Government to develop new methods of teaching foreign languages. For example, the University of California is experimenting with new visual aids on basic grammatical problems of Spanish.

5. The act is encouraging the study of unusual languages not commonly offered but required by persons in government, industry and education. There are 50 languages spoken by millions of people in various parts of the world that are not even taught in the United States.

CENTERS ORGANIZED

Nineteen university language centers have been organized on a full academic year basis. The six highest priority languages to be studied in these centers are Arabic, Chinese, Hindustani, Japanese, Portuguese, and Russian. Related area studies are also included. Fellowships for advanced study in the same 6 languages have been awarded to 171 graduate students planning to enter college teaching.

Badly needed new science and mathematics equipment is being installed throughout the public school system. Probably more than $50 to $60 million of Federal grants will be spent before next June by probably every State and Territory. These new facilities should raise the level of science and mathematics teaching considerably, and supply most of the required modern equipment during the next 3 years of the act.

This money is provided on a matching basis for the purchase of new—and remodeling of old—science and mathematics equipment, including laboratories and instructional materials.

A general science laboratory for 28 junior high school students costs between $8,000 and $10,000 for furniture and equipment. Eighteen thousand dollars to $20,000 is needed for a new high school chemistry laboratory.

As an indication of the scope of the program in Washington, District school officials believe that their science and mathematics equipment requirements will be covered adequately during the 4 years of the Education Act.

Only 8 States had 11 supervisors in science before the act took effect. Now 24 States have 34 science supervisors. An even larger percentage increase took place among State staff members whose duties are to consult with local school authorities in mathematics instruction. The States also have set up courses to train teachers in the use of new science and mathematics equipment.

In addition, teaching of the sciences in the private schools has been substantially aided by Federal loans for the purchase of science and mathematics equipment.

One of education's problems has been to prevent the waste of talent by finding outstanding students in the Nation's 25,000 public schools. Through proper guidance, these able students can be persuaded to exert their best efforts in school by taking challenging courses and then they can be encouraged to seek a college education.

A major reason why approximately 100,000 topflight high school students do not continue their education is that probably less than half receive adequate guidance and counseling. Dr. James B. Conant's recent report on the American high school stressed the importance of correcting this situation.

FOR HIGH SCHOOL AIDES

Last summer, under the Education Act, 50 short-term institutes were conducted by various universities for 2,200 high-school counselors. This experience in improving the qualifications of these counselors for their specialized duties was so successful that next year 70 summer institutes will be held.

The $60.5 million of college student loan funds in the new act and already allotted by the Federal Government, is likely to have an explosive effect by converting students to pay for their education on credit. Although the detailed figures are not yet available to substantiate this view among educators, they expect that the 1,400 recipient institutions, representing 88 percent of our total college population, will drain this new source of loan funds.

Money is given to the States according to their full-time college enrollment and, in a revision of previous policy, will be granted to each college on the basis of need. The Federal Government puts up $9 for each $1 from a college.

The program's popularity has surprised many educators, for only 4 years ago the total lending operations of all colleges and universities was less than half the amount the Federal Government supplied in the past academic year.

It remains, to be seen whether the $1,000 a student may borrow at 3 percent for 5 years will influence poor but able students to seek a college education rather than to go to work in order to support their families. Many educators believe it will mainly reduce the large number of good students who drop out of college for financial reasons. In addition, a loan will enable college students to spend more time on their studies rather than taking so many part-time jobs in order to meet expenses.

FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

The act's graduate fellowship program, aimed at reducing the shortage of qualified college teachers, got under way last month when 1,000 fellows out of 6,000 applicants took up residence in 123 graduate schools. Each fellow receives $2,000 plus $400 for each dependent. The students are intentionally spread throughout the country in order to strengthen the smaller graduate schools and take the pressure off the large universities.

At present only 10 graduate schools grant 38 percent of all Ph.Ds. $2,500 per graduate student is granted to each institution to help finance the additional expense. Although the program is not directed toward science, nearly half of the graduates are working in scientific and technical fields.

In administering the act, the Office of Education has attracted as many educators of national reputation as its pay scale, in many cases below comparable jobs in some States, would permit. The office's personnel was increased by 300 to a total of about 1,000 in order to operate the program.

Man of the South for 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, on December 14, 1959, the Man of the South Award for 1959, made by Dixie Businesss magazine, of Decatur, Ga., was presented to Hon. Norman A. Cocke, chairman of the board of Duke Power Co., at a banquet held at the Country Club of Charlotte, N.C. One of the speakers of that occasion was Hon. Reuben B. Robertson, former Deputy Secretary of Defense, the president of the Champion Paper & Fiber Co., who was himself honored as Man of the South in 1950.

In his remarks, Mr. Robertson paid tribute both to Mr. Cocke and to Hon. Hubert Lee, who has for 30 years been editor of Dixie Business magazine.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of Mr. Robertson's remarks be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TRIBUTE TO NORMAN A. COCKE, MAN OF THE SOUTH FOR 1959, BY REUBEN B. ROBERTSON, THE MAN OF THE SOUTH FOR 1950

At the outset of my remarks I want to express cordial thanks to Col. Hubert Lee for 30 years editor of Dixie Business of Decatur, Ga., for his initiative and for the friendly human interest which led him to organize the plan by which flowers are handed to the living while they are still able to enjoy them. He has carried forward the plan almost single handed for nearly 15 years. Obviously time, effort and dollars are involved in gathering the nominations, arranging the balloting and supervising the awards; with Colonel Lee it has been a labor of love. He has had no reward other than the satisfaction of knowing that he has done something that makes life more stimulating and more interesting for those who live in the South. I believe the verse written by Burton Braley expresses well the human motive that lies back of this project of Colonel Lee: "More than fame and more than money is the comment kind and sunny and the hearty warm approval of a friend, for it gives to life a savor and makes you stronger, braver and gives you heart and spirit to the end. If he earns your praise bestow it—if you like him let him know it. Let the words of true encouragement be said—don't wait till life is over and he's underneath the clover for he cannot read his tombstone when he's dead." In a world full of turmoil and anxieties we often allow our feelings of friendliness and generous admiration to lie dormant, unexpressed.

Such meetings as we are having tonight provide opportunity for the expression of the good will that is in us. We enjoy an adventure in kindness.

The man whom we are honoring tonight is, from whatever angle you look at him, a successful man—successful in the handling of the great diversity of activities that have been entrusted to him. In public utilities, educational institutions, hospitals, natural resources and in the spiritual realm we see the results of painstaking, intelligent, conscientious effort backed by sterling character. All of us here have enthusiastically supported the idea of honoring our greatly admired friend through the token award of Man of the South. In honoring him we are really at the same time honoring ourselves, for we are putting ourselves on record as recognizing and supporting the finest and most elevated principles of American life. With one exception, I can say without fear of contradiction, that all of those who in the past have received the Man of the South award are men of distinction and richly deserved the honor which came to them. Each represented a special field of endeavor and each was outstanding in that field. Norman Cocke's record of achievement is unique in that he has been outstanding in such a wide range of activities. The living members of this group of award recipients, men like Ernest Kurth, Thomas Martin, Senator Wilton Hall, Donald Comer, Robert Jones, C. Hamilton Moses, Bishop Arthur Moore, A. Dee Simpson, and Frank P. Samford will enjoy honor by association as their names are coupled with that of Norman Cocke.

As an industrialist I have always liked the verse entitled, "The Thinker," which goes:

"Might of the roaring boiler,
Force of the engines thrust,
Strength of the sweating toiler,
Greatly in these we trust.
"But back of them stands the planner,
The thinker who drives things through,
Back of the job the dreamer,
Who's making the dream come true."

Such a man is the one to whom we give honor tonight. Success has come to him in unusual degree—he has used that success in modestry and humility to better the lot of his associates as well as that of his fellow citizens in his city, his State and Nation. He has dreamed dreams but has had the practical skill and perserverance to make those dreams come true so we say to Norman "Vaya con dios and hasta la vista." May the good Lord bless and keep you 'till we meet again.

German Wave of Anti-Semitism Viewed as a Symptom of Resurgent Nationalism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRIS B. McDOWELL, JR.
OF DELAWARE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Speaker, dismay and apprehension is being expressed in a number of European countries about the wave of anti-Semitism which is sweeping over Germany. The memory of the recent past of World War II, and the anti-Semitism which paved the way for it, is fresh in the minds of millions of bereaved families.

Here in our own country the memories of millions of our citizens who fought in World War II against the terror unleased by Hitler's legions are all too fresh to let the new rise of German nationalism pass without notice.

American aid has helped restore Germany to an economic prosperity ahead of most of those European countries who were our allies in World War II.

Now U.S. military leaders and the President are planning to provide Germany with nuclear weapons.

It is high time that the President and the Congress review this matter of German anti-Semitism and resurgent nationalism. A survey taken for the U.S. High Commissioner some time ago showed about 38 percent of the Germans questioned acknowledged anti-Jewish attitudes, and the survey report said "it would appear distinctly unsafe to conclude that anti-Jewish tendencies characterize less than a majority of the West Germans."

Our concern with Soviet power in Europe and the world must not cause us to lose sight of the threat to peace and our way of life which a new rise to power of nazism in Germany would bring about.

The United States has fought in two World Wars within a single generation in which Germany was arrayed against the West and our own country—and millions of our young people suffered and lost their lives in these holocausts.

It is high time the President and the Congress gave thought to this situation, and considered whether economic and military assistance in the massive proportions which we have given Germany has not, indeed, contributed to this German resurgence. Easy wealth and affluence which does not stem from the labor of a people may be more harmful than good. If study shows that our economic and military assistance is making a contribution to the present sad events in Germany then we must reconsider the matter of continuing such assistance before it ends in a third world disaster. In any event, we must not continue to drift in a situation which is daily growing worse.

I include several items from the New York Times which documents the present grave situation with which we are faced:

[From the New York Times, Jan. 4, 1960]

NEW ALARM IN BRITAIN—GERMAN WAVE OF ANTI-SEMITISM VIEWED AS A SYMPTOM OF RESURGENT NATIONALISM

(By Drew Middleton)

LONDON, January 3.—A cartoon on the front page of the Daily Express pictured a plump German dusting the tunic of an S.S. uniform. The caption was from Heinrich Heine: "A Tale of Long Ago That I Cannot Get Out of My Mind."

The cartoonist, Osbert Lancaster, thus reflected some of the dismay and apprehension aroused in Britain by signs that anti-Semitism remains endemic in West Germany. The news from Germany seems to have affected more people in Britain and to be taken more seriously here than elsewhere among the West Germans' allies.

The serious popular concern about Germany, partly instinctive and emotional, embarrasses the British Government. Prime Minister Macmillan and his ministers see the maintenance of unity as one of the chief problems facing the Atlantic alliance in a period of negotiation with a superficially friendly Soviet Union.

They already face considerable opposition on the left to any movement toward providing West Germany with nuclear weapons. Now the latent fears of the middle class about Germany have been intensified. Any Conservative government here must be responsive to the feelings of the middle class.

At this juncture, criticism of Germany can no longer be ascribed, as it often has been here in the last decade, to envy of higher German living standards. A consumption boom has put the British ahead of the Germans when material comforts are measured in terms of cars, television, food, and clothing.

ANTISEMITISM NOT KEY ISSUE

Nor can the British feelings be put down to immediate disgust at anti-Semitism. Britain has her own anti-Semites, although the disease is by no means so widespread or so deeply ingrained as it is in Germany.

Both the Government and public opinion deplore the anti-Semitic acts that have occurred here. These are regarded largely as the work of Sir Oswald Mosley's Fascist group, but the police say they also are attributable to irresponsible young persons infected by examples from abroad.

The chief basis for the present British concern about Germany is the fear that the anti-Semitism there is only one aspect of the worst side of German nationalism, which cost Britain and the Commonwealth just under 4 million casualties in two World Wars.

The psychological effect of their experiences in these two conflicts has left the British much less ready than the Americans to accept the Germans as allies and much more receptive to the half-formed, instinctive thought that "the Germans are the enemy."

Probably because of this ingrained sentiment, the British are less surprised, although more concerned, about what is happening in Germany now. Early in 1953 British occupation authorities arrested Dr. Werner Naumann, an unregenerate former Nazi, in an effort to nip a revival of the National Socialist ideology among the Germans.

GERMAN ATTITUDES SURVEYED

About the same time, a survey taken for the U.S. High Commissioner's office in Bonn shed some light on anti-Semitism in West Germany.

The survey, entitled "A Yearend Summary of Rightist and Nationalist Sentiment in West Germany," noted even then a growth of anti-Jewish sentiment.

About 38 percent of the Germans questioned in the survey acknowledged anti-Jewish attitudes, and the survey report said "it would appear distinctly unsafe to conclude that anti-Jewish tendencies characterize less than a majority of the West Germans."

A majority, the survey found, believed that the Germans need neither feel guilty for what was done to the Jews during the Hitler regime nor responsible for righting those wrongs.

FEAR OF SOVIET IS DECLINING

Apprehensions over Germany's future conduct were balanced in Britain, especially among the middle and upper classes, by the fear of Soviet military action during the cold war.

The lessening of the Soviet threat, slow and uneven though it has been, has allowed the British to take a more consorious attitude toward their new allies in Bonn. Germans in London often assert that this criticism is inspired and aggravated almost entirely by the left wing.

Yet no German eager for better relations with Britain can discount the suspicion and distaste for his country that exists in the middle class. It was this class that was affected the most by the two wars. Much of the resentment at the changes in British society that brought about its eclipse have been transferred to the Germans.

[From the New York Times, Jan. 5, 1960]

TOP BRITISH JEWS GET NAZI THREATS—THREE MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT WARNED BY CALLERS—BONN EXPRESSES CONCERN—DESECRATION SPREADS

(By Drew Middleton)

LONDON, January 4.—The counselor of the West German Embassy expressed to the Foreign Office tonight his Government's deep indignation at the desecration of synagogues and private homes in West Germany by paintings of swastikas and Nazi slogans.

Dr. Fritz Caspari's assurance that his Government would do its utmost to bring those responsible to justice coincided with another eruption of anti-Semitism in Britain.

An unnamed spokesman for the British Nazi movement called the Press Association, Britain's chief internal news service, to say that a number of prominent Jews had been selected as hostages.

"Every time a German nationalist suffers by the action of the Adenauer government under pressure from the Jews," the caller said, "one prominent Jew in this country will suffer likewise."

THREE MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT THREATENED

Three Jewish members of Parliament and one former Member of Parliament have been victims of anonymous telephone calls. Sydney Silverman, Member for Nelson and Colne, was told he had been selected as a victim. Mr. Silverman hung up at that point.

The British Nazi movement also telephoned the homes of Dr. Barnett Stross, Labor Member of Parliament for Stoke-on-Trent, Janner, Labor Member of Parliament for Leicester Northwest, and Ian Mikardo, former Labor Member of Reading.

"They kept me awake half the night, the blighters," said Mr. Mikardo, who is a leader of his party's left wing.

Swastikas were daubed on six shops owned by Jews in Chapeltown neighborhood of Leeds, on the Royal Bath Hotel at Bournemouth and on a watchtower near Bolton in Lancashire.

The attitude of the police in the areas concerned and at Scotland Yard is that the incidents are largely the work of hooligans infected by the German example. But the National Council for Civil Liberties said it was "deeply disturbed" at evidence that there were people in Britain "prepared to support the Nazi program."

"We now call on the public to assist the authorities in their efforts to stamp out the evil, which brings shame on the British people," the Council's statement said.

Members of the Jewish community in London were upset by the revival of anti-Semitism. They saw it as the worst outbreak since the autumn of 1947, when anti-Semitism was fed by fighting between Jews and British troops in Palestine.

There was reassurance for them, however, in the bitter criticism of British anti-Semites that appeared to pervade official circles and the unofficial but powerful body of opinion that makes its view felt in pubs and clubs.

VIGILANTE JUSTICE URGED

BONN, GERMANY, January 4.—A private vigilante type of counterterror was one of the measures urged in West Germany today to combat anti-Semitic vandals.

The appeal found no support among responsible authorities, but the somewhat dazed search for a solution of the renewed problem of anti-Semitism continued to agitate the country.

The call for vigilante justice on the ground that only Nazi-type methods can work against Nazi-type ideas, came from two mass-circulation newspapers.

Federal officers appeared to be thinking more in terms of arranging a parliamentary debate on the daily incidents that have occurred since the Cologne synagogue was defaced Christmas eve with swastikas and anti-Jewish slogans.

Some politicians cautioned, however, against provoking more incidents by surrounding the problem with the publicity from a full-scale debate in Parliament. The attitude of the parliamentary leaders was to await the results of investigations now underway before deciding on a debate.

Reports of new acts of vandalism came from West Berlin, where the police broke up a Nazilike songfest of 25 students Saturday night; Bingen in Central Germany, Marl in Westphalia and Echterdingen in North Wuerttemberg.

NEO-NAZI STUDENTS ASSAILED

BERLIN, January 4.—West Berlin student leaders demanded today the expulsion of neo-Nazi members of the League of National Students from the city's universities.

The move came after the Rightist league staged a Nazi-type torchlight parade Saturday night in which about 25 youths marched behind a swastika flag and sang Nazi songs.

[From the New York Times, Jan. 6, 1960]

JEWISH UNIT SEES NAZI RESURGENCE—AMERICAN COMMITTEE, IN TALK WITH BONN'S ENVOY, SAYS BIAS PERILS FREEDOM

(By Irving Spiegel)

WASHINGTON, January 5.—Leaders of the American Jewish Committee said today at a

meeting with the West German envoy that West Germany was plagued by a resurgence of nazism, Nazis in high government posts, and Fascist leaders from Hungary who have found a haven in Germany.

These charges were detailed in a strongly worded report presented to Ambassador Wilhelm Grewe. They named the Hungarians said to be involved in helping to foment the Nazi-like agitation.

Herbert B. Ehrmann, president of the 54-year-old committee and head of the four-member delegation, said to Ambassador Grewe that Germany, "as in the past, is serving as a focal center of infection for anti-Semitism, which is being spread by sick, susceptible bigots" in other parts of the world.

The recent anti-Semitic incidents in West Germany "threaten not only Jews but all free people," he declared.

In his first public statement on the issue, Ambassador Grewe said after the hour-long meeting at the Embassy that he disagreed in part with the committee's report on the current Nazi resurgence. The report was based on information from the committee's European offices.

Mr. Grewe declared that neo-Nazi elements were not strong enough in his country, financially or in numbers, to organize the anti-Semitic effort. He attributed the appearance of the swastikas on houses of worship, particularly synagogues, to irresponsible, youthful elements seeking publicity.

COORDINATION HELD POSSIBLE

He said that these incidents "might have been coordinated," but not on West German territory. However, Mr. Ehrmann said the incidents indicated a disease.

He said that former Nazi criminals still were in public office. On this point, Herr Grewe said that his government, through its laws, removed such persons.

The Ambassador took the view that there were many causes for the recent behavior but conceded he could not point to any single cause as the major one.

In the delegation with Mr. Ehrmann were Frederick F. Greenman, chairman of the agency's national executive board; Ralph Friedman, chairman of its foreign affairs committee, and Dr. John Slawson, executive vice president.

The "large number of Nazi criminals in prominent government positions, in the courts, schools, and armed services," the report said, "have helped create a climate of opinion in which the crimes of Hitler are often minimized and the general impression prevails in Germany that, while the former Fuehrer may have committed some excesses, he contributed to the nation's welfare.

The report scored the "extraordinary leniency by some judges" in dealing with neo-Nazi crimes and warned against what it termed "widespread public sympathy for antisemitism." It called attention to the recent merger of seven neo-Nazi youth groups into a single movement of 40,000 members.

Further, it criticized the West German Government for not having outlawed the German Reichs party as "totalitarian, anti-democratic and anti-Semitic."

The report named Ulrich von Rudel as the leader of the party. For 10 years he guided an international anti-Semitic publication, Der Weg, published in Argentina.

The report named Ferenc (Franz) Fiala, a former Hungarian Nazi leader, as one of the heads of the Hungarian group involved with the German Reichs party. After World War II, Fiala was sentenced to death as a Nazi criminal in then democratic Hungary but escaped to Germany during the Hungarian Communist uprising.

The document charged that Hungarian Nazi group in West Germany and Austria under Fiala's leadership include three former Nazi puppet generals, Andras Zako, Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnsk and Arpad Heney, all of whom were appointed by the Hungarian Nazi leader Ferenc Szalasi during the war. Szalasi was executed.

Nazi propaganda, the report continued, is also being conducted within West Germany Lajos Marshalka, Istvan Alfoldi, and Dr. Kalman Rattkay, former Hungarian Nazi party members. Three Hungarian Nazi weekly publications, with strong anti-Semitic propaganda, are published in West Germany, the report said.

Of particular concern, the report emphasized, is the "almost complete ignorance of the majority of German youth regarding the Hitler period." The document cited a survey indicating that 9 out of every 10 students in the 15-to-17-year group either "know nothing about nazism, or believe that, on the whole, Hitler was good for Germany."

The committee leaders and the Ambassador agreed that a long-range educational program was needed to instill a consciousness of the Nazi period.

Since its establishment, the American Jewish Committee, which has its headquarters in its new building at 56th Street and Third Avenue in New York, has been devoted to combating bigotry and discrimination and safeguarding the civil and religious right of Jews.

BONN IS URGED TO ACT

Seven national Jewish organizations declared last night that "Germany remains the breeding ground of anti-Semitism." They called on the West German Government to "take fundamental social measures" against such infection.

Evidence thus far, they said, does not indicate that recent anti-Semitic acts around the world were "the result of central planning or direction," although such events were called cause for concern and close attention. U.S. incidents, they said, appear to be the work of cranks and hoodlums imitating German examples.

The seven groups are the American Jewish Congress, Jewish Labor Committee, Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A., National Council of Jewish Women, Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America, and United Synagogues of America.

Their statement said there was no occasion to doubt the sincerity of the West German Government in its denunciation of anti-Semitic acts and its measures taken against perpetrators. But the statement added that former Nazis occupied positions of power in the Government.

They complained that no systematic efforts have been made to educate the German people away from the racist and fanatically nationalistic ideologies of nazism, and said German schools were especially deficient in this regard.

In Orange, N.J., Rabbi Joachim Prinz, president of the American Jewish Congress, said the anti-Semitic activities around the world might be part of a coordinated effort to demonstrate that a formal anti-Semitic movement still flourishes.

Rabbi Prinz said that this was the strong suspicion of Jewish leaders with whom he had talked by telephone in London, Paris, Stockholm, and Buenos Aires and that it was indicated in reports from Germany and elsewhere.

INTERNATIONAL PLOT SUGGESTED

TEL AVIV, ISRAEL, January 5.—Minister of Justice Pinhas Rosen said in the Knesset (Parliament) tonight that an international conspiracy might be behind the rash of anti-Jewish manifestations.

Mr. Rosen acknowledged that there was no definite proof but he said there was no other explanation for the series of acts in various countries. He also noted that the German language had been used in several instances.

The Way of Integrity in TV

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President. The searching examination to which programing in the television industry is currently being subjected as a consequence of the quiz show exposures has demonstrated the need for a set of standards of ethics to govern the industry. The public's indignation and shock at the disclosures of dishonesty and deception have presented a moral issue which concerns all of us. In this connection, I have found the sermon of Rabbi Ben Zion Bokser, spiritual leader of the Forest Hills Jewish Center, Queens, Long Island, on the ethical lesson to be learned to be especially cogent and moving. I ask unanimous consent that the sermon be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the sermon was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE WAY OF INTEGRITY

(By Rabbi Ben Zion Bokser)

There are many books of philosophy which deal with the issues of ethics and morality. Life's greatest lessons, however, are learned in the school of experience, our own experience and the experience of other people. I propose to discuss the moral situation of our time, and I would like to do so by reference to the experiences of two men. One lived long ago in the days of the Bible; his name was Noah. The other is a contemporary, a teacher of literature and a TV quiz winner; his name is Charles Van Doren.

There is no need to review the details in the sad story of Van Doren's rise to fame and his fall from it. I feel sad in dealing with this unhappy story, because I know the Van Doren family. The father of Charles has appeared in the Eternal Light summer radio program, which I am privileged to edit. He is a person of great wisdom and I have deep affections for him. I know how much he has suffered. The younger Van Doren is a stranger to me, but through the father I feel as though I know him also. He is a brilliant young man who had the world open to him, and now he has seen his name covered with shame. I speak with sympathy and not with anger.

Charles Van Doren was the chief participant in a hoax on the American people. He allowed himself to be presented before the country as the know-it-all of learning, but the whole thing was a fraud. And then when the truth began to come out he continued to proclaim his innocence before the TV audience and before a grand jury. He confessed when he had no other way out.

Let me say, however, that I regard him not only as a perpetrator of a hoax but also as its chief victim.

The producers and their associates, the sponsors and their public relations managers tempted him. They promised him fabulous riches and they talked him out of his

moral scruples. But they are not the only ones who must share in his guilt.

Judaism teaches to look further for the context of wrongdoing. In the confession of sins, we recite on Yom Kippur and on other days during the year we say: Ashamnu, bagadnu, we have offended, we have been treacherous. The question is why this is stated in the plural rather than the singular since this is the individual's confession. And the answer is that it is to teach us the collective responsibility we all face in whatever goes on in society. Whenever any person offends or is treacherous, everyone must search his heart as to whether he has not shared in it.

What tempted Van Doren? He spoke about a service to education as one of his motives. I think this was a rationalization, to satisfy a troubled conscience. Even if the quiz shows had not been rigged, this was not a service to education. Education does not consist in the knowledge of an odd assortment of facts. Education consists in the knowledge of how to find truth, how to think through problems.

Why did the people follow these programs with such excitement? Some, no doubt, felt they were having an educational experience; they saw learning in action. But others watched it as they watch a boxing match. It was a fight, egghead pitted against egghead. And they received the vicarious thrill of watching someone get rich. It satisfied their own hidden wish to get something for nothing, to get rich in a spectacular and dramatic fashion. Mr. Van Doren agreed to become an actor in this drama not to promote culture, but to promote himself, as he reluctantly admitted before the congressional committee. He was tempted by the offer to get rich quick.

The worship of fame and riches as the highest goals of life is unfortunately part of our society, and it cuts deep into every aspect of life. Ever since I remember, congressional committees have been investigating corrupt practices in public life and they have found corruption wherever they have turned, in politics, in labor, in big business, and in little business. Did not an assistant to the President, Mr. Sherman Adams, resign under fire because he was exposed as corrupt and dishonest? A hundred other witnesses on the TV quiz scandal lied before the grand jury. Mr. Van Doren's action was not unique. It was within the pattern of the low morality which prevails in the land.

I live in a sheltered world and I do not know all the pressures of life, but from where I sit I have seen ample evidence of the depth of corruption in all walks of American life. I have been offered bribes to recommend a particular band of musicians for weddings, to say a good word for a particular childrens' camp. I have been invited to pay cash rather than by check and save money on the sales tax; I have been offered money to give my name as editor of an encyclopedia without having to do any editing; I have been invited to falsify costs of repairing my car in order to cheat the insurance company. The people who made these offers were fine people. They made these offers because everybody or nearly everybody is doing the same thing, because they do not regard fraud as evil.

I would like to refer to the other character whose experience I regard as vital to our problem, Noah. This is what the Bible tells us about Noah: "Noah was a righteous man, whole-hearted in his generation; Noah walked with God." The rabbis wonder why the text adds the phrase "in his generation." One answer is that it is to set forth the true measure of his greatness. He lived in a generation that was deceitful and corrupt. Nevertheless, in that generation he mustered the strength to be righteous. And when he spoke he was wholehearted. The word "wholehearted" has the same meaning as the Latin "integer," which also means whole. This Latin word gave us the English term "integrity." This was Noah. He lived in a corrupt generation, but he was a man of integrity.

We say this of Charles Van Doren. The fact that we live in a corrupt world does not condone his action. He should have known better. I do not mean to throw stones at him. In his confession he said that, alas, the past cannot be changed. It is not true. In Judaism the past can be changed through true penitence. Every man can redeem himself if he wills it sincerely, deeply.

But I have preached this sermon not for Van Doren's benefit, but for ours.

We are all tempted on occasions to transgress morality for the sake of advancing our status, our power, our wealth. We are tempted to do it because we know everybody else is doing it. Let this be a lesson to us. Everybody can be wrong. We don't need to be a conformist to evil. The test of a man is in his strength to say "no" to attractive propositions. Our ideal is not the weak man who succumbs but the strong man of whom it is said that he was a righteous man, a man of integrity in his generation.

Let me add one word more. The Biblical description of Noah adds "Noah walked with God." It is a helpful footnote to the story. Noah was strong to resist the temptations of his world because he felt that God was close to him. Morality has weakened in our time because the sense of God's presence has declined among us. If we are not accountable before God, then anything goes as long as we can get away with it. But we are accountable before God and He sees our misdeeds even when no one else sees us. Van Doren's confessions opened a window to the soul of a man under God's judgment. For 3 years he has had no peace, he said. I believe it. One of the reasons our generation is often so troubled and mentally sick is because it is being smitten by a God of judgment who demands integrity and chastises corruption. Tranquilizers will not give us peace, but integrity will.

We shall be strengthened to meet the test of the world's temptation by being strong in our sense of God's presence. Let us walk with God in our hearts and then we shall do what is right even in our generation.

Dr. Robert O'Neill, a Great Montanan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I believe most of us in the U.S. Senate will agree that far too often a public expression of appreciation for an individual's contributions or talents is withheld until retirement or even death.

This fall an energetic community in my State, Roundup, Mont., took upon itself the task of showing its doctor, now in the prime of his medical career, how much it has appreciated his services for the past 20 years. The local residents organized Dr. Robert O'Neill Day on November 27, 1959. It was their way of showing how they feel about Dr. O'Neill and how much they appreciate his 20 years of service as the community doctor and outstanding civic leader.

This is an example of the fine spirit these folks have. The Roundup community has had more than its share of economic bad luck in recent years because of depressed mining conditions. However, they have a great will to move ahead, and Dr. O'Neill has been a major voice in this public spirit.

I am especially pleased that Dr. O'Neill was so honored, for he is one of my closest friends. This is a friendship of many years, one that I shall cherish for many years to come.

I again wish to extend my very best wishes to Dr. and Mrs. O'Neill and their two fine daughters. It is indeed heartwarming to find a situation where there is such a mutual admiration as between the O'Neills and the Roundup community.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have two newspaper articles printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, one from the Decemher 6, 1959, issue of the Great Falls Tribune, and the other from the December 13, 1959, issue of the Montana Standard.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Great Falls Tribune, Dec. 6, 1959]

ROUNDUP PAYS TRIBUTE TO DR. R. T. O'NEILL

(By Louise Rasmussen)

ROUNDUP.—About a thousand friends and well-wishers gathered at the Roundup High School gymnasium Friday evening, November 27, to pay homage to Dr. Robert T. O'Neill on his completion of 20 years of service to the community.

O'Neill has endeared himself to the Roundup area, not only through his unselfish, faithful ministrations to the sick and aged, but for his service to the community in many other ways. The community is presenting almost $1,800 in cash to the Roundup Memorial Hospital as a living memorial to its doctor.

An interesting program was presented for O'Neill with William S. Mather acting as master of ceremonies. There was an unusual sidelight to the program. Dr. O'Neill is Democratic county chairman and Mather the Republican county chairman.

Mrs. Sid (Marybelle) Smith of Billings, a lifelong friend of O'Neill, told of the doctor's early life in Anaconda. She described the eventful days of their childhood in the Smelter City's "Goosetown," in the shadow of St. Peter's Catholic Church and the Anaconda Co. smelter stack.

A nun, Sister Dominica, inspired O'Neill to study medicine. He started his college education at Gonzaga University, Spokane, and completed medical training at Creighton University, Omaha.

Others who spoke during the program were Dr. Paul J. Sullivan, of Billings, a classmate of Dr. O'Neill at Creighton, and Father Patrick J. Morgan, pastor of St. Benedict's Parish at Roundup.

Dr. O'Neill has always had an active interest in sports, from boxing and basketball in his younger days to golf and fierce partisanship for all of the Roundup High School activities. He also sponsors a comic basketball game each year for the March of Dimes, in which he usually plays and many times has been high-point man.

Dr. and Mrs. O'Neill came to Roundup in 1939 from White Sulphur Springs. Their two daughters, Sharon and Kathleen, were graduated from high school here and from Montana State University in 1959. Both girls now reside in Yakima, Wash., one teaching school, the other a pharmacist at the medical center there.

Congratulations were presented by Dr. R. E. Smalley, of Billings, a former Roundup resident, and Dr. Herbert Caraway of Billings, immediate past president of the Montana Medical Association. Congratulatory telegrams from Senators JAMES E. MURRAY and MIKE MANSFIELD were read.

In O'Neill's short talk, he said the evening had left him with the sincere desire to practice here until his days are done. He paid tribute to the late S. A. Crouse of Musselshell County, calling him the greatest doctor he ever knew. Following his talk, the crowd gave him a standing ovation.

Musical entertainment before and after the program was presented by Nat Allen of Ryegate at the organ and Ralph Gildroy at the piano.

[From the Montana Standard, Dec. 13, 1959]

ANACONDA BOY MAKES GOOD—PARTY IN ROUNDUP HONORS PHYSICIAN

More than a thousand people of Roundup and vicinity turned out recently to honor Dr. Robert T. O'Neill, a native of Anaconda, as he rounded out 20 years of service in that community. About half those present had a special reason to honor the good physician. He had assisted in bringing them into the world. But there were numerous other reasons to pay tribute to Dr. O'Neill. He has been a fine citizen in the Roundup community.

We think the people of Roundup showed exceptionally good judgment in staging a party for their doctor. Doctors are getting scarce in Montana and elsewhere in the West. As the population grows, they will be even more difficult to find.

A report just completed by the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education (WICHE) gives us the lowdown.

Entitled "The West's Medical Manpower Needs," the report lists two major conclusions:

1. The 13 Western States must substantially expand their nine existing medical schools and set up at least three new schools.

2. Planning for such expansion must begin now, since it takes 8 years or more to build a new medical school and graduate new physicians.

Three Montanans are on the commission. They are Dr. Frank McPhail, of Great Falls; Dr. Gordon Castle, a member of the faculty of Montana State University, and Paul Working, Wilsall.

The report showed that the entire West had a ratio of 137 doctors per 100,000 population in 1957. But in Montana the same year the ratio was 95 doctors per 100,000 population.

It was recommended that the establishment of a regional medical school would probably work well for Montana, Wyoming, and Idaho since the population growth of these three States is expected to be slower than other Western States.

In its peak year of 1950, Montana had 31 freshmen in all medical schools, but in 1957 the number had dropped to 24. And the report indicated that the outlook is for a continued decline in the number of Montana medical students entering schools. There were some 20 medical students eligible to attend medical schools last year but the legislature allocated enough money to send only four, the report indicated.

Moreover, it is getting more and more difficult for young men aspiring to become doctors to gain entrance in out-of-State medical schools. Other States have enough such students to fill their own schools to capacity.

The Roundup Record-Tribune had this to say concerning Dr. O'Neill:

"It is a privilege to live in a community where some individual builds a little snowball with an idea, and that idea turns out so good that the whole community rolls and pushes it and suddenly what do we have—a new hospital, a new high school, a new church, community TV, and now a very successful Dr. O'Neill Day."

It would seem that money spent in educating a medical student is indeed a good investment. And it is certain that another Anaconda boy has made good.

Dictatorship for U.S. Civil Aviation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. President, there is growing alarm among private and business pilots in this country over the arbitrary attitude toward civilian aviation taken by the Federal Aviation Agency. An editorial on this subject is contained in a December release by the largest and one of the most outstanding organizations representing private and business pilots, the Aircraft Owners Pilots Association. The editorial also points to the obvious broad delegations of authority in the Federal Aviation Act passed in 1958, which make the arbitrary exercise of powers possible by the Federal Aviation Agency.

I commend the editorial to the attention of my colleagues and ask unanimous consent to have the release printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

First year's operation of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 has revealed that civil aviation in the United States has been placed in the hands of a dictatorship with little right of appeal from its decrees, the AOPA Pilot says editorially in its December issue which is now being distributed. The Pilot is the official magazine of the 75,000-member Aircraft Owners & Pilots Association (AOPA). Text of the editorial follows:

"We've had just about a year of the FAA now. Because it so closely affects everything about our flying, we've watched it with care, sometimes with concern, sometimes with approval. One thing is certainly true: the FAA is a lot different from the old CAA, or any of its predecessors. It's aggressive, tough, forthright, fast-acting, and—above all—virtually the mirror of its Administrator, 'Pete' Quesada. It's also well on its way to becoming one of the biggest Government bureaus in the history of the country.

"AOPA has praised Quesada and the FAA on a number of occasions. We've criticized them on others. Now that we have a year's work behind us we think we can look at the FAA fairly objectively, and reflect on the overall results.

"From a broad, overall point of view, we don't like much of what we've seen. We like even less what we think we can see ahead. Because it's quite clear now that civil aviation is in the hands of a dictatorship. This is not to say that Mr. Quesada is a Hitler; far from it. He's one of the nicest guys you'd want to know, as are most of his people. He's been helpful, considerate, and we've yet to find that he 'speaks with a forked tongue,' as the Indians put it.

"It's the basic law which makes FAA the dictatorship it actually is. It's not the fault of Quesada & Co. that they have almost unlimited authority to do what they please, virtually without question. It is the fault of the Federal Aviation Act—specifically, the Members of Congress who slid this act into being while giving the impression they were somehow saving the civilized world from absolute and total destruction.

"We see now, a year later, that civil aviation must have an absolutely independent source of appeal from arbitrary or capricious acts of FAA officials. We saw it a year ago, but foolishly let ourselves get talked out of it in a general aviation meeting—as did every other major civil aviation organization except one: the Flying Farmers. Their president held out to the bitter end, and we're ashamed to say that we encouraged him to go along with the majority and stop insisting on a source of appeal from the acts of the FAA, a source something like the CAB used to be when we had the CAA.

"Looking back on this year, we feel that this lack of unbiased appeal is the greatest single need. We now have many instances on the record in which FAA officials have acted arbitrarily and with frequent disregard for the facts. In airspace matters they tell all and sundry that they and they alone can and will make decisions for us all, and all of us have been fighting for the past year just to get their permission to sit in a room (as we used to do once a week) and discuss airspace problems, all of which are of daily and pressing concern to all users of the airspace.

"Most glaring of this year's case histories to AOPA, of course, is the arbitrary manner in which the FAA has railroaded into being the new medical rules. They didn't care a damn what anyone else thought, they said so frankly, and ordered the new rules into being with hardly a shred of factual evidence to support their actions—another fact which they candidly admit.

"FAA officials insist, of course, that we do have constitutional safeguards. One of these they talk about so much is called the Administrative Procedure Act, which requires all Government agencies to give the people affected by their acts a chance to be heard. The FAA complies with this. Once you've been heard they ignore you—but they've complied with the law. Only other recourse is the Federal courts. Best legal advice AOPA can get is that this is a hopeless business, from a practical point of view. The courts, we're told, will merely see to it that FAA abides by the law. They will not challenge, for example, the position of the newly created Civil Air Surgeon on heart conditions, diabetes, or nervous disorders. Under the old CAA, civil aviation did have an appeal, and the CAB invariably overruled CAA officials when it appeared they were being arbitrary and capricious. The CAB was staffed with aviation people competent to judge, something the courts cannot do.

"As we see it, this lack of practical safeguards makes the FAA a dangerous distatorship. Mr. Quesada is friendly and understanding. But the next man may not be, and the abuses could treble overnight. Granted, the old democratic processes do slow things down, while affected people discuss and debate. But that's the principle on which our country was founded, and neither the FAA, nor any other branch of the Government which is supposed to be serving the people, has any business changing that. Ahat's why AOPA has joined with the Air Line Pilots Association in objecting to the

arbitrary manner in which the FAA has said it intends to ground airline pilots after age 60. The special problems of airline pilots do not concern us—but arbitrary rulings, and the refusal to substantiate such rulings publicly and with facts, do concern AOPA.

"Fundamental changes in the Federal Aviation Act are needed. The FAA is not omniscient. It must be held accountable to the people it serves, and the law of the land must assure this. As Thomas Jefferson said: 'When a man assumes a public trust, he should consider himself as public property'."

Cobb Creek Reservoir, Okla.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT S. KERR
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. KERR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a news item entitled "Dam Finished, Users Saving Half Million," which appeared in the Anadarko Daily News on December 4, 1959, and an editorial on the same subject which was published in the same newspaper on December 9.

This news item tells about the completion of the Cobb Creek Reservoir, which will serve as a source of water supply for Anadarko, Okla., and other municipalities, as well as supply water for irrigation of approximately 12,000 acres of land.

The work that was performed by the Bureau of Reclamation in constructing this project is exceptional, and the Bureau is to be congratulated on the fine work they did and the economies they made possible to keep the project under the estimated cost.

The news items was the subject of an editorial of December 9, 1959, under the byline of Wallace Kidd, and the editorial says some very complimentary things about the personnel of the Bureau of Reclamation and the way in which they entered into the community life of the city of Anadarko. Both the article and the editorial should be of interest to those who are interested in the operation of this Department of our Federal Government.

There being no objection, the article and editorial were odered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Anadarko Daily News, Dec. 4, 1959]

DAM FINISHED, USERS SAVING HALF MILLION

The Fort Cobb Dam has been completed, it was announced today by C. O. Crane, Washita Basin project engineer for the Bureau of Reclamation.

Not only that, but the water users have already saved over half a million dollars on their repayment contract with the Government.

Crane said the Cook Construction Co., which built the dam, had completed the work at a cost which was over $160,000 below the bid price and over half a million dollars below the repayment contract the water users, Fort Cobb, Anadarko, and Western Farmers Electric Cooperative, signed with the Government.

That means, he said, that the water users will have that much less to pay back before the dam and reservoir become theirs.

Actual work on the dam was completed November 16 and Crane wrote the construction firm a letter of acceptance for the Government on November 19.

Today Crane received the release on contract signed by Cook.

Notice to proceed on construction of the dam was given on February 11, 1958, and the company had 700 calendar days in which to complete the job. It used only 643 days.

During that time 512,044 man-hours of work went into the dam and the company's payroll poured $1,178,532 into the area economy.

The dam is about 5 miles north of Fort Cobb on Cobb Creek. It is 101 feet high and 9,800 feet long, containing 3,740,000 cubic yards of dirt fill. The reservoir capacity is 142,600 acre-feet of water.

Cecil Tackett, the Bureau's field engineer on the job, is now slated for transfer to the San Angelo, Tex., project, and will leave for there in the latter part of January, Crane said. Crane said other Bureau personnel who have worked on the dam project will now work on the aqueduct.

He said Wayne E. Stewart had been employed as caretaker of the dam by the Fort Cobb Master Conservancy District and would move into the house at the dam about December 14.

Control of the entire project will be turned over to the conservancy district officials when the aqueduct is completed and delivery of water begun.

In regard to the half million dollar saving for the water users, Crane said that was just on construction of the dam itself and said other savings were being made on Bureau overhead and aqueduct construction as well as on many other smaller items, and these, too, will reduce the repayment contract.

[From The Anadarko Daily News, Dec. 9, 1959]

NOT KIDDING

(By Wallace Kidd)

If you expect to hear someone complain about the continual waste of money in government—and you most certainly can expect it—reach back behind the waste basket for your December 4 issue of the Daily News. There you'll find a story about the completion of the Fort Cobb Reservoir, companion project to the Foss Reservoir, of the Federal Bureau of Reclamation Washita project.

Sure, everyone knew the reservoir would be completed, though the majority doubted it would ever be started. "So," you say, "there must be some other reason than that for saving a clipping from the December 4 Daily News." And you're so right. The reason that clipping should be saved is to remind you that there are government agencies and independent contractors dealing with government agencies who are interested in saving taxpayers' money.

Down in black and white, where you can know exactly what the fellow said, is a statement from C. O. "Spike" Crane, Washita project engineer, which says the Fort Cobb Reservoir has been completed in 57 less days than scheduled and at a cost of over $160,000 below the bid price. Do you realize what that means? It's a savings of over a half million dollars below the repayment contract agreed to by the residents of Anadarko and Fort Cobb and Western Farmers Electric Cooperative—an industry without whose agreement the Washita project might well have never happened.

That's a strange twist to much all of us have said about Government projects and about all agencies which spend taxpayers' money. And it's a fine thing to note. It puts confidence at the local level into something that probably deserves more than any of us have given in recent years—the Federal Government.

Here in this area we've come to appreciate and consider the Bureau of Reclamation a part of the community. Its employees have become active in civic organizations, churches, school activities, youth work. Now we find on record a performance that brings added worth to having these people as our neighbors and friends. Fort Cobb has found the same experience with the Cook Construction Co. employees as well as those assigned by the Bureau of Reclamation. It's an experience contrary to much that has been planted in the public's mind by cynics and those without actual experience with Federal agencies and contractors dealing with those agencies.

We have benefited from the presence of these reclamation project workers in recent months. We'll continue to benefit from their performance for the full repayment period of the project.

Language Training in Armed Services of Strategic Importance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. President, for some months the Defense Department has had under consideration a move which could drastically curtail the work of the Army Language School at Monterey, Calif. In this connection, I invite the attention of my colleagues to an excellent article in the Army-Navy-Air Force Journal, written by Col. James L. Collins, Commanddant of the Army Language School. In his article Colonel Collins does a most convincing job of pointing up the strategic importance of placing greater emphasis on language training in our armed services. With the Soviets giving priority attention to training thousands of linguists, I agree with Colonel Collins that "much more need to be done, and time is at our heels."

I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Army-Navy-Air Force Journal, Jan. 2, 1960]

LANGUAGE SCHOOL CHIEF STRESSES STRATEGIC NEEDS; CITES SOVIETS' GREAT EFFORT

(By Col. James L. Collins, Jr., U.S. Army Commandant)

In recent months the U.S. Army Language School has been the object of congressional and military interest unprecedented in its 18 years of service to the Army and the national defense effort. The consensus of most observers has been that the school can and should play a significant role in Government language training, an area where strategic considerations are becoming more important than the educational ones.

It is a strategic area because the U.S.S.R. has devoted great effort to the training of skilled linguists who introduce Soviet methods and ideology to the uncommitted third

of the world. In countering these military and propaganda gambits this country, the Army included, must produce people who can get our Western ideas and ideals across. This requires a knowledge of the language and thought patterns of the peoples with whom we are dealing. If we fail to do this we cannot discharge the responsibilities of free world leadership to which we have fallen heir.

The Army alone has men, money, and materials in 70 different foreign lands yet only about 1 out of 30 of our thousands of military and civilian representatives abroad can even carry on a passable conversation in the language of the country in which they are living. Almost everyone who has studied the problem agrees that language training is of the same order of importance as the technological race.

WORLD'S FINEST

In the midst of the diverse speculation on, among other matters, the future utilization of the Army Language School—an institution generally acknowledged by scholars the world over as the finest place for language study anywhere—it might be worthwhile to outline the circumstances which gave rise to the ALS.

The school is the outgrowth of the Military Intelligence Service Language School (MISLS), which, in 1941, was conceived in secrecy by a small group of imaginative Army officers, who recognizing the threat of war between Japan and the United States, were convinced of the need for an intelligence unit equal to the language test.

After an exhaustive search of a narrow field of possible instructors, these officers decided that it was from among the Nisei in America, the second generation of Americans of Japanese descent, that the faculty and trainees might be found and prepared for the work ahead. Thousands of these young men were screened but only a scant few were suitably proficient or had the background to absorb the intense training needed to meet the challenge.

On November 1, 1941, the school was opened in an abandoned hangar at the Presidio of San Francisco's Crissy Field. There were 60 students and a handful of instructors. Forty-five men were graduated in the first class.

CRACK ENEMY BATTLE PLANS

These "guinea pig" language specialists were instrumental in translating the Imperial Japanese Navy battle plans, which proved to be a major factor in the U.S. Navy dealing the Japanese Fleet its worst defeat in naval history off the northeast coast of the Philippines. Likewise, the complete Japanese plans for the defense of the Philippine Islands were made known through the work of early graduates.

Moved to Camp Savage and later Fort Snelling, Minn., MISLS was an established service school by autumn of 1944 and had turned out some 1,600 enlisted graduates, 142 officer candidates and 53 officers, nearly all of whom were Nisei. By June 1946 the school had graduated more than 6,000 men who served in some 130 different Army, Navy, and Marine Corps units and on loan to our allies. Many were attached to the Joint Intelligence Center, Pacific theater, with headquarters in Hawaii. Ten-man teams of linguists were selected for headquarters assignments with more than a score of infantry divisions in the Pacific. Other language teams were assigned to the Joint Intelligence Collecting Agency, which later combined with British intelligence to form the Southeast Asia Translator and Interrogator Center in New Delhi. Groups were assigned to Merrill's Marauders, Mar's Task Force, Far Eastern Air Forces, and to the Headquarters of the China-Burma-India theater.

ORANGE CRATES TO TV

Since its establishment at the Presidio of Monterey, Calif., in 1946, the school has grown from its primitive state in 1941, when it had orange crates for desks, to a well equipped institute complete with a wide array of teaching aids. These include electronically equipped, ultramodern language laboratories and a closed-circuit television system.

Widely used in World War II, the linguist is of equal if not greater importance to the modern Army and the Army of the future. Today 28 languages are taught at the school, ranging from Arabic and Albanian to Ukrainian and Vietnamese. Also represented on the curriculum are more common languages like French, German, Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese. Yet these languages do not occupy the preeminent place accorded them at most civilian colleges. Russian and Chinese claim the energies of almost half the student body.

Nearly 1,800 students ranging from colonel to private, come here each year from all walks of military life. This month, on October 23, the 25,000th student was graduated. He symbolizes the millions of hours of intense, 6-hour-a-day language instruction over nearly two decades. That man is Sfc. Simon Ramos, a student of Arabic of the 77th Special Forces Group at Fort Bragg. A cursory glance at the names on the graduation roster which bracket his reveals the wide requirement for military personnel skilled in foreign languages.

In Sergeant Ramos' class were several young enlisted college graduates destined to become translators and a lieutenant colonel who will report for duty with the U.S. military mission to Saudi Arabia. Ranked No. 4 academically in a class of 11 students, Sergeant Ramos, to the casual observer, is not readily or logically identifiable with the average student one might encounter in a typical college Arabic class. A career soldier, the 27-year-old paratrooper belongs to a unit organized in response to the new military doctrines which in turn are the outgrowth of nuclear weapons and advanced concepts of modern warfare. Today's Army demands highly skilled professional military forces of great mobility, capable of operating anywhere on the face of the globe. Nuclear combat will involve not only armed forces, but entire populations over widespread areas. A knowledge of foreign languages obviously has become an intellectual sidearm indispensable to the modern soldier. Not only his life but a vital mission may hang in the balance of his linguistic ability.

SERGEANT STUDIES ARABIC

A high school graduate, Sergeant Ramos could never have studied an exotic language like Arabic in secondary schools in this country. Had he gone on to college 10 years ago with the intention of studying that language, he would have been fortunate to find a half dozen universities offering a course in Arabic. Even then, unless he was an unusually gifted scholar, he could never have acquired the practical skills in the language which will be demanded of him in future military assignments.

Because of this situation, there is now an Army Language School, where practical work is geared to actual military necessities. Such realistic exercises as prisoner-of-war interrogation, map problems, document translation and intelligence techniques are used in language teaching. Quite naturally all of these are utterly foreign to language teachers in public schools and colleges.

TWENTY-EIGHT LANGUAGE DEPARTMENTS

To offer highly specialized training of this sort to men like Sergeant Ramos, the Army Language School has amassed a faculty that is as heterogenous a body of men as can be found anywhere. Nearly 450 civilians hailing from 40 different foreign countries, staff the 28 language departments now in operation. Among them are former generals, engineers and diplomats—even ex-royalty. Only a group of people like these can provide the kind of authentic language training for day-to-day realities which will help equip Army personnel to interrogate riflemen in Russian or map out impromptu battlefield strategy in German with an officer of that NATO member nation in the event of a Soviet-bloc attack in Europe.

But language requirements are not limited to combat application. For centuries countries throughout the world have been importing foreign experts to aid them in economic or military projects. America was one of the first nations to do this when, in 1777, Gen. George Washintgon brought Baron von Steuben to our shores to train the Continental Army. Today it is American technical teams that provide military know-how to friendly nations across the face of the globe. Nearly 40 percent of our Army is stationed in more than 70 foreign countries of the world.

Money talks, they say, or in this case military aid, but the billions of dollars we have expended have not yet proved to be bilingual. Because the dollars and complex defense weapons we make available to friendly nations obviously cannot speak for themselves, many Army officers and men who will staff our military missions and advisory groups come to the Army Language School each year to acquire foreign language talents. It is at the point of contact between the aid extended and the aid accepted where much of the success of the operation is determined. The point can either be an area of friction or an area of smooth understanding.

Fundamentally, it is a matter of efficiency and human relations; hence, there are increased requirements for key people to speak foreign languages. Qualified linguists are also needed by the many joint headquarters maintained by nations of the free world. The growth of the student body at the school, from 350 in 1947 to some 1,800 in fiscal year 1959, reflects these increased demands.

The practical fluency they acquire at the Presidio of Monterey will result in more efficient use of American equipment by Allied military units and, as a concomitant, considerable monetary savings. American commitments abroad are huge. We are allied with more than 40 natons of the free world. In addtion, we provide training personnel and material in support of some 200 Allied divisions. The reason for this far-flung system of national defense is, of course, collective security. But collective security pacts will mean little if Allied units cannot function cohesively.

Optimum efficiency can be achieved only if we have optimum communication at every level of operation; this goal can only be reached if we have technical specialists who can translate American military concepts and strategy not only into other languages but into other thought patterns as well.

TRAINING PAYS OFF BIG

The value of bilingual personnel is reflected in countless phases of operations abroad: there are questions of public relations in strange lands, of liaison, of international command—and ultimately down to such specifics as showing a Turkish or Chinese Nationalist technician how to repair tank treads. The relatively small cost of training artillery officers, ordnance men, and other specialists to speak a foreign language—roughly $2,200 for a 47-week course encompassing 1,380 hours of classroom work—is recovered thousands upon thousands of times over in the efficiency, good will and understanding that stem from their increased

ability to communicate with their foreign counterparts.

American private enterprise, always proud of its traditions in pioneering new management methods thinks so much of foreign language training that it has taken a page from the Army's manual of management philosophy in recognizing the importance of linguistic skills for their international representatives. The New York Times reported just a short time ago that "a great upsurge is taking place in the teaching of languages. Business concerns sending workers abroad want them on speaking terms with the people they deal with."

What is basically essential to American business interests is selling items of manufacture. The Army has, in addition to materiel, a far more important product to market: ourselves. Learning to understand our allies and making ourselves understood involves one of the subtlest problems yet to confront military commanders. With freedom the stake in the conduct of Army business, we can no longer rely on an Allied officer being able to understand English. What must concern us is: in what language does he think?

One of the chief malpractices we have to fight in our international military relations is the tendency to use ourselves as standards. Obviously, an American is no more a standard than is a German or an Indonesian, or any ethnic individual for that matter. We are engaged in a struggle to make ourselves accepted, everywhere in the free world, for acceptance by the uncommitted nations can mean life or death for us. To win friends and allies, and retain them, we must sell ourselves, our concepts and strategy, in terms of the other fellow's values. To do this we must recognize and understand his values, otherwise we can convince him of little.

The ability to offer full yet simple explanations of how we utilize our highly developed techniques becomes more imperative every day. Simply because our equipment is superior to most is not always sufficient reason for less developed countries to accept our aid, although many Americans, reared on efficient machinery, are hard put to understand the foreigner who could prefer less sophisticated Soviet methods and equipment to ours.

SOVIETS USE LOCAL VERNACULAR

Not all the Kremlin's goals involve moon probes and space stations. They, too, have realized the merit of foreign aid and are constantly busy making arms deals. Furthermore, Soviet Army training and maintenance is often more acceptable than ours, simply because Soviet representatives who know the native culture and languages are present to explain, in the local vernacular, operation and maintenance features of Russian equipment.

If we are to win the support of these uncommitted peoples through assistance and training, it is absolutely incumbent upon us to deal with them in a language they can understand—their own.

In this time of nationwide linguistic need, the Army Language School, apart from its basic mission of language instruction, has been called upon by civilian educators to provide guidance and assistance to those public schools endeavoring to establish more diverse and intensive foreign language curricula. Recently the San Francisco school system made an exhaustive study of ALS methodology and now language teachers there have adapted our techniques of instruction in elementary and secondary schools. In addition, educators from all over the world, as well as from this country, have come to the Army Language School to share in the educational findings this institution has made in 18 years of developing and perfecting intensive programs in foreign language instruction.

SCHOOL'S POTENTIAL TOLD

As its name implies, the Army Language School is devoted to the teaching of foreign languages. In recent years, however, the scope of work being done at ALS is steadily contributing to its potential as a center for comprehensive military activities in languages and linguistics. We have developed new language proficiency tests in 34 languages for use by the Department of the Army in surveying the linguistic skills of every man on active duty. It is expected that in the near future a battery of these tests will be required.

Also on our agenda of special projects is a heavy program in lexicography. The Department of the Army has rescinded some 14 foreign language technical dictionaries and the task of revising and updating these publications has been assigned to the Army Language School. The vast and complex task of research and writing involves glossaries, dictionaries, and manuals in Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, French, German, Chinese-Cantonese, Japanese, and Russian.

SPECIAL FORCES UNITS TRAINED

Early this year we trained the first of a group of teams from Special Forces units. Our program was modified to accommodate this group in an 18-week period. The first group comprised one officer and eight enlisted men who studied as a team. Similar teams are expected to take language instruction in the future.

Currently the Army Language School is developing a department of nonresident instruction, which will provide refresher training courses for use by linguists assigned to active duty and reserve units. Among those to profit from this service are military linguists at special units assigned to Fort Bragg, Fort Hood, and Fort George G. Meade.

The Army has made some prodigious efforts to fulfill its farflung responsibilities—a mission that has been in part accomplished with contributions made by this school, just as it has been aided in myriad other ways by many who read this article. But much more needs to be done, and time is at our heels.

International Cultural Exchange

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the fine results of our cultural exchange program in promoting international good will have been a revelation to all. The performing arts, at home and abroad, are a crown of our cultural life and achievement. For 75 years without fanfare, the American Academy of Dramatic Arts has gone on quietly providing sound and inspirational training in this field. President Eisenhower took note of the celebration of this birthday by sending a commendation. I ask unanimous consent to have the text of his telegram printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, D.C., October 2, 1959.

Miss FRANCES FULLER,
President, Director, American Academy of Dramatic Arts:

It is a pleasure to join in the observance of the 75th anniversary of the American Academy of Dramatic Arts.

This institution has provided training for a distinguished company of artists in the finest tradition of the American theater. With encouragement and discipline, it has helped them to develop their talents for the benefit of a great audience.

Congratulations and best wishes.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.

Wisconsin's Industrial Growth in 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM PROXMIRE
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, on December 21, 1959, Gov. Gaylord Nelson had the pleasant duty of recording publicly that Wisconsin in 1959 was experiencing the greatest record of industrial development since World War II, and possibly in the history of the State. Governor Nelson cited a report from the Industrial Development Division of the Wisconsin Department of Resource Development, which indicated that there had been at least 179 new manufacturing plants and expansions announced in 1959, and that a total of 12,000 new jobs had been created in the State.

I would like to put forward two reasons for this fine record of industrial growth. In the first place, Wisconsin is naturally attractive to industry. It possesses an abundance of the most important ingredient for successful industry, skilled labor. It is located near key markets, and is well provided with good transportation. In the second place, the Nelson administration is doing a fine job of providing a political climate which encourages industry to expand and flourish.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a statement on Wisconsin's industrial growth in 1959 be printed in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

Gov. Gaylord Nelson said today that a report from the industrial development division of the department of resource development indicated that 1959 would show the greatest industrial development in the years since World War II, and possibly the history of the State.

The report showed that there had been at least 179 new manufacturing plants and expansions announced in 1959. The previous high figure for which comparable records were kept was in 1956, when there were 152 new plants and expansions.

The 1959 expansions involved more than 5 million new square feet of manufacturing space and represented additional investment of at least $86 million. The 67 firms (of 179) which reported employee additions reported a total of 7,269 new jobs.

The division of industrial development, however, estimated that a total of 12,000 new industrial jobs had been created.

David Carley, director of the department of industrial development, reported to the Governor that "Wisconsin very likely exceeded the national average in total economic growth as indicated by personal income, percentage of labor force gainfully employed and announcements of investment in new plant and equipment."

Carley said that the report made today was preliminary, and that a final report on economic growth in Wisconsin during 1959 would be ready in February.

Carley presented the following comparison of plant expansion since 1955, when the division of industrial development was established in the Governor's office and records were kept:

Project	1956	1957	1958	1959
New industry	19	20	31	31
New branch plant, out-of-State firm	17	8	7	7
New branch plant, Wisconsin firm	23	8	3	10
Relocation in Wisconsin by out-of-State firm	2	6	6	9
Relocation in Wisconsin by Wisconsin firm, from another city	13	12	10	20
Additional new plants in same city, Wisconsin firms	17	15	18	32
Expansions of existing plants	59	33	31	70
Reactivation of old plants	2	0	0	0
Total	152	102	106	179

Governor Nelson said that although he and the department of resource development had been working to encourage the location and expansion of plants in Wisconsin, he did not claim credit for this growth.

"This report indicates that Wisconsin industry is healthy," the Governor said. "It is highly encouraging to those of us who believe in the future of industry in Wisconsin.

"Wisconsin, with its good schools and public services, its splendid reservoir of skilled labor and its opportunities for recreation and enjoyment of natural beauty, is a good place for industry. I think that more and more businessmen will realize that as time goes on."

Governor Nelson said he believes that as the work of the department of resource development takes effect, industrial growth will show an even sharper upturn.

Carley also said that Wisconsin ports, in the first full shipping year since the opening of the St. Lawrence Seaway, has handled an estimated 75 percent more tonnage than in 1958. Carley said that no figures were yet available on the number of jobs created by this upsurge in shipping.

Hon. Albert Conway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial which appeared in the New York Journal-American of Tuesday, October 27, 1959, with reference to Hon. Albert Conway, chief judge of the New York State Court of Appeals and one of New York's most distinguished jurists. I have been privileged to know Judge Conway for many years, and it is indeed fitting that this new honor has been bestowed upon him for he has given many years of dedicated service to the community. In addition to an outstanding judicial career, Judge Conway has been active in many civic, fraternal and charitable organizations. It gives me great pleasure to join in this tribute to a beloved Brooklynite—Judge Albert Conway.

The editorial follows:

JUDGE CONWAY

The first of what we hope will be many testimonials to his 46 years of public service will be tendered to Chief Judge Albert Conway of the State court of appeals, this evening.

Sponsored by the New York University Law Alumni Association, a testimonial dinner in the Towers Hotel will honor the jurist as "Citizen of the Year 1959."

It will salute his "outstanding humane public service and his coming retirement at the end of the year, when he reaches the statutory age of 70."

A Brooklyn resident, dedicated all his life to the betterment of the borough and its people, the Chief Judge is indeed deserving of the tribute.

Besides the post from which he will soon retire, Judge Conway served for 20 years as a supreme court justice, was a county court judge, State superintendent of insurance, and an assistant district attorney for Kings County.

He is chairman of the State judicial conference and was instrumental in reorganizing the State courts.

High on the list of his many fraternal and social activities in behalf of others was his service as president of the Emerald Association.

The New York University Law Alumni Association is to be congratulated upon its fine gesture toward this very deserving public servant.

The Political Impotence of Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PRESCOTT BUSH
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. BUSH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address entitled "The Political Impotence of Business," delivered by Robert L. Bliss, of Robert L. Bliss & Co., Inc., New York public relations consultants, at the annual convention of the Public Relations Society of America at Miami Beach, Fla., on November 4, 1959.

Robert L. Bliss has acquired his businessman's knowledge of politics by active participation in the political process. For the past 8 years he has been chairman of the Republican town committee of New Canaan, Conn., and has served 2 years on the State central committee of the GOP. Last August he served as chairman of the Arden House Conference on Business and Politics, and is active in development of the American Business Conference on Practical Local Politics, to be held next January 7 and 8 at the Hotel Roosevelt, New York City.

Mr. Bliss was invited to address the 12th national conference of the Public Relations Society of America this year on the general subject of "Business and Politics." The following remarks were delivered on that occasion.

From 1949 to 1956, Mr. Bliss was executive vice president of PRSA. He is a founder and one of the three American council members of the International Public Relations Association, a 15-nation group of international public relations executives with headquarters in London.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE POLITICAL IMPOTENCE OF BUSINESS

(By Robert L. Bliss)

THE FRUIT OF FAILURE

The greatest danger to the future of free enterprise is the political impotence of U.S. business. This impotence is self-induced. Corporate policy, historically preoccupied with near-term profits, has postponed the discharge of long-run responsibilities to the Republic. Foreclosure of this deferred obligation is threatened by the general failure of businessmen to engage as individual citizens in the political life of America. The consequences are obvious, and perhaps tragic.

Ideas and arguments of the business community are not weighed for their real worth in the decisionmaking debates that shape our society. On the contrary, the needs and reasonable requests of businessmen are generally ignored and business itself is a convenient target of abuse and punitive action by those who have political fish to fry. All this occurs because the business community is not adequately represented in the legislatures of the land—by businessmen.

DISSERVICE AND DISGRACE

Some 60 percent of the Members of Congress, for example, are lawyers; another 12 percent are educators. I defy you to tick off in 5 minutes the names of 10 Congressmen immediately and clearly identifiable as businessmen. The voice of business is not effectively heard in the deliberations of our democracy.

Our Constitution, nevertheless, provides an open opportunity for all major groups to elect able and articulate members to lawmaking bodies at all levels of government. Organized labor and the American farmer very properly take advantage of this opportunity; their members exert direct and positive influence on legislative decisions. Businessmen do not.

Every major group in our free society has not only a right but an obligation to make our Government in fact what it is in theory: a representative system. The conspicuous absence of business men in the public life of the United States at all levels is a disservice to the Nation and a disgrace to the business community. Active and dedicated participation by business men in American politics today is a national need of the first magnitude.

THE CHIPS ARE DOWN

Competitive free enterprise to generations of schoolboys and business men has meant our American system within which sellers vie for customers. But Mr. Khrushchev has changed all that. His flat statement—which no one for a minute should disbelieve—that the Communist system is going all out to prove itself the best in the world has added a vast new dimension to those three familiar words.

Today our free enterprise system itself is in competition, for keeps, with the Soviet system. We have begun a mortal struggle which may well decide the fate of democracy across the world, not by force of arms but by

force of economic competition. The chips are down; free enterprise had better be competitive—or else.

The businessmen of America are as deeply involved in this global conflict as are the managers of State-owned enterprises in the U.S.S.R. Communism is inseparable from the Soviet Union; free enterprise is inseparable from American democracy. Mr. Khrushchev has put U.S. business squarely into world politics with a vengeance.

No businessman henceforth can turn his back on the citizen duties which attach to all sons of this Republic. The world watches to see how well democracy and free enterprise can compete. History is building to another great climax.

DOES IT MATTER?

Like our own 20th century, the 1700's were years of political ferment, which culminated in the radical American and French Revolutions. Amid the decaying social order of that day, Jean Jacques Rousseau made an observation that all of us should ponder in our hearts during this similar time of ferment. It is this, and I ask you to remember it:

"As soon as public service ceases to be the chief business of the citizens, and they would rather serve with their money than their persons," he said, "the state is not far from its fall."

Is that the case with us today? Would we rather serve the Republic with our money than our persons?

I hope it may never be said that the businessmen of America defaulted on their citizen-duty, that their failure to participate in politics contributed to the fall of democracy. Surely that would be an ugly epitaph on the tomb of free enterprise.

Rousseau went on, inexorably, to add this: "As soon as any man says of the affairs of the state, 'What does it matter to me?' the state may be given up for lost."

None but a fool could say of politics in our time, "What does it matter to me?" It does matter. It matters right down to the roots of America.

THE FINGER POINTS

Political decisions affect the whole fabric and quality of our national life. They determine the basic environment in which business lives. Absence of businessmen from the councils of democracy robs the Republic of vitality; a full range of sound ideas ably advocated is essential to the decision-making process of society. What businessmen think has public importance because they manage the enterprises which create the national wealth.

Yet, when crucial decisions are being hammered out in the committees and on the floors of Congress, the State legislatures, and the city councils, where are the men of business? The educators, the labor leaders, the farmers, the lawyers, the segregationists, and the bleeding-heart liberals are there. But not enough businessmen to count.

Is this because they serve the Republic more with their money than their persons? The answer is "Yes." But if you ask whether they prefer it this way—if they habitually think, "What does it matter to me?"—my answer is definitely "No." Certainly businessmen are not short of the civic virtues; conscientious discharge of responsibility is their creed of conduct. Why, then, are they so rare in public life? The finger points at the corporation itself.

CHALLENGE TO THE CORPORATION

No family man without independent means can afford to enter public life if he feels that his livelihood will be endangered. Lawyers are legion in politics because their living depends on income from numerous clients. The typical businessman depends on one source—the company for which he works. And the blunt truth is that if he attempts to discharge his citizen duty by serving with his person one of two things is apt to happen, at best; either the boss marks him down as flighty and unfit for promotion, or his colleagues close ranks behind him and use his absence to advance their own ends.

Behind the failure of the businessman in his citizen duty lies the prior failure of the corporation to develop a permissive system under which he can engage in public life without damage to his livelihood.

Development of such a system is the most challenging problem of policy in the corporate field today. Its solution is as urgent as the need for adequate representation of businessmen in the decisionmaking bodies of our time.

It is not a simple problem; the answers must vary from company to company. But the answers do exist, and responsible corporations are beginning to work them out in the interest not only of business but of free enterprise.

BEWARE THE CANNED SOLUTION

Beyond the question of encouraging political participation by employees are the problems of what directions such encouragement should take. Here again the answers must vary from company to company and community to community.

A number of public-minded managements are owed a debt of gratitude by all U.S. business. They have had the drive to do something in the direction of greater political participation, instead of just talking about it. General Electric, Gulf Oil, Johnson & Johnson, Ford, Aerojet-General, to name a few, have had the courage to strike out and blaze new trails into the political wilderness.

I applaud their initiative and the example they have set. And I admire their conviction that the plans each company has made are the best for that company at this particular time.

Yet I want to insert here a note of caution to those companies which still are undecided about encouraging political participation by their employees, or are in doubt about what form such encouragement should take.

Beware of the canned solution. Beware of a pat and easy answer to your problems. Beware, in short, of any so-called packaged plan designed to fill the bill for all companies.

NO SOVEREIGN REMEDY

As a practicing political chairman in my home community for the past 8 years, I can assure you that no solution to any political problem is easy or perfect; politics is an art, not a science. But from experience I can assure you, also, that some solutions are a lot better than others.

The best solution to any type of problem is that which is devised, after study and analysis, by able and sophisticated people using their skill and good judgment to create a particular answer to the particular set of circumstances at hand.

What works for company A probably is not right for company B. Massage may be fine for Jones' Charley horse, but it will murder Smith's broken leg.

There is no sovereign remedy for all physical ills, and there is no universal cure for political aches and pains. Each company must develop its own specific remedy, its own political prescription.

RECIPE—NOT PATENT MEDICINE

Let me urge that you bend every effort to construct a really curative prescription, not just an easy panacea. Develop a long-range plan which fits your problems in your communities; set limited objectives within the overall plan; study your progress and improve your program as you go along. If you have any doubts, by all means call in an outside doctor to consult and help you write the prescription.

But don't take political patent medicine. Don't try for a quick cure with quack remedies that come in the large economy size.

Develop sophisticated solutions, tailored to fit your company. This should be done directly by top management, working with the best staff and consultative assistance available. And remember that any plan is just as good as the competence of the people who carry it out.

Don't turn the plan you make over to the house lawyer or the sales manager for execution. It's not in their line. If top management cannot supervise directly, your best bet probably is to put your public relations director in charge. He is skilled in the processes of our society, and his interests lie squarely in that area.

IN BOTH PARTIES

If U.S. corporations study, plan, and perform their obligations to encourage political participation by employees in both parties, the businessmen of America will respond. They will discharge their citizen duty by serving not only with their money but their persons, and thus will take their proper place in the legislatures of our land.

An early end to the political isolation of businessmen from the decisionmaking process of society is a matter of national need. Let us look toward this with enthusiasm, healthy skepticism, and hope. May it never be said that businessmen, through avoidance of public life, wrote the epitaph of free enterprise in America and, perhaps, of democracy in the world.

Foreign Aid Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM PROXMIRE
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the Milwaukee Journal has editorially supported the position of the distinguished junior Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD] and the distinguished junior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE] in their fight to secure for Congress evaluation reports on foreign aid programs. The Journal says, in part:

Congress is expected by the administration to vote funds for aid and military programs and is chastised when it cuts requests. But to vote intelligently Congress needs all the information it can get. And it isn't getting much.

Of course, the Milwaukee Journal is dead right on this issue. The administration should be on notice that this great newspaper has been as firm and constant a journalistic champion of foreign aid as there is in this country, recognizes that the secrecy policy of the administration on foreign aid may seriously endanger the whole vital program.

I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered printed in the RECORD as follows:

CONGRESS NEEDS FACTS ON FOREIGN AID PROGRAMS

The Eisenhower administration and Congress are again at odds over whether evaluation reports on foreign aid programs may properly be kept secret.

The President argues that reports on the working of aid programs in various countries prepared for his use and that of the International Cooperation Administration are executive papers and, therefore, not available for congressional use. He is, he says, willing to give Congress the facts in the reports but not the evaluation of those facts by the individuals making the reports.

The President has informed Senator MANSFIELD, Democrat, of Montana, to this effect, as well as Comptroller General Joseph Campbell. MANSFIELD, as a member of a subcommittee of the Foreign Affairs Committee, has been especially interested in the aid program in Vietnam.

MANSFIELD has just received the Vietnam facts from the International Cooperation Administration, but only after pressing for them constantly since last summer.

Campbell is interested in Iran and Thailand and also in Allied military strength in Europe and an evaluation of the plans and capabilities of the Turkish forces which get American help. This latter information has been denied by the Defense Department.

Campbell, whose job makes him the watchdog for Congress, points out that the law requires that he be given information by which to judge Federal spending programs and activities to enable him to determine whether money is being properly spent and waste is being avoided.

There must, of course, be some protection for executive papers. But something else is involved here. Congress is expected by the administration to vote funds for aid and military programs and is chastised when it cuts requests. But to vote intelligently Congress needs all the information it can get. And it isn't getting much. In the case of the Turkish and Allied military programs, Campbell has sought the information for a year. He has obtained neither the evaluation reports he wants nor the facts which the President says are available.

Senator GORE, Democrat, of Tennessee, a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, wants Congress to force the administration to provide the necessary information. Force shouldn't be necessary. The President has no right to expect Congress to approve programs about which it is kept in the dark. Nor should the public be kept in the dark.

Refusal to provide information may imperil programs that both the President and Congress have thus far considered necessary.

Will 1960's Prosperity Lull Us Into Complacency?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Evening Herald, Rock Hill, S.C., of Wednesday, December 30, 1959:

WILL 1960'S PROSPERITY LULL US INTO COMPLACENCY?

Two of the major questions facing the United States in the 1950's will be carried over into 1960.

The questions which must be answered in 1960 are:

(1) How much are we willing to spend on defense?

(2) Are we willing to get economically tough in order to get more defense for our money?

Despite three recessions in the fifties, the United States is prosperous. And hopes are high for greater prosperity in the 1960's.

However, there are dangers in prosperity. In this case, the danger facing a prosperous United States could be complacency toward our security.

Writing in the New York Times magazine, Barbara Ward said, "One universal temptation of riches is the temptation of the easy option. The immediate and obvious instance of this is the unwillingness of complacent and wealthy groups to take the stern steps necessary to protect their security."

To substantiate her warning, Miss Ward turned to history. She pointed out that "Cnossus, the rich and civilized capital of ancient Crete, fell in a night to the invading Mycenaeans because the rulers had not taken the military steps—which would no doubt, have entailed uncomfortable expenditure—to insure the safety of their luxurious way of life. Nor were the city states of Greece ready for the onslaught of Philip of Macedon—nor Imperial Rome for the barbarians from the north."

That is one thing the United States has to fear if the 1960's turn out to be as prosperous as predicted. We must not allow ourselves to be lulled into complacency by the search for and delight of wealth and prosperity.

As long as communism remains a threat to our way of life, defense spending will continue to be a necessary evil.

However, we can take some of the economic sting out of defense costs by cutting out some of the lax handling of defense money.

Defense spending is necessary. Financial laxity isn't—even in times of prosperity.

We see examples of the laxity within our defense system every day: Army transport planes tied up making regular flights, just like private airlines, whether needed or not; vast defense surpluses which result from overbuying. There are many, many other examples.

Some of the extravagances are big. Some laxity starts out innocently small but enough of it makes it big.

We are going to have to keep our guard up in the 1960's but we are also going to have to guard against extravagance weakening our defenses from within. We must use our wealth wisely.

Prosperity is one of civilization's major aims. Ironically, it has been the downfall of many highly civilized governments. History has shown us that. Will we take history's advice and remain strong in a period of prosperity? Or will we grow weak and complacent, wallowing in our riches?

That is one of many questions the 1960's should answer for us.

Inglorious Ending

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a penetrating column entitled "Inglorious Ending," written by Mr. Walter Lippmann and published in the Washington Post. Mr. Lippmann, as he so often does, goes to the heart of the matter, and I commend the article to my colleagues.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INGLORIOUS ENDING
(By Walter Lippmann)

The steel strike has been called off in a way which leaves the public without any means of determining whether the result is just or unjust, wise or unwise. It is evident that the companies lost the strike. But there does not exist any impartial and dependable report on the issues which enables anyone from the President down to know whether the companies have conceded more than they could afford to concede. For the President has steadfastly refused to countenance official fact-finding as the basis for a settlement. As a result, no one really knows what the Nixon-Mitchell settlement means.

The President, so he said last July, has been acting on the notion that there must be no Government intervention because "we have got thoroughly to test out and use the method of free bargaining." We have now had the test. What happened in the test? What happened was that the Government intervened in the person of the Vice President. He used the carrot for the union and the stick for the companies. He coerced the companies into yielding not all but most of what the union was fighting for. Moreover, it would appear, he induced them to agree that they will not raise steel prices until after the election. The strike was not settled by "free bargaining." It was settled by a political fix.

The President, whose mind has no doubt been on other things, seems never to have realized that in this struggle the process of free bargaining was exhausted very early in the day—almost certainly by July when the strike actually began. It was evident from the beginning that the two great monopolies were committed to a test of power, not to a process of bargaining. The test was which of them could hold out the longer against the other.

In July when the strike began there were reasons for thinking that the companies were the stronger. Their customers had large stockpiles. Labor unions were unpopular as a result of the McClellan exposures. The public was opposed to another round of wage-price increases. And there was some question whether Mr. McDonald was in solid control of his union. But as time went on the balance of power began to favor the union chiefly because, I imagine, it was increasingly evident that if Congress had to intervene to settle the strike, it would not be very tender with the companies. It is significant that the Nixon-Mitchell intervention succeeded because they were able to threaten the companies with the certainty of congressional action.

So we have come to a crude and embarrassing ending to an inglorious and mismanaged policy. I have reason to know that it is denied in official quarters that the strike could have been settled any earlier. But I think it is arguable from the record that a settlement on the Nixon-Mitchell terms could have been had at any time. All that was required was to give labor the carrot of the concessions and then to do to the companies what Mr. NIXON did to them, to use the big stick of a threat of special legislation in Congress leading to some kind of compulsory arbitration.

If the President had realized that the period of free bargaining had ended even before the strike began, the threatened strike could have been handled by measures which were rational, which protected the public

interest, and enlightened public opinion. By July there should have been an official factfinding report on the issues and official recommendations for the settlement. When that report had been debated, and a predominant public opinion had been formed about it, the next step would have been to enforce the findings by calling on Congress to grant the power to do so.

Presumably, it would not have been necessary to go so far as to call Congress into special session or to use the powers if Congress were called and the powers were granted. The Nixon-Mitchell deal shows that the threat to do all these things would probably have been sufficient.

In acting in this fashion the administration would have stood on the solid basis of an impartial report, and this report would have had to deal with the crucial question that Mr. NIXON has left up in the air. This question is whether or not the concessions to labor are inflationary in that they justify and require a rise in steel prices. If the report had found that the concessions were inflationary but that some smaller concessions would not be, the union would have been forced by the threat of compulsory arbitration to accept the lower terms.

All in all, we can be glad that the strike is not to be resumed. But there is nothing else to be glad about.

Rural Electric Co-op Folks Speak Out on REA Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, when 745 rural electric and telephone co-op delegates met in Des Moines, Iowa, this fall for the National Rural Electric Co-op Association's region 5 annual meeting, they passed a series of resolutions on the rural electrification program and related issues. These resolutions represent the thinking of leaders of 113 cooperatives serving some 345,658 consumer-members in Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin.

I have given careful consideration to these resolutions, which deal with problems that have a very real bearing on the welfare of the REA program in Wisconsin and in other parts of the country. They are the earnest expression of local co-op officials who are devoting a great deal of time and effort to be of service in the advancement of the many benefits of rural electrification in their area and across the Nation.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include these resolutions in the RECORD:

RESOLUTIONS OF NRECA REGION V ANNUAL MEETING

KERR-TRIMBLE BILL

Be it resolved, That we hereby endorse S. 1591 and H.R. 8, known as the Kerr-Trimble bill, which would establish such progressive statutory standards as are needed to return to Congress control over administrative agencies responsible for Federal development of multiple-purpose river programs, and the practices and procedures of such agencies.

ATOMIC ENERGY PROGRAM

Be it resolved, That we commend the action of the 86th Congress in authorizing the Atomic Energy Commission to construct two demonstration reactors in conjunction with municipal or rural electric cooperative plants and urge that further expansion of the atomic energy program be conducted so as to make the greatest benefits available to the people of these United States as the owners of atomic development.

CAPITAL BUDGET

Be it resolved, That we urge the Congress to adopt a capital budget for Federal Government fiscal operations that will clearly distinguish between operating expenditures and capital investment.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Be it resolved, That we endorse the vocational educational purposes of the George-Barden Act of 1946 and urge the authorization and approval of the full amount established by existing laws for vocational education in fiscal 1961.

COMMEMORATIVE STAMP

Be it resolved, That we respectfully petition the Office of the Postmaster General of the United States for the issuance of a commemorative stamp to reflect in appropriate and artistic design the improvement of living in rural America through the rural electrification program.

HEADWATER BENEFITS

Be it resolved, That we oppose imposition of any headwater benefit payment liability on Federal hydroelectric developments unless and until competent studies conclusively demonstrate that such legislation will not increase the cost of Federal power, result in the wasteful development of headwater reservoir sites or impair in any way the prospective authorization, financing, and construction of Federal water power developments; and unless and until it is clearly demonstrated that such legislation will in fact result in the development of additional economical firm power.

COOPERATIVE TAXATION

Be it resolved, That we oppose any increases in the cost of farming operation arising from proposed legislation to impose additional and punitive taxes on cooperatives.

FARM ELECTRIFICATION RESEARCH

Be it resolved, That we urge the Congress to continue and expand the services of the Farm Electrification Division of the Agriculture Research Service of the Department of Agriculture by appropriating $600,000 for fiscal 1961 and $900,000 for fiscal 1962, for all phases of research as it applies to the use of electricity on the farm.

REA INTEREST RATE

Whereas the Congress in enacting the Pace Act in 1944, in effect covenanted with the rural electric systems to provide a 2 percent interest rate in return for the systems' serving even in the most sparsely settled parts of their areas and the systems have provided such area coverage in reliance upon that covenant; and

Whereas a survey of the rural electric systems reveals that the present 2 percent interest rate on REA loans is essential if the rural electric systems are to continue meeting their responsibility of providing full, efficient and reasonably priced electric service; and

Whereas even with the 2 percent interest rate the number of rural electric systems failing to meet REA debt service standards has been increasing in recent years, reaching a new high of 166 in fiscal 1959; and

Whereas despite the foregoing, a number of bills have been presented to the Congress to increase REA interest rates and proposals have been made to send the rural electric systems to the Wall Street bankers for at least a part of their financing, without any study having been made, or any consideration having been given, to the effects of such bills and proposals upon the rural electric systems, and without making any studies of, or giving any consideration to, the inflationary effects of a raise in interest rates despite the opinion of many eminent economists that raises in interest rates are inflationary: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we urge Congress to oppose any and all proposals which would increase the REA interest rate and/or send the rural electric systems into the private money market for their financing, and we urge Congress to continue to give its fine support to the rural electric program which means so much to the people of rural America and to the country as a whole; and be it further

Resolved, That thorough studies be made by NRECA of all alternatives to Federal financing.

PREFERENCE CLAUSE

Whereas the Government of these United States has acquired ownership of great national resources in the form of the physical natural resources of our country and of scientific developments such as atomic energy developed by the patriotism and at the cost of the people of these United States: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we urge the Congress and the executive officers of these United States hold these national resources as a sacred trust for the benefit of all the people of this country in this and future generations, and not for the purpose of private profit; and be it further

Resolved, That we reaffirm our support of the preference doctrine whereby nonprofit electric distributions systems have a priority on availability of electricity generated at Federal dams as a positive discharge of governmental responsibility to return to the people the benefits of one of our national resources.

STUDY OF NATION'S WATER RESOURCES

Be it resolved, That we commend the Senate of the United States for its enactment of Senate Resolution 48 and urge the select committee constituted thereunder to give thorough consideration to the needs of the Nation for adequate supplies of low-cost hydroelectric power and energy and to the indispensable role which the development of such hydroelectric potential must bear in overall water resource utilization.

"PARTNERSHIP"

Be it resolved, That we oppose and condemn the so-called partnership doctrine as an unconscionable procedure whereby the Federal Government would assume the burden of construction of hydroelectric facilities into which profit-dominated utility groups would install the revenue-producing equipment and secure for their own selfish profit the public expenditures therein, together with the private appropriation of the benefits of our national resources.

MULTIPLE-PURPOSE WATER RESOURCE UTILIZATION

Be it resolved, That we urge the greatest development of those national resources capable of producing electric energy at low cost, together with proper uses and control of water resources of our country for the benefit of all people of these United States, but that we oppose any wasteful development of water or other resource in such manner as may occur if national parks or other single purpose type water resource development so restricts as to preclude the present or future development of any river basin on a comprehensive multiple-purpose basis.

"FIRMING" FEDERAL HYDROELECTRIC SYSTEMS

Be it resolved, That we urge the construction of such Federal transmission lines, Federal generating stations, contracts with other corporations for supplementary capacity as

will make available the maximum quantities of firm power from the Federal hydroelectric projects so as to secure for the Government the maximum revenue from such hydroelectric projects together with providing the rural electric customers of such projects with the maximum opportunity to fully utilize the national resources.

RURAL TELEPHONE PROGRAM

Whereas the cooperative phase of the rural telephone program is practically at a standstill; and

Whereas the loss of this competitive element in the program will eventually leave large areas without adequate telephone service: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we urge REA to do more in the field of promotion of rural telephone cooperatives in line with the language contained in the Senate Appropriations Committee report recommending appropriations for fiscal 1959.

RURAL ELECTRIFICATION ADMINISTRATION

Whereas the Honorable David A. Hamil has administered the REA act in such a manner as to merit the appreciation of the rural electric systems and the farmers of America; and

Whereas the farmer members of the rural electric cooperatives have in recent years received less and less for the products they sell and paid more and more for the products they buy, excepting only electricity provided through rural electric cooperatives; and

Whereas rural electric cooperatives are in essence the tools used by their farmer members and any increase in costs of electricity must be added to the already heavy costs of the farmer members: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we express our appreciation for Mr. Hamil's excellent administration of the REA act; and be it further

Resolved, That we deplore any spokesman for agricultural interests saying that farmers or their cooperative tools are "sitting on a gold mine."

APPRECIATION

Whereas it is only fitting and proper that we acknowledge the efforts and actions of those who have been of service to rural electrification: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we express our sincere appreciation to all those Members of Congress who supported and voted for the annual Department of Agriculture appropriations bill, the Humphrey-Price bill, the Aiken resolution, the public works appropriation, and the vote to override the veto thereof, and other measures of interest to rural electrification; and be it further

Resolved, That we express to Mr. Clyde Ellis, general manager of NRECA, and his staff our grateful appreciation of their splendid contribution to our program; and be it further

Resolved, That we commend Administrator Hamil and his staff for the fine assistance we have received through the publication of periodic reports of fatal accidents and the regular publication of accident information in the Rural Lines magazine and the freedom of travel he has permitted the members of his staff for attendance at statewide, managers and job training and safety meetings of employees throughout region V.

If Peace Were To Break Out-

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONARD G. WOLF

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, today in America, and perhaps throughout the world, the question of the economic effects on the world of a permanent peace is being considered. My good friend and distinguished colleague from Colorado, Mr. BYRON L. JOHNSON, was the author of a very thought-provoking article on this subject which appeared in the December 9, 1959, issue of the Christian Century. Because some Members may have missed this interesting article, I take this opportunity to commend it to them for serious reading at the beginning of this new decade in American history:

IF PEACE WERE TO BREAK OUT—A CONGRESSMAN FROM COLORADO ARGUES THAT THE UNITED STATES CAN DISARM WITHOUT PRODUCING A COLLAPSE IN THE AMERICAN ECONOMIC SYSTEM

(By Hon. BYRON L. JOHNSON, of Colorado)

The current discussion of disarmament carries a tragic undertone. The fearful ask, "Won't this cause a depression?"

The United States is currently spending $46.4 billion on its military program at home and overseas, encompassing mutual security, atomic energy, military construction, and the regular appropriation for the Defense Establishment. This represents almost 10 percent of the annual gross national product which amounted to $484.5 billion in the second quarter of 1959. The national income in the second quarter of 1959 was reported at $403.9 billion.

The Defense Establishment employs directly the 2,525,000 people who are in uniform and a civilian force of 947,600; defense production employs a comparable number. The economy of many communities is tied to defense establishment and defense production. It is not surprising therefore that many citizens express concern that disarmament would eliminate as many as 5 million jobs. They fear that disarmament would cause a severe depression. The persistence of this fear is indicated by the number and variety of audiences that have asked me about the consequences of disarmament. It does no good to argue that our national policy is not decided entirely by our own answers to the question raised by the prospect of demilitarization. The existence of the fear of economic collapse is a fact, and this fact is bound to influence the attitudes of the public and of some policymakers.

I

The fundamental question which must be answered first is this: Are the fears justified? If peace should break out, will there be a new depression? Perhaps you have also wondered about this question. As it happens, I have two reasons for answering the question with an unqualified "no." My first reason is basically personal, for I had to examine the disarmament issue—a very live one at the time—in 1944 as a Budget Bureau staff member. My second reason arises out of my work as an economist and a student of national income. Modern economists know what steps to take to adjust the economy of the United States to the cessation of war production and to general disarmament—and they know how to do this with a minimum of dislocation.

Let's first take a look at economic theory and then go back to examine economic history. Our annual national income is the total result of all the effective demands for goods and services in the market in the course of a year. This demand comes in part from households—for food, clothing, shelter, entertainment, medical care, transportation, etc. It comes from the business community in its demand for goods and services, both consumable supplies and capital plant. Finally, it also comes from government in the effective demand for public service at the local, State, and Federal level. This includes the demand for personal service, new capital plant, materials and supplies.

Any sharp reduction in the demand of any one of the three sectors—consumers, business, government—without a compensating adjustment in the other two will trigger some recession in economic activity. Similarly, a sharp increase in the effective demand for goods and services in any of these sectors without an offsetting adjustment in another sector precipitates expansion in the economy. This expansion will normally take the form of increased output. If, however, the economy is fully employed, then to attempt to expand one sector without cutting back another tends largely to create price inflation, rather than to increase total output.

The war period, 1939 to 1945, was a perfect illustration of the inflationary situation. The Federal Government increased its demand for goods and services in astronomical amounts without raising taxes by a like amount. Much of the money which it created to help finance the war was new money created by the banking system. The new money first triggered a recovery from the depression; then when full employment was reached in 1942, it set in motion a significant inflationary pressure.

Let's now take a quick look at the reverse of the process, using the period from 1945 to 1948 as our test case. Total Federal expenditures for all national defense activities amounted to $81.2 billion for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1945. While studying this period early in 1944, I thought it easy to predict what would happen. There were more than 12 million persons in the Armed Forces; it was assumed that most of these would be discharged, and that at least 8 or 9 million persons employed directly in war production would be released from their jobs.

The consequences of peace seemed obvious to almost every economist in Washington with whom I talked at the time. With impending sharp budget cuts and with almost 20 million people to be cut off from their war-related source of income, numerous authorities estimated that the level of unemployment would rise very sharply within six to nine months after the end of the war. The most optimistic expected 6 million unemployed; the pessimistic prophesied more than 12 million unemployed. It was recognized that the GI bill of rights, then being developed, would remove a few of the veterans from the labor market and put them in school. It was expected that some of the aged entitled to retirement would retire, and that some of the working wives would go back into the kitchen. (For some reason, our statistics on labor do not count housewives as employed persons unless they are paid by someone other than their own husbands.)

The businessmen had been queried as to how long it would take them to reconvert from wartime to peacetime production, and had replied that it would be a long period of transition—from 90 days to 9 months. Under these circumstances, some businessmen and economists fearfully foretold that the United States would experience a major recession following the end of World War II.

In 1944, it was difficult for many people to imagine a total Federal budget much larger than $20 billion. A few had predicted that the postwar budget might reach $25 billion. The Federal budget for all purposes in 1939 was $7.9 billion; a $15 billion to $20 billion estimate therefore seemed a high figure indeed. (In actuality the Federal budget after the war never fell below the 1948 figure of $33 billion.)

President Truman, you will recall, instructed Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson to bring the military budget down sharply, and Johnson complied. The Federal budget was cut by two-thirds in 3 short years. The Bureau of the Budget reports that total Federal spending was reduced from $98.4 billion in 1945 to $33.1 billion in the fiscal year

of 1948—a reduction of $65.3 billion. Major national security programs were reduced from $81.2 billion in 1945 to $11.8 billion in 1948—a reduction of $67 billion or about 86 percent. Total military personnel on active duty was reduced from 12.3 million on June 30, 1945, to 1.5 million on June 30, 1948. The table below summarizes these facts year by year:

TABLE I.—*Military budget and personnel, 1945–48*

Fiscal year	Federal expenditures for major national security functions	Military personnel on active duty June 30
1945	$81,216,000,000	12,294,647
1946	43,176,000,000	3,056,494
1947	14,368,000,000	1,601,683
1948	11,771,000,000	1,465,773

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Statistical Abstract of the United States," 1959, pp. 247-248.

II

What about the depression? Where was the depression? What happened? The table shows what happened by quarters for the period from V–E Day through 1948 to the gross national product, to the number of employed and to the number of unemployed.

Remember the wartime book in which a Vice President suggested a postwar goal of 60 million jobs? At the time the cynics hooted in derision. But Henry Wallace was really a piker; we had more than 60 million civilian jobs by June of 1947. Unemployment never reached the levels we feared.

TABLE II.—*Income and employment, 1945–48*

Year	Gross national product	Civilian employment in the United States	
		Number employed	Number unemployed
	Billions		
1945—March	$221.8	53,230,000	590,000
June	229.2	54,570,000	890,000
September	213.4	51,400,000	1,650,000
December	197.1	51,160,000	1,970,000
1946—March	191.7	52,460,000	2,700,000
June	197.0	65,360,000	2,570,000
September	207.5	57,050,000	2,070,000
December	218.6	56,310,000	2,120,000
1947—March	226.4	56,060,000	2,330,000
June	228.3	60,055,000	2,555,000
September	227.9	58,872,000	1,912,000
December	243.8	57,947,000	1,643,000
1948—March	244.9	57,329,000	2,440,000
June	250.2	61,296,000	2,184,000
September	254.9	60,312,000	1,899,000
December	260.8	59,434,000	1,941,000

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Handbook of Labor Statistics," 1950, p. 35.

How did this development take place? What became of the prophets of doom and gloom of 1944 and 1945? What happened to the warworkers who said on V–J Day, "I suppose this means I lose my job?"

In the first place, the businessmen converted from war to peace more rapidly than they had anticipated they would. In the second place, the backlog of demand by consumers for goods began to express itself immediately. Third, the tremendous supply of liquid assets (Government bonds, cash, savings accounts) in the hands of consumers and businesses provided funds with which they promptly sought to buy more goods and services. Specifically, total bank loans amounted to $28 billion on June 30, 1945, while those for August 26, 1959, were estimated at $129 billion. This represents an increase of 460 percent. In other words, all elements of the American economy—consumers, businesses, and government—worked together to employ additional resources for producing the goods and services desired in peacetime, and this outpouring of effective demand accelerated the process of reconversion. The warworkers found peacetime jobs. Many servicemen found satisfactory employment; others returned to school. Some housewives went back into the kitchen, and some of the aged retired.

Does this experience have any meaning for our present situation? I am reminded by the fearful that our circumstances today are not identical. For example, there has been no rationing, no priorities on housing, and no credit restraint. Many circumstances associated with World War II do not now pertain. Yet this is not the whole story.

While there has been no rationing or priorities to limit output, we still have not built enough houses to keep up with the growth of population and the loss of houses that comes with obsolescence, fire, slum clearance, and new highways. Business firms, in face of the high interest rates now prevailing, have not extended their capital plants as freely as many of them would like. We still have shortages of municipal waterworks, sewage treatment plants, and hospitals for our rapidly growing urban population. Every householder can think of a number of things he would like to buy if he had the necessary income.

We financed much of World War II by borrowing, so that postwar cuts in spending did not permit an immediate cut in taxes. We are financing this year's national budget entirely out of taxes. Therefore, if we could now reduce the level of spending, we could simultaneously reduce the level of Federal taxes. This would immediately increase the funds available to consumers and to business firms for new purchases of capital items and other goods and services.

I am sure all of us would be very happy to have a tax cut. Everyone can quickly think of the things that, as a result of this cut, he would buy with the extra income left in his pocket. Interest rates ought to come down at the same time; then State and local governments would increase their construction of the necessary public facilities.

Thus, if peace were to break out, it would not require a major effort on the part of the Federal Government to restore prosperity. But if such an eventuality did require Federal action, the form of the action would not be hard to imagine. We are now using grants-in-aid in fairly large amounts to build highways. A generous increase in grants-in-aids for public construction would give rise to substantial additional employment.

Similarly, an expansion of Federal services in the fields of health, education, welfare, and recreation would be most welcome. It goes without saying that one of our greatest needs today is the construction of adequate school plant facilities to meet the vastly expanded and still skyrocketing pupil enrollments. And some demographers claim that our population will double in the next 50 years. An acceleration of the present program of urban renewal would permit us to revitalize the American cities now decaying at their core.

III

Finally, if peace were to break out, we should certainly devote a larger portion of our national income to the works of peace. These include greater participation in the education and development of the so-called underdeveloped economies. A program of oversea investment would help provide constructive employment for millions of Americans, both at home and abroad.

More liberal and expanded foreign trade would be another part of this adjustment to peace. Business and agriculture must increasingly produce goods for foreign countries. The more Americans buy from other countries, the more other countries will be able to buy from us.

The results of diarmament therefore should be these: (1) a more peaceful world; (2) the devotion of a larger portion of our national budget to constructive and creative public services; (3) the expansion of the commercial sector of the American economy to provide a wider variety and a more generous supply of goods and services for the people of America and of the world; (4) a higher standard of living for the American consumer; (5) an international campaign to eliminate hunger, disease, illiteracy, and poverty from the face of the earth.

If peace were to break out, there should be a new era of prosperity, here and elsewhere. History is on our side in this argument. If peace should break out, if disarmament should come, and we still fail to accomplish these goals, it will be because we do not have the will to accomplish them.

The necessary financial and economic institutions and techniques are available But they will only be used if we have the wisdom, the faith, and the courage to use them. Certainly every Christian agrees that Jesus Christ came that we might have life, and have it more abundantly. Every constructive step toward that more abundant life deserves our support. The fearful and those of little faith may be among the real stumbling blocks to the accomplishment of the new opportunities of peace. Be ye numbered not among them. Let history, logic, and faith sustain you in undertaking and pursuing the paths of peace.

Montana Indian Is Historian

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, on occasion I have spoken to the Senate about the journalistic talents of one John Tatsey, news columnist on the Blackfeet Indian Reservation. Recently my attention was directed to one of the State's historians living on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation.

John Stands-in-Timber, of Lame Deer, Mont., has been described as "one of Montana's truly outstanding historians." John is a 75-year-old Cheyenne Indian who has been collecting the history of his people practically all his life. He has been writing stories since he was a young man, and storytelling is John's favorite pastime. Stories of the Cheyennes at war are among his most numerous. His stories include many accounts of famous battles against white soldiers.

John Stands-in-Timber has had an active life. He has been a major influence in tribal council matters, he has been a rancher for many years, and his travels have even taken him into show business. He is active in his church, and he is a stanch believer in education for the younger people, their only recourse to progress and improvement.

John is a walking encyclopedia on the history of the northern Cheyenne Indians, and we would indeed be fortunate if more of it were put down on paper.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have an article from the November 29, 1959, issue of the Great Falls Tribune printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STANDS-IN-TIMBER WRITES CHEYENNES' HISTORY—75-YEAR-OLD INDIAN OUTSTANDING HISTORIAN

(By Margot P. Liberty)

LAME DEER.—In a small log cabin overlooking the Indian agency town of Lame Deer lives John Stands-in-Timber—one of Montana's truly outstanding historians.

Now 75 years old, although he doesn't look it, John is a member of the Cheyenne Tribe of Indians, and he has been collecting their history practically all his life.

"My grandparents started me," he says. "They raised me—I was an orphan—and they used to visit other old folks often. They talked Cheyenne history the whole time, and I used to stay right there, even when I was very young. I loved to hear them." Later, on his return from Government schooling in Kansas in 1905, John began writing down the stories, an activity he's been busy with ever since. Today with coworker Margot Liberty he has collected much of his material into a manuscript on Cheyenne history, now in the hands of a publisher.

Storytelling is John's favorite pastime and stories of the Cheyennes at war are among his most numerous. His stories include many accounts of famous battles against white soldiers.

"My grandfather, Lame White Man, was killed in the Custer fight, one of seven Cheyennes who fell that day but the only Cheyenne chief," he'll tell you.

"I showed them the place at Custer battlefield and a marker is there now, telling about it."

Then, with a twinkle, he adds, "They didn't put up too many, for Indians."

Lame White Man was not the only Custer fight participant whose story John knows well. Many others have given him their accounts, and he has been over the field so often he knows it like the back of his hand. But his interests go back far beyond that fight; beyond the coming of the white man to Indian country. Traditional tribal legends, early movements of the people and their battles with Indian enemies, the acquisition of horses and movement into the plains country, and finally the story of the white invasion are all part of his vast store of information.

He has written so many notes on all of this they overflow a number of boxes and trunks and suitcases, threatening to crowd the family out of the house. "Josie is going to burn them," he says, grinning at Mrs. Stands-in-Timber, but though she laughs and agrees with him, he knows she won't.

Many researchers have tapped John's knowledge, and he has worked directly with dozens of them. Acknowledgments of his contributions can be found in places as far apart as Custer Battlefield in Montana and the Smithsonian Institution Bureau of Ethnology in Washington, D.C., while many writers on Indian history have given him their thanks. Among them are Verne Dusenberry of Montana State College; Father Peter John Powell of Chicago; J. W. Vaughn, author of "With Crook on the Rosebud," and Mark H. Brown, author of "The Frontier Years." However, it was only recently that Stands-in-Timber attempted writing a manuscript of his own.

"The Cheyennes call me tribal historian," he says, "so I am glad to have written down their stories in one place, where they can't get away." He is busy revising the first draft manuscript of these, and making additions and notes. But there is much more for him to tell, especially concerning his own life and career throughout the reservation years.

"When I was born, everything was Indian," he says, "clothes and transportation and food. I was rocked to sleep on a travois as a baby, tied back there when we traveled. But things are different now, and the Indians have to change to meet the future."

He has been instrumental in working toward such changes. Chosen as adviser by many reservation superintendents, John has also served his people for many years on their tribal council, and has been to Washington, D.C., on seven different tribal delegations.

But politics and history are not his only interests. He has farmed for many years and run cattle on the reservation, after working as a Government line rider or cowboy caring for tribal herds. He has been in show business often, organizing groups of Cheyennes to appear at rodeos and festivals as well as movies, including "The Oregon Trail." And he is a leader in the local Mennonite church, giving frequent sermons in the Cheyenne language.

"I have always tried to work for the good of the tribe," John says. "I keep telling the young people education is the answer; they must go on with it. Many times the Indians lose out because they don't know how to take advantage of their situation. Everything's changing; only an educated man will get ahead. It's going to be even harder for these young people than it was for us."

With his background in recent history as well as that of the oldtimers, John is in a good position to advise them. Although he is retired from active political life, he still has considerable influence on Indian and white policy-planners alike, and he entertains visitors of all kinds for many hours in his cabin on the hill.

But he still finds time for writing, and hopes to get underway on the story of his own life before long.

Address of Senator Talmadge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith copy of Senator TALMADGE'S speech. On Friday, November 20, 1959, in Columbia, S.C., the distinguished Senator from Georgia, the Honorable HERMAN TALMADGE, delivered the principal address at the South Carolina Democratic Party dinner and rally. The occasion was a fund-raising affair for the Democratic Party of South Carolina.

In his magnificent address, Senator TALMADGE, among other things, called attention to the fact that there are groups in this Nation today determined to divide and plunder the greatest political name a democracy has ever seen. In his address, he has offered to make every effort to work in unity with Democrats from every section of America. He has advised all Democrats that their party cannot win in 1960 by being a house divided against itself. He has called to the attention of so-called democratic leaders that abuse of the South cannot continue if our party is to prevail as a major segment in our American political life. He has warned all Americans that the South will not continue to tolerate the baseless and irresponsible charges directed against our people by others of lesser stature in this Nation.

Mr. Speaker, Senator TALMADGE'S address is a dignified message to Democrats all over America that the South is willing to march with them in unity but unwilling to march as an unequal or second-class member of a party which must campaign in unity if we are to win the congressional or presidential elections in November 1960.

Mr. Speaker, Democrats should heed the words of the great Senator from the great State of Georgia:

ADDRESS OF SENATOR TALMADGE AT SOUTH CAROLINA DEMOCRATIC PARTY DINNER AND RALLY

Governor Hollings, Senators Johnston and Thurmond, members of the South Carolina congressional delegation, Chairman Pope, distinguished officials, honored guests, and my fellow Democrats, thank you for according me the privilege and pleasure of sharing this great occasion with you.

In these days when one needs a program to tell the difference between a "Paul Butler Democrat" and a "modern Republican," it is refershing indeed to meet with men and women like you who are proud to be plain, old-fashioned Democrats.

I salute you for your faithful adherence to the ideals and heritage of the Party of Jefferson and Jackson and I am pleased to tell you that your Georgia brethren stand with you shoulder-to-shoulder in mutual determination to implement those ideals and to perpetuate that heritage.

We in Georgia feel a close kinship with the people of South Carolina. In many cases—as in my own family—there is a common bond of blood and family ties.

Our States have developed economically and politically along parallel lines.

Our States have shared many common causes.

Our States have stood together in victory and defeat.

And it is my earnest hope that, regardless of what the future may bring, events always will find the people of our States united as one in all matters involving their lives, fortunes, and sacred honor.

South Carolina is blessed with capable, courageous, and stalwart leaders.

Your brilliant young Governor has established himself in the eyes of the South and the Nation as a man of ability, dedication, and integrity from whom much will be heard in the future.

No State has Senators and Congressmen who are more highly respected or who are more consistently effective in serving the interests of their constituents, State, and Nation than South Carolina.

It is an honor to serve in the U.S. Senate with patriots of the stature of OLIN JOHNSTON and STROM THURMOND. Their constant and vigorous efforts in defense of constitutional government and individual liberty are unmatched examples of statesmanship of the highest order.

Both men have proved themselves worthy successors to the mantle of John C. Calhoun—your State's illustrious and incomparable statesman of the 19th century who recently was selected as one of the five greatest Senators of all times.

If we had 50 more men of the caliber and conviction of OLIN JOHNSTON and STROM THURMOND in the Senate of the United States, this country would not be in the difficulties it is today.

Your presence here tonight bespeaks your abiding faith in the Democratic Party and your intense devotion to the principles upon which it was founded and grew great. It evidences your heartfelt hope that the party can be wrested from the hands of those who would destroy it for personal aggrandizement and restored as an instrument for effecting the will of the masses of the American people.

The Democratic Party was founded as the party of constitutional principle—a party dedicated to the protection and preservation of our great, unique, republican form of government under which government is the servant, not the master, of the people.

The Democratic Party grew strong in its espousal of the right of the individual to manage his own affairs and its insistence upon maintaining at all costs the guarantees of freedom and local self-determination contained in the Bill of Rights of our Constitution.

The Democratic Party has always held the confidence of "grass roots" Americana so long as it adhered to its founding principles. It has been repudiated only when it lost sight of its aims and allowed itself to become the tool of special interests and pressure groups.

It now stands on the threshold of the greatest opportunity ever afforded to any political party in the history of our Nation.

The results of last year's congressional election prove conclusively that the rank and file of Americans of all regions shares our faith in and hope for the Democratic Party.

If the Democratic Party will only capitalize upon that fact by presenting itself to the electorate next year with candidates and a platform which will command the unified support of Democrats in all States and regions, there is no reason why it should not realize in 1960 the greatest victory for the people since 1936.

The very strength of the Democratic Party lies in the fact that it attracts its supporters from all levels of society and segments of the economy—that within its ranks are represented industrialists and workers, farmers and businessmen, housewives and society matrons and persons of every race, color and creed.

The Democratic Party represents a true cross section of the United States and that fact sets it apart from any other political party today. From that composition it derives a potentially universal strength which, if properly mobilized, can make it impregnable at the polls.

A proper mobilization of that strength demands nothing more than that Democrats of all shades of opinion recognize realities and meet one another halfway to put our best foot forward by emphasizing our many areas of agreement instead of our few areas of disagreement.

I see nothing impossible or even extremely difficult about that if all Democrats of good will who are earnestly interested in promoting Democratic unity and victory will work together to give the country a ticket and a program which all voters—southern as well as northern, eastern, and western—can support with enthusiasm and in good conscience.

I, for one, am ready to do my part to achieve that end.

I believe I am correct in stating that the vast majority of southern Democrats feels the same way.

However, we must recognize that there are those who presently occupy places of leadership in our party who are not interested in unity or, for that matter, in winning elections. They would rather feather their own political nests by appeasing pressure groups and catering to social and economic extremists than to serve present and future generations by putting a responsible Democratic administration in office in 1961.

Those individuals would like nothing better than to nominate candidates and write a platform so completely obnoxious as to drive southern Democrats from the Democratic Party next year.

Let me state for the benefit of those who may be considering such a course that they will have to drive us out because we Democrats of the South will never leave the Party of our fathers voluntarily.

Let me further state for their benefit that, if they do drive us out of the party, they will do so at their own peril.

The Democratic Party cannot win in 1960 without the South.

The Democratic Party cannot win in 1960 without the South because it will have to have every electoral vote the South can give it to offset the electoral votes of the two most populous States from which the Republican Party likely will draw its candidates.

The Democratic Party cannot win in 1960 without the South because, if the Democratic Convention drives the South from the party, there will not be just two, three, or four States which will leave—the entire South will go.

Therefore, to those who sit in seats of responsibility in Democratic National Headquarters in Washington, let me make these points clear beyond misunderstanding:

Southern Democrats will go to the Democratic convention to stay in the party.

Southern Democrats will meet their brethren from other regions halfway in any honest effort to resolve the areas of disagreement between us and to present a united front before the Nation.

Southern Democrats will give their support to any candidates nominated and to any platform approved which are not obnoxious or a calculated insult to our States and our people.

Whether southern Democrats stay in the party is up to the convention.

The convention can take one of two courses—it can keep the South in the party and win or it can drive the South from the party and assure another Republican victory.

Southern Democrats fervently hope for the former but they will not be unprepared for the latter.

The Democrats of the South are sick and tired of being rewarded for their consistent support of the party by being cast in the role of party whipping boy.

The Democrats of the South are fed up with being tied to the national stake every 4 years by fellow Democrats to be ridiculed, castigated and punished as the price for the support of those whose stock in trade is racial demagogy, agitation, and exploitation.

The Democrats of the South have learned the hard lesson of not allowing themselves to be taken for granted and are determined that in the future they shall be as vigorous and as vociferous in seeking their due recognition as are the NAACP, the ADA and the other organized pressure groups which are bent upon turning the Democratic Party into their own private shooting preserve.

If we southern Democrats have anything for which to blame ourselves, it is that we have for too long allowed extremists within and without the party to distort and discredit our motives and to misinterpret and malign our since efforts to solve our problems.

We have allowed ourselves to be libeled by the self-serving propaganda of radical political elements.

We have allowed our insistence upon adherence to the Democratic principle of local self-government to be characterized falsely as reaction and inhumanity.

In short, we have allowed ourselves to be placed on the defensive.

It is time that we put the shoe on the other foot.

We of the South do not have to yield to anyone in the sincerity and intensity of our dedication to the Democratic precepts of justice, decency and fair play for all.

We need make apologies to no one for what we profess or practice.

To be sure we have our problems and our shortcomings, but we are trying to do something about them.

We make no pretense at being perfect.

Neither do we presume to sit in judgment on the imperfections of others.

And we do not consider it unreasonable to expect that Democrats of other regions—whose imperfections are no less pronounced than ours—should accord us the same tolerance.

The greatest need of the Democratic Party is a recognition of the fundamental fact that in a nation as large and diverse as ours there can be no single or pat solution to problems involving human relations.

Such problems are so varied and complex that they can be satisfactorily and amicably resolved only by the individuals who are confronted with them.

It would be wonderful indeed if solutions could be realized by the passage of laws.

Were that the case there would be no human problem which could not be solved by the enactment of a new law.

Were that the case everyone could be made healthy, happy, wealthy, wise, and equal by statute.

Were that the case churches, armies, courts, schools, political parties, and all the other institutions and instruments of our imperfect society could be superseded by an omnipotent superlegislature dedicated to the achievement of absolute human perfection.

Unfortunately, complex social problems are not succeptible to so simple a solution.

To the contrary the sum total of the experience of mankind stands as irrefutable proof that human motives and attitudes are not readily amenable to the legislative process.

It is true that change can be accomplished by force so long as that force is applied continuously.

But it is equally true that lasting change for the better comes from the inside of man out—not from the outside in.

True progress in the area of human relations can be achieved only to the degree that the inherent individuality of human personality is voluntarily sublimated to the common good.

To ignore that factor as some leaders of the Democratic Party would have us do is to invite chaos.

Thomas Jefferson recognized that fact when he wrote in the Declaration of Independence that government should derive its just powers from the consent of the governed.

George Mason recognized that fact by providing in the 9th and 10th amendments that all powers not specifically delegated to the National Government would be reserved to the States and the people.

Andrew Jackson recognized that fact in declaring in his farewell address that "the Constitution cannot be maintained, nor the Union preserved, in opposition to public feeling, by the mere extension of the coercive powers confided to the Federal Government."

That rugged warrior and dedicated man of the people who brought to the Democratic Party a fuller realization of Jeffersonian principles so eloquently and forcefully stated the point I would make that I would like to borrow from his words to do so.

Declared he:

"In a country so extensive as the United States, and with pursuits so varied, the internal regulations of the several States must frequently differ from one another in important particulars; and this difference is unavoidably increased by the varying principles upon which the American Colonies were originally planted; principles which had taken deep root in their social relations before the Revolution, and, therefore, of necessity, influencing their policy since they became free and independent States. But each State has the unquestionable right to regulate its own internal concerns according to its own pleasure; and while it does not interfere with the rights of the people of other States, or the rights of the Union, every State must be the sole judge of the measures proper to secure the safety of its citizens and promote their happiness and all efforts on the part of the people of other States to cast odium upon their institutions, and all measures calculated to disturb their rights of property, or put in jeopardy their peace and internal tranquillity, are in direct opposition to the spirit in which the Union was formed and may endanger its safety.

"Motives of philanthropy may be assigned for this unwarrantable interference; and weak men may persuade themselves for a moment that they are laboring in the cause of humanity, and asserting the rights of the human race; but everyone, upon sober reflection, will see that nothing but mischief can come from these improper assaults upon the feelings and rights of others. Rest assured that the men found busy in this work of discord are not worthy of your confidence and deserve your strongest reprobation."

Andrew Jackson's Farewell Address constitutes perhaps the most masterful statement of Democratic philosophy ever written and the Democratic Party in preparing to meet the electorate next year would do well to heed its admonitions.

If I were delivering the keynote address at the Democratic National Convention next July, I would be sorely tempted to read it to the delegates in full.

I can think of no more effective way to emphasize the inconsistency of those who would claim the name of the party of Jackson on the one hand while on the other hand espousing programs and policies which profane everything for which that great and noble Democrat stood.

The American people are looking hopefully and prayerfully to the Democratic Party to offer them a way out of the disaster of the present Republican Administration.

They demonstrated at the polls last year that they are ready to give their ballots to the Democratic Party if it will but offer them something better and respond realistically and vigorously to the challenge to lead the country to restored opportunity and freedom for the individual.

The present administration has failed the American people on every front.

It has failed to maintain our national defense posture and has left us unprepared to meet either the threat of war or the challenge of peace.

It has failed to stabilize the Nation's economy and to restore reason to Federal spending and taxing policies.

It not only has failed the farmers of the Nation but also has been callously indifferent to their worsening plight.

It has failed to uphold constitutional government and has instead embraced the philosophy of judicial and executive usurpation of the constitutional rights of the States and their citizens.

This administration has been one of waste, extravagance, special privilege, high interest rates, high taxes, runaway inflation, tight money and mounting debt.

What it has given the American people has been a far cry from the high-sounding promises which its candidates made to them during the so-called crusade of 1952.

The American people are no longer fooled by an administration and a party which come to them with the voice of Jacob and the hands of Esau.

Americans are weary of bearing the burdens of a national government which has ceased to be their servant.

Americans are weary of tolerating the regimentation of a sprawling bureaucracy which has ceased to be responsive to their will.

Americans are weary of countenancing the extravagances of global planners who have no concern for the welfare of the people here at home.

Americans are weary of listening to the empty promises of false prophets who cry peace when there is no peace and plenty when there is no plenty.

Americans are restive under the yoke of oppressive taxes and irresponsible Government spending which are destroying the economy of this country.

Americans are frustrated by judicial and executive dictation which is robbing them and their children of their heritage of freedom.

From the mail which I receive from all sections of the Nation I am convinced that the average citizen is gravely concerned about the present course being followed by our National Government and the consequences of following it to its ultimate conclusion.

I am convinced that the overwhelming majority of the American people wants to see the Federal budget balanced and the Nation's economy stabilized.

I am convinced that the overwhelming majority of the American people wants the United States to cease doing for people in other countries what it either is unable or unwilling to do for our own citizens here at home.

I am convinced that the overwhelming majority of the American people wants the Federal Government to confine its activities to those areas reserved to it by the Constitution and leave the management of all other matters to local people on the local level.

I am convinced that the overwhelming majority of the American people wants above all else for the United States to be made militarily and economically secure and for themselves to be left alone to run their own affairs and enjoy the fruits of their own labor.

The future of the Democratic Party will depend directly upon its ability to translate those desires into positive action and that action in turn into concrete deeds.

The future of the United States may well depend upon how the Democratic Party responds to that challenge.

The kind of program which the American people want and expect of the Democratic Party was outlined by the father of the Party, the revered Thomas Jefferson, in his first inaugural address.

He called for:

"Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce and honest friendship with all nations—entangling alliances with none; the support of the State governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against antirepublican tendencies; and the preservation of the General Government in its whole constitutional vigour, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad."

Such a program is one on which all Americans of all States and regions could agree and which all Americans regardless of their place of residence could wholeheartedly support.

Such a program is one which could unify the Democratic Party and make it an invincible instrument of the people's will unparalleled in our history.

Such a program is one which would guarantee a Democratic administration in the White House not only in 1961 but also for as long as the party adhered to it.

I would like to hope, my fellow Democrats, that the party of Jefferson will adopt the program of Jefferson as its 1960 platform.

I am sure I speak your sentiments when I say that we Democrats of the South shall spare no effort in seeking that end.

Stagecoach Mary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MIKE MANSFIELD

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, there recently came to my attention a condensation of a story related by Gary Cooper which originally appeared in the magazine Ebony. The condensation was carried in the Catholic Digest for December 1959.

Mr. Cooper, a fellow Montanan, tells the story of "Stagecoach Mary," who is a part of that rich legend and the grim reality of frontier days from which the history of my State has evolved. Born in slavery, Stagecoach Mary moved with the early settlers in the westward trend of the 19th century. In Montana she worked with the missionaries and, later, became the second woman in the Nation's history to carry the mails as a stagecoach driver. The story of "Stagecoach Mary" is one of a courageous and compassionate woman. It is as unique and fascinating as is the State of Montana. I ask unanimous consent that the condensation previously referred to be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STAGECOACH MARY

(By Gary Cooper, as told to Marc Crawford)

Black Mary could whip any two men in the territory. She wore a .38 Smith & Wesson strapped under her apron, and people who knew her swear she couldn't miss a thing within 50 paces. She was tall, weighing well over 200 pounds, and, except for an apron and skirt, wore men's clothes.

Her real name was Mary Fields. Mary was one of the most picturesque characters in the history of Montana. She was a stagecoach driver, the second woman ever to drive a U.S. mail route. Maybe because she was a Negro, she was never bothered by Indians. I remember seeing her in Cascade when I was just a little shaver not yet 10. She smoked cigars until the day she died in 1914; she was about 81, as near as anyone could figure. She celebrated two birthdays a year because she didn't know the exact date of her birth, but Cascade schools closed in her honor whenever she felt like having one.

Mary was said to have had a fondness for hard liquor that was matched only by her capacity to put it away. It is historical fact

that one of Cascade's early mayors, D. W. Monroe, gave special permission for Mary to drink in the saloons with men, a privilege, if you care to call it one, given to no other woman.

Mary was born a slave somewhere in Tennessee, some say in 1832. She lived to become one of the freest souls ever to draw a breath or a .38 and she was celebrated in a pen-and-ink drawing that hangs in the Cascade bank even now. It was done by the late Charlie Russell, a cowboy artist and the greatest one to come out of the West. Mary lived in Mississippi for a time and was a passenger on board the *Robert E. Lee* when it raced on the Mississippi with Steamboat Bill's *Natchez*; she took great pride in telling how hams and bacon were fed into the firebox to keep up steam that June 30, 1870.

Mary later moved to Ohio, where she worked at the Ursuline convent in Toledo. There she met Mother Amadeus, whom she revered and loved, though one account has it that Mary was a slave and confidential servant in the household of Judge Dunne, the nun's oldest brother. Others say Mary had been the nun's personal maid before her mistress took the veil.

In any event, it was because of Mother Amadeus that Mary went to Montana. The nun went to open a school for Indian girls in 1884 at St. Peter's Mission, where Jesuits had worked among the Blackfeet since 1866. Because of the hard living and intense cold—I've seen it get 45° below zero myself—Mother Amadeus fell victim of pneumonia and lay dying in a crude log cabin. Mary Fields heard about it back in Ohio, and rushed to the bedside. She nursed the nun back to health and remained in Montana to help the missioners.

After 8 years, the Ursulines' stone convent was completed, and they and Mary moved from their log cabins. Bishop Brondel came, supervised, and helped with the work. But none dared move anything belonging to Mother Amadeus; it was a job Mary had cut out for herself.

Mary also did the freighting for the mission and often had to fight her way through. One night a pack of wolves frightened her team. The horses upset the load, and she stayed guard all night over the precious cargo the nuns needed to exist. A blizzard overtook her on one trip, obscuring the road. Mary walked back and forth all night to keep alive.

Mary might have lived all of her days working at the mission had it not been for her terrible temper and her lack of fear of man or beast. She was forever fighting with the hired men, and at least once the fight was with guns. No one remembers how it turned out, but Mary was still around when it was over.

The bishop was bombarded with complaints about her, and at last ordered the Sisters to send Mary away. For all the work she had done in her 10 years in the nuns' service, she hadn't received a dime. The nuns all felt that Mary had a lifetime home with them, but the bishop's order had to be obeyed.

Mary went to see the bishop in Helena to "make him bring witnesses to swear what they had said against me." But apparently Mary lost; crushed, she left the mission.

But Mary wasn't brokenhearted long, nor did she go far. Mother Amadeus set her up in the restaurant business in Cascade. For all her toughness, Mary gave too much credit. She would feed sheepherders during the winter and they would promise to pay her when they worked in the summer. Mary went broke twice and Mother Amadeus gave her a new start each time. Still Mary was unhappy because she was concerned about her Sisters at the mission.

Then Mother Amadeus went to the Federal authorities and asked that Mary be given the mail route. They gave Mary the route between Cascade and the mission itself. Each day, never missing one, she made her triumphant entry into the mission seated on top of the mail coach, dressed in a man's hat and coat and smoking a huge cigar.

Upon one occasion a priest coming to the mission had been told he would be met in Cascade. When he arrived at the mission earlier than expected, the nuns asked how he came. He replied, "Oh, that big colored man met me at Cascade and drove me out." He was shocked to learn that the "man" was Mary Fields.

Mary met every train, and often slept in the depot. In bad weather, if Mary's coach could not get through she would shoulder the baggage and walk. She drove the route for 8 years. One day, after being thrown from the mail coach, she arrived at the mission in pitiful condition. The Sisters urged her to return to the faith. She had not been a fervent Christian since the bishop had expelled her from the convent.

Mary went to confession. The next morning the penitent appeared in the front pew at high mass. She was not wearing her usual men's clothes but a beautiful dress and long white veil the nuns had made for her during the night.

In 1903, Mary made her home in Cascade. Her stagecoach days were over, and her lifelong friend Mother Amadeus had been sent to Alaska to start new missions. Her successor, Mother Angela, tried to mother Mary as best she could, but there never could have been another Mother Amadeus. Mary began taking in washing, and soon turned her home into a laundry.

In 1912, Mary's laundry burned down, and the townspeople contributed the lumber and their time and labor in rebuilding her home. In fact, so esteemed was she that in 1910, when the late R. B. Glover leased the New Cascade Hotel to Kirk Huntley, it was with the understanding that Mary would receive her meals free.

Mary acted as mascot for the Cascade baseball team for several years. For every game she would fix a boutonniere for the members of both teams and five large bouquets for each man who made a home run. The flowers were from her own garden.

For all her roughness, drinking, profanity, and other bad habits, Mary detested loose girls, and her honor was never questioned. She always took care of the altar at Wedsworth Hall for the Catholic society, but she did not live to see the Catholic church finished. In her later years, she would work as a baby sitter for $1.50 a day, and then spend the money buying goodies for her charges. She never married.

Mary was one of the pioneers, colored, white, and yellow, who came from Tennessee and places beyond the seas to help conquer the old wild West. When she died, the town mourned her passing and buried her at the foot of the mountains, by the road that leads to the old mission.

Self-Employed Retirement Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Mr. Cecil P. Bronston, vice president of the Continental Illinois National Bank & Trust Co., of Chicago, Ill., which appeared in the December 1959 issue of Trusts and Estates:

PROGRESS REPORT ON SELF-EMPLOYED RETIREMENT ACT

(By Cecil P. Bronston, vice president, Continental Illinois National Bank & Trust Co., Chicago)

Whether the current efforts for passage of the Self-Employed Individuals' Retirement Act succeed or fail, it does seem probable that, except for the unlikely event of a general reduction in the tax impact on individuals, the pressure for legislation of this nature will finally force favorable action. If this be true, what we trustmen do now to obtain technically correct trust provisions will benefit our institutions in administration of the restricted retirement trust funds.

Although passage of the bill will open new opportunities for our services, we will have to work diligently, efficiently, and against some odds, for any real gain for our shareholders from this business. One qualified and informed trust official has estimated that the pooled type of restricted retirement trust, to be profitable of itself, will require the participation of some 10,000 members. If this be so, in the ordinary trust department the operation of restricted retirement trusts—even though permissibly invested in an existing common trust fund—may become a questionable luxury. So our concern with the terms of the bill is understandable.

COMMITTEE SUGGESTIONS

In May 1959, the employees trust committee of the ABA Trust Division made four suggestions to the Senate Finance Committee, which were supported by our testimony at the hearings that took place in June. These suggestions were that:

(1) The section dealing with permissible investments be revised to provide that restricted retirement funds may be invested as national banks may invest trust funds (that is, in any investments in which fiduciaries in the State in which the trustee is acting may lawfully invest) subject to the limitation that no investment shall be made in the obligations of any one entity to exceed the greater of $10,000 or 10 percent of the fair market value of the trust, unless that investment be in U.S. Government obligations, stock in a regulated investment company, or participations in any common trust fund or other collective investment fund established and administered under rules and regulations of the Federal Reserve Board.

(2) Interests in restricted retirement trusts be exempt from documentary issuance taxes, just as with interests in common trust funds and collective investment trusts for employee retirement funds.

(3) The sections dealing with prohibited transactions be revised so that:

(a) The definition of prohibited transactions be made uniform in effect with the existing definition in the code, except that in restricted retirement funds the trustee shall be prohibited from lending principal or income of the trust to a member; and

(b) A restricted retirement fund shall not lose its tax exemption as the result of a prohibited transaction, if adjustment satisfactory to the Secretary of the Treasury is made within such reasonable time as the Secretary determines.

(4) The section relating to restricted retirement policies be revised to permit a participant to direct the transfer of the cash surrender value of a restricted retirement policy to a restricted trust fund as a companion provision to one which permits purchase for a participant of a restricted retirement policy from funds in a restricted retirement trust.

OTHER PROPOSALS AFFECTING TRUSTS

Other suggestions for changes were offered before the Senate Finance Commit-

tee by other interested individuals and organizations:

Congressman KEOGH expressed his support of an extension of the investments which banks, as trustees of restricted retirement funds, may make to include "saving accounts in institutions in which accounts are insured by the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation or by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation." Congressman KEOGH also indicated that he would favor permitting insured thrift institutions, mutual savings banks, and savings and loan institutions to qualify as authorized depositories of restricted retirement funds.

The National Association of Investment Companies proposed that "where the trust agreement by its terms restricts the investments which may be made by the [restricted retirement] trust to obligations of the U.S. Government and shares of publicly held investment companies registered with the Securities and Exchange Commission, the bill should not require that the trustee be a bank, but should require only that a bank be custodian of the securities in the trust under appropriate regulations of the Secretary of the Treasury."

In a similar vein, the Investment Counsel Association of America, Inc., recommend that the Keogh bill be amended to provide that banks, as trustees of restricted retirement funds, may share or delegate the power to control the investment and reinvestment of funds held in such trusts.

SEC AND STATE REGULATION

Staff members of the Securities and Exchange Commission have informally expressed the view that the Securities Act of 1933 and the Investment Company Act of 1940 require that banks will have to register with the SEC any pooled or collectively invested trusts created under the Keogh bill. These staff members recognize that the rationale which has exempted individual inter vivos trusts from regulation is probably applicable to Keogh trusts created by individuals and not invested collectively with other Keogh trusts. But they indicated their belief that such trusts, when invested collectively in a section 17 common trust fund, may be subject to SEC jurisdiction, and that group or association Keogh trusts, funds of which are invested collectively pursuant to section 10(c) of regulation F, will be subject to SEC jurisdiction.

Our committee's position is that there are reasons to consider all trusts exempt from registration but that, if necessary to clarify the subject, amendments to the bill should be made. The SEC staff members have expressed the hope that an amendment can and will relieve the SEC of responsibility in the Keogh trust field. Through the legal staff of the American Bankers Association, we are currently trying to work out an understanding or form of mutually acceptable amendment. Detailed preparations for implementing the Keogh legislation within our banks should take into account the SEC questions.

With our attorneys, we must also consider whether our respective States have securities acts that will affect our plans. Further, it is timely that we review our State laws on these three points: first, whether Keogh trusts will be free of the rule against perpetuities; second, whether Keogh trusts will be subject to statutes against accumulations; and third, whether the requirement in the Keogh bill that a member's interest in a trust be nonassignable is in conflict with the State's law regarding spendthrift trusts. Our Committee on Employees Trusts has taken a view similar to that of our counterpart committee of the American Bar Association's real property, probate, and trust law section—that problems such as this can best be resolved locally.

ANTICIPATED GROWTH OF KEOGH TRUSTS

The interest of each of our banks in offering Keogh trust facilities is directly related to the probable degree of acceptance by the self-employed of Keogh tax deferral opportunities. Dr. Roger F. Murray, in his Senate Finance Committee testimony, stated that the Treasury Department's estimate of $1 billion a year in payments to restricted retirement plans "is not likely to be reached for 5 years or more. * * * A billion dollars in average deposits of, say, $1,000 means that a million of self-employed will have to be educated and sold on this new savings plan."

Dr. Murray's analysis finds support in the experience of our Canadian trust company counterparts. After enactment of the Canadian bill in April 1957, 3,750 persons became participants in plans administered by trust companies during the remainder of that year. In 1958, 2,935 additional persons initiated participation in trust plans, for a 2-year total of 6,685 persons. Our Canadian friends have found this response rather discouraging.

Recalling, however, the modest origins of other now flourishing areas of trust business, and taking into account what all of us recognize to be the very substantial latent market for Keogh-type business, perhaps these comments should not arouse pessism over the long-term prospects for development of Keogh business but, rather, realism as to the magnitude of the solicitation effort which will be necessary and the slowness with which we may expect to see our efforts produce results in the form of profitable business.

EFFICIENCY AND COMPENSATION

A committee of the American Bar Association is working on model trust forms to which our committee is contributing. The problems of operations are considered in several of the source materials listed in the appended bibliography.

In an article in the August 14, 1959, issue of American Banker, Earl R. Hudson, president, Kennedy Sinclaire, Inc., offered the following observations:

"(a) * * * certain factors must be present before a bank makes its decision to go 'whole hog' after the available billions, for there is no virtue to establishing the service unless it can be sold at a profit.

"(b) * * * Realistic fees should be set. Is one-half of 1 percent realistic? I don't think so.

"(c) Activity charges should be imposed on unusual requests by participants.

"(d) Heavy withdrawal fees should be charged.

"(e) In determining charges the same concept should be applied to handling a self-employed retirement account as is applied to handling checking accounts (complete analysis), small loans, and other profitable bank business.

"(f) * * * the trust business can be destroyed through cutthroat competition (as has to an extent happened in the pension field), and playing with 'loss leaders' can be dangerous."

A pattern of fees has developed among Canadian trust companies at an annual rate of three-quarters of 1 percent of the market value of the trust. In our own country, an eastern trust company has indicated publicly that its fees might in some cases be as low as one-half of 1 percent. Another has stated its studies indicate that to an absolute minimum management charge of one-half of 1 percent there must be added a flat dollar charge for each contribution.

Let's be certain that we operate in this new field in the dignity and wisdom of the premise that our services deserve, and we shall receive adequate compensation.

RELATED TRUST BUSINESS

Another factor, which may well motivate many banks to offer Keogh services in spite of their reservations as to immediate profitability, relates to the generation of other trust and banking business among customers whose contact with the bank may have first come through the retirement fund or be strengthened by reason of it. Hudson suggests that the member of substance will tie his accumulated deposits into an estate plan under which the bank will be appointed executor and trustee under either a life insurance or a testamentary trust.

The great growth of the trust business is proof that we do not hesitate to depart from the traditional, once we see that such departure will extend our services in harmony with the great responsibilities we bear in existing relationships. No doubt exists that Keogh trusts will require pioneering work and the development of some techniques differing from those of more traditional trust administration. However, someone has said the storm seems worst when viewed from behind a window. If the Congress will open the door, many trustmen are eager to venture forth—to dare to see what can be made of their opportunities.

BIBLIOGRAPHY ON RETIREMENT BENEFITS FOR SELF-EMPLOYED

"Retirement Funds for Self-Employed," report of committee on retirement benefits for self-employed, section of real property, probate, and trust law, American Bar Association, 1952, James K. Taylor [published October 1952, p. 783, Trusts and Estates].

"Self-Pensioning for Self-Employed; Keogh-Reed bill; Proposes Tax Free Trust Funds," by E. S. MacNeill, June 1952, p. 45, Banking.

"Retirement Benefits for the Self-Employed," by Weston Vernon, Jr., and Robert T. A. Molloy, July 1952, 12 Federal Rules Decisions.

"Tax-Favored Pensions in Sight for the Self-Employed," by E. S. MacNeill and G. T. Wallis, November 1952, p. 808, Trusts and Estates.

"Retirement Benefits for the Self-Employed," by John R. Nicholson, Chicago, April 1953, Business Lawyer.

"Favorable Tax Treatment for Individual Pension Plans: The Jenkins-Keogh Bill," April 1953, p. 1105, Harvard Law Review.

"Tax Comments," by William K. Stevens (Pensions for the Self-Employed?), May 1953, p. 534, Illinois Bar Journal.

"Opportunities for Service under Jenkins-Keogh Self-Pensioning Bills," by E. S. MacNeill, February 1954, p. 27, Trust Bulletin.

"Pension and Profit Sharing Digest," by Samuel N. Ain, April 1955, p. 334, Trusts and Estates.

"If You Work for Yourself—A New Pension Plan in the Mill," Dec. 23, 1955, p. 85, U.S. News & World Report.

"Pensions for the Professions," Feb. 11, 1956, pp. 423-425, the (London) Economist.

"British Lead Way in Providing Tax Break for Self-Employed," May 11, 1956, U.S. News & World Report.

"Social Security Legislation and Jenkins-Keogh Bill," by Eugene J. Keogh, July 1956, New York State Bar Bulletin.

"The Jenkins-Keogh Bills—Proposed Legislation To Authorize Individual Retirement Plans," by Norman A. Sugerman and E. D. McCurdy, April 1957, the Journal of the Cleveland Bar Association.

"Pensions for the Self-Employed; Canada Now Permits Tax Exemption for Individuals," by J. F. Coate, June 1957, p. 551, Trusts and Estates.

"Retirement for Self-Employed—Trustees' Interests in Preparation for Eventual Passage of Law," by Richmond M. Corbett, July 1958, p. 632, Trusts and Estates. (Thesis on which this was based is being revised for release early in 1960.)

"Quest for Tax Equality for Private Pension Plans: Short History of Jenkins-Keogh Bill," by Leslie M. Rapp, November 1958, Tax Law Review.

"Lessons From Canadian Experience With Self-Pensions," by Glenn Garbutt, December 1958, 1127, Trusts and Estates.

"Possibilities Under Keogh Bill," Trusts and Estates, March 1959, pp. 252–5; "Canadian Experience," by Fraser Coate; "United States Prospects," by Charles M. Bliss; "Handling Self-Employed Funds," by Arthur V. Toupin.

"Tax Breaks Proposed for Self-Employed Pensions," March 1959, Tax Research Institute.

"Appraisal of Simpson-Keogh Bill," by Earl S. MacNeill, Merrill Anderson Co., March 18, 1959.

"Simpson-Keogh: Operational Procedures and Sales Development," by Earl S. MacNeill, Merrill Anderson, Apr. 23, 1959.

"Canadian Progress Report on Individual Retirement Savings Plans," by J. Fraser Coate, May 1959, p. 426, Trusts and Estates.

"Pensions for the Self-Employed—Past, Present, and Future," by Joseph R. Cathright, June 1959, p. 12, Trust Bulletin.

"Market Research Reveals Demand for Self-Retirement Plans," by Charles M. Bliss, June 1959, 584, Trusts and Estates.

"Eliminating Problems in Administration of Keogh Bill Trusts," by Edward J. Hawkins, Jr., August 1959, p. 738, Trusts and Estates.

"Smathers-Keogh-Simpson Legislation: Retirement Savings for the Self-Employed," by F. Joseph Donohue, August 1959, p. 795, American Bar Association Journal.

"Self-Employed Retirement Act Seen Creating New Business Opportunities," by Earl S. Hudson, August 14, 1959, American Banker.

"Insurance Plus Trust Plan for Self-Employed Groups," by George S. Vrionia and Martin J. O'Toole, September 1959, p. 864, Trusts and Estates.

Smathers-Morton-Keogh-Simpson film produced by American Thrift Assembly, 1025 Connecticut Avenue, Washington 6, D.C., 1959 (Film suitable for television showing; 16 mm., 11 minutes, and in color).

Prevention of Tolls on Interstate Bridge Across Columbia River on U.S. Highway 99, Between Portland, Oreg., and Vancouver, Wash.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, tolls on the Interstate Bridge across the Columbia River connecting Portland, Oreg., with Vancouver, Wash., were reinstituted on January 4, 1960, on the Federal Interstate Pacific Coast Highway.

Along the entire length of U.S. Highway 99 from the Canadian border to the Mexican border the Vancouver-Portland Bridge is the only toll bridge. Initially, the Portland-Vancouver Columbia River Bridge was constructed and opened on February 15, 1917, and welded Portland and Vancouver into one metropolitan trading area. Tolls were originally charged, but the bridge has been toll free for many years. A new bridge alongside the old one has been opened and tolls are now being charged.

This, I think, is a serious mistake and as a member of the Senate Public Works Committee and the Subcommittee on Roads and Highways, I have introduced legislation, S. 2404, to provide for a toll-free bridge connecting Portland and Vancouver. This legislation is sponsored by the two distinguished Senators from Washington State, along with my colleague, Senator MORSE.

The basic mistake that has been made was by the Oregon Legislature in 1953, which provided for a new bridge with tolls. If the new bridge had been delayed just several months, it could have been incorporated into the Interstate Federal Highway System and would have qualified for 90 percent Federal aid. Both Mrs. Neuberger and I, as members of the Oregon Legislature at that time, voted against this 1953 bill which has turned out to be such a serious mistake.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Oregonian of December 22 dealing with the tolls on the new Interstate Bridge, together with a copy of a letter which I have written to the editor of the newspaper dated January 7, providing my views on this important subject.

There being no objection, the editorial and letter were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ARTIFICIAL BARRIER

Thirty-one years ago this coming New Year's Day the tolls were removed from the Interstate Bridge between Portland and Vancouver. This span, built as a joint effort by the people of Multnomah and Clark Counties, had been turned over to the State of Oregon with the firm understanding that when enough tolls had been collected to retire the bonds, the bridge forever after would be free.

Now a new bridge has been built alongside the old one. To help pay for the new bridge, tolls after January 4, 1960, will be collected from the users of both bridges. This arrangement was ordered by the 1953 Oregon Legislature despite the protests of Portland area lawmakers that this was not only of doubtful legality but also was morally indefensible.

Toll bridges are contrary to the policy of the State highway department. All of the bridges built across the wide bays crossed by Highway 101 along the Oregon coast are free. Every State-owned bridge crossing every other river in the State has been financed out of the State highway fund derived from fuel taxes, weight-mile fees on trucks, and vehicle licenses. In the entire length of U.S. Highway 99 from the Canadian to the Mexican border this will be the only toll barrier to free travel.

The people of Portland and Vancouver were farsighted enough to build the Interstate Bridge long before either Oregon or Washington had their present extensive highway networks. Its opening on February 15, 1917, made possible our present Interstate Highway System and the coastwise truck freight carriers that have built up Oregon. It welded the two cities on opposite sides of the Columbia River into one metropolitan trading area, to their mutual advantage.

Since the toll is a modest 20 cents, and heavy traffic on the bridge probably will bring in enough money to retire the bonds and lift the toll by 1970, there is a temptation to shrug off the whole issue. But Portlanders and Vancouverites should not accept this injustice with docility. Any way you look at it, the collection of tolls on the twin interstate bridges is wrong.

There are three possible ways to right this wrong: (1) Challenge in court the right of the State of Oregon to break its promise to the taxpayers of Multnomah and Clark Counties; (2) press in the 1961 Oregon and Washington Legislatures for bills to make the new bridge an obligation of the respective State highway funds; and (3) continue the efforts to make the bridge part of the Federal interstate highway program and thus eligible for 90-percent Federal financing. If those who use the interstate bridges will protest loud enough and long enough, this artificial barrier can be breached.

U.S. SENATE,

Washington, D.C., January 7, 1960.

To the EDITOR of the OREGONIAN:

Your editorial of December 22, 1959, mentioned that one of the solutions to the levying of tolls on the interstate bridges was to continue the efforts to make the bridge part of the Federal interstate highway program and thus eligible for 90 per cent Federal financing.

On July 21, 1959, as a member of the Roads and Highways Subcommittee, I introduced a bill in the U.S. Senate to accomplish this purpose. It is S. 2404. Cosponsors with me are Senator MORSE of Oregon and Senators MAGNUSON and JACKSON of Washington State.

The chief obstacle to passage of the bill is the opposition voiced by the Eisenhower administration. With a considerable degree of logic, spokesmen for the administration have argued that, if the interstate toll bridges are put on the Federal system, then what about the $2.5 billion worth of toll roads, bridges and tunnels in other States? The administration has argued that payment of such a colossal sum would retard interstate highway construction in every part of the Nation for many years.

In my opinion, the real blunder was made by the 1953 Oregon Legislature and Governor who, with too much haste, imposed tolls to underwrite the Interstate Bridge construction. By waiting a short time, the bridges would have been on the Federal system and thus would have qualified for 90 percent Federal aid. This was the error responsible for the present situation.

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER,

U.S. Senator.

New York's Billion Dollar Racket

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the New York Journal-American of January 3, 1960:

NEW YORK'S BILLION DOLLAR RACKET: GAMBLING UNLIMITED

(By James D. Horan, Dom Frasca, and John Mitchell)

New York's biggest industry is illegal, open 24 hours a delay, and sometimes police protected.

Its yearly gross is estimated in the billions, yet it does not pay a penny in either State or city taxes.

It is an industry which thrives on official corruption, murder and usury. It maintains holding companies dealing in narcotics, prostitution, industrial racketeering and the jukebox racket.

It is old as man and wicked as Cain. This industry is gambling.

So lucrative is this gambling treadmill, so great the desire to ride on it, that New York City would have gained more than $100 million in additional revenues last year alone had off-track betting been legalized.

But instead of reaping this dollar harvest to eliminate nuisance taxes and to bolster overburdened municipal services, New York City was forced by the State legislature to stand by while off-track profits financed fast cars, fine cuisine and fancy clothes for the bookmakers.

Last fall, Mayor Wagner's Off-Track Betting Committee met at City Hall to launch anew an aggressive campaign to legalize off-track wagering. A new city administration bill is already in the hands of the legislature.

The committee has also found additional support for its bet plan in a poll of 300 police chiefs throughout the State. Of the 300, 67.9 percent are reportedly in favor of legalized off-track betting.

Police brass, particularly in bookie-ridden New York City, are first to admit they are powerless to stamp out gambling. It is just too big, too popular. It has too many customers.

It is so widespread in our five boroughs that at any hour of the day or night, 7 days a week, a player can make a bet on a horse, on a number, on the outcome of a sport or—before the current TV scandal—on the skill of a contestant in a quiz show.

If the player has the right connections he can try to make his point in the muted respectability of a Park Avenue apartment where the champagne and canapes are on the house. But connection or not, he can still find his action in a Brooklyn candy store, a Queens tavern, or on sedate Staten Island.

Public apathy toward gambling laws is reflected in the token enforcement by the police and the courts. Light sentences and assembly line justice have virtually given the city's off-track bookmakers gamblers' licenses.

And, according to a survey quoted by Louis A. Lawrence in "The Manual for Prosecuting Attorneys," there are 30,000 books operating in and around the metropolitan area.

A study of the disposition of 22,600 gambling cases processed through magistrates court and special sessions in 1958 underscores the magnitude of this judicial apathy—only a little more than one-third of the defendants were convicted.

And of those 8,300 convicted, only two were sentenced to a penal institution for more than 4 months.

The vast majority were turned loose with a light slap on the wrist consisting of a low fine.

Police corruption has fed on this public and official apathy to such an extent that one of the biggest scandals in the department's history can erupt any day.

The latest scandal revolves around the figure of former police sergeant Joseph G. Luberda, who was sentenced to 2 years in jail at Rikers Island for evading grand jury questions.

Luberda was interrogated last April about a $19,495 bankroll and lists of cops and gamblers found in his car when he was arrested for drunk driving near Suffern.

PUBLIC APATHY A FACTOR

In a statement delivered in general sessions the morning of Luberda's sentencing, Assistant District Attorney Peter Andreoli labeled the documents found in the defendant's car as records of payoff.

Judge John Mullen, who passed sentence, said to Luberda:

"You have, for a number of years, been a bag man for somebody higher up in the police department now—or somebody higher up in the department formerly."

It is no secret that District Attorney Hogan's office is hopeful Luberda may yet unseal his lips to reveal the key figures in "a conspiracy to violate the gambling laws of the State."

Police Commissioner Stephen Kennedy, in reorganizing the Brooklyn Morals Squad last November, scored the evil influence of gambling on the members of his department. He said:

"The possibility of corruption of police personnel is always a danger to law enforcement. We cannot brush aside the ugly fact that gambling too often provides a potent source of such corruption."

It was the Kings County 1958 grand jury that bared gambling in the city as both the pulsing heart of organized crime and a deadly corrosive eating away at the moral fiber of the police department.

In the presentment, each page bristling with indignation, the jurors denounced public apathy and police corruption which have allowed gambling to become the slimy pocketbook for the organized underworld.

LINKED TO CRIME ENTERPRISES

The 16-page report linked gambling to narcotics, loan sharks, industrial racketeering, and numerous unsolved murders in Kings County.

"The public," the jury said, "must begin to realize the crucial difference between criminals engaged in gambling and the indulgence of decent citizens in various types of betting. * * *

"From the evidence presented to us, we state categorically that gambling crimes are linked on innumerable occasions with the most obnoxious criminal enterprises known to man."

The panel pointed out that the public image of a candy store bookmaker as an innocent betting commissioner is a dangerous fallacy.

Gambling revenue, it said, is frequently used to finance other illegal interests.

"If you scratch the professional operator of gambling," the panel noted, "you find the narcotics peddler, the loan shark, the white slaver—the murderer."

In a borough-by-borough survey, these reporters witnessed rampant gambling in every form; policy, off-track betting and high stake card games. Most of the betting was done openly, sometimes under the eyes of the police.

The reporters found policy so well organized that the numbers syndicates have established a "night shift" to take bets placed by night workers. Like any legitimate business, the day-time runners and comptrollers leave their posts at 6 p.m. after the day's "play." The night shift promptly take their places in empty stores, hallways and on street corners.

Bookmaking is no less organized than policy in the city. That is why Mayor Wagner and his aides are eager to turn the illegitimate off-track "take" in legitimate revenue.

The more than $100 million in additional taxes the city could reap through its off-track betting plan is no pipe dream.

Budget Director Abraham D. Beame calls this figure "about as conservative as you can get." He adds:

"Actually, there are a lot of people who believe we can go as high as $200 million."

A formula devised by the mayor's committee and applied to the projected betting handle at New York's flat and harness tracks during 1959 indicates the city lost at least $110 million last year for lack of legalized off-track betting.

Income of Social Security Beneficiaries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. VANCE HARTKE

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, one of the great defects and inequities in our social security system is the income limitation provision which permits a social security recipient to receive unlimited amounts of money from investments or insurance, but only $1,200 in wages. An excellent editorial pointing up this inequity appeared in the Los Angeles Times last month, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

I also ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD editorials on this same matter from the Detroit Free Press and the Springfield (Ohio) Daily News.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Los Angeles Times, Dec. 17, 1959]

LET THEM EARN WHAT THEY CAN

Congresses have from time to time increased the maximum amounts available to social security beneficiaries, raised the payroll tax rates, and spread the coverage ever wider in response to the shifting patterns of economic life and thought since the first law was passed in 1935.

OBSOLETE DOCTRINE

But with all these realistic responses to the changing times, the Congresses have clung to one obsolete doctrine in respect to the old-age pensions: they still act as if these pensions are enough to justify driving 65-year-old men and 62-year-old women out of the labor market.

In 1935 this was indeed one of the intentions of the social security legislators, backed by labor leaders. The defeatist thinking of the time was that the United States had completed its industrial growth, and employment opportunities consequently were limited. Therefore, it was thought, old men should be retired from job competition, leaving the permanently bounded labor field to younger men. It was the modern welfare state adaptation of the ancient tribal practice of killing, and sometimes eating, the old folks, or pushing them outside the igloo to die of exposure.

A CRUEL ABSURDITY

The law accomplished its end by limiting the amount of money a social security pensioner could earn in a year. If he broke the limit, his social security pension was reduced. Incidentally, this limitation exposed a strange contradiction in the arguments of the proponents of the law. They acknowledged that the pension payments were

merely subsistence, yet they were willing to doom to subsistence all old people who had not been able to save and invest, or who had lost their savings in the depression in which the law was enacted.

The cruel absurdity of this position has become clearer as inflation has spiraled, and now another legislator is going to try to make the simple, obvious correction. Senator VANCE HARTKE, Democrat, of Indiana, announced last Sunday that he is drafting a bill for the next session to remove the limit on social security pensioners' earnings.

Although benefits have several times been increased, social security pensions are still only subsistence, even when the pensioners receive the largest possible benefits. The top retirement payment now is $174 a month for a man and his wife if both are 65. (If the wife is between 62 and 65 the joint pension is reduced to $156.60.)

With his joint pension, the beneficiary may earn $1,200 a year but not a nickel more. If his pension were the highest—$174 a month, $2,088 a year—which would be unlikely, his annual income, with the permissible $1,200 earnings, would be $3,288 for him and his wife. That's not very much for two people in a time when consumer prices have gone up 77 percent in 15 years—in a time when a young female typist or clerk is paid a minimum of around $3,500 a year on the general assumption that she has about enough to take care of herself.

PENALTIES TOO GREAT

Many of the pensioners could earn more than the allowable $1,200, but the penalties against their pensions are so great they are discouraged. For every $80 or fraction thereof they earn above $1,200 a year, they lose 1 month's pension. If one of them earned $2,080 a year, plus 1 cent, a fraction of the 12th $80, he would wipe out his year's social security pension.

The nonsense of this is self-evident. Senator HARTKE is right: there should be no limit on a pensioner's earnings. In rare cases, of course, a 65-year-old pensioner might then be able to have an earned income in five or six figures and collect his social security benefits too. But his case would be far more unusual than those of some present pensioners who have very large incomes from investment, the kind of income which has no limit set by the social security law.

Moreover, we are learning that it is socially and economically wrong to try to push all 65-year-olds out of the labor market. Disemploying them by law or rule not only injures many of them; it often subtracts irreplaceable skill and experience from the expanding economy.

We are slowly recovering from the welfare barbarism of the 1930's when, for the benefit of the majority, it seemed good to declare a man economically dead at 65. Senator HARTKE's bill may accelerate the retreat from the dreadful era when it was held that men had no faces but only ages and serial numbers.

[From the Springfield (Ohio) Daily News, Dec. 17, 1959]

LET THEM WORK

Senator VANCE HARTKE, of Indiana, has the right idea about that limit on earned income by social security beneficiaries who have passed the age of 65. At present, the limit is $1,200 a year. Senator HARTKE would increase that materially.

But why have any limit at all? Why not grant the social security benefits to everyone when they reach the age of 65? If they persist in staying on the job and earning the same wage or salary as theretofore, let the amount of the social security payment be added to their gross income for Federal income tax purposes. That should make an equitable deal all the way around.

[From the Detroit Free Press]

The inequities of the Federal social security program are widely known to those approaching or past 65 years of age. Free Press columnist Sylvia Porter pointed out some of the unfairness when she discussed the limits placed on income.

The absolute cutoff mark on earned income for those otherwise eligible for social security is $2,080. Obviously that is not enough to live on. Full social security benefits are available only to those whose earned income does not exceed $1,200.

One of the most glaring faults is that the income barriers apply only to earned income. There is no limit on what can be collected from stock dividends, interest, rents and other investments. The provision makes it possible for a wealthy man to draw full benefits but for a man who earns more than $2,080 by working to get nothing.

The provisions force older citizens into a calculating existence, in which, for the majority, the objective is to get a bare minimum on which to live.

The minimums are, of course, completely unrealistic in terms of the value of today's dollar. It illustrates most pointedly the damage that inflation can do. Social security benefits collected by the Government in years past now have less than half of their original value when doled out to those who made what they considered a sound investment in their old age.

The same inflation damage has been done to private annuity programs, but in these an individual had a free choice.

Civil Rights: Congress and the Supreme Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following speech of Senator WAYNE MORSE before the Suffolk University Law School Alumni Association in Boston, Mass., on October 29, 1959:

SPEECH BY SENATOR WAYNE MORSE BEFORE THE SUFFOLK UNIVERSITY LAW SCHOOL ALUMNI ASSOCIATION, BOSTON, MASS., OCTOBER 29, 1959

Mr. Chairman, members of this association, I have chosen as the title for my remarks in response to your kind invitation the subject, "Civil Rights: Congress and the Supreme Court."

Realistic consideration of emphasis and time caused me to omit direct reference to the third constitutional branch of the Federal Government—the Chief Executive and the executive departments—or for the fourth-developed group: administrative agencies, separate administrations, independent boards and commissions, and the like. Consequently, emphasis is placed upon legislative and judicial duties under our National Constitution in protecting fundamental rights and liberties.

Before I turn to the subject of my lecture, I wish to make an observation concerning our legal profession. My remarks in some respects will not be particularly complimentary of some of the policies and attitudes of the legal profession. There was a time in our history when lawyers as individuals acting through their local bar associations could be counted upon to present a militant front against any invasion or undermining of individual, human, or constitutional rights. This is no longer true to the degree that I think it should be. When I ask myself the question "Why?" I find it difficult to escape from the lurking fear that it may be true that too many lawyers consider themselves private practitioners of the law. I would leave with you the thought that there is in fact no such person as a private practitioner of the law.

If you remember until breakfast time tomorrow nothing that I say today except this point, I will have served a worthwhile purpose in talking to you. The point is this: remember that when you take the oath upon admission to the bar you become forevermore throughout your life in the practice of the law a public officer of the courts. You become a public official in the sense that you are charged with the public responsibility of maintaining a system of government by law. This phrase "government by law" is no empty platitude. It is both the rudder and the propeller of our Ship of State called the Constitution.

As you read the history of the American legal profession, and in reading it you also will be reading important chapters in the evolution of constitutional government in the United States as we have come to know it today, you will take note of the fact that high-principled lawyers of our profession have never considered themselves as the hired men of their clients. They have always recognized their obligations as public officers of the courts. I leave with you the question, "Is the intellectual integrity of our profession threatened today with a tendency on the part of too many lawyers to become the hirelings of their clients? Is it threatened with a tendency to be more concerned with prosecutions that are overturned than with fundamental principles that are upheld?"

It is with that background thought that I move into my subject—"Civil Rights: Congress and the Supreme Court."

When Carl Sandburg wrote about Lincoln's visit to Gettysburg to deliver his epic dedication, he concluded his chapter with the following words:

"[Lincoln] had stood that day, the world's foremost spokesman of popular government, saying that democracy was yet worth fighting for. He had spoken as one in mist who might head on deeper yet into mist. He incarnated the assurances and pretenses of popular government, implied that it could and might perish from the earth. What he meant by a 'new birth of freedom' for the Nation could have a thousand interpretations. The taller riddles of democracy stood up out of the address. It had the dream touch of vast and furious events epitomized for any foreteller to read what was to come. * * *

"For the first time since he had become President he had on a dramatic occasion declaimed, howsoever it might be read, Jefferson's proposition which had been a slogan of the Revolutionary War—'All men are created equal'—leaving no other inference than that he regarded the Negro slave as a man. His outwardly smooth sentences were inside of them gnarled and tough with the enigmas of the American experiment."

Our struggle with those "enigmas of the American experiment" continues today in the courts, in the Congress, in the State legislatures, sometimes even on the streets and in the homes of America. If it is now in a less violent form, it is still as profound and divisive an issue as any of us care to have to deal with in our lifetime.

Out of the conflict of the Civil War came a great turning point in American history and in the history of the human race. The passage of the 13th, the 14th, and the 15th amendments made Jefferson's doctrine a part of our organic law.

I suppose it is not too much to say that in our time we are faced with the problem of making realities of the 14th and 15th amendments. The application of a principle to the realities of daily life, here and now; that is what we are struggling with in the whole debate over civil rights.

Bit by bit and case by case, the Supreme Court has applied those amendments. The cases striking down State-enforced segregation in the public schools should not have been any surprise to anyone familiar with earlier cases striking down federally enforced segregation.

As a lawyer, I am deeply convinced that the preservation of human liberties and civil rights is more dependent upon the courts functioning under the Constitution, including the checks upon the courts to be found within the Constitution, than upon any other branch of our Government.

The great guardian of the Constitution, the legal interpreter of the Constitution, is the Supreme Court of the United States. It is easy for us in the Congress, in the legislative branch of the Federal Government, to assume sometimes that civil rights are for legislative determination. The fact is that Congress does not and cannot create civil rights through legislation; and neither can the courts, for that matter.

Those rights as now existing can change only by constitutional amendment. But it is for the courts to determine the application of the Constitution to particular events and circumstances.

Some in this country would have us think that the Supreme Court has usurped lawmaking powers in striking down State-supported segregation; they would have us think that the Supreme Court has gone amok, has embraced a radical and alien philosophy under which it has exercised a power not rightfully belonging to it.

What is the truth about that allegation? The fact is that the power exercised by the Supreme Court on that occasion dates back to 1803, when a Supreme Court headed by Chief Justice John Marshall handed down its decision in the case of *Marbury* v. *Madison*, 1 Cranch 137 (1803).

Under the doctrine of *Marbury* v. *Madison*, that the Supreme Court shall be the final arbiter of the meaning of the Constitution until such time as the people amend the Constitution, the Court has recently struck down a State prosecution by Pennsylvania for subverison against the United States; it has struck down actions by Federal executive officers in denying passports, and executive orders relating to the rights of Federal employees; and it has struck down a contempt of Congress citation against a witness who had refused to answer questions put to him by a congresional investgating committee on the ground the questions were irrelevant to the inquiry.

These decisions caused a great hue and cry in many quarters. They gave rise to the whole bevy of bills that crowded onto the House and Senate Calendars in the closing days of the last session of Congress to punish the U.S. Supreme Court.

Not all of these situations are identical to those under which Chief Justice Marshall and his colleagues acted in 1803. Their case of 1803 concerned an act of Congress only; but the language of their opinion applies equally to the basis for the Court's action overturning State legislatures, and the Federal executive, as well as the Federal legislature.

This is what the Court of 1803 had to say on the question of judicial reviews, and I quote the pertinent sections of *Marbury* v. *Madison:*

"The question whether an act repugnant to the Constitution can become the law of the land is a question deeply interesting to the United States. * * *

"That the people have an original right to establish for their future government such principles as, in their opinion, shall most conduce to their own happiness, is the basis on which the whole American fabric has been erected. * * *

"This original and supreme will organizes the government, and assigns to different departments their respective power. It may either stop here or establish certain limits not to be transcended by those departments.

"The Government of the United States is of the latter description. The powers of the legislature are defined and limited; and that those limits may not be mistaken or forgotten, the Constitution is written. To what purpose are powers limited, and to what purpose is that limitation committed to writing, if these limits may, at any time, be passed by those intended to be restrained? * * *

"Certainly all those who have framed written constitutions contemplate them as forming the fundamental and paramount law of the Nation, and consequently the theory of every such government must be that an act of the legislature repugnant to the Constitution is void. * * *

"It is emphatically the province and duty of the judicial department to say what the law is. Those who apply the rule to particular cases must of necessity expound and interpret that rule. If two laws conflict with each other, the courts must decide on the operation of each.

"So if a law be in opposition to the Constitution; if both the law and the Constitution must apply to a particular case, so that the court must either decide that case conformably to the law, disregarding the Constitution, or conformably to the Constitution, disregarding the law, the court must determine which of these conflicting rules governs the case. This is of the very essence of judicial duty."

That is the duty the Supreme Court followed in 1954 when it ruled that State segregation laws must fall before the 14th amendment, for Justice Marshall continued:

"If then, the courts are to regard the Constitution, and the Constitution is superior to any ordinary act of the legislature, the Constitution, and not such ordinary act, must govern the case to which they both apply."

I think many of us are being pretty conservative when we defend and commend the Supreme Court and the lower Federal courts for "holding the fort" of constitutional rights against the assaults of Congress, the State legislatures, and the executive branch. We are upholding the same kind of judicial review that was laid down by Chief Justice Marshall a century and a half ago.

At the same time, there is nothing immutable about what the Federal courts have done. Any time the American people want to withdraw the equal protection of the State laws to all citizens, they can do so by repealing the 14th amendment. By the procedures outlined in it they can change their Constitution and with it, the displeasing rulings of the Supreme Court. Several Senators from the South, led by Senator Talmadge of Georgia, have offered a constitutional amendment to exempt education from the 14th amendment. Of course, I am against that proposal.

Of the thousands of statutes enacted by Congress since its first session in 1789, surprisingly few (less than 80) have been found unconstitutional by the Court. This simple statistical fact can mean several things. One thing it may mean is that Members of Congress do positively consider the constitutional aspects of legislation during the legislative process—when a proposal is first discussed as to aims and objectives, when the bill is drafted, when it is before subcommittee and congressional committee, reported, and debated in both the Senate and the House of Representatives. I think this is a very good thing. I think this is something for which we can all be proud.

But I suggest that the procedure just summarized has not been followed often enough in Congress. Bad legislation, both of unsound public policy and of grave unconstitutionality, has been passed from time to time which a wiser Congress would have rejected. Then, where constitutionality has been an issue, the courts have been the protectors of constitutional rights and liberties. In such cases, the Court has had no choice but to correct errors committed by Congress.

In many instances, the Court is faced with an application of constitutional principles rather than a clear-cut test of constitutionality. In construing statutes, susceptible to various interpretations, the Court must try to apply its understanding of Congress purpose to the factual and legal situation before it. Then, if Members of Congress disagree—if a majority feels strongly that the Court's interpretation of what Congress meant in the particular legislation is incorrect—Congress may enact new legislation along the lines of this other purpose. This we are called upon to do, from time to time, and I, for one, generally resist such efforts to the utmost, preferring to keep my faith in the Court as the careful guardian of our liberties, particularly when Congress has erred in the first place or the Executive has usurped power never delegated by Congress.

Let us look at a few examples.

Congress, a few years ago, enacted a law to authorize the head of a Government agency to suspend summarily an employee when there was serious question that he might be a security risk. The Court, in *Cole* v. *Young*, 351 U.S. 536 (1956), held that this provision applies only to personnel in sensitive positions, not generally to the millions of Government workers in nonsensitive jobs. I think this is a wise and correct interpretation. A hue and cry arose that this decision would lay the Government wide open to mass Communist infiltrations, that Congress meant—or if it didn't so mean when it first passed the Summary Suspension Act, it should now say it meant—to cover all Federal employees, nonsensitive as well as sensitive, park guides and gardeners as well as Defense Department scientists.

In one way, it is encouraging to know that there is substantial opposition to "*Cole* v. *Young* repealer" legislation in at least the Senate of the United States. But we should not relax our vigilance; we must continue to be alert and prevent any wholesale, unwarranted extension of Government power, in this and other fields.

The plain truth of the matter is that the *Cole* v. *Young* decision has not made the Government vulnerable to Communist subversion. Nothing of the sort is involved. Because, under provision of the 1939 Hatch Act concerning Federal employment, a disloyal person may not be hired nor retained on Federal payrolls. *Cole* v. *Young* stands solely for the proposition that Congress did not grant agency or executive department heads the arbitrary power to summarily suspend suspected employees; the power is granted with appropriate restrictness only over personnel occupying sensitive positions with access to properly classified information. Rightly, such arbitrary power must be restricted to apply only where there may be valid grounds for taking such unusual action. Other employees in nonsensitive positions can be dealt with under regular civil service procedures. However, I still think considerable improvement could be made in permitting personnel to be reassigned to nonsensitive positions, awaiting the outcome of determinations concerning their fitness to occupy sensitive jobs. And the Government

should always provide adequate appellate review procedures; it seems to me that the holding in the case of *Wong Yang Sung* v. *McGrath*, 339 U.S. 33 (1950), is sound legal doctrine for the protection of individual liberties—where there is a hearing, it should be a fair hearing in fact and not merely in name. So, to those who seek to destroy *Cole* v. *Young* and make the reasonable distinction between sensitive and nonsensitive positions meaningless, I say: there has been no showing of necessity for such a total expansion of summary-dismissal power.

This brings me to what I think is an extremely important standard to apply to all legislation and particularly proposals affecting the liberties and freedoms of persons in the United States. The yardstick for measuring these suggestions is quite simple, clear and reasonable—namely, "Is this legislation really necessary? What is the purpose? Can this purpose be accomplished in compliance with the basic requirements of the Constitution?" These questions must be answered affirmatively before I shall agree to the proposals. To date, I have not found any of the anti-Supreme Court or anti-Supreme Court-decisions bills can meet these tests satisfactorily. Therefore, I feel Congress has the constitutional duty and responsibility to refuse enactment of unsound, unwise and unconstitutional laws.

Principles of good government and mature legislative responsibilities require, also, that Congress resist hysterical demands made by the executive branch for reversal of Supreme Court decisions. The outstanding example in this category occurred soon after the Supreme Court decisions holding the State Department exceeded its authority in refusing to issue passports to the world-known artist, Rockwell Kent; the California psychiatrist, Walter Briehl; and the cosmic-ray scientist, Weldon Bruce Dayton. The State Department argued the constitutional power of the President to conduct foreign relations carried with it the subordinate power to regulate the travel of U.S. citizens out of, or back into, the United States, in peacetime as well as during war, and that this point of view was accepted by Congress in numerous laws authorizing the Secretary of State to issue passports, and in a provision of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, dealing with movement of persons—citizens as well as aliens—during an emergency declared by the President. (Such an emergency has been declared by both Presidents Truman and Eisenhower.) The Court refused to accept the asserted powers of the State Department. The Court said Congress had not intended to grant blanket authority to the Secretary of State. The Court held that the Secretary was not justified in claiming power to decide who should receive a passport, under what circumstances, and without adequate opportunity to examine adverse evidence and cross-examine adverse witnesses—particularly since all Americans must have a passport to travel anywhere in the world outside the Western Hemisphere today, by our own laws and by requirements of most of the countries to be visited.

Following these decisions, the State Department promptly issued passports to the three litigants: Kent, Briehl, and Dayton—properly so, I think; State Department compliance with the law in this instance is to be commended. The Department also issued passports to several other U.S. citizens whose applications had been denied, or not acted upon pending the outcome of the Kent, Briehl, and Dayton cases. But shortly thereafter the President of the United States sent a special message to Congress urging that the Secretary of State be granted broad powers to restrict the use of, and to deny, passports to Americans in several different categories. A special message from the White House, urging enactment of specific legislation, is itself an unusual occurrence. In any year, there are only a few special messages, and they are nearly always on subjects of great magnitude. So it is to be assumed that some officials in the Executive Branch intended to make Members of Congress believe that President Eisenhower himself attached great significance to the request to overturn the Court's passport decisions. Then the language of the message was further designed to emphasize this impression. The message hammered away at the "urgent" need for legislation and spoke frighteningly of the powerlessness of the Government to deny passports to members of the Communist Party "or to those who have had a long and proven record of Communist activities"—whatever that means.

Well, what are the facts?

The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, of which I am happy to be a member, refused to be stampeded into recommendation of hastily and ill-conceived legislation to impose travel controls on Americans. By now, everyone who had given serious thought to the issues involved was recognizing a constitutional right to travel which was not to be circumscribed by the Federal Government other than in accordance with constitutional requirements of due process of law, necessarily containing the elements of fair-hearing procedures.

The Foreign Relations Committee held public hearings last year and again this year—and, to date, the State Department witnesses have failed to produce evidence of due consequences predicated unless Congress granted the unprecedented power to the Secretary of State. The House of Representatives, in the closing hours of the last Congress, yielded to administration pressures and voted approval of a restrictive bill. But the Senate, respecting the consideration of all legislation on the subject by the Foreign Relations Committee, declined to approve the House bill.

This year, the Foreign Relations Committee has decided there has been no convincing evidence of a need for restrictive passport legislation. And so the matter rests—for the time being. The Senate did not succumb to hysteria, regardless of the powerful position of the Chief Executive invoked by State Department officials.

Does this mean Congress has acquiesced in leaving the country powerless to deal with the Communist conspiracy? Not at all. Nothing of the sort. What is meant is that Congress—at least the Senate of the United States—demands proof of facts of the Communist menace specifically related to travel abroad today by U.S. citizens and a clear demonstration of how governmental controls on that travel are requirements of intelligent national security. The State Department has been given abundant opportunity to prove its case and it has failed to present convincing evidence.

On two other subjects, Federal legislation has been sought in recent years to overcome the effects of Supreme Court decisions in the cases of *Mallory* v. *United States*, 354 U.S. 449 (1957) and *Pennsylvania* v. *Nelson*, 350 U.S. 497 (1956).

Rule 5(a) of the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure requires that an arrested person shall be taken "without unnecessary delay" before the nearest available U.S. Commissioner or other officer empowered to commit persons charged with offenses against the laws of the United States. At that time, the Commissioner is required to inform the arrested person of the complaint against him, of his right to retain counsel and of his right to have a preliminary examination. He shall also inform the defendant that he is not required to make a statement and that any statement made by him may be used against him. Obviously, then, if there is an unreasonable delay in taking the arrested person before the committing magistrate, he may have lost meaningful use of his constitutional rights. The Court years ago in *McNabb* v. *United States*, 318 U.S. 332 (1943) and recently in the *Mallory* case, held that a confession is inadmissible if obtained during a period of unnecessary delay. This is a most pointed way for the Court to implement the clear statement of rule 5(a); the Court says to arresting officers, in effect: "You are arresting, not judicial, officers. If you delay unnecessarily in taking an arrested person before a committing official as required specifically by rule 5(a), you will not be permitted to use a confession taken from the person during that time. This is good law. This is in keeping with constitutional principles regarding due process and individual liberties. As most lawyers—prosecutors and defense counsel and judges—are painfully aware, all confessions are suspect, more or less. Yes, our system of jurisprudence permits voluntary confessions to be used against accused persons, but the key qualifier is "voluntary." How many confessions are genuinely voluntary? Police brutality, torture, the third degree, to extract confessions, are condemned in all our State courts and in the Federal system, but subtle means of torture, threats of physical violence, intimidation and coercion, though harder to prove, are just as thoroughly rejected by our courts. I suggest we all realize in our hearts that time alone may be a most insidious means of forcing action which is not a person's actual free choice. For all these reasons, the Court interpretation of rule 5(a) amounts to sound law and good commonsense in modern society. The burden is where it should be: on the police and prosecuting officers to prove their case by other means than forcing the conviction out of the mouth of the accused.

We should all be sorry to note that bills have been introduced in both Houses of Congress to overcome the effect of the Court's Mallory decision. It is even sadder to note that some of the sponsors are Members of Congress who should know better, especially since a few of them are pleased to be identified as liberals or advocates of civil rights. Their uneasiness becomes apparent, though, when we examine their accompanying statements, in which they speak of clarifying the Mallory decision and wherein they disclaim any intention of interfering with constitutional rights of accused persons. Well, then, I say: Leave the decisions alone. Leave it up to the police to prove that any delay which occurred was really necessary. Stop trying to encourage the police to relax their respect for constitutional rights; stop trying to make it easier to convict by testimony of a person against himself in place of regular, solid, evidence against him.

I return now to the Steve Nelson case. This case is such simpler than its repealer advocates would have you believe. Simply, the Supreme Court of the United States agreed with the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania that Pennsylvania is not authorized to prosecute a person for subversive activities against the United States. This, again, is good law and commonsense. Why, in the name of anything that is logical, should a State ever be permitted to bring prosecutions for Federal offenses under State procedures, in State courts, under State rules? Do the proponents of such a method really lack faith in the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Federal crime detection, Federal laboratories, Federal prosecutors, Federal judges, Federal courts? Because that is the inevitable conclusion to be drawn from their approach. Many of us are inclined to believe that twisted logic has been at work in connection with the hoary old catch phrase "States rights." Some of the States rights advocates appear to be

misleading themselves into feeling that, somehow, if they can succeed in having anti-Federal-preemption laws passed, they will be able to nullify the effect of *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954), and other Supreme Court school desegregation decisions which held racially segregated schools to be in violation of the equal protection of the laws provision of the 14th amendment and therefore unconstitutional. To you in this audience, this may sound farfetched—but I suggest this is involved in the misreading of the Steve Nelson decision.

Incidentally, I would not like to have the impression left that I am blindly an admirer of the Court nor an unreserved critic of several of my colleagues in Congress. I try not to be blind in either my devotion or my criticism. So perhaps this is a good place in my remarks to interject comment that I feel the majority—5 to 4—reached different conclusions than I would have in two cases this year. I think the better constitutional grasp of the issues is expressed by the dissenters in *Barenblatt* v. *United States*, 360 U.S. 109 (1959) and in *Uphaus* v. *Wyman*, 360 U.S. 72 (1959). The two cases involve legislative investigations—Federal and State—of subversive activities. In each case, the defendant is a private individual, not a public official nor the recipient of public funds. The investigators in each case seek to inquire into the defendant's beliefs and associations. Let me quote from the dissenting opinions.

In dissenting in *Barenblatt* v. *United States*, Mr. Justice Black, joined by Chief Justice Warren and Mr. Justice Douglas, summarizes the facts and makes abundantly clear the constitutional issues:

"On May 28, 1954, petitioner Lloyd Barenblatt, then 31 years old, and a teacher of psychology at Vassar College, was summoned to appear before a subcommittee of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. After service of the summons, but before Barenblatt appeared on June 28, his 4-year contract with Vassar expired and was not renewed. He, therefore, came to the committee as a private citizen without a job. Earlier that day the committee's interest in Barenblatt had been aroused by the testimony of an ex-Communist named Crowley. When Crowley had first appeared before the Un-American Activities Committee, he had steadfastly refused to admit or deny Communist affiliations or to identify others as Communists. After the House reported this refusal to the U.S. attorney for prosecution, Crowley voluntarily returned and asked to testify. He was sworn in and interrogated, but not before he was made aware by various committee members of committee policy to make an appropriate recommendation to protect any witness who fully cooperates with the committee. He then talked at length, identifying by name, address, and occupation, whenever possible, people he claimed had been Communists. One of these was Barenblatt, who, according to Crowley, had been a Communist during 1947–59 while a graduate student and teaching fellow at the University of Michigan. Though Crowley testified in great detail about the small group of Communists who had been at Michigan at that time and though the committee was very satisfied with his testimony, it sought repetition of much of the information from Barenblatt. Barenblatt, however, refused to answer their questions and filed a long statement outlining his constitutional objections. He asserted that the committee was violating the Constitution by abridging freedom of speech, thought, press, and association, and by conducting legislative trials of known or suspected Communists which trespassed on the exclusive power of the judiciary. He argued that however he answered questions relating to membership in the Communist Party his position in society and his ability to earn a living would be seriously jeopardized; that he would, in effect, be subjected to a bill of attainder despite the twice-expressed constitutional mandate against such legislative punishments. This would occur, he pointed out, even if he did no more than invoke the protection of clearly applicable provisions of the Bill of Rights as a reason for refusing to answer.

"He repeated these, and other objections, in the district court as a reason for dismissing an indictment for contempt of Congress. His position, however, was rejected at the trial and in the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit over the strong dissents of Chief Judge Edgerton and Judges Bazelon, Fahy, and Washington. The Court today affirms, and thereby sanctions, the use of the contempt power to enforce questioning by congressional committees in the realm of speech and association. I cannot agree with this disposition of the case, for I believe that the resolution establishing the House Un-American Activities Committee and the questions that committee asked Barenblatt violate the Constitution in several respects. (1) Rule XI creating the committee authorizes such a sweeping, unlimited, all-inclusive, and undiscriminating compulsory examination of witnesses in the fields of speech, press, petition, and assembly that it violates the procedural requirements of the due process clause of the fifth amendment. (2) Compelling an answer to the questions asked Barenblatt abridges freedom of speech and association in contravention of the first amendment. (3) The committee proceedings were part of a legislative program to stigmatize and punish by public identification and exposure all witnesses considered by the committee to be guilty of Communist affiliations, as well as all witnesses who refused to answer committee questions on constitutional grounds; the committee was thus improperly seeking to try, convict, and punish suspects, a task which the Constitution expressly denies to Congress and grants exclusively to the courts, to be exercised by them only after indictment and in full compliance with all the safeguards provided by the Bill of Rights."

Mr. Justice Brennan, dissenting, stated:

"I would reverse this conviction. It is sufficient that I state my complete agreement with my Brother Black that no purpose for the investigation of Barenblatt is revealed by the record except exposure purely for the sake of exposure. This is not a purpose to which Barenblatt's rights under the first amendment can validly be subordinated. An investigation in which the process of lawmaking and law-evaluating are submerged entirely in exposure of individual behavior—in adjudication, of a sort, through the exposure process—is outside the constitutional pale of congressional inquiry." *Watkins* v. *United States*, 354 U.S. 178, 187, 200; see also *Sweezy* v. *New Hampshire*, 354 U.S. 234; *NAACP* v. *Alabama*, 357 U.S. 449; *Uphaus* v. *Wyman*, 360 U.S. 72 (dissenting opinion).

In dissenting in *Uphaus* v. *Wyman*, Mr. Justice Brennan—speaking for the same strong four—examines the State investigation in this language:

"The Court holds today that the constitutionally protected rights of speech and assembly of appellant and those whom he may represent are to be subordinated to New Hampshire's legislative investigation because, as applied in the demands made on him, the investigation is rationally connected with a discernible legislative purpose. With due respect by my brothers' views, I do not agree that a showing of any requisite legislative purpose or other State interest that constitutionally can subordinate appellant's rights is to be found in this record. Exposure purely for the sake of exposure is not such a valid subordinating purpose. *Watkins* v. *United States*, 354 U.S. 178, 187, 200; *Sweezy* v. *New Hampshire*, 354 U.S. 234; *NAACP* v. *Alabama*, 357 U.S. 449. This record, I think, not only fails to reveal any interest of the State sufficient to subordinate appellant's constitutionally protected rights, but affirmatively shows that the investigatory objective was the impermissible one of exposure for exposure's sake. I therefore dissent from the judgment of the Court."

I have devoted an appreciable amount of time in these remarks to issues of civil liberties—free speech and association, and due process of law—because I have a deep conviction that procedures are of paramount importance in protecting substantive rights. What of "equal protection of the laws," popularly called "civil rights" in this country ever since the Reconstruction Period which saw adoption of the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments, and enactment of several far-reaching Civil Rights Acts?

The civil rights picture, in my opinion, is not a pretty one. The Court handed down—unanimously—historic decisions in 1954 and 1955, outlawing racial segregation in public education and has since stood fast on this subject, but Congress has been silent. Oh, I know, the Civil Rights Act of 1957 has been hailed as a great achievement: "the first substantial civil rights statute since the days of Reconstruction." But how substantial, really? The record does not disclose that a single American citizen has voted as a direct consequence of the voting provisions of the act of 1957.

The Civil Rights Commission—established by the act—is at best only a study group, however important its suggestions and recommendations may be. Its life was extended, in an offhand way this year, by a nongermane amendment to the foreign aid appropriations bill. I look forward with interest to its further studies and recommendations.

Where does this leave us?

With regard to civil liberties, I think we must continue to oppose restrictive and anti-Supreme Court legislation. This is a resistance action.

With regard to civil rights, I think Congress has a long way to go and must soon enact substantial, meaningful statutes to give effective protection to the constitutional right to vote in Federal elections, and for the constitutional right—for all persons in our great country—to the "equal protection of the laws." This is a noble, positive action, and we should not delay. Our consciences should be pricking us, while the eyes of the world, especially of peoples in Asia and Africa, are upon us. We should get on with the unfinished business of democracy.

The Beat of Time

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, there is beauty and strength in an editorial I find in the New York Times of December 20, 1959. My colleagues and other readers of the RECORD will possess, as have I, a feeling of humility and a

sense of patience when reflecting on the sentences which have been set down in this editorial with skill and substance.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the editorial to which I have made reference.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE BEAT OF TIME

Another solstice is at hand, another season's turn by the stars and the calendar. Tuesday morning brings winter by those calculations which would harness the rhythms of our earth to the order among the stars. Traditionally, then, Tuesday should be the year's shortest day, as we say, the day with the briefest span of daylight. But the year's earliest sunset of the year occurred 2 weeks ago, and the latest sunrise will not come for another week or so. Reckoned in round minutes, we are now in the midst of almost a week of shortest days; and let who will pick out one among them.

It isn't the hour or the minute that really matters, but the enduring rhythm that makes the pattern of our days, our seasons, and our years complete. Neither solstice nor equinox is more, or less, than another beat in the vast, incomprehensible rhythm of time. The clock is set there among the stars, and we read it as we wish, to our brief convenience. But it is the clock by which all life is lived, all life we know; and the hemlock on the hilltop, the torpid woodchuck in his den, man walking the earth, all are participants in the unchanging rhythm.

A solstice, another winter, another anniversary of the Nativity, the coming of another year by the calendar—these events we note, respect and celebrate. Man must have markers, beads on the master abacus. Forever it too long a time to comprehend without them, and life is too brief.

Harbors and Channels—A Railroad's Viewpoint

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. FALLON
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr FALLON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Mr. W. Arthur Grotz, president, Western Maryland Railway Co. The address was delivered by him before the 46th national convention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, and deals on the importance of harbors and channels from the railroads' viewpoint.

Mr. Grotz is highly regarded in railroad circles. I think his address concisely summarizes the necessity of adequate harbors and channels. As the author of enacted legislation providing for the widening and deeping of the main and subsidiary channels of Baltimore Harbor, I was particularly pleased to note his remarks calling for the support of the application pending before the Appropriations Committee for adequate funds for this purpose.

Mr. Grotz is a man for whom I have respect and admiration. As a friend and neighbor, I wish to take this opportunity to extend my warmest greetings to him and wish him every good wish for continued success.

HARBORS AND CHANNELS—A RAILROAD'S VIEWPOINT

(An address by W. Arthur Grotz, president, Western Maryland Railway Co., before National Rivers and Harbors Congress at Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D.C., May 15, 1959)

I have been asked to address you today on the importance of harbors and channels from the railroad's viewpoint. I am not sure that there is any special railroad viewpoint. The interests of the railroads, insofar as development of the Nation's harbors is concerned seem rather generally to coincide with those of any industry concerned with the growth of commerce.

I take it, however, that this was not always thought to be true. Because many years ago a fiery southern Senator had these ringing words to say:

"Canals, suh, are God's own highway, operating on the soft bosom of the fluid that comes straight from Heaven. The railroad stems direct from Hell. It is the Devil's own invention, compounded of fire, smoke, soot, and dirt, spreading its infernal poison throughout the fair countryside. It will set fire to houses along its slimy tracks. It will throw burning brands into the ripe fields of the honest husbandman and destroy his crops. It will leave the land despoiled, ruined, a desert where only sable buzzards shall wing their loathesome way to feed upon the carrion accomplished by the iron monster of the locomotive engine. No, suh, let us hear no more of the railroad."

Happily this dark prediction did not come to pass. Indeed the fire-breathing iron monster itself lived out its time and vanished. After more than a century as the sole railroad motive power, it has given way to the sleek and efficient diesel engine. The billions of dollars spent for diesels in a few years, gentlemen, are of the response of the railroads to technology—an indication of their alertness to the problems of commerce, such as the improvement of harbors, with which my remarks are today concerned.

I sometimes fear that the attention of those concerned with water transportation is too strongly attracted by the apparently interesting problems of developing inland commerce, and too little with the adequacy of the seaports upon which much of our national prosperity and security depend.

Let me expand this thought.

In Baltimore, in common with other east coast seaport cities, we have been understandably apprehensive over the development of the St. Lawrence Seaway. There is no point now in restating our feelings. It finally exists. But I want to emphasize that, despite the opening of navigation of this waterway into the interior of our country, it is still imperative to our national welfare that our eastern harbors and channels be wide and deep, well charted, and equipped with complete navigational aids.

I need not remind you, I am sure, that long before there were port authorities investing public funds in harbor facilities, the railroads of this country had provided piers, docks, wharves, cranes, and other facilities necessary to interchange freight at our harbors between the carriers by land and the carriers on the seas. In many ports such as Baltimore, from which I come, the principal marine terminals for ocean-borne commerce are still provided and maintained by the railroad industry. Parenthetically, I might here remark that in Baltimore, since we now have a port authority, some of our critics think it has become unseemly for the railroads to own and operate wharves and piers. I commend to them the prayer attributed to the British economist, Lord Keynes: "Lord, give me this day my daily opinion, and forgive me my opinion of yesterday." Perhaps tomorrow they may again find virtue in the railroad contributions to harbor improvement and development.

For there is an obviously essential relationship at the seaports of the Nation between the railroads and the carriers by sea. In the early years of this country the waterways were the main highways of commerce. Civilization seeking entrance through the natural harbors made first settlements there and from them penetrated the land along the navigable streams. But even after two centuries, the development of this great continent via natural waterways had proceeded no further than the fringes. Early in the 19th century a few canals pushed inland—in fact the Erie Canal, by providing a waterway into the heart of the continent, gave major impetus to making New York the great city and great seaport which it rapidly became, and still is. Roads there were, of course, but until well into the present century, commercial and industrial transportation along them, except for very short distances, was practically nonexistent. It was not until the locomotive had become a practical workhorse of commerce that the real growth of the United States took place. It was the steel rails which provided the essential bridge between the farms and industries of America and their suppliers and customers overseas. It was a natural consequence, therefore, that the railroads became early leaders in the development of harbor facilities. Their concern for harbor improvements is still extremely lively, similar to the interest of any industry dependent upon the commerce of the country.

Let me illustrate my train of thought by talking for a moment about ore—ore in immense quantities. We are all familiar with the apprehension about the exhaustion of our domestic iron ore and with the discoveries of vast new sources in Canada, South America, Africa, and elsewhere. We are all familiar, too, with our Nation's needs for foreign manganese, chrome, bauxite, and other basic bulk materials. Whatever may be the true implications of these conditions, ore is moving into this country in ever-increasing quantities—some 50 million tons this year—and must be handled efficiently. Typical American energy and ability has already determined that the most efficient means of moving this ore to our shores is abroad huge supercarriers—some capable of transporting more than 60,000 tons at one time, if channels permit. That means more than 1,000 railroad freight car loads, a dozen mighty train loads.

To accommodate these giant vessels at their full loads, harbor channels must be made deep enough and wide enough to admit them, and to enable them to pass and repass on their journeys. Of course, docking facilities must be adequate to accommodate them and to discharge their cargoes quickly.

The docks are ready—provided by private industry, in most cases by the railroads, who, having long foreseen this trend in commerce, enlarged and modernized their piers and handling facilities, beginning a decade ago. They are prepared at this moment to receive, promptly discharge, and roll to industry or stockpiles all of the ore expected.

But at Baltimore, and doubtless elsewhere, the present channel depth limits the load of these great ore carriers and thus compels operation at less that the top efficiency for which their owners designed them.

So you see, we railroad men do have a community of interest with this Congress, in the adequacy of the harbors of our country and their channels.

I have referred to the part played by the railroads in the development of our seaports, by providing facilities for the transfer of goods to and from ships and by providing connections with the vast interior of this country for efficient transportation. For certainly without these there would be no occasion for the dredging of deep channels. I have discussed the importation of ores, as an example of great national importance. Perhaps I should now turn over the coin and point out some of the things which appear on the export side of our national interest.

From the farms of the Middle West great tides of grain flow to the eastern seaboard, en route to feed hungry people all over the world. From the steel mills and the factories of mid-America, come the manufactured goods of these United States for markets in other lands. These goods travel to the eastern seaports, not merely because there are rails to take them, and piers over which to cheaply transfer them, but because there are frequent sailings of ships for the sea voyages. And there are ships because there are harbors to shelter them, channels to travel through, and the navigational aids which these days are so necessary.

Much has been said over the years about inadequacy of the scale on which the Congress has provided for maintenance and improvement of the harbors of the country. The railroads, at least those which serve the seaports, can join you in regretting that this aspect of our public works has not received the attention which it should have. Had it been possible to enlist the public interest in harbor improvement to the same extent that airways, for example, have benefited from the public purse, we would not now find that many of our harbors are unprepared to receive the greatly enlarged vessels already at sea.

As a railroad man, and as a representative of that industry, which, more than any other so directly concerned with the public interest, has eschewed subsidies, and relied on its own resources, I do not wish to be understood as joining the clamor for public aid. However, the maintenance of adequate seaports, since they benefit all of our people, albeit in different ways and more or less directly, is peculiarly one for public funds. It is a source of dismay to find that it is necessary for citizens like myself personally to appeal to the Congress to meet its responsibility, at least to the extent of bringing our channels to the dimensions for accommodating the shipping which private enterprise has already put to sea.

In this connection, I hope we may have your support in the application which is now pending before the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives for $7 million to provide the first stages of a 42-foot deep, widened channel into Baltimore Harbor. If this channel is provided the railroads are prepared to do their part of the job by bringing the supplementary channels, at their expense, alongside of their own piers.

We are all part of a great industrial and commercial society—you of the waterways and we of the railways. We have each made and we are each still making our separate contributions to the growth of America. I know you will permit me to say that the railroads' part in bringing together various parts of this vast country has been no inconsiderable part.

Competition sets us apart from you waterway men in most of our daily affairs, although there are welcome signs that areas of a more cooperative atmosphere are developing.

But whatever the extent of our differences inland, at the seacoast we see eye to eye. Harbors and adequate channels are a common necessity.

In this, our mutual interest in harbors, we cordially join you in that supreme test of private enterprise—the evolution here in America of the best transportation system in the world.

Conduct of Hunters Relating to Safety and Courtesy in the Outdoors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, a most excellent and informative article entitled "Hunter Conduct Afield" was printed in the Oregon State Game Commission Bulletin for November 1959 under the byline of Hon. Rollin E. Bowles, chairman of that commission.

Mr. Bowles is one of our State's outstanding sportsmen and conservationists. Inasmuch as a great deal of hunting in the Pacific Northwest takes place on the vast lands owned by the Federal Government, I regard the pertinent suggestions presented by Mr. Bowles as information of value and importance to all of us in the Senate.

Therefore, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that his article from the Bulletin of the Oregon Game Commission be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HUNTER CONDUCT AFIELD

(By Rollin E. Bowles, chairman, Oregon State Game Commission)

As this is being written, preparations are being made in many of the homes of Oregon for the great trek to the woodland areas for the opening of deer season. The hunters of Oregon have already enjoyed a substantial amount of hunting—first for antelope, then doves and pigeons, sage grouse, blue and ruffled grouse. Probably the greatest number of people to participate in the taking of wild game in Oregon occurs at the opening weekend of deer season when a majority of Oregon's 250,000 deer hunters are out to pursue their favorite pastime.

Oregon is particularly fortunate in the length of seasons that it enjoys in the big game field, together with the variety available. Antelope, blacktail and mule deer, Rocky Mountain elk and Roosevelt elk are all avidly sought after by an ever-increasing number of gunners. However, the continued participation in this great recreational outlet is more likely to be curtailed from other causes than the lack of adequate game to justify a person going afield. Over 50 percent of the land area in the State of Oregon is in Federal ownership and practically all of this land, with the exception of a few widely scattered parcels, is supposed to be open to the use by the public for hunting and fishing. We know there are many acres of this area that have been closed by persons who have purchased land that lies across the only point of entry to the public land. They have closed their property to all except a few chosen persons whom they allow on their land and who through this have access to the public lands lying behind. It must be remembered by Oregon's army of hunters that some of the best big-game hunting, as well as the majority of upland bird hunting, still is to be found on lands in private ownership. The cooperation of those landowners is of vital necessity to the continuation of the sport of hunting as our forefathers have known it.

With the great influx of population into the western part of the United States and particularly into Oregon the last few years, more and more land has come to be posted. This was occasioned by irresponsible people, some of whom felt that a hunting license gave them the right to enter on land in pursuit of wild game which happened to be public property and entered without permission. Such is not the case at all. The game may be public property, but pursuing it on privately owned land is a privilege to be granted or withdrawn as the owner of that land may see fit. Of late years we have seen a number of previously closed areas, particularly those owned by large timber companies in the western part of the State, opened to public hunting on a rather open basis. The deer and elk population had become so large that they caused severe damage to the new tree plantings so carefully and expensively set out by the landowners. How long these timber companies will be willing to permit the public to utilize these lands to exercise their sport is dependent almost entirely upon the conduct of those people who go upon the lands.

Instances have been cited to the game commission where people had gone in as the guests of the landowner and had shot up the equipment, damaged buildings, storage tanks and carelessly left a fire burning that could have destroyed the entire area for the landowner as well as the deer hunter. It is quite obvious to anyone that a situation can conceivably arise where the tree farmer can better tolerate an over population of big game animals than he can a handful of careless and irresponsible hunters or fishermen.

As the result of the diligent and tireless efforts of a number of people in the sportsmen's clubs and State agencies, coupled with the need for proper harvest, many of these land areas are still remaining open in spite of the human problems that the irresponsible few bring about. One large timber company has reported quite recently that the conduct of the hunters in 1958 was so good that it is even opening up the areas where active logging is going on and some areas that have been previously closed for fear of both fire and injuries to their own people. It is hoped by the Oregon State Game Commission that this conduct on the part of the hunters will point the way to additional acres being opened so that a proper and balanced harvest of the wildlife populations can be carried out. Whether or not such is to be the case is largely dependent upon the individual hunter, for only he can be the guardian of his own conduct in the field. If he sees someone else who is not playing the game according to the rules, he can indicate to that individual the nature of the misconduct he observes and what may be the result to all concerned if this type of conduct continues.

Having traveled over a good part of the State in the past several years, hunting both big game and upland birds, it has been my privilege to talk to a great number of landowners who did not know who I was, whether I had any connection with the sportsmen's clubs or game commission, or whether I was just another hunter. I found that the biggest complaint and the most frequent charge of misconduct came as the result of people who went upon the land of another without asking permission to do so. Let us for just a moment put the shoe on the other foot. Let us say that some stranger would come to your property in the city. You may only have just a small lot or a large one,

for that matter, that you had cared for carefully. Then this stranger went marching across the lawn through the petunia beds, picking the roses, and such other flowers that he might desire. You can readily visualize the uproar that would result. You would be angry, and justly so. But the corn, beets, alfalfa, and other crops that the farmer may be growing are just as dear to him as are your petunias and rosebushes, for it is out of them that he makes his livelihood. After all, for you to go upon his land is a privilege and not a right. Obviously he is interested in knowing who is upon his land and why; and it is no more than fair that you have the courtesy to ask him for that privilege.

Most generally the landowner is quite reasonable in granting permission unless there are definite reasons why he does not want people upon his property, and these reasons are perfectly valid in most instances. Crops that are ready for harvesting are not going to stand a man and his dog walking over them. Fields that contain a number of cattle are not hunting spots in the farmer's eye because the cattle can be disturbed very easily, lose flesh or drop in their milk production. Other very good and real reasons are generally the basis upon which the landowner refuses permission. However, he may have other lands that are not in this condition but are open by permission. There is, of course, the isolated instances where the landowner does not permit any hunting by anybody for reasons that are peculiar to himself, and that is his right.

Another fact that is in some degree a real problem is that of camp grounds. There is the ever present complaint concerning people who camp in our beautiful forests while on a hunting or fishing expedition and leave their debris scattered all over the place. Surely, it is not asking too much to burn up the refuse that is burnable and bury the rest. Cans, bottles and so forth are certainly an eyesore and oftentimes they are a danger. Cans often have sharp edges that could cut when partially buried in the grass and broken bottles are an ever present danger to everyone, particularly to youngsters. Other refuse that can't be burned should be buried well so that it does not attract flies and cause the camp grounds to be an unpleasant, ill-smelling place for those who may come later. And while on the subject of camp grounds, be careful with fire. It can not only destroy the camp ground and the home in which the deer, elk, and other wild animals, birds, and fish live; it can also cost the jobs of a lot of workmen. Fire has been known to often trap those who negligently started it in the first place. Lives are lost every year in forest fires, and I am sure that no one would want to feel that he was guilty of the negligence that cost the life of another person by not taking proper care of his fire and putting out every match or cigarette while in the field or in the forest.

We have been fortunate in Oregon in the past few years in that no hunter-caused fire of significant proportions has been reported, but unless every one of us exercises continuing caution, that fire may engulf our favorite area.

Those of us who have been close to the outdoor recreational picture for the past few years have seen introduced at each session of the Oregon Legislative Assembly an increasing number of bills seeking to curb or restrict the sport of hunting and fishing. These bills were submitted oftimes by people who were not well informed but certainly sincere. Most of them have failed of passage but it is not wholly impossible that in the future, as the result of some tragic incident caused by a hunter or fisherman who has failed to fulfill his responsibilities while afield, some of these bills may become law, thereby possibly seriously restricting the sport as those of us to whom it is so dear have known in the past. It is hoped that these incidents do not occur but, from experiences of the past, they are an ever-present danger.

The Oregon State Game Commission has been extremely vigilant in legislative matters of this type, doing all within its power to protect the privileges and recreation for which Oregon is famous. We are sincerely hopeful that we have the cooperation of everyone who purchases a license to fish or hunt. Whether we are able to maintain this possession is dependent upon how well the licenseholding public guards its own conduct while afield.

In conclusion, I repeat what all of you have heard on many occasions. Be careful with fire and firearms. Respect the rights and property of others. Conduct yourself in such a way at all times as you would expect a guest to conduct himself in your home. Be a good sportsman.

Extraordinary Distinction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am pleased to include two very interesting articles about our majority leader, JOHN W. MCCORMACK, which appeared in the Lynn Telegram-News, Lynn, Mass., on December 13, 1959, and the Boston Sunday Globe on December 20, 1959:

[From the Lynn Telegram-News, Dec. 13, 1959]

EXTRAORDINARY DISTINCTION

(By Frank Daley)

"No man has done more for the Democratic Party in the past quarter century or was more responsible for the party's landslide victories in 1958 than National House Majority Leader JOHN W. MCCORMACK," was the opinion expressed by former President Harry S. Truman to top party leaders in attendance at the New York dinner to honor Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt on her 75th birthday, Monday night, December 7.

"JOHN MCCORMACK," asserted Mr. Truman, "deserves a very special honor among men who are serving the Democratic Party with extraordinary distinction.

"He envisions government as an instrument to provide equality of opportunity.

"Mr. MCCORMACK has long been zealous for the strength and safety of America. He has accomplished countless things and, above all, has helped center nationwide attention upon our need to keep ahead of Russia in missiles, atomic power, air defense, etc.

"We'll have great Democratic victories in 1960 due in major part to the impressive legislative record of the Democratic Congress under the leadership of JOHN W. MCCORMACK," Truman concluded.

[From the Boston Sunday Globe, Dec. 20, 1959]

ROUND ABOUT WITH DANIEL J. O'BRIEN

An example of National House Majority Leader JOHN W. MCCORMACK's popularity and great prestige on the national level was evidenced at the New York dinner to honor Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt on her 75th birthday by a remark from James Patton of Denver, president of the National Farmers' Union, which has a membership of 750,000. Mr. Patton said, "Congressman MCCORMACK's legislative record is a sequence of constructive activity designed to make democracy work as an instrument to promote human happiness. He is most deserving of commendation from every working man and woman in the Nation as his public career has been dedicated to the advancement of legislation aimed to make working and living conditions better for the Nation's workers."

A Pioneer Among Pioneers in Aviation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK J. BECKER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. BECKER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an article from the Tri-Town Leader as well as copy of my letter to Dr. Walden on December 3, 1959, elaborating somewhat on his accomplishments. Dr. Henry W. Walden is a pioneer in the field of aviation and, last month, the New York Chapter of the Silver Wings Fraternity honored him on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the first successful flight of the first American monoplane. It is fitting that we should pay tribute to this fine American.

The article follows:

[From the Tri-Town Leader, Dec. 17, 1959]

PIONEER AVIATOR IS HONORED ON ANNIVERSARY OF FLIGHT

The 50th anniversary of the first successful flight of the first American monoplane, which was made at Mineola, L.I., on December 9, 1909, was fittingly observed by the New York Chapter of Silver Wings Fraternity, at Mitchel Air Force Base. Maj. Louis W. Bieser, of Lynbrook, president of the New York chapter, was official host and toastmaster.

The guest of honor on this auspicious occasion was Dr. Henry W. Walden, famous aviation pioneer, who not only designed, built, and flew the first successful monoplanes in America, but who also designed and built the first radio-controlled, air-to-ground missile, in November 1915.

The original model of this missile, together with scale models of the Walden III and the Walden IX monoplanes are on permanent exhibition for historical record, at the National Air Museum of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C.

To bring the younger generation of airmen up to date on the country, Dr. Walden gave an illustrated talk on his dedicated work in aviation, beginning in 1908 and in continuing until 1942, in the Brick Theater at Mitchel Air Force Base. His talk was enthusiastically received by a large, attentive audience, who were continually amazed at the daring of the early pioneers of aviation.

Flying personnel of Mitchel Air Force Base; the Civil Air Patrol; Reserve air squadrons in the Long Island area, together with members of the Early Birds; Quiet Birdmen; Long Island Early Fliers and the 0X05 Club joined with the New York Chapter of Silver Wings Fraternity in honoring Dr. Walden on this happy, historical occasion.

Col. Andrew Slough, commanding the 2,500th Maintenance Squadron, extended

greeting on behalf of Col. John O. Hall, air base commander, who was unexpectedly called away. Following the colonel's remarks, the following resolution was unanimously passed and sent to the Honorable James H. Douglas, Secretary of the Air Force:

"*Resolved*, That the members of the New York Chapter of Silver Wings Fraternity; the Early Birds; Quiet Birdmen; Long Island Early Fliers; CX-5 Club; the Civil Air Patrol, and Reserve air squadrons based in the Long Island area, here assembled, go on record as unanimously favoring the retention of Mitchel Field as a U.S. Air Force base."

At the conclusion of Dr. Walden's talk, Elmo N. Pickerill, of Mineola, vice president of the Early Birds, presented him with a handsome bronze plaque, commemorating the 50th anniversary of his signal achievement. This was followed by a presentation of a framed engrossed scroll by the Air Force Association.

DEAR DR. WALDEN: I am sorry that I cannot be present today to honor you personally on important occasion. However, let me take this opportunity to join with the New York Chapter of the Silver Wings Fraternity in congratulating you on your contributions to the development of aviation.

On this day, 50 years after your flight at Mineola, we have gained the perspective to appreciate more fully the significance of that pioneering event. The frontiers of aviation which you explore have now been crossed by a great proportion of the American people, and one of our most important industries has been established there. The early monoplanes you designed and built have since been succeeded by a whole series of monoplanes, including the DC-2, the DC-3, the Atlantic Clipper, the Flying Fortress, the P-51 Mustang, and more recently the Boeing 707 and the DC-8. America has become a nation which flies and which depends on flight for its defense. How much it owes to you, the designer and pilot of the first successful American powered monoplane.

And now in this decade when the air age is being transformed into the space age and our thoughts are suddenly turned to a new world of missiles and satellites, we again discover that you have preceded us. For in November 1915 you achieved another first: the design and construction of the first radio-guided, air-to-land missile.

These first are but two of your accomplishments during a distinguished career in aviation. Therefore, it is altogether fitting that today we should commemorate your Mineola flight and pay tribute to your dedicated and innovating spirt. I send you my warmest congratulations.

The Late Charles A. Boyle

SPEECH
OF
HON. FRANK CHELF
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1960

Mr. CHELF. Mr. Speaker, I was shocked and grieved to learn of the untimely passing of our beloved colleague CHARLES BOYLE, of Chicago.

CHARLIE was a lovable, capable sincere, intelligent, fearless, God-fearing, God-loving Member of this great body. He served his constituents with a devotion that truly inspired all of us. His ready wit—grin, and pleasant disposition will be greatly missed. The Nation and Illinois have lost a noble son—a real Christian—a splendid gentleman and a fine legislator. May God rest his sweet soul in peace and bless his family always.

Wheat Farmers Are Trying

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALT HORAN
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. HORAN. Mr. Speaker, last November, I had the pleasure of participating in the fifth annual convention of the Washington State Wheat Association held in Spokane, Wash. Delegates to the convention consisted of wheatgrowers, for the most part, and people in related industries. During this convention they were primarily interested in formulating a program that would not only benefit them as wheat producers but also, the Nation in general. They were aware that one cannot analyze the farm problem without giving reference to the economics involved.

I am confident that my colleagues will benefit from reading a few of the more important resolutions, agreed to by the convention delegates, which are designed to help solve the farm problem, particularly that of the ever increasing wheat surplus. One resolution was endorsed by a 2-to-1 vote supporting the domestic parity plan for wheat as embodied in the wheat stabilization plan.

I am proud that I was one of the original sponsors of this program in the House of Representatives, because I feel that it is one solution to the acreage restriction program. Also, I believe it is founded on constructive economic principles. Briefly, the wheat stabilization program is designed to accomplish the following:

1. Reduce Government annual expense by approximately $545 million.
2. Reduce surplus wheat stocks by 75 million bushels annually.
3. Maintain the farmer's present net income.
4. Provide 100 percent of parity for the farmer on domestic wheat.
5. Give farmers freedom of decisions for planting.
6. Provide loans at 65 percent of parity.
7. Build up the soil with 20 percent in the soil bank.

This program, Mr. Speaker, is based on a bushelage control instead of the present acreage control, which would definitely stop further buildup of the Commodity Credit Corporation's stocks, as well as reduce their present holdings. Washington's wheatgrowers hope this stabilization program will be given a chance because they feel that it would be the answer to the hopes of the farmer and the answer to the complaints of the critics of farm programs.

In the field of marketing and market research, the delegates also recommended and endorsed programs of increased research in the areas of industrial utilization of farm products—agribusiness—alternate crops for diverted or alloted acreage, air classification, and expansion of research involving methods of producing higher quality grains. Legislatively, besides endorsing the wheat stabilization program, the delegates endorsed the action taken in the last session of Congress extending Public Law 480, the Agriculture Trade Development and Assistance Act. They also recommended that wheat foods be made available in greater variety under the food for peace plan initiated by the President in his agriculture message of last year. They particularly recommended a greater variety in the form of bulgour type wheat.

Mr. Speaker, let me say again that I am particularly pleased with the results of this convention for they prove that if anyone is sincerely interested in solving the farm problems, it is the farmers themselves. I believe that we should follow their example. It is necessary that we divest partisan politics from the farm problem and strive to enact a constructive farm program. Congress must not shirk its legislative responsibility in this instance, nor must the executive branch fail to carry out its administrative responsibility. Very few defend the farm legislation now on the books, but the fact remains that this legislation was put there by the Congress. And if it is to be changed, it must be changed by the Congress.

The "Old Guard" Fiction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I would like to insert an editorial from the Chicago Sun Times of December 31, 1959:

THE "OLD GUARD" FICTION

Now that Governor Rockefeller has decided not to compete for the Republican presidential nomination, the Democrats have stepped up their campaign to label Vice President NIXON as the darling of that reactionary fringe of the GOP known as the old guard.

This is political hocum.

The old guard—or what little is left of it—notoriously stands for isolationism and against social reform.

NIXON is an internationalist in the tradition of Wendell Willkie, for whom he campaigned in 1940. He is an outspoken champion of the United Nations, of a stronger World Court even at the cost of modifying U.S. sovereignty, of generous foreign aid in those forms, such as technical assistance, that will bring the greatest good to the recipients. He has publicly declared: "Let us expand the idea of peaceful competition which Mr. Khrushchev has often enunciated. Above all, let us find more and more areas where we can substitute cooperation for competition in achieving our goal of a fuller, freer, richer life for every man, woman and child on this earth."

NIXON has been one of the most vigorous exponents of stepping up the pace and the quality of American education—using Fed-

eral aid wherever it can be used with good effect.

He was instrumental in producing the first civil rights legislation since the Reconstruction days. "This Nation," he has said, "cannot afford the luxury of people who might be as capable as George Washington Carver, for example, and other Negro scientists that I could name, not having the opportunity to get the education which those who happen to be different in color do have the opportunity to get."

Labor leaders have attacked NIXON, from time to time, for his advocacy of measures to check abuses and demagogery within labor unions. It would be hard to make an antilabor label stick on the man who said: "Management is always quick to point out faults of labor. It should be as quick to recognize its own faults and to take remedial action. Management should give labor a stake in business and industry through profit-sharing plans and similar devices." He also stands on the record for broad extension of unemployment insurance protections, and for establishing higher minimum standards for the level of benefits, their duration, and their coverage. These are not by a very long shot the earmarks of a darling of the Old Guard.

In one respect NIXON is a conservative. In fiscal matters, he believes in holding both taxes and public spending down to the lowest practicable level, believing these policies are essential to sound economic growth. But even here, his position is liberal enough to bring some of the reactionary diehards snorting out of their seats. "We must not allow the fear of a temporary budget deficit to put us in a straitjacket which will keep us from doing what we ought to do to insure economic growth," he has declared. "Our goal should be to fashion a tax structure which will create more jobs, more income, and more genuine security."

We hope the Democratic leadership will wage the campaign on the issues, and not waste the voters' time on fiction.

Batten Down the Hatches

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, upon the convening of this 2d session of the 86th Congress, we are sure to be beseiged with propaganda of salesmen who insist that unless the Government buys its gadgets or adopts its developmental approaches we will face military or economic ruin in the race with Russia. We are given an impression of that totalitarian nation as being the most progressive, forward-moving nation on earth; and many of the facts and statistics are distorted in the comparisons which are made.

In such circumstances, the following editorial from the Indianapolis Star of January 2, 1960, is interesting and refreshing:

BATTEN DOWN THE HATCHES

A senatorial delegation has made a month-long inspection of hydroelectric facilities in the Soviet Union. If we may rely on what has been written by one member of the delegation, it has returned impressed by the size and pace of Russian development. The magazine Public Power summed it up with this headline: "Soviets Seize Hydro Leadership."

The author of the magazine's report was Alex Radin, general manager of the American Public Power Association and editor of the magazine, who went along on the trip as a consultant to the Senate Interior Committee. He indicated that the delegation came back persuaded that the United States ought to accelerate the momentum of its hydroelectric power program in order to maintain a competitive position.

The facts of the situation, as reported by Radin, deserve some examination. Radin himself carefully pointed out that, "despite the leadership which Russia has achieved in the building of individual dams and generating units," total electric power generating capacity in the United States is still almost three times that in the Soviet Union. If the Russians reach their goal of doubled capacity by 1965, they will still have only half the capacity the Federal Power Commission estimates the United States will then have in the normal course of development.

Radin reports that the Russians are building the biggest power dams in the world. They are also building the biggest generating units. In the United States, both dams and generators are built big enough to do the jobs required of them. Efficiency and effectiveness are more important than size.

He reports that the Russians are transmitting power twice as far as is done in the United States. This is just another way of saying that areas needing power in Russia are twice as far from the sources of power as in America. Nowhere in the United States is any appreciable potential market for power beyond the reach of transmission lines. Radin also reports that the Russians are transmitting power at higher voltages. We have no doubt that if it were economically desirable, to transmit power at higher voltages in the United States, it would be done.

Radin reports new techniques for faster construction of dams by partial prefabrication. This is interesting. But we have no doubts about American engineering ability to do the same if it is useful.

We find therefore no reason to conclude that Russia has seized leadership in hydroelectric power.

Some of Radin's reasons for being impressed by Russia's power developments do, however, merit attention. He points out that comparative capacity figures have more industrial meaning in Russia because the Russians devote a larger share of power to industrial uses, 79 percent compared with 49 percent in the United States. He also reports that new power dams are being used as the bases for developing new industrial complexes. In this respect the rate of power development in Russia does have a special significance. It is an indication of continuing stress on heavy industrial development.

This does not, however, provide any reason for going off into a new flurry of public power development in the United States, whether of water or steam power. Comparison on hydroelectric power is hardly pertinent, for two reasons. One is that waterpower potential in locations within economic reach of markets has been pretty well developed, and will undoubtedly continue to be developed as new markets appear. The other is that waterpower for its own sake is of less importance here because in most areas, particularly the areas of concentrated industry, coal is abundantly available to fuel steamplants.

The officially sponsored trip to study Russian waterpower development, however, is warning enough that a new push for public power projects can be expected in Congress. The argument of catching up with Russia is easily predictable. It should get short shrift.

Equalized Pay for Retired Members of the Uniformed Services

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. BALDWIN, JR.
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. Speaker, on the opening day of the 1st session of the 86th Congress, I introduced H.R. 703, designed to equalize the pay of retired member of the uniformed services. Similar bills have been introduced in the House of Representatives by 45 other Members.

President Eisenhower has now taken a stand in favor of this legislation. The Secretary of Defense, Mr. Thomas S. Gates, on December 11, 1959, also filed the following report addressed to the chairman of the Armed Services Committee, House of Representatives, endorsing the bill, with the suggestion that a substitute draft bill be adopted to eliminate certain technical deficiencies in the bill without making any substantive changes:

THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE,
Washington, December 11, 1959.

Honorable CARL VINSON,
Chairman, Committee on Armed Services, House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Reference is made to your request for the views of the Department of Defense with respect to H.R. 703, H.R. 2912, H.R. 2973, and H.R. 5113.

The apparent purpose of the bills is to authorize those members and former members of the uniformed services who became entitled to the receipt of retired or retainer pay prior to June 1, 1958, and whose retired or retainer pay was based on rates of pay contained in section 201(a) of the Career Compansation Act of 1949, as amended, to recompute their entitlement to such pay on the basis of the new and higher rates of pay provided by the act of May 20, 1958, (Public Law 85-422). Although the language of the bills is somewhat ambiguous, it appears that the resultant increase in retired or retainer pay entitlement would accrue from the first day of the month following the date of enactment.

An examination of the bills reveals certain technical deficiencies which would prevent them from completely achieving their apparent purpose. Therefore, there is attached for consideration a substitute draft bill which will eliminate these deficiencies without making any substitute changes.

Public Law 85-422 specifically excluded personnel retired prior to June 1, 1958, from the benefits of the new pay rates and in lieu thereof authorized such personnel, except those with less than 2 years' service, a 6-percent increase in their retired or retainer pay. This treatment of retired personnel was a departure from the traditional concept of relating retired pay increases to active duty compensation and operated to nullify certain provisions of title 10, United States Code, which provide in essence that whenever the rates of pay for personnel on the active list are changed, the retired pay to which personnel are entitled shall be recomputed on the basis of the new rates. Also the inevitable result of a cutoff date, such as the effective date of Public Law 85-422, is to produce some disparities in rates of retired pay among personnel of the same grade and length of service, depending on date of retirement.

It should be noted that the proposed pay bill submitted to the Congress last year by the Department of Defense had as its objective a fundamental, sweeping change in the active duty military pay system rather than a pay raise as such. Under that bill some 38 percent of the personnel on active duty would have received no increase in basic pay except for a temporary 6-percent cost-of-living adjustment. Subsequently the House of Representatives passed a new bill which was prepared by the House Committee on Armed Services, concurred in by the Senate with minor amendments and enacted with the support of the Department of Defense to become Public Law 85-422. This law, as enacted, provided in effect a general pay increase of at least 6 percent for all active duty personnel with more than 2 years' service, and, as already noted, extended this 6 percent increase to all but the one category of personnel retired prior to June 1, 1958. Public Law 85-855, August 28, 1958, amended the Military Pay Act of June 1, 1958, and extended the 6-percent increase to those retired with less than 2 years' service.

The Department of Defense has restudied its earlier position on the recomputation of retired pay and after further consideration now believes it only equitable and fair to reestablish the traditional relationship between active duty pay and retired pay. The Department of Defense, therefore, recommends enactment of legislation to achieve these objectives as expressed in the attached substitute draft bill and believes the net result would be of significant value by increasing the morale, efficiency, and effectiveness of our active duty career personnel as well as avoiding discrimination against retired personnel who served their country faithfully and well.

If this legislation were enacted in time to become effective February 1, 1960, the increased cost for the last 5 months of fiscal year 1960 is estimated at $10,500,000. Funds to cover this increased cost were not included in the budget for fiscal year 1960 but it is believed that such cost could be absorbed within funds heretofore made available by the Congress.

Estimated increased costs for succeeding years are: fiscal year 1961, $24,470,000; fiscal year 1962, $23,980,000; fiscal year 1963, $23,500,000.

The Bureau of the Budget has advised that there is no objction to the submission of this report to the Congress and further that enactment of legislation along the lines of the proposed substitute draft bill is in accord with the President's program.

Sincerely yours,

THOMAS S. GATES.

Mr. Speaker, in accordance with the recommendation of the Secretary of Defense, I yesterday introduced the substitute bill proposed by the Defense Department. This bill is H.R. 9304. Since this bill has the approval of both President Eisenhower and the Defense Department, I very much hope that the Armed Services Committee will schedule early hearings upon this and other similar bills so that this legislation can be brought before the House of Representatives as soon as possible. This bill will restore the almost undeviating principle in the military pay and retirement system that the pay of a retired member of the uniform services should be directly geared to active duty pay of a member of the same rank and length of service. The purpose of this legislation is to reestablish this traditional principle which has come to be considered almost inviolate.

The Death of Lawrence Richey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, the unexpected death of "Larry" Richey, for many years the faithful secretary of former President Herbert Hoover, will be mourned by many thousands who knew him for his genuine, attractive, and warmhearted personality. "Larry" Richey was a great guy and those of us who were privileged to enjoy his friendship mourn his death.

How most of us feel about "Larry" Richey was well described by George E. Sokolsky in his column, which I insert under leave to extend my remarks:

LARRY RICHEY

(By George E. Sokolsky)

The longer one lives, the more often he goes to funerals, but I did not expect to know on a Monday morning that Larry Richey, with whom I spent some hours in Herbert Hoover's apartment on Christmas Day, died gently in an airplane on his way home to Washington on Sunday. The transition was too swift; the surprise too shocking.

Larry Richey was an unusual character. He was of Italian origin and as a boy was employed by the secret service to help track down counterfeiters and smugglers. He was small and could be put in places where his size and quickness were of value. I shall always treasure the many tales he told me of the Black Hand and of the efforts of the New York police to put down this criminal group of kidnapers and murderers. Larry undoubtedly had already learned how to keep his mouth shut when he worked for the secret service, but his sense of doglike loyalty, his profound devotion to Herbert Hoover could not be taught or learned. It was as innate as the nose on his face.

Herbert Hoover has often been accused of not being a keen psychologist in the selection of his associates. But this can be said that those who came close to Herbert Hoover have remained everlastingly loyal to him and that they have remained loyal to each other as well. This quality of loyalty is, like so many old-fashioned virtues, regarded as corny in an era when it is each man for himself and only too often for his own advancement rather than for the benefit of the country. But in the entourage of Herbert Hoover it has continued to be basic.

Larry Richey came into Hoover's service in 1917 when Hoover was Food Administrator and remained with him until his death. An intimate friendship developed between these two men, a decade apart in years. Both found their recreation in the outdoors, Mr. Hoover being a devotee of fishing and Larry generally going along with him. The association grew increasingly intimate as the years moved on, changing from secretary to close friend and confidant.

Larry Richey became Herbert Hoover's personal secretary after the latter entered the Cabinet as Secretary of Commerce. Richey's predecessor in that position was Christian Herter, now Secretary of State, who had been one of Hoover's staff. Richey continued with Hoover to the White House. It is interesting to note how many men who were early associated with Hoover advanced to great careers.

It was in the sad days immediately after Herbert Hoover's defeat by Franklin D. Roosevelt that I came to know Larry Richey intimately. After a sojourn in Palo Alto, Herbert Hoover settled in the Waldorf Astoria in New York. It was a difficult period in Mr. Hoover's life. He was very unpopular. A younger generation that had not known of his achievements regarded him as the author of the depression. Charley Michelson, Roosevelt's press agent, for no sound reason devoted himself to smearing ex-President Hoover as though it were still a presidential election campaign.

A deeply emotional man, Herbert Hoover felt every shock and every barb of injustice, but as a Quaker he took the shafts of life as they came without vindictiveness or hatred. It was during those dreary months that Larry Richey showed his character, his loyalty, his steadfastness. He was an enormous comfort to Mr. Hoover, whose office he managed and whose nature he so completely understood.

On Christmas Day, this year, Herbert Hoover invited a number of old friends to call on him. Larry had come up from Washington where he lived. He was gay and full of stories. He saw many of his old friends. He talked about fishing and hunting, and he was as cheerful as anyone there. I had perhaps 20 years ago planned to grow horseradish on my farm in the Berkshires, and Larry recalled that and he had all sorts of quips and jests about horse-radish. He and the Chief, as Herbert Hoover is generally referred to, were planning some fishing trips together.

He stayed at the Hoover apartment over Sunday, had his lunch with his Chief, took a plane to Washington, fell asleep on the plane, and gently died.

He had spent his last Christmas with those whom he loved most. Can any man ask for more?

Peace and Jobs for 1960

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL S. STRATTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, as the 86th Congress moves into the second session the thoughts and attention of all of us are focused, of course, on the underlying goals and objectives of this legislative period.

In that connection, just before leaving to come to Washington, I released to the people of my district a statement of my own views on the major goals and objectives of this session, and under leave to extend my remarks, I include this statement:

At the start of this second session of the 86th Congress I want to express again to all the people of our district my sincere thanks for the honor of serving as your representative in Washington during the past year.

Many complex and controversial items of legislation confront us in 1960. But two tasks stand out as particularly urgent and important.

First and foremost is the need for more jobs. Congress must pass pending legislation to deal with localized, chronic unemployment such as we have been having in so many parts of our district—especially unemployment directly caused by unfair, low-wage competition from abroad. Besides that we need to make sure that New York, as an established industrial State, is not placed

at any disadvantage in attracting new productive facilities or in obtaining our fair share of Government and defense contracts.

Second, we must leave no stone unturned in trying to translate into hard reality the new hopes for some easing of world tensions stimulated by President Eisenhower's recent 11-nation tour. Since in today's world a secure and lasting peace must rest on effective deterrent military power, Congress must also insist that America refuse to accept any second-best consolation prize in the vital race for missile development and the control of space.

Actually jobs and a sound peace go hand in hand. For only by insuring that American productive machinery calls on the full energies of all our citizens can we really make our best contribution to a better, more prosperous, and more peaceful world.

In working in the coming year for these two major goals I sincerely believe that I will be serving not only the best interests of our district but of our Nation.

May I wish all of you a peaceful and prosperous New Year.

Senator Lyndon Johnson Shows the Way to Responsible Leadership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, as we stand on the threshold of a new session, a new year and an uncertain new decade, we search the political horizon for a strong ship of state to guide us through this decisive period.

It is, therefore, a very happy privilege for me to be able to introduce for the permanent record of the Congress, a historymaking speech by Senate majority leader, LYNDON B. JOHNSON, made at the annual citizens awards dinner of the nationalities division of the Democratic National Committee in Philadelphia on November 29, 1959.

Every American should read this speech because it charts the course which this country must follow if it is to retain the leadership of the world.

The ovation which followed Senator JOHNSON's address, made to representatives of every minority group in the land, was thunderous and the words he uttered will never be forgotten by those who were privileged to hear him.

Senator JOHNSON should not be stigmatized as carrying the banner of any particular State or territory. When he speaks, he speaks for and on behalf of our great Nation and for that reason he enjoys, as majority leader of the highest legislative body in the entire world, the confidence of Senators who represent every segment of our population. Both Democrats and Republicans recognize his leadership ability, respect his judgment and admire his courage. All the people have benefited from his warm and generous heart.

I recall one vivid example of his humanity for all men. In a segregated hotel in Houston, Tex., Senator JOHNSON threatened to stay away from a dinner in his own honor if Negro ticketholders were refused admission. His firm insistence was responsible for the breaking of precedent in that city. This and many other incidents have caused him to be labeled in the South as a Roosevelt liberal. I know Senator JOHNSON is proud of that label because he was instrumental in placing on the statute books most of the great liberal legislation sponsored by the Roosevelt administration.

In fact, the record will show that without his drive, without his leadership, none of the legislation so vigorously supported by northern Congressmen could ever have become law.

Senator JOHNSON is a genuine and not a fair-weather friend of labor, with a real sense of the national interest. It was he who masterminded the original Kennedy-Ervin labor bill through the Senate by a vote of 89 to 1. Had that bill been accepted by the House, it is now conceded by all labor leaders, it would have been much more beneficial to labor.

Senator JOHNSON has also assured me that he will lead in the passage of improved minimum wage and civil-rights legislation during this session of Congress.

The question has often been asked, "Why doesn't Senator JOHNSON travel around the country, or the world for that matter, as other Senators do?" The answer is simple—as majority leader he has to be in Washington to guide legislation. This is his job and the reason he was elected majority leader.

Mr. Speaker, it would indeed be unfortunate for the American people if the full dynamic ability of this great statesman should be restrained merely because of his place of birth. It is my hope that during the volatile sixties before us, the unchallenged leader of the Congress of the United States will be drafted to greater service on behalf of our Nation.

The text of Senator JOHNSON's address is as follows:

ADDRESS BY SENATE MAJORITY LEADER LYNDON B. JOHNSON, CITIZENS AWARDS DINNER, NATIONALITIES DIVISION, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE, PHILADELPHIA, PA., NOVEMBER 29, 1959

THE ISSUE IS RESPONSIBILITY

I am proud—as I know you are—that we live in a land where we can hold to our own origins without our origins being held against us. I am proud to be a member of a party that opens its doors to all men—and closes its heart to none.

Tonight we meet in the name of that party.

We are drawn together—not by special interests in where we came from but by overriding interests in where we are going—as free men, as Americans, and as Democrats.

THE MOST DECISIVE DECADE

Tonight we are 32 days away from the 1960's.

In history's most decisive century, the 1960's will be the most decisive decade. The world will make its choice. Either we shall—together—turn up the road toward universal freedom. Or we shall—together—turn down the road toward universal slavery.

In the 1950's the world has stood at a stalemate.

In the 1960's the world will stand no longer.

The world will choose.

The world will move.

Free men will be the movers—or they will be moved aside. That is the choice: clear, simple, final. The decision the world reaches in this next decade will decide the century. That decision must be won by free men.

THE LEADERSHIP WE OFFER

The decision will turn on one thing: leadership.

Either the world will choose the leadership we offer.

Or the world will choose the leadership communism provides.

In this next decade, our capacity for leadership will be as vital as our capacity for arms. The strategies of leadership will be more important than the strategies of the battlefield. This is precisely the area where we are challenged today—by Mr. Khrushchev personally and by all the energy of the Communist world.

OUR RESPONSE

What is to be our response?

How is America to lead as America must lead?

We cannot lead by waggling our finger under the nose of the world and arguing our cause with angry words. We cannot lead by wringing our hands and biting our nails and agonizing over the decline of America's character. We cannot lead by busying ourselves with division's of race or religion or birth or occupation.

America has the strength to keep its composure.

America has the character to justify its confidence.

And America has the capacity and commonsense to perfect the unity of its people.

If America is to lead, America must speak from the bottom of its heart and not from the top of its head.

The language of world leadership is the language of the heart. This is what moves men. This is what leads.

THE ROAD TO AMERICA

Let us look back for a moment—back along the road that has brought us together in this assembly tonight. Up that road to America—over the past 140 years—have come 40 million men and women.

Forty million men and women have surrendered what the human spirit surrenders most reluctantly to come here. Forty million gave up birthplace, homeland, family to cross the seas to America.

What moved these millions?

What led them to America?

They were moved by their dreams.

And they were led to America by faith that here those dreams had promise of fulfillment.

Those two facts should be fixed in our minds and in our policies.

THE DREAMS OF THE WORLD

No force is as powerful in moving men as their dreams, their hopes, their yearnings. No appeal America offers has ever been so strong in leading other men as the promise of fulfillment for those dreams and hopes and yearnings.

If America is to lead now, Americans must understand the dreams of the world—and America's policies and purposes must be understandable and understood by the peoples of the earth.

Those policies and purposes are not understandable now.

Here—in the Western Hemisphere—we have half the world's annual income. Here—in America—we have lived during the postwar years 4 times better than the Europeans, 5 times better than the Russians, 9 times better than the peoples of

Latin America, 20 times better than the African, 30 times better than the Asian.

Half the workingmen of the world take home less in a year than our workers—in many instances—may take home in 2 weeks.

CAN WE AFFORD OUR DREAMS?

Yet with all this wealth—all this advantage—our national leadership today tells the world that Americans cannot afford their dreams.

That leadership pleads impoverishment amid plenty.

That leadership signals stop to America just as the world aspires to go.

That leadership argues that we cannot meet the needs of our people for houses, the needs of our young for education, the needs of our aged for dignity and decency.

America may be understood by the readers of the financial pages—but America is not understood by the world.

THE STATIC AMERICA?

The party which holds the Executive position has cut the people's dreams out of the budget of its concerns. On the edge of the century's most dynamic decade, they have embarked upon a course which can only lead to a static America—a static economy—a static Nation.

Some men say there is no issue.

I say there has never been a greater issue.

Freedom is a road to travel—not a parking lot. America must not stop just as the world is beginning to move. If America is to move the world, America itself must move. Or else America will be moved aside.

MOVING AMERICA FORWARD

Throughout the history of the national parties, the Democratic Party has been the party that has moved America forward. This is the role to which we shall continue to dedicate our efforts.

Twenty-five years ago the people of this Nation began the most dramatic movement forward that history has yet to see.

At the helm of the Nation stood a great American who had the heart to be responsive and the courage to be responsible—Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Fifteen years ago—at the end of a great war——that forward momentum of the American people was sustained and carried upward to new heights.

Once again, at the helm of the Nation, stood a great American who had the courage to be responsible—Harry S. Truman.

A BETTER DEAL

Today, once more, we stand at a moment when America can move forward to heights we have never attained before or sink back to depths we have never known.

The opportunity is ours.

The moment has come for the Democratic Party to offer the people of America and the people of the world a better deal.

The people of America and the world want peace. We shall work for the strength to secure that peace with honor and without fear.

The people of America live under a Constitution. We shall work without hesitation, without compromise to secure for every American his constitutional rights in full measure.

The people of America want homes for their families, food for their babies, employment for their abilities, health for their bodies, and education for their minds. We shall work to fashion a society and an economy and a Government from which these things will flow in more generous measure.

FREEDOM MUST HAVE A FLOOR

The peoples of the world yearn in their hearts as we have yearned. We shall heed those yearnings. We shall commit ourselves—in this decade of commitment—to the leadership of an effective world order in which there is a parity of dignity and opportunity for all men who would be free.

Freedom must have a floor on which free men can stand together as they reach for the heavens in this age of space.

We speak simply because this is the language the hearts of the world understand.

I want to read to you a report I have received from one of the most outstanding young Senators and outstanding young Americans I know—ED MUSKIE of Maine. Senator MUSKIE's father came to this country from Poland. This fall Senator MUSKIE went behind the Iron Curtain to seek out the village of his father's boyhood.

This is what he wrote of the people he found there in that land which has so long burned with flames of liberty:

"It is difficult to comprehend the economic circumstances of the people in that little village—the bareness of their lives. They have no meat; they stand in line for bread. Their diet appears to consist of potatoes and cabbages. The monthly wage is roughly equivalent to $10 to $20; their personal possessions almost unbelievably meager. This is indeed the saddest part of Poland. But for my father's dream of freedom and opportunity, this would be my life—the life of my children."

This is the world we live in.

This is the world we must lead toward freedom.

The issue for 1960—the issue for our times—is responsibility. The American people are responsible people. They know responsibility when they see it. They will choose responsibility when it is offered. That is what the Democratic Party has offered. That is what the Democratic Party must continue to offer.

Some say that responsibility will not win.

I say to you that in these times nothing but responsibility will win—for nothing less is worthy of us as freemen, as Americans, and as Democrats.

Presidential Candidates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM PROXMIRE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, it is so rare that a political commentator can find accurate and complimentary things to say about all presidential candidates that I am calling to the attention of the Senate a recent article by Ernest K. Lindley in Newsweek which finds excellent qualifications this year in all of the leading candidates.

The point I make with this article is that America is blessed in having a rare abundance of qualified, able, experienced men available at a time when presidential leadership is so vital for the future welfare of our country.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

LOOK-ALIKES?

(By Ernest K. Lindley)

The leading presidential candidates of 1960, avowed and unavowed, are, like their predecessors, a diverse lot. But they are also strikingly similar in certain important respects. Generally, with a little qualification here and there, it may be said of them that they are:

1. Brainy: The minds of NIXON, KENNEDY, HUMPHREY, and LYNDON JOHNSON are among the keenest in high office in Washington. Stevenson's mental credentials are well established. Important presidential candidates usually are above average in intelligence, but there have been notable exceptions and occasionally one of them has managed to go all the way to the White House. In brains, this year's crop strikes an unusually high average.

2. Serious students of public affairs, both national and international: Each has his specialties but none is limited by them. Every one of them knows enough about our principal problems to discuss them in an informed way. Several are authorities in complex fields: HUMPHREY on disarmament for example. Several, if not all, have the capacity and habit for which the late Senator Taft was noted: Intensive homework. But unlike Taft they are students of world as well as domestic problems.

3. Experienced in national and international affairs: Willkie and Dewey, when nominated, were students of both but, never having held office in Washington, without experience in either. Mr. Truman, although an expert on defense production, was without experience in international affairs when he became President. Mr. Eisenhower was without experience in internal affairs, excepting the military sphere, prior to his first election. By contrast, all of the leading candidates this year have had direct contact with both national and international affairs. NIXON has had extensive grounding in both through his years in the Cabinet and on the National Security Council and his trips abroad, on top of his brief service in the House and Senate. JOHNSON has been in Washington for more than 22 years, SYMINGTON for more than 14, KENNEDY for 13, and HUMPHREY for 11. The first two are veterans of the Armed Services Committee, the latter two active and forceful members of the Foreign Relations Committee. Stevenson's experience as a public servant at the Federal level is more limited, although it embraces wartime service in the Navy Department and his work on the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations. But national and world affairs have been his main interest since he was drafted for the presidential nomination in 1952. And, in the rest of the world, he is one of the four or five most widely known and respected Americans.

4. Experienced in politics: All have won elective office. NIXON, HUMPHREY, JOHNSON, and KENNEDY have fought their way up, although only HUMPHREY held local elective office before coming to Washington. SYMINGTON entered elective office at the senatorial level, Stevenson at the gubernatorial. All know at first hand the problems of practical politics and party management.

ESSENTIAL QUALITIES

These endowments of ability and experience may seem no more than normal qualifications for aspirations to the highest office. Yet in the last 50 years, to go back no farther, many presidential candidates, several major party nominees, and even some presidents have lacked one or more of them. Practical political experience has been more usual than prior experience in national and international affairs. The latter qualification has been missing among most of the multitude of State governors who have sought the presidency. In the present state of the world, this lack—especially in the international field—may be a more serious handicap than in the past. Significantly, since the withdrawal of Rockefeller (who did not suffer this handicap), none of the major presidential possibilities is a governor.

There are other good governors, and among the many who are Democrats are several who aspire to the national tickets. But none has been able to project himself into the front rank of contenders. All are overshadowed by the men extensively experienced in national affairs and having some familiarity with the overriding problems in the international arena.

Parity in Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN H. RAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. RAY. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to present to the readers of the RECORD a thoughtful and constructive address delivered by the Honorable JOHN W. BYRNES, Republican of Wisconsin, before the American Farm Bureau Federation at its meeting in Chicago, Ill., on December 16, 1959:

PARITY IN POLITICS

(Address of Representative JOHN W. BYRNES, Republican of Wisconsin, before the American Farm Bureau Federation, Chicago, Ill., December 16, 1959)

I'd like to point out this morning what I believe are some alarming developments in our national internal life and to suggest the role that you can play in helping our Nation to meet these challenges.

As I do so, I hope I can avoid either the undue optimism of a Pollyanna or the unwarranted pessimism of a modern Cassandra. Rather, I hope to approach my theme with the attitude a modern farmer goes about his business, bringing to my task the same practical outlook, the same careful weighing of assets and liabilities and the same refusal to be governed by either false hope or fearful gloom.

At the start, I should make clear that I am basically an optimist. In the past few months, I have had the opportunity to travel the length and breadth of our land and, once again, I was reassured by what I saw. We live in a marvelous country. As one leaves the hothouse atmosphere of Washington and goes out among the people, one cannot help but be deeply impressed by the basic strength of our country. That strength is reflected in our abundant resources, in their dynamic development, and, above all, in our energetic, freedom-loving and God-fearing people.

I have no fear for the future of such a nation and such a people. I believe they can meet and conquer any problem once they understand the nature of the problem and its significance.

It is in this area, the area of recognizing our problems, of understanding them and of choosing the right solutions, that we face our greatest challenge, and it is here where my basic feeling of optimism is tempered by a few nagging doubts. They are brought on by a number of warning signals in our economic and political life which we cannot afford to ignore any more than can the farmer when he finds the first evidence of disease in his livestock.

As a prospering, highly developed nation, we face the same danger which has confronted every successful nation or civilization since history began. Our danger is that, as we enjoy our strength and prosperity, we neglect, and thus weaken, those very institutions and principles which made us strong and prosperous and free. Our danger lies in complacency, selfishness, ignorance, and irresponsibility.

And, while my message today is that it need not happen here, let us not delude ourselves. It can happen here. Just because in our lifetime we have seen our Nation move from one plateau to the other, each higher than the last, until we now stand the greatest Nation in the world, let us not think that we cannot fall.

I have often thought that perhaps the first thing which should be taught in the civics and political science courses in our schools is the story of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire. The story of a nation which became the undisputed ruler of the world and then collapsed so utterly and so completely that it plunged the civilized world into darkness for centuries, should be studied by every American.

We would learn that just because an economy and a civilization rises to spectacular heights is no reason it is going to stay there.

We would learn that stupidity, selfishness, and ignorance on the part of the population and its rulers can bring on not just a temporary reversal but a collapse so complete as to wipe out the whole structure with all of its accomplishments. The Roman Empire collapsed because it became rotten within. It became rotten because the people and the government failed to preserve those virtues which had led to its strength and because its citizens refused to apply any restraint to their demands upon the government. Literally, the Roman Empire tore itself to pieces through the weakness and demagoguery of its rulers and the enormous burden of expenses they incurred in meeting the demands of a citizenry which forget the public interest in its selfish fight for the fruits of national prosperity.

The comparison between our Nation and the Roman Empire is not a perfect one, but we cannot ignore the warning signals which are flying today.

As a nation, in spite of the heaviest tax burden in its history, we appear to be constitutionally unable to restrain our expenditures below the level of our income. We have balanced our budget (lived within our income as a government) in only 5 out of the last 29 years. We appear unable to reduce our tremendous national debt which now stands at $290 billion. Interest on that debt alone amounts to $9 billion dollars each year which is more than our total annual expenditures for every purpose only 20 years ago. As a result of this profligacy with our national wealth, coupled with the selfish demands of the more highly organized segments of our economy, we are fighting a losing battle against inflation. The cost of goods and services is going up. The value of our money is going down. In that struggle the victims are those who are least able to protect themselves, including the farmers of our Nation. We are witnessing, as one result of inflation, a flow of gold from our country which has not yet become a flood but which carries grave implications for the future stability of our currency and confidence in it.

These results, however, grave though they may be, are but the symptoms of what I believe to be a far more serious defect in our national life. I refer to the growing tendency of our people, encouraged by demagogues whose only principle is a lust for power, to take the easy way out. We know, each of us in our own hearts and minds, that the right way is not always the easy way and that no nation which has consistently taken the path of least resistance, including the Roman Empire, has ever survived. The easy way, if it is the wrong way, leads only to the misery of retraced steps or the finality of disaster. Yet, what are our constantly recurring deficits, which is our huge debt, what is our inflated currency—if they are not the symptoms of a people and a nation which have fallen into the habit of taking the easy way out?

The hard way, we know, is to rely on our own individual initiative and self-reliance for the solution of our problems. The easy way is to pass these problems on to government. The easy way is for the local units to pass them on to the State government and for the State government, in turn, to pass them on to the Federal Government.

Too many of our politicians and self-appointed leaders seem to find it politically expedient to suggest that the solution to any problem should rest on government. And no politician has found it difficult, or has lost any votes, by suggesting that the solution for any State or local problem was the responsibility of the National Government. How simple and easy it is to shift responsibility to government. It is also much less risky, from the politicians' point of view, to remove a problem from the careful scrutiny of the folks back home and dump it in the legislative pit of the National Congress where its costs, complexities and waste are hidden in a multitude of other Federal activities.

This is the easy way to avoid responsibility. This is the path which our people are being encouraged to take by those who think more of the next election than they do of the next generation.

If you think I overstate the case, examine the proposals that are being advocated daily for the solution of most of our problems. Pass a Federal law, create a new agency, appropriate billions. That ends the problem. Let me give you one concrete example.

In my book, and I confess I may be old fashioned, it is the responsibility of each citizen, either as an individual or banded together with others in a local community, to take care of his personal refuse in a manner which will not endanger the welfare of his neighbors. At one time, in this Nation of ours, we felt it was the responsibility of local units of government to dispose of sewage created by their own citizens. This was a basic, essential function of the local government. That is no longer true. Those who prefer the easy way have won out and the National Government, along with the multitude of other problems confronting it, including the very survival of the Nation, now has been given the job of helping to build local sewage plants. It will shortly be costing the Federal Government over $100 million a year.

It is not a question of the need for the program or project. We all recognize, for example, the necesity for treatment of sewage and the need for preserving our water resources and protecting their cleanliness. The tragedy is that we have succumbed to what we have been led to think is the easy way of meeting a recognized need. The demagog has no difficulty in selling us on the idea of using Federal funds, which incidentally must be borrowed by a bankrupt government, in preference to raising the funds locally, probably through increased taxes. There has been spread across our land the idea that there is some magic in Federal money and that its supply is somehow unlimited. The demagogue is not concerned with the true facts of our precarious fiscal position. He is interested only in providing painless benefits for his greater glory.

The demagogue, and those like him, have also discovered that it is easier to influence one legislative body, the Federal Congress, than it is 50 State legislatures or thousands of local governing bodies. He knows the National Government is further away from the close scrutiny of the people. He knows he can bring to bear on the National Legislature the heavy influence of powerful pres-

sure groups. It is no coincidence that one of the reasons which the so-called liberal advances (but generally on the quiet) for Federal intervention is the rural influence in the State legislatures which tend to look upon his grandiose schemes with healthy skepticism.

The net result of deluding ourselves into believing that the easy way can safely be traveled is not alone the financial and fiscal difficulties it inevitably creates. In the process, we not only weaken our basic economic strength through lavish and uncontrollable expenditures, but we weaken ourselves as individuals and we weaken our local and State governments. Weakness and lack of power is the invariable consequence of the constant sloughing off of responsibility to someone else. If we choose to lose those attributes of self-reliance which made our Nation great, and if we choose to make figureheads of our local governments whose function, under our constitutional form of government is to help preserve our individual liberties, then we have laid the basis for the complete concentration of power in the Federal Government and its inevitable corruption into absolute tyranny.

We observe the same trend—the trend toward the easy way out—in other fields. It is perhaps most apparent in the one in which you are primarily interested—agriculture. It takes the form of seeking easy political solutions for tough economic problems. It is embodied in the successful effort of the demagogues to convince us that we can safely substitute for the rigors of the marketplace the rockingchair complacency of governmental guarantees.

In agriculture, we have so entangled in politics the economic problems which confront our farmers that I often despair that we will ever unravel the mess which has been created. We have gone so far in the direction of political intervention that the main political effort is no longer directed toward the solution of the agricultural problem. It is aimed at achieving the maximum political benefit in partisan politics.

We have, for example, urgent and critical problems in the field of agriculture which should be acted upon during the next session of Congress. Yet, it would be a brave man who would predict to you today that any concrete legislation will be written into law in the election year of 1960. When the people of this Nation embarked upon political solutions for the problems of agriculture, it was truly a sorry day for the American farmer. No longer is the farmer his own master. He is instead either the beneficiary or the victim of political decisions over which he has less and less control.

I do not mean to give the impression that I believe government should play no role in the development and maintenance of a sound agricultural economy. The power of government, if wisely used, can assist and should assist in the orderly marketing of agricultural products by providing protection against radical changes in the market place. This, I believe, was the original conception of the price support program. We have moved far from that concept and we have been led by those who maintained that there was an easy way to agricultural prosperity. If support at orderly marketing levels can be justified, they told us, why not move on to ever higher levels? Let us disregard any self-restraint. Let us substitute government guarantees for the working of the cruel market place, they said, and their plea was again successful. The test of the successful farm politician then became which could offer the higher price supports and the test of the successful political party was its ability to fasten the blame for the inevitable cycle of rigid supports, price-depressing surpluses and price collapse upon its political opponents.

With the bankruptcy of the high price support program, the demagogs are now seeking another easy way out. The latest solution proposed by the Governor of one of our greatest agricultural States, is simplicity itself. He suggests that we simply ignore the market place entirely and guarantee each farmer a minimum income. Let me warn you that all the demagogs are not holding political office. There are some who have found their way into leadership in a certain farm organization with which you are acquainted. They are urging the same thing but camouflaged under such high-sounding names as "compensation payments," "deficiency payments," "stabilization payments," "equalization payments," etc. If some kind of income guarantee program should be adopted, and it is being seriously considered by important forces within the party which controls our National Legislature, then I can easily predict the next political contest. It will take the form of seeing which candidate in the farm areas can promise the highest minimum income. The other side of the coin is, of course, that it may also take the form of candidates from the urban areas engaged in a contest as to who can promise the lowest minimum farm income. In a nation where a vast majority of the population lives in urban areas, you can guess where this will leave the American farmer.

I wish I could stand here today and tell you I had an easy answer to the problems which confront American agriculture. Instead I must say I believe there is no easy answer. Before we get out of the mess we are now in, we have a long, hard road to travel and, before we can even begin to travel that road, we must come to the realization that the adjustment will be difficult and that it cannot be made if political rather than economic considerations are going to continue to dominate and dictate our decisions.

I have spoken pessimistically of the various aspects of what I have described as the tendency of a prosperous and successful people to rest on their oars, to avoid difficult decisions, and to take the easy way out of their difficulties. I have spoken of it in terms of our fiscal difficulties, in terms of its dangers to our liberties and, specifically, in terms of its relationship to the problem in which you are primarily interested. I have suggested that a continuation of this trend to its logical conclusion can only lead to the collapse of our Nation. I have said this collapse is possible, and I call to your attention, as another reminder, the work of the British historian, Toynbee, whose study led him to the conclusion that of the 26 major civilizations in world history, 16 are now dead and buried and the remaining 10 are rapidly losing their character.

But early in my remarks, I said I was an optimist, that I had great faith in the basic strength of our Nation and that, while it can happen here, it need not happen here. Whether it does or doesn't depends on you and me and every citizen in this land. It is up to us to determine whether we will continue to forever adopt the easy solution, the expedient answer and the least distasteful course of action, or whether we will pursue the right course, the sound solution and the intelligent program regardless of how difficult they may first appear to be.

Several centuries ago, the Italian poet, Dante, put it this way: "The hottest places in hell are reserved for those who, in a period of moral crisis, maintain their neutrality." My plea to you today, as leaders in a great national farm organization, is to discard your neutrality in this period of moral crisis and to enlist in the fight to preserve our Nation and its institutions.

But I would be derelict in my duty if I merely summoned you to battle and left it at that. Certainly, you are entitled to a knowledge of the nature of the struggle and to my ideas as to the kind of strategy and tactics which must be employed by those who choose to fight for the right rather than the easy way.

When I speak of a summons to battle, let me make clear what I mean. I call upon you, as individual leaders in your communities and in agriculture, and call upon your great organization to take part, with enthusiasm, with courage, and with determination, in the political life of our Nation. I do not refer to political theorizing or polite discussions on a high plane amongst yourselves; I refer to the down-to-earth, back-breaking job of nominating and electing candidates to political office. I refer to the only kind of political action which has any meaning if we are to reverse the trend I have described today. I refer to the defeat of those who oppose everything for which you stand through the victory of those who will work shoulder to shoulder with you on behalf of the principles which brought greatness to America.

I can give you one word of encouragement at the outset. It is my considered opinion, as one who has spent most of his life in American politics, that the principles of government in which you believe are held by a majority of the American people. If the cause of commonsense conservatism, with its dynamic urge to preserve the best American institutions, has suffered in recent years, it has not been because of any change in the basic philosophy of the majority of Americans. It has come about instead because radicalism and the proponents of the easy way have done a vastly better job of mobilizing their strength and in hammering home their something-for-nothing philosophy. You know that is so without my telling you. The really effective political action groups in this Nation are in radical hands. They are working the soil which produces the most abundant harvest. They are developing and electing candidates who will promote their viewpoint. The radical farm leader, the union boss, the leftwing political leader, have all developed highly effective political organizations which are producing results when the votes are counted. While I violently disagree with their philosophy and with many of their ruthless methods, I am not one to stand on the sidelines and criticize their activities. Fundamentally, they are doing what every citizen should do in a representative republic. They are taking part in the basic process of representative government. They are electing officeholders who will advance their views and the answer to this activity is not criticism. The answer to radical political action is conservative counteraction, and the sooner we realize that fact the sooner we can restore the balance of power in our internal political life.

What I am saying, I believe, has particular meaning for you and your splendid organization. I hold you in high regard, but I would be less than a friend if I did not ask you frankly today whether the American Farm Bureau Federation has not, in the crucial struggle for the preservation of our institutions, taken the easy way out by an excessive preoccupation with political neutrality? That is a question which every conservative group in our Nation should now be asking itself.

I have said here today, and I know it is a basic tenet of your beliefs, that we must remove the agriculture problem from politics. Yet, I frankly tell you today that you will never get politics out of agriculture until agriculture gets into politics with both feet.

Let me put it another way—and I believe this most sincerely—the farmer must get into politics to get politics out of farming.

We hear a lot about parity. There is certainly a lot of politics in parity but then there is also such a thing as parity in politics.

Political parity cannot be achieved by well-meaning attempts to influence men who have already been elected to office. That is the easy way, but, unfortunately, like many other expedient methods, it just does not work. The finest feed ever produced will not sprout if it is sown in a bed of concrete. Your efforts to achieve political parity cannot be harvested in the legislature unless you have prepared the soil in the precincts at home.

Frankly those who believe like the Farm Bureau have been less than diligent in assuring that they and their views maintained parity in politics, and the battle is being lost.

Let me be specific. The most important agricultural bill before the Congress was the omnibus farm bill, H.R. 12954.This was opposed by the Farm Bureau. The Secretary of Agriculture labeled the bill an "economic monstrosity." Do you know that 55 of the members of the House who voted in accord with the policy of the Farm Bureau on this legislation were not Members of the House the next year. That's over 12 percent loss. In the Senate last year probably the most important agriculture bill was Senate Joint Resolution 162. The Farm Bureau opposed this measure. Of those supporting the Farm Bureau position, 15 or 15 percent were not around when the new Congress convened last January. Now, I'm not analyzing the reasons these Congressmen and Senators weren't back. Suffice it to say that they weren't.

If you think the vote of a few Congressmen or a couple of Senators isn't important, let me point out that in this last session, the McClellan amendment providing a bill of rights for labor in the labor bill was adopted by a vote of 47 to 46. Only 1 vote difference between legislation that had some meaning as against a gesture, and in the House of Representatives the vote on substituting the Landrum-Griffin bill for the weak committee bill was 201 to 229—only 28 votes difference between an effective bill and a tap on the wrist.

But let me get back to my point. You are losing your parity in politics.

What is called for, I sincerely believe, is a decision on your part, both as individuals and as members of the Farm Bureau, to renounce political neutrality during elections and to bring your entire individual and organizational strength to bear on behalf of candidates who meet your rigid specifications of honor and outlook.

As individuals, you have the responsibility and duty to become actively engaged in partisan politics. I am not here as a recruiter for the Republican Party, although I will be glad to take membership applications at the door. What I am saying is that you cannot, as individuals, expect to achieve concrete political results if you are unwilling to join and work for the party of your choice. It is only within a party that you can help to determine party policy, help select candidates for party nomination and work for their eventual election. It is only within a political party that you can till and fertilize the soil which will produce the kind of legislators who will, for example, get the farm problem out of politics. I can count on the fingers of one hand the number of farm bureau members in my district who are working actively in a political party and the same goes for farm bureau leaders in my State. If this is true across the land, then I say the Farm Bureau Federation has no complaint when it finds the halls of our legislatures slowly filling up with those whose views are diametrically opposed to its own.

I will go even further and say that, beyond your clear call to duty as individuals, your federation, if it hopes to be effective in promoting its program, must take an active interest, as an organization, in the nomination and election of legislative candidates. You can deliberate in this convention and devise the finest program in the world and all of your efforts will go for naught if your organization is willing to stand on the sidelines and permit the election of legislators who are diametrically opposed to your basic philosophies. The day has long since passed when you can confine your political efforts to education after the elections have been held. How, I ask you, can even the most efficient Washington staff sell farm bureau philosophy to a Congressman who owes his allegiance to Walter Reuther or Jim Patton? I think your Washington staff has been doing a splendid job but you give them an impossible job if you do not also play your fullest part in trying to send to the Congress men who will work with your Shumans, Flemings, Lynns, and Triggs, rather than working against them.

I am not suggesting that your organization become the farm branch of one of our political parties. I hope, however, that I have made it crystal clear that I believe your organization cannot afford to be neutral in any political contest where one candidate is for and the other against everything for which you stand. Nor indeed, do I see much hope for America if our best citizens and our most respected groups stand smugly aside while the real struggle is being fought and permit victory by default for those whose policies can lead only to the collapse of our Nation.

The 18th century British statesman, Edmund Burke, said: "All that is necessary for the triumph of evil is that good men do nothing." He also said that "the people never give up their liberties but under some delusion." The gravest danger confronting our Nation today is that the people delude themselves into believing there is an easy way out of all their difficulties. The triumph of such evil can only come about if good men stand idly by. Let it never be said that you and I were among those who, in a period of moral crisis, maintained our neutrality and did nothing.

Steve Carter

SPEECH
OF
HON. CHARLES B. HOEVEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1960

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Speaker, I join my Iowa colleagues in expressing deep regret at the passing of my good friend, STEVE CARTER. Although I did not know him before he came to Congress, I soon learned to admire and respect him. His unfortunate illness brought out the best in him. In spite of his pain and suffering he faced life with a smile. During his short service in the House, STEVE CARTER demonstrated his ability as a good public servant.

I attended the funeral of STEVE CARTER where I saw demonstrated, at the large attendance, the love and respect in which he was held by his friends and neighbors, who knew him best. STEVE CARTER well served his day and generation.

Mrs. Hoeven joins me in extending our deepest sympathy to Mrs. Carter and all members of the family.

Thank the Volunteers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, Americans have always shown a willingness to team up for the common good. An expression of this volunteer spirit that has lasted since colonial times is the volunteer firefighting effort which serves communities throughout the country. From New England to the Pacific Northwest, hundreds of thousands of men are pledged to speed to any troublespots to help their neighbors. And, in what is less often known, many of their wives lend aid and comfort to this movement by helping families made temporarily homeless or by providing food for men working at long and troublesome fires.

In Hartford County, it has been a practice in recent years for two of our noted citizens, William M. Savitt and Max Savitt, to honor outstanding firemen from the different towns in the county. This ceremony was marked again in December and it is something that could well be emulated in other parts of the country. Another remarkable tribute was recently paid them by an outstanding weekly newspaper in my district, the Farmington Valley Herald, and I should like to conclude my remarks by offering this editorial for the RECORD:

THANK THE VOLUNTEERS

One of the great traditions in our American heritage, particularly for New England, has been the volunteer spirit. Even though the spirit of voluntary action is being supplanted by a growing dependence on a growing governmental body, the spirit is still evident in some great American institutions. In this case, the notable instance is the volunteer fire company.

Each of our towns, fortunately, has a small corps of dedicated people who have undertaken—voluntarily and without compensation—the task of protecting all of the property in the town against the depredations of fire. Particularly at Christmastime, when the dangers of home fires are increased by the presence of inflammable decorations, we should be thankful for the presence of volunteer fire companies, which are ready around the clock to protect our property—and yes—our lives, too.

If you happen to be inclined to read these lines with only idle interest, recall for a moment the recent fire at the peroleum storage tank area in Rocky Hill. A fire broke out in a 2¼ million-gallon storage tank for high octane gasoline. Though the tank was empty, the gasoline fumes were highly explosive and produced a fire of such intensity that made it well nigh impossible to control. Nearby was a half-million-gallon tank of airplane gas and up the river a huge storage of carbon disulphide.

These explosive potentials combined to poise a threat that could have meant the destruction of the entire Rocky Hill area, as well as the deaths of any who ventured near the roaring inferno. The Rocky Hill Volunteer Fire Department nullified the threat to the town with prompt action, and further limited the damage to a single storage tank, this at the cost of injuries to four volunteers, and with the assistance of four

other departments, three of them volunteer companies.

One of the questions that must have been asked by the wives and families of some of these volunteer firemen is: What happens if a fireman is killed or injured while fighting a fire? To be sure, there is a statutory requirement for insurance coverage by the company on its firemen, but its maximum is low and the protection afforded his wife and family hardly enough to warrant any feelings of confidence. One of the questions that you might ask yourself, as you consider our extreme good fortune in retaining this bit of volunteer spirit in New England, is this: Are volunteer firemen and their families afforded the same degree of protection that the firemen afford us as citizens and property owners; and, if not, why not?

Panama Minimum Wage Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, much has been read in the press about Panamanian demands for higher pay in the Canal Zone, more privileges for Panamanians, and greater benefits for Panama. Nothing, so far as I know, has been published in the United States about the strong opposition in Panama to extending similar benefits from its own sources to its own people.

This obvious conflict in attitudes was recently explained in an informative article by Mr. Ralph K. Skinner, special correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor in the Canal Zone, which merits recording in the permanent annals of the Congress.

The article follows:

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Dec. 16, 1959]

MINIMUM WAGE ROUSES PANAMA

(By Ralph K. Skinner)

PANAMA CITY, PANAMA.—Labor progress for Panama was recorded December 1 when President de la Guardia signed the first minimum wage law in this country.

The law provided for a minimum general wage of 40 cents an hour in this capital city and in the city of Colon. In the balance of the country, the minimum wage will be 25 cents. The minimum for domestics was set at $15 a month.

The Chamber of Commerce, the Industrialists' Syndicate, and other similar groups bitterly oppose the new legislation and will challenge its constitutionality before the Supreme Court, they say.

Merchants and monopolists comprising the ruling families here have successfully protected their interests against any minimum wage law for 56 years. This group asserts the new minimum wage will bankrupt the country. Some local capitalists threaten wholesale reductions in the number of their employees, and others state they will relocate in rural areas to get the cheaper rate.

EXPLOITATION RESISTED

The ruling families, who virtually control business here, failed to stifle minimum wage action this year because they are under heavy fire for exploitation of the working classes, who have become increasingly vocal and who threaten violence.

The desperate fight of the ruling class of Panama against paying the minimum wage to workers here is said by observers to be inconsistent with demands by the same group for higher wages for Panamanian citizens employed in the Canal Zone.

Despite the substandard wages in Panama, the governing families demand that all Panamanians employed in the Canal Zone be paid at U.S. wage scales, regardless of type of employment or of ability.

Official statistics show that Panamanian citizens employed by the Panama Canal enterprise are receiving an average wage of 80 cents an hour. The Canal Zone minimum wage is 56 cents an hour. Domestic employees in the Canal Zone, almost exclusively Panamanian citizens, receive at least double the minimum salary specified in the Panama law.

JOB SECURITY HAILED

Several years ago, in connection with the 1955 treaty, the Panama Government was asked to appoint representatives to work with U.S. officials from Washington to make a survey of prevailing wages in Panama. The purpose was to determine actual wages paid in Panama as a basis for establishment of wage scales for comparable work in the Canal Zone. The Panama Government would not permit such a survey to be made.

Because nearly all jobs in the Canal Zone are under civil service (open equally to Panama and United States citizens), employees are not subject to dismissal for political reasons. Panamanians welcome this job security which is absent in the service of their own Government.

Gustavo Trius, president of the Panama Chamber of Commerce, considers that the implementation of the minimum wage law will add to the deficit of the Panama Government, though overcommitted budgeting and a refusal to cut expenses before the May 1960 elections has produced a deficit of some $10 million in a $60 million budget.

CANAL TOLL HIKE URGED

Señor Trius' proposed solution to the problem is that the U.S. Government should increase the canal annuity to Panama from $1,930,000 to $10 million a year.

Satisfaction will be reached for Panama on the day when the United States operates the Panama Canal at its own expense with all the income generated by the canal going to the Republic of Panama. This proposal is the national aspiration of Panama today.

To step up the generation of U.S. dollars by the Panama Canal, a 300-percent increase in Panama Canal tolls is proposed by some top political leaders.

Two presidential aspirants, both recent members of the incumbent cabinet, have told this correspondent that a considerable increase in tolls is one of the immediate objectives of the Panama Government.

The Late Alvin R. Bush

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN A. LAFORE, JR.
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1960

Mr. LAFORE. Mr. Speaker, it is with a deep sense of personal loss and sadness that I rise to pay tribute to my distinguished colleague from Pennsylvania's 17th District, the late ALVIN R. BUSH.

He was a good man beloved not only by those who shared his political philosophy, but by those who disagreed.

As a new Member, I profited much by his experience, advice, and understanding.

His untimely death was not only a great personal loss but a loss to the State and Nation he served so well.

I would like to express my heartfelt sympathy to his family.

Indian Newspaper, the Birney Arrow, Fast Becoming Institution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, journalistic talents among the Indian residents of Montana seem to be blossoming as never before. A recent Sunday edition of the Great Falls Tribune carries a feature story about a small newspaper which is fast becoming an institution.

The articles of the Blackfeet Indian reporter, John Tatsey, have become widely known throughout the country for their wit and humor. John now has a competitor. Donald Hollowbreast, a Cheyenne Indian, is editor of a home-printed newssheet called the Birney Arrow in his small community of 230 people on the northern Cheyenne Reservation.

The style of the Arrow is unique in style and content and it devotes its columns to reporting the everyday happenings of the colorful people who live at Birney. Since the Bureau of Indian Affairs has had to give up financing this operation things have been rather rough, and until a generous subscriber contributed a typewriter, and a local mimeograph machine turned up, it looked as though the paper would have to fold.

This is an example of rugged journalism at its best.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have an article from the January 3 issue of the Great Falls Tribune printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ARROW MIRRORS INDIAN COMMUNITY LIFE—BIRNEY NEWSPAPER FAST BECOMING INSTITUTION

(By Margot Liberty)

BIRNEY.—Some of Montana's Indians are getting into the news these days, with a bang, through the efforts of on-the-reservation reporters whose releases more than make up in interest for their occasional slips in propriety and punctuation.

Most famous of these, and the one who's been going longest, is John Tatsey of Browning's Glacier Reporter. Tatsey has earned the attention of many notables, and has been the subject of nationally circulated stories. Less known but in the running is Donald Hollowbrest, a Cheyenne Indian from the tiny 230-person community of Birney.

Hollowbrest has been editor of a home-printed newssheet called the Birney Arrow

since February 1958, during which time the Arrow has become something of an institution. It was begun under the Bureau of Indian Affairs adult education program, as one means of inducing the local population to read and write.

Under teacher Margot Liberty, it employed anyone it could find as reporter, and was produced weekly on Bureau duplicating equipment, to be distributed free to residents of the Birney Cheyenne village. Very quickly, though, the chief responsibility was assumed by Hollowbrest, who has seen the paper through more than 50 issues since it got underway.

Hollowbrest, a lifelong resident of Birney, took to journalistic pursuits like a duck to water. A ranch laborer in the Birney area when work is available, he is kept busy when not working by his interest in art, doing many oil and water-color paintings of Cheyenne subjects. He attended reservation schools and for a brief period went to the Chemawa Indian School at Chemawa, Oreg., where he gained a good command of the English language at which may Cheyennes are not very proficient.

But he now is handicapped by partial hearing, so that much news for the Arrow is gathered by a combination of ancient Indian sign language with older citizens, and the exchange of notes with those who prefer and have mastered the modern system of writing things down.

This, however, has not limited the range of topics covered in the paper; far from it. These range from reports on the weather to Government programs involving the Cheyennes, the current employment situation, the conduct of tribal ceremonies, whose dog bit whom in the village, and which unfortunates have been borne off by local officers of the law.

It cannot be said that the Arrow has attained fame or fortune. Its closest approach to the former was an attempt to republish its choicest items by the Hardin Tribune-Herald, which was shortly abandoned.

The paper's circulation has never allowed it to more than break even. Issues are distributed free to Birney Indians, but are sold at the rate of $1.50 per 10 issues for mail subscriptions to nontribal members.

The paper's finances were in far better shape before it was forced to seek commercial duplication by a BIA decision. Use of Government equipment was permitted even after the paper got out from under the wing of the adult education program, until complaints from individuals in the community made it seem best not to give official sanction to the paper by putting it out on Uncle Sam's machinery.

The Arrow nearly had to give up the ghost. However, a loyal subscriber in Chicago produced a typewriter; local mimeographing facilities were lined up, and the Arrow still comes out.

As the mirror of an unusual small community, the Arrow may claim to be unique in both style and content. A random sampling of its pages yields items like the following, in endless variety:

"Alice Hardground almost lost control of her pickup yesterday this side of Lame Deer on a straight section of the road, giving her passengers a scare so we hear."

"Whose unthinking it is to leave the gate open at the Tie Creek fence on the Ashland pasture. Just please shut the gate. Everyone knows that gates are intended to keep stock in the respective pastures."

"Calling the attention of non-Indians in general that Fred Lastbull should first be asked questions regarding Indian curios he may be selling to see if they are his own or belonging to someone else."

A Typical Story of People Helping People Through Encouraging Thrift Is Symbolized in the 35-Year Career of Myron H. Fox

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, in a day and age when sound financial institutions are the key to the economic strength of each community as well as the entire Nation, it seems fitting and proper that tribute be paid to those who have played a vital roll in this field. The Chicago area is certainly one of the most important financial centers in the Nation. Its banks, stock exchange and board of trade, together with the many savings and loan and building and loan associations, have been a tremendous pillar of strength in the well-being of its million residents.

Let me direct your attention today to some very interesting facts in one specific field of finance which symbolizes the story of people helping people, and to a resident of my congressional district who has devoted 35 years to this program with success.

There are today more than 6,000 savings and loan associations located throughout the United States with total assets of over $60 billion as of December 31, 1959. Three of the Nation's eleven largest savings and loan associations are in the Chicago area. These organizations have been a vital part of our economy since 1831.

What is a mutual savings and loan association? It is a home-financing and savings institution managed by a local board of directors, elected by the association's savings and mortgage members. Such an institution is organized primarily to promote thrift, and to finance the building, purchase, repair and remodeling of homes.

These savings and loan associations have their own central reserve system in the Federal home loan bank system, and are controlled by Federal and/or State laws.

Since my remarks are properly a tribute to Myron H. Fox, who is the president of one of these great financial institutions—the Bell Savings & Loan Association of Chicago, it is interesting to mark the history of this association as one which reflects all of the principles and values of a mutual savings and loan system.

It was back in 1925 that Mr. Fox and 12 employees of the Illinois Bell Telephone Co. got together and subscribed their personal savings to five shares each in a newly formed savings and loan group. This particular group of employees was having a difficult time in securing mortgages for the purchase and construction of homes. Because the need of financing in their particular case was a mutual problem, they decided in the characteristic American fashion to help themselves by pooling their savings.

This was the humble beginning of an institution which originated with a subscribed capital of $6,500 and which today has resources in excess of $250 million and more than 100,000 customers. Its total earnings distributed to customers by the association during the past 35 years, during which Mr. Fox has served the association, has been more than $46 million. In this 35-year period the Bell organization has made more than 50,000 mortgages in the fast-growing Chicago metropolitan area.

A man such as Myron Fox deserves more than mere commendation. His warm understanding of his fellow employees and of the problems of the customer and his keen business sense have served as a beacon light through 3½ decades of the association's steady growth. His confidence in the future and his vision to foresee the tremendous potential growth of the association mark him as one of Chicago's outstanding financial executives.

Mr. Fox frequently refers to himself as the "last of the Mohicans" because he is the only one of the original founders still engaged in its day-to-day management. He often recalls that his first word of encouragement to form the savings group in 1924 came from the late Chicago banker, David R. Forgan, who told him: "young man, the things that succeed today are those things that are properly managed. If you can assure yourself of obtaining proper management of such an enterprise, it should prove successful."

Mr. Fox recalled that the late Bernard E. Sunny, the then chairman of Illinois Bell Telephone Co., with whom Fox discussed the question of organizing such an association, remarked to him: "you should remember this, if you and your group decide to proceed with the organization of a savings and loan association and it proves successful, everyone will take credit for it, but, if it should fail, no one will be blamed but Mr. Fox."

He now admits that the full meaning of Mr. Sunny's remark takes on added significance as the years go by. It is Mr. Fox's belief that "* * * his words have had a great part in impressing all of us here of our growing responsibilities to each saver, and borrower, and to the community."

Myron Fox was born in Rockford, Ill., December 16, 1894. While Myron was still a small boy, the family moved to Springfield, Ill., and here he attended public school and high school. In 1918 he joined the U.S. Navy as a seaman first class and served 16 months in the European theater.

This month in Chicago Myron Fox steps down from his daily administrative responsibility as president of Bell Savings to the position as chairman of the board of directors. His successor is Harold P. Halleen, whose more than 30 years in the field of finance insure continued excellent management for the association in the future.

Mr. Fox has been vice chairman of the board of directors of the Federal Home Loan Bank of Chicago, is a member of the Board of Savings and Loan Association Advisors to the Department of Financial Institutions, State of Illinois, and a leading figure in other local and national savings and loan activities. As he now takes his place among the industry's elder statemen, it is encouraging to know that Bell Savings and the entire field of savings and loan management will still have access to his boad practical knowledge and the continuing benefit of his wise counsel.

He and his wife Almah have been residents of Oak Park, Ill., for more than 26 years. They have one married daughter, Mrs. Thomas H. Cloke, Jr., who resides in Glen Ellyn, Ill., with her husband and three children.

Let it be said that Myron Fox is an American in the best and finest sense of the word. He made his own way by virtue of his own abilities and his devotion to high ideals.

He firmly believes that the savings and loan business will continue to grow and he fully expects Bell Savings will grow right along with it. In commenting on this he said: "Our business has made its greatest strides in the past 16 years—the post-World War II period—and as people become more conscious of buying their own homes through savings, the idea of building for the future will become more and more a habit with the American people."

And this, as he himself often remarks, is a clear case of people helping people.

New York's Billion Dollar Racket

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

[From the New York Journal-American, Jan. 4, 1960]

GAMBLERS HOLD OPEN HOUSE FROM PARK AVENUE TO PIERS

(By James D. Horan, Dom Frasca, and John Mitchell)

Care to bet?

Take your pick—ponies, policy, or dice. You won't have to go far in New York to place your bet or try and make your point.

If you have friends or kissing kin in the Social Register you probably can get into a Park Avenue game where croupiers from a Havana casino will rake in your cash with continental charm.

But if your blood isn't blue don't give up hope—there are more than 30,000 bookmakers in the city ready to write you a marker from $2 to $1,000.

If you prefer dice or cards there are any number of "social clubs" that will accommodate you.

In brief, gambling is rampant in the five boroughs. This is what a team of Journal-American reporters discovered after conducting a citywide probe of all types of gambling.

Most of the gambling setups are run openly—sometimes under the eyes of the police.

GIMMICK INVENTED

The reporters also discovered that the gambling underworld has invented a new gimmick to circumvent the law. It is flash paper, a chemically treated 5 by 7 sheet which flares up when touched with the tip end of a lit cigarette.

Off-track bookmakers and lately policy racketeers ignite the paper at the first sound of a police raid. In seconds the list of bets, required by law for a conviction, is a charred ash.

The underworld sells the paper in envelopes with the legend "Fire at Your Fingertips" to members of the syndicate at $1 a sheet.

FLASH PAPER TRACED

Reporters traced the flash paper to "Big Rudy" Atlas, called "King of the Bookmakers." Atlas, arrested several times by the New Jersey State police as an important link in the national gambling syndicate, is now operating on Long Island.

While the gambling underworld invents new tricks to fool the law, it apparently doesn't lose stride even when attacked by such agencies as the New York State Commission of Investigation.

Last October, State police in 18 counties smashed in doors, scooped up books, betting information, and other evidence that will be used in the prosecution of 140 persons arrested.

Despite the dramatic raids some reports claim that the best the statewide action accomplished was a 36-hour interruption of business.

INTERSTATE SETUP

One of the major points proved by the raids was the interstate nature of the vast gambling operation. Oddly, the commission has been unable, thus far, to locate any direct ties between the bookmakers of upstate communities and gambling interests here in the city.

However, these reporters, through an informant, located a gambling setup in a Manhattan store which reportedly "lays off" bets out of the city. Among the members of the syndicate said to operate this setup is a gambler with an international reputation. In 1958 he was ordered out of Windsor, Canada, by the Royal Mounted Police for his gambling activities.

Windsor was also the headquarters of the Canadian-United States gambling operations of Carmine Galenti, top Mafia hood. Galenti was later arrested in a New Jersey farmhouse by State troopers and extradited to New York to face narcotics charges.

LOOKOUTS POSTED

Reporters found lookouts posted at both ends of the street where the gambling setup was located. Despite the early hours the lookouts were on the alert. One followed a reporter three blocks. Later he was observed writing the license plate of the newsman's car on the margin of a newspaper.

"You walk into the store," the informant said, "and you will be faced with a 6-foot wooden partition. Behind it is a man who takes only money. On the corner is a drugstore. Here the bets are phoned all over the State and to New Jersey from a telephone booth. They have the setup so rigged that in case of a raid all that would be found in the store is money—and that's no crime."

The informant said the setup has been in operation "for some time." When he was asked why it never has been raided, he arched his eyebrows.

"Isn't that obvious?" was his reply.

POLICE GET DATA

(The name of the gambler, which is withheld, and the details of his gambling operation have been turned over to police by this newspaper.)

In their survey of the city's gambling operations, the Journal-American team found Brooklyn and Manhattan neck and neck as the boroughs in which gambling is the most widespread. The Bronx was next. Queens and Staten Island were not far behind.

In downtown Brooklyn and in West Harlem policy was booming day and night. Reporters found the racket in these sections to be highly organized with lookouts posted at strategic points ready to give the alarm if suspicious strangers make an appearance.

Manhattan's garment district was found to be swarming with runners for both bookmakers and policy racketeers. The opportunity to gamble was virtually thrust upon one. Every weekend a floating dice game big enough to attract out of State players operates on Staten Island.

HARD TO PIN DOWN

The game is as hard to pin down as quicksilver. In the past few months it has been held in a remote barn, a garage and the basement of a man who is said to be a relative of the operator of the game. Reporters who posed as visiting businessmen looking for "action" were directed to a tavern "where you get the okay."

The reporters' survey of gambling in the city began on a Saturday morning at 10 o'clock when the "numbers action" was beginning.

For part of the tour they were accompanied by a veteran gambler. However in the garment center they simply bought a "scratch sheet" and were directed to bookmakers by cart boys or elevator operators. Off-track betting was seemingly accepted as a part of the life of the bustling area.

"How many places will you visit?" the gambler was asked.

"Five, 10, 15," he said with a shrug. Actually in their tour the newspapermen visited more than 25 gambling centers.

He started at Fulton and Washington Street, where he made a bet on a number combination (277—it didn't win). The policy operator made no pretense at secrecy. He simply wrote the numbers on a small pad, accepted the coins and gloomily discussed his arthritis. Three other players made their bets before the reporter left.

A tavern near Washington Street which takes policy, off-track betting and holds dice games in the rear, was the next stop. The gambler made a bet on a horse and another series of numbers.

A restaurant near Carroll Street, which the gambler identified as one of the largest drops in Brooklyn, apparently had some New Jersey connection. Four New Jersey Cadillacs were parked outside. One had an ILA sticker.

STAND AT BAR

Inside, several hard-looking characters stood at the bar. Off-track betting and policy playing were open. According to the gambler, the New Jersey cars left with the "ribbon"—the adding-machine tape of numbers played—in the afternoon and returned in the evening with the money for the winners.

The drop is reportedly a rendezvous for mobsters. Two of its regular customers are notorious jukebox strongarm men who were named in the 1958 Senate hearings on the underworld's infiltration into the industry.

A high-stake card and dice game is held on an upper floor of the building, the gambler told reporters.

RUN BY "GRANDMA"

In quick succession the reporters and the gambler visited 15 gambling spots on Fifth Avenue, Flatbush Avenue, Third and Fourth Streets, 11th Avenue, and 67th Street. One policy drop was run by a soft-spoken white-

haired grandmother whom the gambler called "the smartest policy operator in Brooklyn."

As he explained: "Her son has the policy setup in the back room. The store is strictly a blind. If you had gone in alone the old 'gal' would have warned the son by hitting the cash register. If someone buys something she takes the change from a small box."

To test the grandmother's alarm system a reporter went back in and bought a pack of cigarettes. The smiling old lady ignored the cash register to carefully count out the change from a cigar box.

In Manhattan the reporters found off-track bookmakers operating in almost every part of the city. In West Harlem, policy was running both day and night. The newsmen who visited more than 30 drops found the syndicates so well organized that the mob has established a night shift to take night numbers.

These are number bets placed by players who hold night jobs. The drops accepting the bets all appeared to be busy. At one store eight men, two with lunch boxes, were openly making bets on a number combination.

BUSY LENOX AVENUE

The busiest policy drops were on Lenox Avenue between 110th and 125th Streets. Ironically, this is the area involved in last year's big police shakeup. Uniformed patrolmen walked their beats but the policy operators ignored them as they accepted the bets.

One of the busiest drops was located in a so-called fish store. The windows were grimy and dirty; there was no fish or ice visible. Inside, the numbers runner was taking down the bets on a spiral-roll notebook.

"This numbers 'guy' gets a new Cadillac every year," was the comment of the gambler.

The reporters found policy drops in restaurants, fruit stores, some obviously used as fronts; taverns, and hallways. All operated openly.

Two high stake dice games were located in Manhattan; one is held every weekend in a shabby hotel near 8th Avenue, the other in a fashionable East Side hotel. Cabdrivers in the Pennsylvania Station area frequently steer out-of-town gamblers to the first game for a $5 tip. Reporters were advised to go direct to the second hotel and make your connection through a bellboy.

Big time gambling is no stranger to Park Avenue's palatial pethouses and duplex apartments. The glittering scene is always the same; beautiful women hover about the tables. They are either friends of the owner of the apartment who is putting on the gambling party or else they are props. Liveried servants offer imported caviar and champagne—both on the house. Havana-imported croupiers, all looking like early Caesar Romeros, rake in the money. The game goes on all night.

In the morning the tax-free thousands are cut up between the owner of the apartment and the croupiers. It was both a profitable and dignified night's work.

An estimated 300 bluebloods lost a small fortune at Park Avenue's most recent dice and roulette party. Eyewitnesses reported it was reminiscent of the famous 1948 charity gambling party in Vivienne Wooley-Hart's penthouse.

The millionaire who threw the party held it in his apartment less than a half mile from the scene of the party which had made headlines more than a decade ago. Guests were openely invited to the roulette party.

"This time there was no pretext about the party being a charity affair," a blueblood reported. "The proceeds went into the pockets of the crew of the professional gamblers who had been imported from Havana."

Maine Canner Sets a World Record With Seven Millionth Case of Sardines—Value $60 Million

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD G. McINTIRE
OF MAINE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. McINTIRE. Mr. Speaker, in consideration of the emphasis that is presently being placed on frozen, dehydrated, and other forms of processed foods in our grocery centers today, one might be very apt to overlook the highly significant part that canned goods have played and will continue to play in satisfying the consumer's food needs.

The State of Maine is very definitely in the foreground in canning activities, as is evidenced by the following article which appeared in the December 23 issue of the Machias Valley News-Observer:

[Machias Valley News-Observer, Dec. 23, 1959]

MAINE CANNER SETS A WORLD'S RECORD WITH SEVEN MILLIONTH CASE OF SARDINES—VALUE $60 MILLION

BANGOR.—John Toft, vice president and Portland plant manager of the R. J. Peacock Canning Co. this season, chalked up his world record 7 millionth case of Maine sardines, and was honored for the achievement when he received a suitably inscribed silver tray from the American Can Co. and a handsome scroll from a national canning trade magazine, at the annual fall meeting of his fellow canners and associates at the Penobscot Hotel.

The awards were made by Robert Kinne, Canco's Maine sales manager, of Portland, and the Maine Sardine Packers' Association president, Roy Bailey, of North Lubec, who acted for the publisher of the magazine. Each complimented Toft on his accomplishment as a production expert and aggressive leader in developing new techniques, processes, and machines used in the sardine industry.

In a short speech of acceptance, Toft stated that his sardine career has been an eventfull and interesting one and that he would go right back into the business if he had his life to live over again. "Although I am 72 years old I fully expect to be around to see my 10 millionth case roll down the production line," he told the group.

The industry claims a world record for the veteran canner, and does not expect anyone to dispute it.

The 7 millionth case meant 700 million cans, valued at more than $60 million, which have been produced under Toft's management since he got his first executive job in 1905.

Piled on top of each other, these cans would reach 11,500 miles in the air, while placed end to end they would stretch twice around the world. The total would provide every man, woman, and child in the United States with four cans of sardines.

Toft has achieved a lot of other "firsts" during his long career which have helped to improve the efficiency in the fields of fish supply, production techniques, and quality improvement for both his company and the industry in general. He is credited by many as being the originator and developer of the following important phases of the sardine operation:

Radical improvements in the speed and mechanism of retort cooking;

The first can washer which replaced the method of cleaning cans, after processing, in cylinders filled with sawdust;

The present high speed mechanical fish and can conveyor systems;

The first pump for loading and unloading fish from the carrier boats in 1942 and for which he was granted a patent in 1946. This device cut a 6-hour job down to 55 minutes;

The can cook method of processing sardines;

The bar type, self cleaning screens on fish pump hoses;

Refrigeration and brine circulating systems, for preservation and holding of fish in the factory; plus numerous other gimmicks and gadgets that have been widely copied by other sardine and food packers.

In addition to this great record, Toft has been instrumental in helping his company to set up these records:

The first in the United States to wholly equip its fleet of boats with ship to shore telephones;

The first in the Nation to equip fishing boats with radar;

Pioneer fishing by use of fathometers and wrapping machines for sardine cans.

Toft employs 325 people in his company's plant at the height of the season, and, although Toft is a hard-headed, practical businessman, most every one of them calls him by his first name.

"I work closely with each of our employees and try to train them to produce a high quality sardine for us so that we can reward them with a happy shop and steady work at good wages," Toft said.

He believes that the Maine industry has a promising future. A growing public recognition of the health and nutritive values of sardines, quality control and technological research, advertising and promotion and the growth of population are some of the factors that he sees to support this contention.

A Trescott grammar school graduate, Toft first saw the inside of a sardine plant, as a paid worker, at his home town, Lubec, where he operated the first can sealing machine used by the industry in 1904. After a varied experience as foreman and superintendent of sardine plants, he joined his present company as vice president and superintendent of the Portland plant in 1933. This shop is the largest in the State, and has packed as high as 4,000 cases, or 400,000 cans a day, with 2,500 cases about the average.

Mr. Toft lives at South Portland with his wife and daughter, Mary. Their only son, Charles, was lost at sea as a naval lieutenant on a weather ship off Greenland, during World War II.

Toft is active in civic affairs and at the present time is president of the gubernatorial appointed Maine Port Authority. He is a former president of the Maine Chamber of Commerce, and vice president of the National Propeller Club.

Frank McKinney, Man of the Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, one of the many great civic responsibilities exercised each year by the Indianapolis Times is the selection by its editors of a "Man of the Year."

This honor for 1959 was given to an Indianapolis citizen, well known throughout the United States, Frank McKinney. When the Times selected Frank McKinney as its 1959 Man of the Year this came as no surprise, I am sure, to his host of friends. He is one of the outstanding businessmen of the country, and although he has achieved nationwide recognition, he has not neglected his State or his home city.

Because of his faith in Indianapolis as a growing city and because of his leadership in endeavors instituted to improve Indianapolis as one of the great cities of the United States, he has been justly recognized by the Times as the 1959 Man of the Year.

I know that most Members of the Senate know Frank McKinney well. And I know that they, as well as his many friends throughout the country, join me in wishing for Frank McKinney continued success and happiness.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the article from the Indianapolis Times announcing Frank McKinney's selection as the 1959 Man of the Year.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MCKINNEY IS NAMED TIMES MAN OF YEAR—BANKER-POLITICIAN HONORED FOR WORK TOWARD CITY GROWTH

(By Ted Knap)

The Indianapolis Times today named banker-politician Frank E. McKinney as its 1959 man of the year.

Times editors voted the honor to Mr. McKinney because he has demonstrated with action his faith in Indianapolis as a growing city.

He demonstrated it with time, money, and energy. Mr. McKinney heads the realty corporation that erected the sparkling $4 million Fidelity Building on the Circle, latest showpiece of a downtown getting its first face-lift after 30 years of wrinkling.

He heads the board of community-owned Indians, Inc., which rescued the Indianapolis baseball team from extinction three years ago and went into the black for the first time in 1959 with paid attendance of 236,000.

He is president of the Indianapolis Civic Progress Association, board chairman of St. Francis Hospital and Memorial Clinic, State chairman of the U.S. Olympic Finance Committee, treasurer of the Indianapolis Athletic Club and board member of United Fund, Hospital Development Corp. and the Boy Scout Council.

The job that takes most of his time these days is board chairman of American Fletcher National Bank & Trust Co., which became Indiana's biggest bank last July when it merged with Mr. McKinney's Fidelity Bank & Trust Co.

Fidelity had assets of $1.5 million in 1935 when upstart McKinney bought controlling interest on a $100,000 borrowed shoestring. It had $150 million in assets when it merged with American Fletcher, making combined assets $525 million.

The rise of Francis Edward McKinney is so Horatio-Alger-like that it tends to be corny, and almost incredible.

He was born 55 years ago on the South Side (20 LaGrande), son of a city fireman (lated fire chief and now City Councilman Roscoe McKinney). He quit high school in his sophomore year to start work in a bank, but continued in Indiana University night school for 6 years. When he married Margaret Warner in 1932, he was making $45 a week.

"After the honeymoon," he recalls, "a $140 insurance premium came due and Margaret had to pay for it out of her earnings as secretary" at Indiana Bell (of which Mr. McKinney is now a director).

The old South Side home where Frank McKinney was born had no bathtub. His showplace at 300 Willow Spring Road, Williams Creek, has four baths (but not a bowling alley, as one New York paper reported).

At home are three of his children, Robert, a customers' man for Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith; Frank, Jr., an IU and Olympic swimming star, and Kathy, a pupil at Christ the King Catholic grade school. An older daughter, Claire, is the wife of James Clark, brother of ex-Mayor Alex Clark.

Frank McKinney's business influence is now nationwide. He is on the board of U.S. Corrugated Fibre Box Co., Knox Glass Co., WISH-TV, and American Income Life Insurance Co. He once owned half a dozen radio stations.

He got his first big break through politics, and he capitalized on it, just as he did on many later opportunities. It started one wintry night in March 1933 when his friend, Owen Bush, took him to see County Treasurer Bill Clauer. Ownie was then a big league baseball manager and Frank McKinney was handling his financial affairs.

Mr. Clauer confided he would not seek reelection. He and Mr. Bush persuaded 29-year-old Frank McKinney to give it a whirl. He was nominated and elected to take office January 1, 1936.

In 1935, as county treasurer-elect, Mr. McKinney borrowed $100,000 and bought controlling interest in Fidelity, then the smallest bank in Marion County. As collateral for the $100,000 loan, due to be repaid in 4 years, he offered the expectation that he'd make that much in 4 years as county treasurer.

And make it he did.

In those days, the county treasurer's remuneration consisted of fees for collecting delinquent taxes. The fee was 6 percent during his first term, 3 percent during his second.

The office turned out to be the most "lucrative in Indiana in those years. People started to pay back their delinquent taxes. The depression was over. I worked like heck. It goes without saying that I liquidated my $100,000 obligation in short order and had my bank stock free and clear," Mr. McKinney recalls.

That was the only elective office Frank McKinney ever sought.

He held two Federal posts after World War II—in 1946 as Vice Chairman of the Office of Contracts Settlement and in 1949 as Chairman of the Military Housing Commission. During the war he served 4 years as an Army colonel, in charge of a New York office making loans to war contractors.

His political organization posts have been as treasurer of the Democratic county and State central committees, as vice chairman of his party's national finance committee in 1940 and as Democratic national chairman for 1 year under President Truman.

When Mr. McKinney gave up that post in 1952, he retired from active politics.

But people in politics keep coming back to him. That's why Mr. McKinney is frequently the largest contributor to his party here. That's why he is working for the 1960 nominations of State Senator Mathew Welsh for Governor and U.S. Senator STUART SYMINGTON for President. That's why he has political allies in the Democratic Congress and even the Republican statehouse.

"I guess I'll always be interested in politics," he said. "It behooves every man, especially businessmen, to devote at least 2 years of his life to politics in the party of his choice. If people look down their noses at politicians, our two-party system and government will crumble, because politics is government."

Politics has been Mr. McKinney's sideline by chance rather than by choice. His preference is for baseball and other sports.

The former manager of Sacred Heart High School's Young Men's Society semipro team (he couldn't make it as second baseman) has owned the Louisville Colonels, Indianapolis Indians, and Pittsburgh Pirates.

He now wants to help start what could become his biggest venture—an organization to promote all sports in Indianapolis. It would, under individual ownership, promote professional baseball, football, basketball, hockey, and other sports.

"There'll be a million people here by 1975," he predicts, "and they'll be looking for entertainment. There's a crying need for a new stadium seating at least 25,000. I think Victory Field could be expanded to that if we could provide parking. And I'd flood the field in the winter for ice skating."

Along those lines, Mr. McKinney also sees a crying need for a new, deluxe downtown hotel with about 600 rooms and penthouse supper club.

"That's my next project," he said. "I've had a survey made by three large hotel people (the Zeckendorfs, Hiltons, and Statlers). They're interested in Indianapolis."

Mr. McKinney sees a new downtown hotel as a logical extension of recent renovation of downtown Indianapolis. Just the past 2 years have seen the rise of the Indiana Building on Market, the Indiana Bank Building on Maryland, the ISTA Center on Capitol, the Merchants Bank Building at the point of Virginia Avenue, and the 12-story glass and aluminum Fidelity Building on the Circle. Also rising are new State office buildings and the city-county building.

"These are the first new downtown office buildings since the 1920's," Mr. McKinney reported. "We are in the throes of big redevelopment. I think Indianapolis is just to the point of moving into long pants."

And Frank McKinney, with only wisps of gray showing in his wavy black hair, looks like he'll be around to do some of the tailoring.

TIMES MEN OF THE YEAR

1955: Eugene N. Beesley, president of Eli Lilly & Co., which pioneered mass production of Salk polio vaccine.

1956: Carl R. Dortch, Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce government research director, for pushing legislation that led to the metropolitan plan commission and expansion of Greater Indianapolis.

1957: Frederic M. Hadley, chairman of the first United Fund campaign, which went over the top.

1958: John G. Tinder, Marion County prosecutor, for his investigation and prosecution of the State highway scandals.

A Tax Bill To Aid Commuters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN R. PILLION
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. PILLION. Mr. Speaker, in reading the New York Herald Tribune of Sunday, January 3, 1960, I read an article by Donald I. Rogers devoted to "A Tax Bill To Aid Commuters." This article dealt with a bill, H.R. 6739, introduced in the 1st session of the 86th

Congress by my colleague from New York, Representative FRANK J. BECKER.

The vast growth of urban population in recent years and the ever-increasing cost of transportation has placed a very heavy burden on a large part of our working population. I, therefore, feel that the arguments put forth in the article by Mr. Rogers on behalf of Mr. BECKER's bill are valid, and I hope that every consideration will be given to this matter just as soon as possible.

A TAX BILL TO AID COMMUTERS

Now that the Congress is giving more than passing consideration to revision of the tax laws and the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue is working out an extensive report, it is possible that a laudable bill (H.R. 6739) introduced by Representative FRANK J. BECKER, Republican, of New York, designed to give relief to the overtaxed commuter, will get more favorable attention than it has in the past. The measure was introduced last April and referred to the Ways and Means Committee where it disappeared into the mysterious labyrinth reserved for bills which have not occasioned great public clamor.

The Becker bill would add a new section to the tax code, section 217 of part VII of subchapter B of chapter 1 which would be entitled "Expenses of Transportation To and From Work." It would read:

"There shall be allowed as a deduction the ordinary and necessary expenses actually paid or incurred by the taxpayer during the taxable year for transportation to and from his place of employment or self-employment.

"The deduction allowed any taxpayer under this section shall not exceed $200 for any taxable year."

In a year when Congress is obliged to find more revenues for the insatiable monetary appetites of Government, such a bill may not attract immediate support. It will, however, if the public gets behind it.

It seems wrong, somehow, to permit the deduction of traveling expenses if a man is selling or pursuing his business duties, but to deny him any allowance whatsoever for the expense of getting to and from his place of business. A relatively high-paid automobile salesman can get a deduction for the gas he burns up in demonstrating a new car, but an underpaid secretary can't deduct the bus fare she has to pay to get from Teaneck, N.J., to Manhattan in order to perform her daily chores.

The Becker bill, in any light, seems to be a legitimate correction of the present system. Why shouldn't the commuter get this tax break when a businessman traveling for a firm is entitled to tax deduction for business expenses?

Representative BECKER cites the example of a woman who drives 45 miles daily to teach in a school which has found it difficult to get teachers residing in the area. Her husband sells for a large concern and gets his traveling orders via telephone. Those orders might cause him to fly to Boston or Philadelphia. His expenses are deductible. Hers are not.

As a toiler amid Manhattan's towers who is the senior parent of a large family of small children, I am obliged to maintain my home on Long Island's north shore and commute daily on the lovable Long Island Railroad, a task I do not find unpleasant until it comes time to pay for my commutation ticket.

It costs me $8.90 a week for 48 weeks a year, or a total of $427.20 each tax year.

If I were selling shoelaces, I would be able to deduct that travel expense from my income taxes, but, alas, all I sell is words, and since it is for a salary, there is no deduction.

It would be fairer if I were allowed to deduct at least $200 out of the $427.20.

What, essentially, is the difference between the commuter and the traveling businessman? Why this glaring inconsistency in the tax laws? Actually, with the changing face of America's metropolitan complex, an increasing number of taxpayers live in the suburbs and commute to the metropolis. It is time the tax code was revised to account for this.

Representative BECKER's bill needs public support. He can use letters as ammunition. His office is room 1727, House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

"Josh" Has Served His Country Well

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by the distinguished writer, George E. Sokolsky, on the occasion of the retirement of the beloved Chaplain Joshua L. Goldberg, chief chaplain of the Third Naval District, together with a press release issued on the occasion of Chaplain Goldberg's receipt of the Legion of Merit:

"JOSH" HAS SERVED HIS COUNTRY WELL
(By George E. Sokolsky)

It is difficult for me to think of the Navy without Chaplain Joshua L. Goldberg, chief chaplain of the Third Naval District. He seemed to be a permanent fixture. He has been in this one post longer than chaplains serve anywhere and he has done so much beyond the call of duty that he is beloved by Catholic and Protestant although he is a rabbi.

Captain Goldberg is a curiosity. He came to the United States during World War I from Russia as an immigrant. He immediately enlisted in the Army and went to war. It was in the Army, during the war, that he learned his English, a language in which he preaches and teaches. After World War I, he continued his rabbinical studies although his knowledge of Hebrew and rabbinics was probably as great as most of his professors. Came World War II and Rabbi Goldberg enlisted for service in the Navy where he has remained ever since.

In the Navy, he is known as "Josh." Everybody knows "Josh" Goldberg because he has served everybody, doing the impossible, creating an esprit de corps which transcended religious differences. It cannot be said and should not be said that there is no difference of view and no bigotry in the chaplain services but as one who has seen the growth of this significant body of men, what can be said is that nowhere else in the world is it possible for Catholic, Protestant and Jewish clergymen to work together in such harmony. In fact, if a boy in our Armed Forces requires the comfort of religion according to the traditions of his church and his ancestors, he can receive the benefits from a clergyman of any faith and it will be done honestly without an attempt to proselytize.

Chaplain Goldberg played an enormous role in the development of this noble attitude and for his services he has gained respect if no other recognition.

NO COMPROMISE OF BELIEFS

His recent activities have been largely devoted to developing the same attitude and the same service in the military services of all the NATO countries and two conferences have already been held, one in Europe and one in the United States, in which clergymen whose denominations have been antagonistic since the 16th century met together and spent weeks together in mutual consultation and association. In this work no one compromises his own beliefs and principles. In fact, the slogan of the American Chaplain Services is "Cooperation without compromise."

The time has come, according to the law, for Captain Goldberg to retire. So he must leave the Navy at the end of this year. Being a man of enormous energy, he will continue to serve as an official of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, which is the seminary for training Reformed rabbis in this country. But it seems to me that it is a pity that the Government of the United States should have an arbitrary retirement system so that a man at the height of his career, able, brilliant, imaginative, leaves it and goes elsewhere.

Fortunately, Chaplain Goldberg was quickly co-opted for other work and at a salary which is larger than the Navy pays, but many are not so fortunate and we continue to lose good men because we do not have the sense to keep them. There are men, like Chaplain Goldberg, who stay on as long as the law will permit because they can afford to underwrite their public service or because they are willing to make sacrifices to serve their country. Then, at the peak of maturity they must retire somewhere to think about what they might have done more had they been permitted to continue.

If any man served this country beyond the call of duty, if any man served in a position all the hours of every day, knowing no time off and no private life, that man is Chaplain Joshua Goldberg, who once was called the religious diplomat of our time. And this can be said of him that every admiral who ever served over Chaplain Goldberg, that every man who was his Boss is turning out to honor him on his retirement. It is a rare quality that wins for a sky-pilot the friendship and respect of hard-boiled Navy admirals.

"Josh" deserves the love he has gained.

NAVY CHAPLAIN GOLDBERG TO RECEIVE LEGION OF MERIT

Capt. Joshua L. Goldberg, Chaplain Corps, U.S. Navy, Third Naval District chaplain, who will retire from active naval service as of January 1, will be presented the Legion of Merit by Vice Adm. Thomas S. Combs, U.S. Navy, commander eastern sea frontier, and commandant, Third Naval District, in a ceremony at the headquarters, at 10 a.m. Tuesday, December 29.

The press is invited to attend the ceremony, which will be held in the office of the commandant, room 1520, 90 Church Street.

The Legion of Merit will be presented for service as set forth in the following citation:

"For exceptionally meritorious conduct in the performance of outstanding services as District Chaplain, Third Naval District, from August 1949 to January 1960. Exercising sound judgment, diligence, and leadership, Captain Goldberg has been eminently successful in serving his fellowman through establishing and maintaining religious and human understanding and good will among all people. As the sole military chaplain representative on the Committee on Moral and Spiritual Resources of the International Information Administration, Department of State, he contributed materially to the success of the Committee through his numerous suggestions and recommendations regarding problems of understanding in various parts of the world. In his role as a special representative of the Chief of Naval Operations on a trip to Israel concerning matters of a

delicate nature and important implications in the field of international relations, Chaplain Goldberg succeeded in achieving an understanding whereby a naval attaché was assigned to Tel Aviv, and problems regarding visits by units of the 6th Fleet to Israeli ports were amicably resolved. As a member of the Armed Forces Chaplains Board for 5 years, he was instrumental in establishing the Board's governing policies, and contributed to its success as a liaison group between civic and religious organizations and the Chaplain Corps of the three military departments. Aware of the benefits to be derived from a better human understanding among members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, he organized and participated in two NATO Chaplains' Conferences, which have provided a better understanding betwen nations and navies of the NATO member countries regardless of various religious convictions. Chaplain Goldberg's dedicated service and outstanding accomplishments reflect the highest credit upon himself and the U.S. naval service.

THOMAS S. GATES, Jr.,
Secretary of the Navy
(For the President).

The Fulbright Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD a report of the operation of the exchange program in Australia. The report was made to the Australian Parliament by the Minister for External Affairs on November 25, 1959, and I believe it should be interesting to all those who have followed the development of our exchange program.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FULBRIGHT PROGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,
Canberra, November 27, 1959.

The Minister for External Affairs made the following statement, by leave, on the Fulbright program in the House of Representatives on November 25, 1959:

"I lay on the table the following paper:

"REPORT OF THE FULBRIGHT PROGRAM IN AUSTRALIA FOR THE YEARS 1949 TO 1959

"I remind the House that tomorrow, November 26, is the 10th anniversary of the commencement of the Fulbright program. Ten years ago tomorrow, the Fulbright agreement was signed by the present leader of the opposition (Dr. Evatt) in his then capacity as Minister for External Affairs, and the then U.S. Ambassador to Australia.

"I believe that this report will be of value and interest to honorable members generally. It covers a period of very successful implementation of the mutual reciprocal exchange of academic persons, teachers and the like, between Australia and the United States of America. I pay tribute to Senator FULBRIGHT, now the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the U.S. Senate, who was the originator of the legislation which enabled the Fulbright program to be carried out with Australia. The program is worldwide in its operation. I think that over 40 countries enjoy the privilege of exchanging academic and teaching personnel with the United States.

"The program in Australia was commenced by the agreement of the United States that about $5 million of surplus lend-lease funds remaining in Australia at the end of the war should be used for this purpose. In 1949, it was believed that the funds would last about 10 years, but, through prudent management by the council of the Fulbright scheme, the funds are now believed to be sufficient to carry on the scheme for about another 5 years. Without wishing to give precise figures, I would say that over the last 10 years about 500 Australians have been able to visit the United States and continue their studies there for the best part of an academic year, whilst about the same number of Americans have been able to visit Australia for the same period.

"One can say with truth that the Fulbright scheme has been a great success, and that it must have resulted in the diffusion of a good deal of knowledge among individuals of some substantial intellectual capacity in Australia and the United States. I think that I can express, on behalf of all honorable members, the gratitude of the Government and the Australian people for this generous gesture by the U.S. administration."

2. The leader of the opposition spoke, by leave, after Mr. Casey. Dr. Evatt said:

"In supporting the right honorable gentleman's statement, I should like to recall for the benefit of honorable members the basis of the Fulbright agreement and the subsequent arrangements. I think that the Australian Government alone, of all the allied governments which receive substantial lend-lease assistance from the United States, made a comparable contribution in return by way of what was called reverse lend-lease. For instance, we supplied large quantities of equipment, including clothing, to the United States and other allied forces. Australia contributed so much that, when the accounts came to be looked at after the end of fighting, there was almost a complete balance. Many other nations which had received great benefits from the United States of America were not in a position to make such a return, but Australia was. It was suggested by Mr. Chifley, who was then Prime Minister, that we would not ask the United States to forego the amount of the surplus funds held here. I think it was something like $5 million, although I cannot be sure of the exact amount. It was agreed that we would not ask the United States to forgive us that amount, although the contribution by the two countries were almost the same. There were tremendous contributions by Australia and tremendous contributions—greater, of course—by the United States.

"Then came the agreement which Mr. Chifley himself negotiated—I think with Dean Acheson—under which the balance which we owed was to be made available for purposes like this and for other purposes such as the construction in Australia at Australia's expense of buildings for the U.S. Government—as something that would help to confirm the ties of friendship which had been established during the war. Those are the facts. It was an arrangement of that kind. As the Minister for External Affairs (Mr. Casey) correctly says, it was completely negotiated by the Chifley government. Mr. Jarman, who was then United States Ambassador in Australia, and I signed the agreement.

"I want to mention another matter—not by way of complaint, but in order to point out that there has been an oversight. There is a board of directors which allocates these scholarships. On it, Australia and the United States are represented. But throughout the long period of its existence, not one representative of the present Opposition in this Parliament has sat on that board as an Australian representative, although the present Opposition Party, when in office, negotiated the original agreement. I ask the Minister, not to decide immediately, but to look at the matter afresh and see whether it is possible to include a representative of the Opposition. It should be, because this scheme owes so much to the initiative of Mr. Chifley. If this were done, the administration of the scheme would be helped, and I think it would be strengthened in certain respects. I entirely agree that this is a great scheme. Senator FULBRIGHT, Dean Acheson, various U.S. Ambassadors, and others from the United States have done a great deal to make it successful. I just want to add the proposition which I have just put for the Minister to consider at his leisure."

Membership Rally of World War I Vets at Peabody, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, the John J. Splaine, Jr., Barracks No. 12, of Salem, Mass., is one of the most emergetic units of the Veterans of World War I, of the U.S.A., Inc.

When the national organization announced the beginning of a drive to enroll 1 million members, Barracks No. 12, promptly swung into action. A call was sent out to members of the World War I Veterans of the U.S.A., Inc., in the eight cities and towns near Salem, to join Barracks No. 12 in a membership drive.

On Sunday afternoon, December 6, 1959, a very successful rally was held at the V.F.W. Hall in Peabody, Mass., under the leadership of the John L. Splaine, Jr., Barracks of Salem.

The senior and junior department vice commanders of Massachusetts were present. George Leary, national junior vice commander brought the greetings of the national organization; discussed the various pension bills; and gave helpful advice on ways methods to increase the membership.

It was my privilege to give the following address:

Greetings: All of us hoped, and I supposed most of us believed that World War I would be the last major war in history.

That was responsible for our attitude as veterans.

Many of our comrades didn't join any veterans' organization.

They went their separate ways, failing to understand that they would need the group as much as the group would need them to protect the legitimate interests of all veterans.

In December 1941 we suddenly sensed that a new and much larger group of veterans would come out of World War II. Twenty-three years had gone by, and so many things we should have accomplished had been postponed until another year.

When the very generous GI Bill of Rights was passed by the Congress in 1944 to help the veterans of World War II it made us look old-fashioned and negligent in promoting the unity and protecting the rights of World War I veterans.

Furthermore, we were no longer the last and strongest group of veterans.

And as we looked around at the changing situation it dawned upon us that we had no organization to represent exclusively the men and women who served from 1917 to 1918, and to speak for their special problems.

It was this lack that led to the establishment of the World War I Veterans of the U.S.A., Inc.

Its rapid growth within a few years shows that it is filling a long-felt need. At last we had a group to join that would be entirely our own and where we could share the same memories and the same interests.

Our first objective is to secure a pension for all of our comrades when they reach the age of eligibility.

Our second objective is to bring together all who served in World War I in a fraternity that will promote friendship and sociability.

It takes organizing skill and effort to do this.

We have not reached the thousands who would like to join but who need the helping hand of present members who will welcome them to our ranks and make them feel at home.

We have the incentives and the high morale.

I do not exaggerate when I claim that our group has more get-up-and-go than those groups of younger veterans who are indifferent, as we were at their age.

What we need is a plan of action, and enough volunteers to make it work; checking the records and drawing up lists of potential candidates for membership in our respective communities.

Do you ever stop to think of those classmates who graduated from school with you, who live in the same city or town as you do but whose paths have not crossed yours in years?

The situation is identical with respect to the aging veterans of the First World War.

Our job is to look them up, find them, and invite them to attend a barracks meeting so that they can enjoy a reunion with the buddies of long ago and actually see the programs we are arranging to revive that comradeship and pride of service.

Even a man's family life, with all its fulfillments, does not provide an outlet for this remembered experience which every veteran cherishes in his heart.

Only in the company of other veterans can this fellowship live again.

This rally is the opening of a membership drive by John J. Splaine, Jr. Barracks No. 12 for the benefit of World War I veterans who reside in the nine cities and towns in the vicinity of Salem.

Let us not forget the indispensable role of the ladies in this drive.

Auxiliaries are providing fine cooperation in many other communities throughout the country. When you enlist the idealism, the enthusiasm, and the hard-working support of the women your success will be certain.

We have a goal and we are not going to be detoured from it.

Ever since the Revolutionary War, the Congress has provided pensions for the aging veterans of all wars, and with no income restrictions. These non-service-connected pensions were not based on need, and were not considered as a retirement plan. They expressed in tangible form the Nation's gratitude to those who had risked their lives in its defense.

In the last session of Congress, when Fred Hollenbeck testified before the Committee on Veterans Affairs he said, and I quote: "The files in our national headquarters are filled with appeals from men who have served in World War I pleading with us to do everything we can to secure for them a pension of $100 per month. These letters indicate that the writers do not have social security or other outside income and that they are in dire circumstances but do not want to go on the public dole to eke out an existence. They are bitter in what they feel is the lack of gratitude on the part of this Nation in not long ago having granted them the same consideration as has been granted to the veterans of all other wars prior to World War I." End of quote.

In that same session, a bill was passed that generally increased non-service-connected pensions for the veterans, widows and dependents of all wars.

While this was praiseworthy at first glance, it was not altogether pure and beneficent in motive.

For its hidden purpose was to head off and place a barrier in the way of pensions for all World War I veterans upon reaching the qualifying age.

The architects of this bill really fooled themselves. While sidetracking the drive for a World War I pension bill, they forced through a measure that, by taking in the veterans of all wars, will cost more than twice as much as the bill to provide a pension of $100 a month to all eligible World War I veterans.

There are approximately 2,700,000 living World War I veterans.

About one half are receiving service-connected disability compensation, or non-service-connected pensions.

In both cases, the amount received by the individual veteran is considerably less than $100 per month.

But the other half of this veteran population receive no compensation or pension from the Veterans' Administration.

The total cost of our bill covering the next 40 years will be less than $10 billion, or an average of $250 million a year. But the non-service-connected pension bill for all veterans, providing smaller monthly benefits, and squeezed by income limitations will cost more than twice the total of our bill.

The tactics employed against us have backfired.

Under the guise of economy, they have committed themselves to expenditures far greater than they anticipated in their preoccupation with stopping our pension drive.

Their argument that a pension for World War I vets would cost too much has been contradicted by their own actions.

We intend to go forward with our own bill.

We are determined that the discrimination which has operated against us shall be removed, and that the "forgotten veterans" of 1917–18 shall become the "recognized" veterans of the 1960's and beyond.

Through organizational meetings such as this, we shall increase the strength of our membership and its voice as we make steady progress toward the inevitable goal of a minimum pension of $100 per month for all veterans of the First World War.

The Administration and TV

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM PROXMIRE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, in the Washington Post and Times Herald, as well as other papers around the country, there appeared on January 5 a perceptive column by Walter Lippmann, entitled "The Administration and TV." With his customary skill and insight Mr. Lippmann reviews the report made by the Attorney General in response to the questions raised by the President at the time of the recent television scandals. He proceeds to examine the thesis advanced by Mr. John Fischer, editor of Harper's magazine, as a possible solution to the problems of standards and ethics in the television industry.

Mr. Lippmann concludes:

There will be a temptation, I realize, to treat the uproar of the autumn as one of those things which pass and are forgotten. This country cannot afford to do that. For television, which is the most powerful medium of mass communication, is of enormous importance in the life of the Nation. To forget about it because it is not in the headlines would be frivolous, and indeed a sign of a serious national weakness.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the whole of Mr. Lippmann's article, entitled "The Administration and TV," be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE ADMINISTRATION AND TV

(By Walter Lippmann)

Mr. Rogers, the Attorney General, has replied to questions which the President put to him when the television scandals broke out: "whether there were any laws violated; whether we should propose any new laws."

The answer from the Department of Justice is that the laws as passed by Congress are, on the whole, adequate, that these laws have been violated, and that the Federal regulatory commissions concerned with them—the one for communications and the one for trade—have in fact made no serious attempt to enforce the laws.

While the Attorney General, perhaps, rightly, did not deem it his business to say so, can it be denied that if the officials have failed to enforce the law, the remedy would be to appoint some new officials who will try to enforce the law?

The report itself is, it seems to me, a clear and candid introduction to the TV problem. Mr. Rogers has fixed his main attention on the recent scandals—on the fraud of the quiz programs and the corruption of the payola. But he has opened the door, without going through it, to the much greater question of national policy, which is how to deal with the consequences of what he calls "naked commercial selfishness." This is the search for larger and larger audiences to yield larger and larger advertising revenues. Here the broadcasting companies are debasing and degrading the most powerful of all popular institutions of education and entertainment.

Mr. Rogers believes, and no doubt with good reason, that the laws as passed by Congress, if enforced, are adequate to deal with the "deceptive and corrupt practices" which have shocked the country. Certainly it is true that the problem here is not to write new laws but to find men who have the will and the ability to enforce the laws we have.

But there is more in the laws than that. The rights to use the comparatively few airwaves are valuable properties. These properties belong to the public, and the intent of the existing law is that licensees to use the airwaves are pledged to treat them as a public trust in the public interest.

The question here is whether any regulatory commission, even a good one, can

induce or compel the broadcasting companies to live up to a higher, but less profitable standard of information, education, and entertainment. This is at bottom the question of what can be done by the method of regulation. A commission can police the industry against fraud. But what if anything can it do to raise the intellectual and moral and esthetic standards, and to improve the quality of what is broadcast?

This is the door which Mr. Rogers has opened without passing through it. It is a fair inference, however, from the general tenor of his report that he knows quite well that not much can be done by way of regulation to improve the quality of the programs.

My own view is that it is not possible to define in the laws and regulations standards of quality which can be enforced. Nor do I think it would be desirable or healthy to have the regulating commission, which is essentially a policeman, set up shop to advise and even control the quality of the programs.

What then? How about relying upon voluntary self-improvement by the networks? There appears to be some evidence that they would like to do better than they have been doing, and that they would like to recover the confidence and respect which they lost during the recent exposures and the public outcry. More power to them. But we must not forget that the economic interest of the companies, which requires bigger audiences for bigger revenues, is against any serious and lasting effort to use television for its highest possibilities. The companies will do as much but not much more than the traffic will bear.

That will not be enough. This country needs some television at the best hours which, like schools and universities, like art galleries, like the parks, like research, is not commercial, is produced not because it yields private profits but because it moves toward truth and excellence. I say some television. We could not and should not have the Government run the whole television industry. What we need is a competitor with commercial television, a competitor who has a different motive and can have, therefore, different standards.

The noncommercial competitor would have to be some kind of public corporation or authority, chartered by law, governed like a university by trustees, and operated by professionals. How could it be financed? The best discussion of this question has, I think, come from Mr. John Fischer who has been writing in Harper's magazine. His thesis is that since the air waves are public property, the Government should charge rentals for them. This is quite feasible since the profits are large. Moreover, rentals could be charged not only in money which would finance the noncommercial company but also in the form of time set aside for it on the commercial networks.

There is little doubt that some noncommercial television could be financed. It would be a very good thing if an appropriate committee of Congress would make a report on the economics and the finances of the television industry.

There will be a temptation, I realize, to treat the uproar of the autumn as one of those things which pass and are forgotten. This country cannot afford to do that. For television, which is the most powerful medium of mass communication, is of enormous importance in the life of the Nation. To forget about it because it is not in the headlines would be frivolous, and indeed a sign of a serious national weakness.

Cold New Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article, entitled "Cold New Year," by Irwin Isenberg, which I commend to my colleagues. The article is splendidly written and is timely. It is on the subject of the worldwide refugee problem—a problem which we all share and will continue to share until more meaningful solutions are found. One such solution is contained in H.R. 6826, the omnibus immigration bill which I introduced in May of last year.

This article appeared in the December 31 issue of the Villager, one of New York City's leading weekly newspapers.

Mr. Isenberg and the Villager deserve high commendation for reminding their readers in this fashion of an obligation for the new year which we all share:

COLD NEW YEAR

(By Irwin Isenberg)

In Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan there are more than 1 million Arab refugees. Most have been living in refugee camps in these countries since the eruption of the Arab-Israeli war 11 years ago. It's not unusual for families of five and six to be crowded into a mud hut 8 feet square. The bathrooms in Washington Square Village are about that size. But for the Arabs this mud hut made of cow dung and straw is home.

In Austria, Italy, and Germany there are still 120 displaced persons camps left over from World War II. In these bleak surroundings live some 28,000 people, one-quarter of them kids under 16. They have never been able to find a real home because nobody wants them. Either the head of the family is too old or too unskilled to be welcomed by any country as a permanent settler, or else someone in the family is too sick to be admitted to another country. The family doesn't want to leave the sick one behind, so it stays put. Some of these people have been refugees for 20 years.

In Morocco and Tunisia there are 180,000 refugees from the Algerian war, now entering its 6th year. Most of these refugees are women and children. Their men are dead, or imprisoned, or fighting. The women and children live in caves, if they're lucky enough to have caves.

In Hong Kong there are 1 million refugees from communism—Chinese style. Some families live in the streets. Others are fortunate enough to have shacks made from bits of tin, wood, and bamboo. Beds are often rented in shifts. Hong Kong authorities cry in despair: "The refugee problem is overwhelming us."

Girls of 13 are veteran prostitutes. Boys of 10 are old hands at stealing.

In West Germany there are thousands of unsettled refugees from communism—Russian style. (Three million East Germans have fled to the west since 1945; most have been resettled.) And refugees continue to pour into West Germany at the rate of 10,000 a month.

In the Portuguese colony of Macao there are 60,000 refugees from the China mainland. All of them live in conditions of horrid squalor.

In India there are now 14,000 Tibetans who fled their country when the Chinese stamped out a revolution there last spring.

In South Korea there are hundreds of thousands of North Koreans waiting to return to their homes. In South Vietnam there are more hundreds of thousands waiting to trek to their homes in the north when and if their country is unified.

In Pakistan there are millions of Moslems, who formerly lived in India, still technically refugees. In India there are hordes of Hindus, who fled there when the subcontinent was partitioned, who are also refugees.

If there's one thing the world will have plenty of in the coming year it's refugees. Some are supported by U.N. agencies, some by the Red Cross, and some by private agencies. But the sum of these efforts just keeps abreast of this human misery. Greater efforts are needed to permanently settle these homeless millions.

That is why a World Refugee Year was proclaimed last summer by the U.N. "to coordinate 12 months of intensive worldwide effort by governments and private individuals on behalf of refugees." Sixty-seven countries have since set up individual programs to aid the refugees.

The U.S. Committee for Refugees, with headquarters at 11 West 42d Street, has been organized to coordinate all World Refugee Year activity in the United States.

In the 6 months since World Refugee Year was proclaimed, thousands of refugees have been helped. Some in Europe have been settled. Increased quotas of food and supplies have been distributed to other groups. The U.S. has set aside $10 million that may be used for refugee work. The U.S. Committee for Refugees has recommended that the United States let 20,000 refugees above its normal quotas into this country:

But more, much more, money is needed by all the private agencies helping the refugees. That is why Villagers could do no better than donate whatever they can to these groups. Just two pennies is enough to buy 1 day's milk supply for an Algerian child. Just $20 outfits a refugee for the winter. And $100 enables a refugee family living in Italy to emigrate to South America.

In Korea, for instance, many refugee children have no pencils or papers to use in their classroom. The school has no money to buy these supplies. But a $1 gift can outfit a whole class with writing materials. Why should these kids suffer because we have not yet learned how to live in peace?

"More than 40 million men, women, and children have been made homeless since the start of World War II," said U.N. Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold. "More than 15 million of them are still homeless."

Perhaps 1960 will be the last year some of them will spend without a real home.

The Late Alvin R. Bush

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN J. FLYNT, JR.
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1960

Mr. FLYNT. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in expressing my sorrow

in the unexpected and untimely death last fall of our admired and respected friend, ALVIN R. BUSH. Congressman BUSH and I had served continuously on the same committee since I first became a Member of Congress.

He was a pleasant and affable associate in the work of our committee and in the work of the House of Representatives. He was an able and respected representative of his State and district and a beloved Member of this body. He was a warm, personal friend.

Those of us who were closely associated with him knew him as a man of high integrity and character. He displayed intense interest on legislative matters which came before us, and he made valuable contributions to the legislative work during the entire period of his service as a Representative in Congress.

I shall always remember AL BUSH as a devoted public servant of ability, strength of character, humility and gentle nature. I shall also remember him as a devoted personal friend.

Mrs. Flynt joins me in extending to Mrs. Bush and their children our deepest sympathy, and we share with them their sorrow.

Indiscriminate Use of Pesticides

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting a resolution adopted by the Detroit Audubon Society at their annual meeting, November 21, 1959, concerning the indiscriminate use of pesticides.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE DETROIT AUDUBON SOCIETY AT ANNUAL MEETING, NOVEMBER 21, 1959, RE INDISCRIMINATE USE OF PESTICIDES

Whereas it has become increasingly evident that the current widespread and indiscriminate use of pesticides (insecticides, herbicides, etc.), especially those with residual effects, pose a serious threat not only to the wildlife population but to public health; be it

Resolved, That the Detroit Audubon Society join with the Michigan Audubon Society, the National Audubon Society, Michigan United Conservation Clubs, the National Wildlife Federation, and other like-minded natural history and conservation groups in protesting the continuation of such practices; be it further

Resolved, That the Detroit Audubon Society advocates (1) that the use of pesticides be confined to the local treatment of known infestations and that all widespread and indiscriminate spraying or aerial dusting be discontinued, (2) that accelerated research programs be conducted on the long range biological effects of all pesticides, (3) that laws be enacted to insure adequate restrictions on the use of these toxic materials; be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of the society transmit this communication to the Honorable Senators and Representatives of the State of Michigan in the Congress of the United States, the Honorable Senators and Representatives in the Legislature of the State of Michigan, the Secretaries of Agriculture, Interior and Health, Education, and Public Welfare of the United States, the Michigan Conservation Commission, and to such other executive, legislative, or administrative officials of Government and conservation organizations as the president of the society shall designate.

Staffing Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM PROXMIRE
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, from time to time one of our colleagues writes an article of such unusual thoughtfulness and understanding that I consider it a shame we do not all have a chance to read it. Such an article appeared in the Atlantic Monthly for November, under the title "Staffing Freedom." It was written by the senior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK]. Eloquently, it discusses a subject long close to his heart, as it should be to all of us, the question of how to steer our most important resource; namely, the best and ablest of our young people, into positions where they can help build the kind of creative country in which we want to live, and which we would like to pass on to our children.

The article is subtitled "An Appeal." To help all of us to hear and heed it I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STAFFING FREEDOM—AN APPEAL BY SENATOR JOSEPH S. CLARK

(Pennsylvania's senior Senator and former mayor of Philadelphia, JOSEPH S. CLARK donated his Bok Award funds, received in 1956, to the American Academy of Political and Social Science for a study of national personnel needs)

What kind of country do we Americans want? What kind of universe do we wish to live in?

Survival in freedom with a reasonable chance for happiness would be the answer for most of us. I think of a creative country in which there is respect for the brotherhood of man.

It is only when we start discussing policies, programs, and procedures that we get into trouble. My concern is with people, not methods. How can we find, train, and hold in the right jobs people needed to create what Walter Lippmann calls the "good society"?

Today we have no national personnel policy or plan. We do not try to steer our best young people into the careers where their brains are needed. We leave the choice to chance and the marketplace. We hope that a sense of dedication will prove more compelling than the dollar reward.

Not only are we short of teachers; too many of those we have are not really good enough. We have plenty of politicians, but many of them are hardly worth the powder to blow them away.

Does it really make sense to siphon our ability into color television, the manufacture and sale of soft drinks, cigarettes, whisky, and cosmetics, and the advertising of these commodities? Hasn't the time come to start thinking about how to put American capabilities into jobs where they can best advance American national interests?

In 1942, Military Occupation Specialty (MOS) determined where one served "the cause of freedom." The planners in the Pentagon decided the necessary qualifications of each GI and each officer required to man our armed services. That was a hot war, and that one is cold. Compulsion would not work today; but persuasion might.

They plan well in Russia. There someone decides where little Ivan is going to work. If, at the age of eleven, he seems unresponsive, he goes back to the collective farm. If he shows promise, his education is continued at state expense through technical school and the university. Education and incentives for different occupations are adjusted to meet the personnel needs required by the current 5- or 7-year plain.

In continental Europe and Great Britain, educational and occupational planning is far ahead of our chaotic American hit or miss.

Would we lose our sacred freedoms if we tried by persuasion to get what others achieve by compulsion? I think not. Is it so difficult to inventory our personnel requirements? Ewan Clague, the U.S. Commissioner of Labor Statistics, tells us that the job is already well begun. He has published a handbook estimating the prospects in 600 different occupations.

Surely wise men and women can set tentative priorities among these occupations. A White House conference on national personnel requirements would do more than start people thinking; it could determine empirically how many well-trained people we are likely to need in the next 30 years to achieve our national goals.

The next question is, How can we use both the carrot and the stick to get these young people trained and on their way to where they are needed? How can we get more and better teachers, scientists, priests, politicians, rabbis, ministers, musicians, poets, and social workers? To get them we will have to settle for fewer brewers, nightclub proprietors, and lobbyists.

Perhaps our national sense of values needs a little adjusting. Perhaps the wrong people are making too much money and the right people not enough. How about the status seekers? Can we make it as chic to be a graduate nurse working in a hospital as an interior decorator specializing in drapes?

This realization of shortage should generate a lot of talk, which sometimes in America is a prelude to action. Those old rallying points—the home, the church, and the school—might conceivably resound with fresh words and determination about a boy's future. Such talk could spread to newspaper editors, commentators, comic strip artists, and cartoonists. After a time the talk might result in a national purpose to staff freedom with our best and ablest brains instead of leaving matters to chance. The tools are at hand to do the job once the decision is made. All we need is the will to act. And the "good society" which could result might both confound communism and lift Western civilization to new heights.

Breaking the Marina Bottleneck

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. FALLON
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, a most able writer, Mr. Ernest Conine, Jr., of the McGraw-Hill News Service, and presently manager of their Moscow Bureau, in Russia, has written a fine article relating to pending legislation.

Today I would like to bring Mr. Conine's article, "Breaking the Marina Bottleneck," which was published in Boats magazine, to the attention of the Congress, as well as the Nation, as it deals with a situation in which nearly all of us are interested.

In his article, Mr. Conine emphasizes the tremendous need for the development of suitable marina operations throughout the country. As sponsor of legislation for this purpose—H.R. 89—I was very much impressed with the article. I am pleased that Mr. Conine agrees that if there were some form of Federal assistance available for commercial property development and for area clubs, a great deal could be accomplished for the benefit of our citizens.

The article is one which all Members of Congress should read, particularly, those who represent areas where lack of much-needed marina sites is creating many problems.

BREAKING THE MARINA BOTTLENECK—PROPOSED LEGISLATION WOULD PROVIDE FHA TYPE LOANS FOR THE CONSTRUCTION AND MODERNIZATION OF PRIVATE MARINAS

(By Ernest Conine)

A cabin cruiser noses up the Potomac River, then feels its way into a small creek on the Virginia side. The owner eases the engine to idle, and unceremoniously throws a line around a convenient tree trunk. He can only hope that his pride and joy, representing an investment of almost $3,000, will be safe from thieves, small boys and the elements. Crude though it may be, this wide place in a creek is the only kind of slip that is available for miles around.

In Sandusky, Ohio, an excited family is all set to buy its first boat. Then the marine dealer says they will have to go on a waiting list for berthing facilities, so the purchase is postponed.

As many a boating enthusiast knows, these are not isolated instances. The plain truth is that the shortage of moorings and slips for recreational craft has reached alarming proportions. And leaders in America's most popular family sport fear it will get worse unless more is done—by the Federal Government, if necessary—to facilitate the construction of badly needed marinas. It is true that more than 3 million slips and moorings are not regularly used. But they are located in areas of light population, far from where they are badly needed. And many are in a sad state of repair.

Charles A. Chaney, a consultant to the National Association of Engine and Boat Manufacturers, sums it up this way:

"It's obvious that every boatowner has some place to tie up or store his boat, or he wouldn't have it. But often a fellow has to keep his boat in a totally inadequate or unsafe slip, or tie it up miles away from home. Then many other people just don't find it practical to have a boat at all because there's no decent place to keep it."

The scope of the shortage was underlined recently by a New York marketing research firm which found that 570,000 hopefuls are on waiting lists for berthing facilities. Another 1,250,000 were turned away from marinas last year with a flat, "Sorry, no space."

All in all, the National Association of Engine and Boat Manufacturers estimates that more than 2 million Americans would buy inboards, outboards or sailing craft if they could find an adequate home for them.

WHY THE CRISIS?

First, boating has undergone an explosive growth. The number of pleasure craft has more than tripled in the last ten years. Today, more than 7,500,000 boats ply U.S. waterways. Unfortunately, construction and modernization of marinas has failed to keep pace.

Unfortunately many of the Nation's 10,000-odd marinas were built 20 to 30 years ago. Four out of five need modernization. How often have you visited a facility where rotten timbers sway under your feet, onshore toilet facilities are dubious or nonexistent, or tempers fray as boatmen wait in line to launch their outboards from an outmoded ramp?

The experts estimate it would take more than $3-billion to bring old boat yards up to snuff, and provide the new facilities that are needed for boat servicing, docking and dry storage. Throw in additional millions for hotels, stores, restaurants, clubs and landing strips—all features of the truly up-to-date yacht haven—and it is obvious that a hefty wad of capital must come from somewhere.

And there is where you run headon into problem No. 2—the difficulty in obtaining loans for marina improvement or construction.

It would seem that bankers, who at last are overcoming their original reluctance to finance the purchase of the boats themselves, would cast a calculating eye at the dimensions of the boating boom and rush to get in on a good thing.

But, not so.

As Chaney explains, "A banker may be perfectly willing to lend a fellow a lot of money to build a drugstore, or buy a piece of heavy machinery. But let the same man come in and ask for a loan to build or improve a marina, and the answer is 'No'."

The reluctance of the bankers can be laid partially to ignorance and prejudice—they haven't had the experience to judge the risks properly. But admittedly, a marina doesn't fit the business world's usual patterns.

In the first place, boating is a seasonal sport, with the seasons ranging from 2 or 3 months in New England and the Northwest to almost a full year in such areas as Florida and southern California. This means income may be down in the off-season. Then there are the dangers from wind and floodtide. But perhaps most important of all, the amount of capital required is large and the returns uncertain.

For a simple marina with minimum onshore facilities, costs run from $600 to $700 per slip for the smaller boats. For larger craft, the construction cost per berth may run up to $2,000 or more. On the income side, rental of slips alone will barely pay for operation and maintenance of the installation, with perhaps a profit of 1 percent to the marina operator.

This kind of profit margin is too thin to quicken the pulse of a banker.

However, it is now recognized, that boatowners want more than mooring, fuel and repairs. They buy food, drink, bait and fishing gear. They will use an airplane landing strip. And they will rent overnight or weekly living accommodations. Revenue from these onshore facilities can bring a marina's profit margin up to a respectable 10 or 12 percent.

As a result, a handful of investment firms are willing nowadays to underwrite marina ventures—that is how the Yacht Haven at Stamford, Conn., was built. But the bankers, and other commercial lenders as a whole, just aren't interested. An impressive number of marinas, of course, are being built despite the difficulties. And many are being financed the same way they have for years—with a syndicate or small group of boat-owners putting up the money.

Thus M. J. Styron of Washington, D.C., past president of the National Association of Marine Dealers, and a group of associates are building a $500,000 marina and yacht club on Piscataway Bay, Md., from their own resources.

In bustling Florida, the big land developers often include small marinas as part of their dream communities. Phillips Petroleum Co. built a marina at Fort Lauderdale. But, with thousands of new boats hitting the water for the first time each month, it is obvious that private efforts, unaided, just won't provide the slips that are needed.

The biggest attack on the marina shortage currently is occurring at the local government level, as more and more city fathers recognize that provision of proper facilities for this wholesome sport can pay dividends to the whole community in terms of waterfront beautification, civic pride and generation of new jobs and profits.

Panama City, Fla., sold $7 million in municipal revenue bonds to finance construction of two marinas. The debt will be paid off with revenues from commercial facilities built around the waterfront, as well as slip rentals. The $20 million Bahia Mar installation at Fort Lauderdale is a municipal venture.

At the other end of the cost scale, the town of Carolina Beach, N.C., built a small municipal marina for $30,000. The price tag included dredging, construction of a bulkhead wall and moorings for 30 boats.

In California, 78 municipal marinas are being planned between San Rafael and San Diego. But the real assault there is at the State level, with officials talking in terms of small craft harbors every 30 miles along the 1,100-mile coast. As a first step, the California Legislature in 1957 created a $10 million revolving fund to be used by communities for preliminary planning, engineering and construction of marinas.

A score of localities already have received loans which will facilitate construction worth $33 million. For example, the city of Ventura got a $900,000 loan to acquire land for a $9 million municipally owned facility.

Interest is stirring in other States, too.

Maryland is building a State marina on the Anacostia River at Bladensburg which ultimately will have a 300-boat capacity. The Atlantic City State Marina, when completed in 1960, will provide berths for 350 recreational craft, and expansion room for an additional 150. For several years, the State of Michigan has built harbors of refuge. Some of these have permanent slips, others simply provide piles for emergency tie-ups in case of storms.

Obviously, California has come the nearest to facing the marina problem squarely. And if all other States followed her example, the shortage might be licked. But since that is unlikely, leaders of the boating industry are throwing their weight behind a proposal to bring Washington into the act—in a way that would not cost Federal taxpayers a cent in the long run. And it would have the added advantage of keeping marinas on local tax rolls.

Representative GEORGE FALLON, a Congressman from Baltimore, is sponsoring a bill aimed at breaking the marina bottleneck by

providing FHA-type loan guarantees for construction or modernization of privately financed and operated marinas.

That is, the Federal Government would guarantee up to 90 percent of loans from banks or other commercial lenders for new or improved marina facilities—just as the Federal Housing Administration has long guaranteed loans to prospective homeowners.

"The present demand for marine facilities is forcing local communities to curtail drastically boating and smaller commercial shipping activities in many areas of the country," explains FALLON. "Public municipalities and private operators of marine facilities are finding it increasingly difficult to finance new installations. This is forcing many communities to propose inadequate facilities, resulting in an increasing rate of failure, unsanitary conditions and loss of value."

PRIVATE FINANCING PREFERABLE

The Congressman, convinced that encouragement of privately financed construction is the best long-range answer to the marina shortage, says his program not only would stimulate development of new yacht havens, but would make possible the rehabilitation and expansion of existing ones.

"I would like to emphasize," says FALLON, "that under my bill the Government is authorized to charge a premium for mortgage insurance. Thus the operation and administration of this program will not cost the taxpayers of this country any money. Actually, it will provide much needed additional harbor facilities which will bring new revenue to local communities."

The Fallon bill, experts say, could have its most immediate effect on existing marinas requiring improvement.

Chaney points out that many of today's installations were built haphazardly over the years, with little or no planning. In many cases, sanitary facilities are deficient or nonexistent. The slips may be the wrong size. The fueling station may be too close to the slips, raising the danger that spilled gasoline or fuel oil will become ignited and destroy the boats. Even worse, structures extending into the water too often are verging on failure because of indifferent construction in the first place.

The Maryland marina designer recalls that several years ago, a certain southern resort community decided to build a 60-boat marina. The specifications called for use of pressure-treated materials, but untreated wood was substituted for economy reasons. That marina should have lasted 20 years, but it practically collapsed after only 3.

Chaney believes the Fallon bill would make possible the rehabilitation of many such marianas, and enable other operators to build them right the first time.

The Fallon bill, officially identified as House Resolution 89, was first introduced a year ago. It was reintroduced early this year.

A large portion of America's 30-odd millions of boating enthusiasts stand to gain from its provision, as do their communities. The National Association of Marine Dealers gave the measure its official blessing during the National Motorboat show in New York last January.

This legislation would permit local banks with limited capital to loan the large sums of money necessary for marina construction and still stay within limits of their capital structure and the law, the association notes.

Other boating organizations also support the proposed law.

No organized opposition has raised its head. And the measure's passage would cost the taxpayers little or nothing.

Yet, Congress has given the bill only passing attention up to now. And, unless the outlook changes, its chances of enactment in 1960 or any other year are extremely dim, indeed.

Why?

Simply because boating enthusiasts—whether through lack of information or lack of interest—have not written their Congressmen and Senators to request their vote for the Fallon bill. In the words of a clerk for the House Banking and Currency Committee, to which the proposal was referred, "We've had only a handful of mail."

A veteran of Capitol Hill explains that literally thousands of bills are introduced each year in Congress, covering every conceivable subject matter. The lawmakers have time to give serious study to a comparative few—"so it's natural that they concentrate on bills in which they think the people are really interested."

The amount of mail from the homefolk, either for or against a bill, is the Congressman's main gage of public interest. Thus, until and unless he hears differently from his constituents, he is likely to suspect that the Fallon bill is something that even boatmen do not consider necessary—and that perhaps it's just something to help "wealthy yachtsmen" anyway.

The Congressmen don't know—unless they are reminded—that an estimated 37 million Americans enjoyed the use of more than 7 million boats last year. Skilled workers far outnumber business and professional men among boatowners. Statistics show that the average boat, far from being an oceangoing pleasure palace, is a shade over 14 feet long and cost $620.

With boaters spending more than $2 billion per year, recreational boating has become big business—in fact—it's the Nation's 26th largest. And the benefits spread far beyond the man who makes a weekend cruise with his family, or the dealer from from he bought his craft.

Last year, for example, boatmen accounted—directly or indirectly—for the purchase of 404 million gallons of gasoline, 22 million gallons of diesel fuel, 171 million square feet of sheet plywood, 47 million pounds of aluminum and 37 million pounds of fiberglass.

One champion of the Fallon bill, wise in the ways of government, makes this comment:

"The typical Congressman wants to do what is best for a majority of his people. When you show him how boating not only has brought good, clean pleasure to millions of people, but is an increasingly important part of the economy in his home district and the Nation as a whole, the chances are he will be sympathetic."

Kefauver Drug Price Investigation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, we have all followed the most revealing hearings on drug prices conducted by the Senate Antimonopoly Subcommitee under the able chairmanship of the senior Senator from Tennessee, Mr. KEFAUVER.

Examples have been given of shocking profiteering on drugs, with markups of up to 7,000 percent while officers of drug companies receive inflated salaries, stock option benefits, bonuses, and overly generous pensions upon retirement.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased that the pupils of the problems of American democracy class of Reading Senior High School, Reading, Pa., have informed themselves on the details and importance of the Kefauver investigation and have written to the Senator to express their support for this fight in behalf of the American people.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the letter signed by 55 members of the class and congratulate them on their alertness and good citizenship.

The letter follows:

READING SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL,
Reading, Pa., December 18, 1959.

The Honorable Senator ESTES KEFAUVER,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: The pupils of the problems of American democracy class of Reading Senior High School have been reading and hearing about the investigations your committee has been making into the high prices of drugs.

We would like you to know that we are in thorough sympathy with your investigations, and we feel that you are fighting for a worthwhile cause.

It is the older people of this country that have the biggest need for these drugs, but it is also the older people that have to live on smaller incomes. These are the people who are being made to suffer most by the high prices charged by the leading drug companies.

We respectfully suggest that you include the investigation of the high cost of dental plastics as another instance in which older people are being made to suffer from high prices.

We hope sincerely that you will take this matter into careful consideration.

Respectfully,

Carol Aulenbach, Carolyn Janiszewski, Lyte O. Adams, Ronald Alesin, Judy Beam, Brenda Corvaia, Patricia Crammer, Carol Dornes, Geraldine Johnson, Kenneth Hoffman, Sandra Lee Folk, Martha Keller, Beverly Kochel, Carol A. Lee, Margaret Manderbach, Alice Manning, James Reaser, Carol Shipper, Lawrence Moyer, Sandra Lee Miller, Ray McDevitt, Patricia Mazurkiewicz, Nancy Berkley, Joan Bittle, Anthony M. Caccese, Fern Cummings, Judy Henning, Lillian G. Ephart, Sandra George, Linda Cummings, Lucy Hirneisen, Barry Hommas, Joseph Jakubowski, William Jones, Doris Leszczynski, Aram Najarian, Thomas Mull, Anne Moyer, Thomas McNamara, Cynthia Lloyd, Lynn H. Ogden, Ronald D. Showers, Eugene Hildebrand, Patricia Sadowski, Gloria Seyfert, Linda Zink, Lorraine Weller, Robert Wansley, Marine Perugini, Gloria Ruleman, James R. Seyfert, Alex Zeppos, Patricia White, Johanna A. Wallace, Karen Swartz, Gayle Spirelis.

Salutation to Mr. Sam

SPEECH
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1960

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I have served with Mr. SAM for a period of over 37 years and during that period I have come to know the manner of man he is, his integrity, his unfailing leadership, his acute sensitivity to justice.

Mr. SAM has served in this Chamber in war and in peace; he has served in periods of adversity and periods of prosperity. Throughout his service, he has stood as firm as a rock and surmounted all difficulties. He has an enduring faith—in his country, his party, and in his fellow men. We all applaud his loyalty to his friends and his fairness to his foes. He wields the gavel of his office with objectivity and temperance. No one can deny his great influence upon the membership and the impress of his personality and character upon the major issues of our time. Formerly, as chairman of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, he nurtured bills of major significance that are now law and which bear his honored name, a name which is known and respected through the world.

We are all happier here because of his presence amongst us. It is indeed a privilege to salute Mr. SAM on his birthday.

New York's Billion Dollar Racket

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the New York Journal-American of January 7, 1960:

NEW YORK'S BILLION DOLLAR RACKET—GHOST OF PAYOFFS HAUNT POLICE

(By James D. Horan, Dom Frasca, and John Mitchell)

Like Dickens' celebrated ghost of Jacob Marley, the apparition of scandal approaches the New York City Police Department with the clang of cashboxes.

Twice before the ghost has become a shocking reality. First, the 3½-year Amen investigation that was laid to rest in 1942 shook the department to the marked discomfort of all honest policemen. And 8 years later, its ghost was resurrected with disclosures of wholesale police payoffs by bookie Harry Gross.

Now, for the third time, police brass nervously listen to the far-off tread of scandal-yet-to-come. The new nightmare centers about the stocky figure of former Police Sgt. Joseph G. Luberda, now in Rikers Island Penitentiary serving a 2-year sentence for contempt of a New York County grand jury.

DENOUNCED BY JUDGE

Last November Luberda heard himself denounced by General Sessions Judge John Mullen as the bag man for somebody higherup in the (police) department now * * * or higherups in the Police Department formerly * * *."

It is no secret that if Luberda should decide to talk to District Attorney Frank Hogan in exchange for his freedom, his revelations could ignite a departmental explosion.

The impassive exsergeant was questioned by the grand jury about $19,495 found in his car last spring alone with a cryptic list of police officers and known gamblers.

He was able to explain away only $1,000 of the loot to the satisfaction of investigators, claiming it was his personal money.

Luberda's testimony, released to this newspaper by Judge Mullen and the district attorney's office, gives an indication of the time bomb ticking away in Luberda's conscience.

The often slashing examination of Luberda was conducted by Al Scotti, chief of Mr. Hogan's rackets bureau, and Assistant District Attorney Peter Andreoli.

For more than 6 months, Mr. Andreoli has been handling a grand jury investigation of police corruption. Much of the probe has centered on the East Harlem policy syndicate.

He and Mr. Scotti opened their questioning of Luberda by trying to get the former sergeant to admit how he came by the money. Luberda insisted all of it, except the $1,000 he claimed as his own, belonged to his mother.

He kept it, he said, because his aged mother "lost her ability to sign her name."

(In Jersey City, where she lives, Luberda's mother has denied ownership of the money.)

Trying to determine the source of the money, Mr. Scotti and Mr. Andreoli turned to the address book found on Luberda when he was arrested for drunken driving.

Mr. Scotti read off the names of more than a dozen police officers. When he asked Luberda why he kept the names, the reply was: "We exchanged Christmas cards."

Mr. Scotti also questioned Luberda about his relationship with Benny Smollen, a known gambler, whose name appeared on the list.

Question: "Was he (Smollen) a bookmaker in Harlem?"

Answer: "Not that I know of."

Question: "Do you deny it?"

Answer: "I can't deny it."

Question: "You were on the plainclothes force and you certainly would have a good idea who was a bookmaker and who wasn't a bookmaker. You people know who is and who is not a bookmaker, and if you didn't you weren't entitled to the salary you were getting as a police officer."

Answer: "We hardly knew all the bookmakers."

Question: "Don't give us that. You certainly do."

Answer: "I don't think any patrolman knows 50 percent of them (bookmakers)."

Question: "When you were in the division (plainclothes) you would go out on raids and observations."

Answer: "Sometimes."

Question: "Make arrests on known gamblers."

UP TO BOSS

Answer: "Sometimes the whole squad went out."

Question: "In other words, you would have * * * the name like Louie the Gimp (notorious West Harlem policy controller) and an address that was known to the department * * * and you would keep him under observation."

Answer: "That's right."

He also denied knowing some of the persons whose names appeared on lists described by the district attorney's aides as "collection lists." Referring to these lists, Mr. Scotti asked if those whose names appeared were gamblers.

Answer: "I don't know all the gamblers—about 5 percent."

And later, this interrogation by Mr. Andreoli:

Question: "Did you make your rounds regularly around these places (the gambling locations on the lists) and visit these places?"

Answer: "Only when I had a complaint."

At this point, Mr. Scotti broke in and said:

DENIES PAYOFF

Question: "Complaint? Man to man, didn't you go to these places to pick up money from them?"

Answer: "No, sir."

Question: "You heard the expression 'pickup.' Weren't you the pickup man?"

Answer: "I was not and never was."

Question: "That's why your memory is getting bad, isn't it? You don't want to admit these fellows were known gamblers and the only reason you had the places listed was to go around there and hit them up for money and they were supposed to give you money to operate without interference."

There was no direct answer.

Washington Shrine Symbol for Citizens and Believers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the text of the sermon delivered by Cardinal Cushing at the evening mass on the dedication day of the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception, Washington, D.C., as it was reprinted in the Pilot, Boston, Mass., November 28, 1959:

WASHINGTON SHRINE SYMBOL FOR CITIZENS AND BELIEVERS

If ever there were a time or place, beloved brethren, when no sermon would seem in order, surely it would be here tonight. The place—this miraculously beautiful new home of Jesus and Mary, this Nazareth such as Nazareth never knew, nor even great Jerusalem; the time—this quiet evening time, that links this Brookland hilltop with the hills of Galilee—these are the preachers, and we the listeners.

But if someone must break this awesome stillness, if someone must say a word, if someone must set on record the depth of our emotions, it is my great privilege, not from any personal deserving, but from my official standing in the church, to attempt the impossible, to say, in your name and my own, what mere saying can never say.

The splendor of this morning's ceremony of dedication was almost overpowering. We would not want it less. The pentup feelings of America since that "Salve Regina" on the quarterdeck of the flagship of Columbus in 1492 have never found more eloquent, more significant expression.

The eminent princes of the church, the personal representative of our holy father, Archbishop Vagnozzi, the archbishop of Washington, the distinguished pastor of the mother see of Baltimore, the presence of other archbishops, bishops, abbots, monsignori, priests and people, religious communities of men and women, students and professors—aged Simeons, rejoicing to have seen this day, and youthful innocents dancing with joy before God's ark—all this effected in intention, if not in accomplishment, the everlasting consecration of this place as a stone of covenant between man and God.

This solemnity, besides what was so beautifully said here, by its very nature, publicly demonstrated that this was not merely the opening of another church, or another cathedral, but of a unique citadel of prayer and faith, where all men who believe and pray must always feel at home.

Appropriately enough, this being a true home, it is dedicated to a mother, the mother of God and the mother of mankind.

This is a home where everyone is welcome; the door is always open, whether a child comes to escape the heat of the sun or the fury of the storm. This mother of so large a family does not even ask that we wipe our sin-begrimed feet on the doormat.

OUR GIFT

Catholic America, by which we mean the free Catholic Church in the free United States of America, has come of age today. At long last, as proud adolescents we are happy to place in the hands of our mother our first pay envelope. "This shrine, dear mother, is all yours; it is our gift to you."

By human standards, at least, by architectural comparisons, it is a lovely gift. Great temples of the past have been, in most cases, the benefactions of kings * * * sometimes we suspect that their stones were cemented by the sweat of the slave. This shrine is our very own giving, prayer upon prayer, mite upon mite, sacrifice upon sacrifice. Could we have made it better, it would better be; could we have built it sooner, it would not have waited until today.

The most satisfying feature of the planning and erection of this national shrine is the fact that its building was not a strict necessity. It is our luxury gift to Mary, over and above the ordinary call of Christian duty, as she, indeed, was Christ's luxury gift to us, over and above, it would seem, the structural necessities of His church.

For mass, for the sacraments, and for devotion and the right honoring of God, there are many adequate churches almost everywhere in this city and beyond it. None of us would be without the consolations of religion were this area, Mary's Acre, still the empty farmland it was a half a century ago, windswept and still unploughed by the contractor and the builders.

The magnificent cathedral of St. Matthew fittingly houses the throne of jurisdiction here. The parish churches, and the splendid edifices of religious communities give religion in Washington a unique Rome-like variety that has enriched the life of all of us. Nor did we build here from the mean and shoddy motive that others were building national churches and we could not be outdone by them.

But the heart has its own necessities: the eyes of faith see vacancies in the completeness of Christian organization that cry out to be filled. And thus, although every parish in the land might have all the parochial buildings that it could possibly use, and every diocese its worthy cathedral, we needed the opportunity to express a more unselfish sacrifice, a more abundant generosity.

This is what this shrine has tried to tell the world, sometimes in feeble whispers, sometimes in exuberant shouts, during these 40 years since the great far-seeing Gibbons laid its cornerstone in the unpredictable world climate of the postwar year of 1920.

YEARS OF LABOR

Throughout these 40 years, this Lent of 40 years, the Christian piety of many, now dead, and many more still living, has labored here amid hardships, disappointments, and unrecorded sacrifices. But today, beloved brethren, is the "resurrection day" of Mary's Shrine. "Let us be glad and rejoice therein." "Unless the seed be buried in the earth, and wither it cannot fructify and spring up again."

An abandoned crypt almost, under an unattractive roof, entered by makeshift ways over sticks and stones—this was what greeted the eyes of those who took the trouble to look for the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception. And if a visitor inquired—as we hoped he wouldn't—we had to tell him, in truth, that this seemed to be the symbol of the love of the Catholic people of the United States for the Mother of God.

Today "somebody's folly" exists to confound the wise. Today somebody's unrealistic vision stands the realest thing of all. Reach out and touch these sturdy walls; caress with your eyes these lofty vaults.

Mary knew, and we know, most of us, what occasioned the delays. Problems beyond the solution of anyone halted the incarnation of the dream. Oceans of heart-sickness surged around empty wheelbarrows and emptier purses. Zealous directors and others immediately concerned learned "the hard way" the lesson of submission to the will of God. But in each thinking Catholic heart, as we worshipped in the catacomb, there was the unwearying hope of someday seeing the cross in the clouds. Beloved brethren, this is the day.

From this day on, the mood is changed. From this "truly blessed night" we change our "de profundis" to "exultet." "O felix cupla," O truly happy fault from which has come this blessed night of fulfillment.

From this day on, beloved brethren, no longer need we search the shadows of the Old Testament for texts befitting our assemblies here, no longer quote the prophecies of penitential writings that mourn the lot of Sion in her exile. Rather we turn with joy to the end of the book where in the inspired words of the Apocalypse we find appropriate words of benediction. Can we not apply to this great day in the history of the faith in America the words of Mary's first adopted child when he says:

"I saw the holy city, the new Jerusalem,
Coming down out of Heaven from God,
Prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.
And I heard a great voice from the throne
Saying: Behold the tabernacle of God with men;
And He will dwell with them."

But, beloved brethren, let us not be carried away by the greatness of what here surrounds us. Let us keep in mind the sobering thought that "God dwelleth not in temples made with hands." "Unless the Lord buildeth the house, they labor in vain who build it." Unless through these years of material construction we have been building a temple to God and Mary within our hearts, better that this shrine be a classic ruin like the colosseum or the ancient wonders of the world.

HEAVEN AND EARTH

But this can never be. This can never be because we meet here tonight not to praise ourselves but to pray for ourselves and for all we love. On this great day as we make our gift to Mary, is it conceivable that she will send us away without a special souvenir of our pilgrimage? And while we luxuriate in thoughts of heaven, will she let us forget the earthly blessings which this, of all our cities, so compellingly symbolizes?

Down this broad avenue is another shrine, another dome. Surmounted by an image of freedom, the Capitol of our country assures us that all is well. The path between the two unites them, but leaves them distinct and separate. May they remain so. While either stands, both shall stand. When either one is threatened, let the other tremble.

Every so often some one of superficial outlook, usually of sincere enough intent, runs up and down this symbolic avenue of which I speak singing outmoded songs about what they call separation of church and State. These prophets of gloom, these readers of long dead entrails, grow wearying at times; even sympathy can lose its smile when overtaxed. Let the location of this shrine and its carefully selected distance from the Capitol reassure them. Although faith can move mountains, it cannot be expected to shorten the distance between these two domes. In this holy spot, on this significant occasion, let us sincerely and without equivocation declare before all that there can be no rivalry between our patriotic and spiritual loyalties, no competition for the Catholic in his roles as citizen and believer.

But beloved brethren, we should add that Catholics do unite our church and our State—we unite them in our prayers. This monument we dedicate today is our enduring pledge of it. May our beloved country become even more worthy—because of our worth as loyal citizens—of God's choicest benedictions:

"Long may Our Land be bright
With Freedom's holy Light;
Protect us by Thy Might
Great God Our King."

Thoughts on America's Greatness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, Msgr. Paul S. Schmid, chaplain of St. Margaret Hospital of Hammond, Ind., has forwarded to me the following editorial by Msgr. Leonard J. Fick. The thoughts set out therein reflect sentiments which few people remember of the great contributions our pioneers made to this land of liberty and freedom.

A DREAM, A VISION, AND PROVIDENCE

(By Msgr. Leonard J. Fick)

These are days of thanksgiving—official and otherwise: days when Americans the country over thank God for a bountiful harvest, for heavily laden tables, for the good things of this world with which He has so richly endowed them.

And so they should: no nation has been more blessed. But man does not live by bread alone; and those who are scouting about for an even more generous manifestation of the Creator's goodness to us Americans may well return thanks to the Almighty for the giants He has raised up through the years to dream the dreams and implement the vision that still guides America today.

I am mindful of the black-robed padre who, more than two and a half centuries ago, climbed a hill overlooking the Gila River. It was evening as he unslung his telescope and stood there, alone, against the glory of a desert sunset. Far below him he saw the confluence of the Gila with the mighty Rio del Norte, the Colorado. And far into the western skies melted the golden haze of California.

As Padre Eusebio Kino, tireless explorer, dauntless missionary to half a continent, watched the shadows grow longer, he conjured up a vision of the lands that must lie beyond the confines even of a telescope. He saw a vision of a new Christendom, "a new Navarre wherein seven new kingdoms might replace the seven cities of Cibola which led Coronado on with his adventurous thousand in search of fabulous riches."

Even before Padre Kino climbed the crest of that hill, a young French Jesuit, Pere Marquette, sailing down the great rolling mass of Mississippi waters, had a similar vision; and before them both, men and saints like Isaac Jogues and John de Brebeuf looked far down the shadowy depths of Indian trails and saw the vast possibilities of a great and mighty nation.

From his mission station among the Hurons, Father Le Mercier, on April 5, 1637, predicted: "And some day, long after we are dead, this may finally be a greater Christian people than the nations of Europe."

Now there's a dream for you—and a vision: a dream that's more than 300 years old.

But the crapehangers, the gloom dispensers among us are quick to add that this dream is as much a dream today as it ever was, that it even now shows not the slightest promise of becoming a reality.

I disagree. I could quote statistics on the millions of boys and girls in America who are not juvenile delinquents, whose names have never been on a police blotter. These same statistics would show a land dotted with millions of unbroken homes. There is no mass movement to leave these shores for greener pastures beyond the seas. In fact, most Americans have seen just enough of the vision fulfilled to give them the commonsense to know that the ceiling here in their own country is spectacularly unlimited.

For through the years, the men who have guided the ship of state that is the United States of America have shown themselves singularly devoted to making this American dream a reality. They have not always succeeded, but they have never lost sight of the vision of greatness.

In fact, this very aspect of the American way of life is brought home, with an emotional impact common only to novels, in Allen Drury's current bestseller, Advise and Consent, a story of the pressures and forces, the counterpressures and counterforces, which dominate the political life of Washington, D.C.

Despite its varied cast of characters, all somehow caught up in the maelstrom of politics, and despite its complex, though amazingly interesting plot, the essence of Advise and Consent lies in the feeling the book creates of Washington itself; the Washington Monument, rising splendidly into often darkening skies; the Lincoln Memorial, with its "charity toward all, with malice toward none"; the Capitol itself * * * its unending coffee breaks, its mile-long corridors, its cloakroom conversations, its private offices, where so much of the business of Government is carried on, and carried on so well and so devotedly * * * this city on the banks of the Potomac, where the ideals of human beings so often come into conflict with the ambitions of human beings, where the glorious dreams of human beings so often come into conflict with the baser desires of human beings, and where, through some magnificent providence of Almighty God, the ambitions and the desires so often end up serving the purposes of the dreams and the ideals.

One of the fictional Senators in the novel shows something of the dedication of the men who carried forward the dream of America when he told his colleague: "You've got to judge. You can't sit still and allow yourself to be paralyzed by your own shortcomings, or by something you may have done sometime, or by some past mistake. You've got to judge. You've been elected to judge, to advise and consent, and you've got to; and you've go to do it on your own conception of what is best for the country; and if you really love the country, you've got to stick with your judgment, no matter what."

The novel's Senator Knox puts it equally well, this life of politics: "to seek, to strive, to serve—about all, to serve; tend to the serving, and the seeking and the striving will take care of themselves."

This Nation has been blessed, throughout its history, with an abundance of dedicated men and women who have placed their talents and their vision at the service of their country. To be sure, very few of them were knights in shining armor, totally without fear and without reproach; all were mere human beings, beset by their own vast problems and pressures, both from within and from without. But God kept His eye on this experiment in democracy that is the United States of America, and by an alchemy known only to Him, He so presided over their ambitions and their work that the result is today a reason for pride and for thanksgiving.

Small wonder that, a little less than a century ago one of the truly great leaders of this Nation, Abraham Lincoln, should have publicly noted this fact in one of his Thanksgiving proclamations:

"No human counsel hath devised, nor hath any mortal hand worked out these great things. They are the gracious gifts of the most high God, who, while dealing with us in anger for our sins, hath nevertheless remembered mercy."

Panamanian Anti-U.S. Campaign

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, following the attempted Panamanian mob invasions of the Canal Zone on November 3 and 28, 1959, the coverage and interpretation of those crucial events in the press of the United States was generally inadequate.

However, the Christian Science Monitor, one of the great newspapers of the world, subsequently featured a series of three news stories by Mr. Ralph K. Skinner, special correspondent of the Monitor in the Canal Zone, who was a witness of much of the recent turmoil and is thoroughly grounded in the problems of the Panama Canal.

In order that this informative series of articles may be permanently recorded in the records of Congress, I include them as part of my remarks:

[From The Christian Science Monitor, Nov. 30, 1959]

DOUBLE WAGE SCALE AIRED IN ANTI-U.S. PANAMA RIOTS

(By Ralph K. Skinner)

PANAMA CITY, PANAMA.—Panamanian agitation against the United States includes demands for higher wages for Panamanian nationals employed by the U.S. Government in the Canal Zone.

Panama concedes that its citizens working in the Canal Zone receive from 30 to 200 percent higher salaries than they would receive in Panama for identical work. But even higher salaries are demanded.

Panamanian officials have led their citizens to a disputed general belief that the 1955 U.S. treaty with Panama calls for U.S. scale wages to be paid for all jobs in the Canal Zone. Actually the treaty says only that, in any given grade level, United States and Panamanian citizens will receive the same basic wage. This is done in every case.

WORKERS MISLED

One great difficulty in Panama-United States relations, observers say, is that national aspirations and treaty commitments are spoken of, published, and treated as one and the same thing, whereas they differ greatly.

Thus the working class here has been misled to expect something which the United States went on record in 1955 saying that it would not do. Panama politicians insist that the United States is not complying with treaty provisions which in fact do not exist.

A leading Panama newspaper published the complete text of the Senate hearing on the treaty. Included was testimony that the treaty did not require Panamanians to be paid U.S. rates of pay on all jobs. Also this statement, "It is clear that there is no obligation to pay Panamanian employees U.S. wages except for those positions for which employees are normally recruited from the United States."

This is the true picture. Canal Zone policy is that for jobs which can be filled by local recruitment, wages are based on prevailing Panama wages.

For positions requiring U.S. recruitment because of lack of qualified applicants here, wages are based on U.S. standards for comparable positions.

POLICY FOLLOWED

This simple policy has been followed for some years. It is the same policy used by Panamanian firms who need specialized American employees and pay them U.S. wages while paying local Panama wages to local employees. It is done in Venezuela, Saudi Arabia, and wherever local employees do not meet the employment need.

A Panamanian citizen in a Canal Zone job based on U.S. rates receives the same basic salary as an American citizen in the same position.

Something seldom discussed in Panama but essential to the subject is the matter of job qualifications.

Panama's educational facilities do not approximate U.S. standards in many fields. Actual experience for many types of Canal Zone jobs is not available in Panama. This, plus the lack of fluency in the English language, works against selection of Panamanians for some Canal Zone positions.

Appointments are based on civil service-type examinations. These prove difficult to many Panamanians who must compete with American citizens taking identical examinations.

Agitators' aspirations are not always realistic. As an example, discrimination is alleged because all Panama Canal pilots are American citizens.

WAGE SCALES NOTED

The minimum qualification is that a Panama Canal pilot hold a license as master, all oceans, unlimited and have commanded a good-sized ship for at least a year. It is claimed here that not one Panamanian citizen meets these minimum qualifications, though Panama expects pilots to be employed on a basis of nationality and not of ability. The U.S. view is that it cannot relax standards because of its responsibility to transit 10,000 ships a year through the Panama Canal safely and expertly.

As evidence of discrimination, figures were quoted recently showing that in 1958 Panamanian citizens working in the Canal Zone averaged $150 a month while American citizens averaged about $600. Because the two groups do not perform the same type of work, this alleged disparity would be equally true in Boston or London.

Because of their lack of specific training, Panamanians do the menial, helper-type unskilled labor work in the Canal Zone. Wages for that work are low, but generally higher than in Panama.

The United States brings American citizens to the Canal Zone only for jobs which cannot be filled locally. These include professionals in many fields, skilled craftsmen, licensed pilots, tugboat masters, and so on. Wages for this work are high.

LOW PAY IN PANAMA

Of course, wages in Panama are far inferior to those paid in the Canal Zone. Through many years the ruling families in

Panama have defeated all efforts for minimum wage legislation. The oligarchy has tried to distract nationals from seeking wage increases in Panama by agitating for higher wages in the Canal Zone.

Last month, tremendous popular pressure forced the National Assembly to pass a minimum wage of 40 cents in this city and Colon, and 25 cents elsewhere.

This applies to both private and government employees. Industrialists forecast it will bankrupt the country. The government has paid as low as $25 monthly to employees until November.

In contrast, the minimum wage in the Canal Zone is 56 cents an hour and this is paid only to a handful of beginners who soon receive more.

Americans were paid in gold coin and Panamanians and other foreigners in silver coin in the early days of the Canal Zone. The term "silver workers" clung to Panamanians and was considered discriminatory, and Washington stopped use of the coins some years ago.

In February 1959 a single wage scale was adopted in the Canal Zone uniting both Panamanian and U.S. workers on a single pay plan. This was done to eliminate cries of discrimination from Panama, but it has not succeeded in its object.

Actually, many jobs once held by American citizens now are being filled by Panamanians. In Canal Zone hospitals, there are 11 highly placed doctors of Panamanian citizenship, some of them chiefs of clinics. They receive the same basic salary as their American citizen counterparts.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Dec. 1, 1959]

ENVY SEEN KEY IN PANAMA

(By Ralph K. Skinner)

PANAMA CITY, PANAMA.—There is one factor that is basic to an understanding of the current antipathy toward the United States as reflected in Panama today: How Panamanians think and feel about persons living in the U.S.-administered Canal Zone.

It is no overstatement to write that there are many Panamanians who are envious of U.S. citizens in the Canal Zone.

This has an important bearing on relations between the two groups.

In a speech made before an anti-United States demonstration in this capital city on November 28, a Panamanian leader spoke of the Canal Zone as a "paradise for U. S. citizens."

This state of economic grace may have been partially true several years ago when housing was subsidized, when there were fringe benefits including no income tax, and the Government stores had no profit motive.

ZONE CONDITIONS

Today income-tax-paying Americans in the Canal Zone consider they are unjustly bearing the full brunt of all concessions made to the increasing demands of Panama, which appeasements, as they term them, should be a national problem met by the American people at large.

The Canal Zone seems to Panamanians a veritable paradise because everyone has a job, there is efficient police and fire protection, exemplary sanitation, good housing at rentals which are not exorbitant, dependable utilities at fair prices, free education of high quality from kindergarten through high school, and medical facilities at moderate cost to workers.

In addition, there are Government stores which make a substantial profit but not an exorbitant one. There is freedom of speech, no visible political graft to be paid, and, generally, it is a community of law-abiding citizens.

CONTRAST NOTED

The reverse of most of these factors is found in Panama, at least in this capital city. A great many Panamanians wish they could transplant themselves into the Canal Zone.

To most Panamanians, the Canal Zone seems to be a land of plenty in the midst of a desert of poverty, misery, crime, instability, unfulfilled hopes, and lack of future. Under such circumstances, Panamanians cannot be condemned for their envy of what seem like Utopian conditions compared to their own.

Panamanians consider that Americans look down on them. It is true that scores of Americans in the Canal Zone know Panamanian citizens only as servants, grass cutters, clerks in the stores, chauffeurs, etc. The rest of the Panamanians they know are shopkeepers—to Americans trading in Panama. A large number of Americans have no contact with cultured, upper class Panamanians.

In the same manner that Americans may be condescending to lower and middle class Panamanians, many of the top ruling families of Panamanians despise the average American in the Canal Zone, considering him an overpaid craftsman or Government clerk. They have social interchange only with the very top Canal Zone officials.

This means there is no communication between average Americans in the Canal Zone and average Panamanians in Panama. It is more than just a language barrier; it is a barrier of customs and of social hurdles.

Panamanians resent criticism of their national customs by Americans, who speak out against prostitution as an important industry in Panama and ask searching questions about the profit of the Government-run lottery.

Americans must bear the brunt of failing to promote better relationships in at least two ways: First is the refusal of many Americans to learn and speak Spanish, the official language of Panama. Bilinguality would promote better relationships here. Second is the American attempt to measure the stunted growth of Panama by U.S. standards.

AMERICANS WITHDRAW

Canal Zone Americans might have more compassion for their Panamanian neighbors if they considered their polygenetic background; their unbalanced Panamanian economic system which makes the rich richer and the poor poorer; and the unequitable distribution of wealth, property, and opportunities.

While there never has been any considerable amount of relations between Panamanians and Americans in the Canal Zone, they have now been reduced to a trickle at the topmost official level.

Whereas Americans once belonged to some social clubs in Panama, they now belong to fraternal clubs in the Canal Zone. Americans at large have withdrawn into their own highly integrated preserve. They feel they are not wanted in Panama. They are constantly reminded of this.

Anyone who has lived on the isthmus for 10 years or more has witnessed demonstrations against the United States. There were two in November, of great intensity. They are part of a deliberate anti-American buildup, to be discussed in the final article of this series.

With language difficulties, little opportunity to meet and to start friendships, little incentive to cultivate relationships, and with very real personal danger sometimes attached to visiting Panama, Americans are likely to withdraw even more.

Even the contacts between officials of the Panama Government and the United States are seen as deteriorating, but for different reasons, mainly that of the United States not making Panama feel important.

Panama political patriarch, Don Enrique A. Jiménez, a former President, told this correspondent in October that a principal cause of friction between the United States and Panama was the lack of effective representation here by the State Department.

Since the use of facilities in the Canal Zone is restricted to U.S. Government employees and their guests, it would appear that one way to improved relations must lie with Panama's offering attractions for Americans in the zone, observers here believe.

If they can be attracted into Panama once more and do not feel the atmosphere of hate and belligerency now existing, better relations may be established. Any full interchange between Panamanians and Americans in the Canal Zone may be conditioned upon a change in the social system of Panama which would allow the formation of a substantial middle class—something in the order of opposite numbers to the rank and file of Americans in the Canal Zone.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Dec. 8, 1959]

ANTI-U.S. CAMPAIGN TRACED IN PANAMA

(By Ralph K. Skinner)

PANAMA, PANAMA.—Communist agitation may be the easiest explanation for anti-American sentiment in Panama, but it is not the correct one, according to the consensus of observers here.

Nor can the Panama agitation be considered as based solely on antigringoism. The typical Latin American resentment is based on envy of the "have nots" for those who "have," according to close observers here. Throughout the hemisphere, many American citizens have unthinkingly flaunted a standard of living so far above their neighbors that anti-American envy and resentment are widespread in Latin America.

In Panama, there is something more.

The concentration of about 5,000 American citizen employees in the transplanted typical U.S. community known as the Canal Zone brings a spotlight on this area. Living as close to a stateside manner as possible, these Americans have a standard of living astronomically higher than that of the average Panama citizen. Panamanians are in the Canal Zone 24 hours a day, observing and, part of that time, envying.

PLANNING SEEN

But the crux of the matter is that anti-American sentiment in Panama is a planned affair, close observers say, the result of a deliberate hate campaign during the past few years in which press and radio propaganada has been bulwarked by political speeches and inflammatory incitement.

It is accepted by observers here that the purpose is to use Uncle Sam as a whipping boy for Panamanian discontent over chaotic conditions in this Nation. The unrest of the people has been channeled away from the ruling families which have exploited them, monopolized industry and commerce, and perpetuated themselves in political office. The distraction has been the United States.

Panamanian political leaders have diverted the pressure of public opinion from their own failures by focusing discontent on the United States, by blaming the United States for its economic and other distress, these observers declare.

TWO ANGLES STRESSED

Two angles have been stressed in the anti-American propaganda here. First is an appeal to the nationalistic tendencies of the Panama people. This has been done by demanding that the United States recognize Panamanian sovereignty over the Canal Zone in every facet, not just titular sovereignty.

The issue selected is one where the United States cannot capitulate with honor. It provides a continuing trouble spot.

The real issue, in the view of observers here, is money—U.S. money, and lots of it. It is problematical whether the man in the street will be any better off if the United States pays Panama $2 million or $50 million annually. The record shows that in the past several years, with constantly larger national budgets, the people have not been benefited significantly, but have suffered increased unemployment, poverty, and a deep sense of futility.

Various demands are being made on the United States by Panama, but all are basically the same—more money. Whether it is a 50–50 split of the Panama Canal's gross income, a greatly increased annuity, more pay for Panamanian workers in the Canal Zone, a captive market in the Canal Zone for Panamanian products regardless of quality or price, or even threats of nationalization of the Panama Canal—all demand that more money flow into Panama for the dominant Panamanian families.

CALLED PRESSURE TOOL

The anti-American sentiment so deliberately generated here is merely a tool to exert pressure on the United States for economic concessions, it is generally agreed here. With Panama so patently an underdog in size and economy, and with its general backwardness, the United States faces international censure when Panama cries it is being "mistreated by the imperialistic colossus of the north."

The United States, observers say, is hampered in the situation by three factors: The weakness of the Panama Government, the political control of the Panama press, and the weakness and ineptitude of some State Department representatives.

During many years, the Government of Panama has been an instrument of the ruling class used to protect and enhance its vested interests, political observers note. In doing so, it frequently incurs the wrath of the people and of nonruling class opposition.

PRESS ROLE NOTED

Because of its weakness, the administration of Panama is a mere facade, according to most observers here. They say the administration is so fully occupied in endeavoring to stay in power that it dare not attempt any defense of the United States.

Majority opinion here is that the Panama Government has taken no action to combat the anti-American press and radio campaign but some administration leaders have promoted it.

The press has played a vital role in building up anti-American tension. In Panama, the Spanish-language press is a political weapon, not a business enterprise. If newspapers make money, so much the better, but it appears here that often they exist primarily for the purpose of controlling public opinion, to manipulate the people in the direction chosen by the publishers.

With one anti-American individual controlling the majority of the newspapers and influencing most of the others, the United States has no means to rebut the hate campaign.

Many North Americans here think that Panama already has received more than its fair share of handouts and appeasements.

Even the most hopeful American citizens on the Isthmus of Panama do not foresee any time when United States-Panama relations can be on an even keel.

Because of the increasing harassment of the Unted States by Panama, it is considered possible that the United States may look with favor on internationalization of the Panama Canal under the United Nations or some similar international body.

United States Faces Ruinous Foreign Trade—Will Russia-China Become World "Discount Houses?"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, throughout the length and breadth of the United States there is growing concern as exports decrease and the flood of foreign imports increases, displacing the markets for American-made products both at home and abroad.

Accelerating this situation is the movement of American capital abroad for the establishment of factories from which come additional low-cost products. To top it all off, hundreds of millions of dollars are extracted each year from American taxpayers and sent abroad to support the economies of countries whose products are overrunning U.S. labor, industry, and agriculture.

Now comes the drive to open the doors to allout trade with Russia. Next will be Communist China. In no case, Russia, China or any of the nations constituting the so-called free world can U.S. labor, industry, or agriculture, operating on anything approaching free enterprise, compete on a cost basis. It is easy to invoke the argument of competition, but how can there be true competitiveness when almost all elements of cost in foreign production are substantially below costs in this country?

Sharing the concern of all thoughtful citizens as to how the productive plant of this nation can thrive in this uncompetitive climate is the National Federation of Independent Business whose vice president, Edward Wimmer, points out in a published article some of the reasons why U.S. export-import trade faces ruin. The article by Mr. Wimmer follows:

Counters were piled high with hundreds of millions of dollars worth of foreign made merchandise during the Christmas buying season, one department store executive remarking: "It was difficult to find something made in America, in some of our departments."

Recently, I again picked up a little American flag beside my plate at a banquet, and on the bottom it read: "Made in Japan." I bought a scarf in Seattle with the map of Washington on it, and in the corner it bore the same inscription. An operator of a local drug store told me the totem poles made by the Indians are now being duplicated to sell at half the price. I looked at a cigarette lighter, exact duplicate of an American made, for one-third cost of U.S. product.

This past year saw nearly $200 million in sales of foreign made women's wear. The busy Japanese passed the 4 million mark in radio sales. Over half U.S. sales of portable typewriters came over our borders, and it is estimated that 95 percent of all china sold this past year was foreign made.

From Hong Kong has come ship loads of blouses, men's suits, gloves, and shirts. Since foreign manufacturers (many American) are buying cotton 8 cents a pound lower than domestic manufactured, 1960 is expected to see even greater invasion of U.S. textile business. Consider the startling figure of 20 million pairs of leather shoe imports in 1959, and don't overlook the fact that more and more of these imports are coming from subsidiaries of American manufacturers. Said the Boot & Shoe Workers Union, in a special bulletin on imports:

"When big American shoe manufacturers, operating their own chains of retail stores, are the leading importers, promoters, and sellers of foreign made shoes, their pretended consternation over imports cannot be sincere. If they would withhold promotions of imports and intensify promotion of their own domestic product, they would better equalize our import-export balance of trade."

Congressman H. R. Gross, Iowa, reports: "Faye Bennison, a former Cedar Falls citizen, went to California and opened a semi-porcelain plant. Three years ago the plant hired 2,000 people. Today the plant is closed, jobs are gone, building sold. It could not compete with Japan. Seventeen other china and porcelain plants in California are closed."

American firms are stampeding to foreign countries. Fifty tire plants have been established. The outboard motor export business will soon be lost to the United States, and they'll come in here by the thousands from plants that didn't cost American promoters a nickel. Yet our officials are talking about easier taxation on U.S. earnings invested aboard, putting us in the position of financing our own destruction.

Some 5 years ago this column said—"look out for China and Russia—the upcoming world discount houses." We quoted Russian leaders as saying the big war to come was on the economic front—and "we'll win it." Allen Dulles now says that both countries will be "trading anything and dumping anything if it advances communism or helps to destroy the West."

Look at the Texas oil fields where the small operators and wildcatters are being frozen out by petroleum imports, leaving more and more of the business to the giants who have billions invested in foreign countries. Oil imports are now about 25 percent of U.S. markets, with domestic producers being held down to a few days production each month. The bigs can stand it and gear restrictions to tax benefits, but the smalls lose their shirts.

Such is the story in every field of business today. The smalls losing their shirts—not only to the bigs at home but to their subsidiaries abroad. The answer, a real fight to establish our free enterprise system on a basis of fair wages, fair prices and fair profits—with tariff walls high enough to insure fair competition, and relentless war against undue growth of power in agriculture, industry, finance, labor, and government. If you have better ideas, let's hear them.

Children's Milk Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I introduced a bill to increase the amount of Commodity

Credit Corporation funds which can be used for the children's milk program during the 1960 and 1961 fiscal years. Under the provisions of my bill, the authorization for this program would be increased from $81 to $85 million for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1960, and from $84 to $90 million for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1961.

The increased authorization will be necessary if the children's milk program is to fulfill the bright promise of the program's 6-year history. During the 1954–55 school year, the first that the children's milk program was in operation, 41,094 schools used 449,800,000 half pints of milk. Since that time, both the number of schools participating and the amount of milk consumed have shown a steady and gratifying increase. Throughout the 1958–59 school year, some 80,000 schools and child-care institutions took part in the program, and the children drank 2,175 million half pints of milk.

These figures do not include the summer camps, which became eligible to benefit from the program under the provisions of a bill I introduced and which was enacted into law in 1956. The following year, 2,220 camps participated in the program. By 1958, the number had gone up to 3,026.

Mr. Speaker, as successful as the children's milk program has been during its first 6 years, it still reaches barely half of our Nation's schoolchildren. Nutritionists agree that milk is nature's most nearly perfect food. I feel it is vitally important for the children of our country to be provided with a sufficient amount of wholesome milk in order to strengthen their bodies as they grow to maturity and take their rightful places in our democratic society.

This can hardly be accomplished unless sufficient funds are made available so the children's milk program can keep pace with rising school enrollment as well as encouraging additional schools to join this worthwhile program. For a school which is considering taking part in the children's milk program, nothing could be more discouraging than the fear that the funds for the program might run out in the middle of the school year—or the fear that the reimbursement rate to the schools might be cut.

At the present time, the Federal Government's maximum reimbursement rate to schools which offer milk to children as a separately priced item is 4 cents per half-pint in schools serving type A lunches under the national school program. In schools serving milk but not the lunches, the maximum reimbursement rate is 3 cents per half pint.

Mr. Speaker, I was very disturbed to learn that the funds now authorized for the children's milk program for the 1959–60 school year will not be sufficient to cover the increased number of children and schools participating in the program. As a result, the U.S. Department of Agriculture has announced that, effective March 1, 1960, the maximum reimbursement rate will be cut by half a cent per half pint of milk in both categories.

If the reimbursement rate to schools goes down, naturally the price the school children or the school districts have to pay for the milk will go up. This will result in a decrease in milk consumption in the schools, particularly among children from low-income families. And they are the children who need the milk the most because they are very likely not getting enough milk at home.

These are not mere conjectures on my part. During the first year the children's milk program was in operation, numerous federally financed research projects were undertaken to discover problems which might hinder the rapid and effective expansion of the program and to explore new and effective ways of increasing milk consumption.

In my home State of Wisconsin, we cooperated in the study of price reduction. The Wisconsin experiment proved conclusively that: First, reduced prices resulted in increased numbers of children drinking milk at school; second, the greater the price reduction, the greater was the increase in consumption; and third, the increased milk consumption at school was new consumption, not a replacement of home consumption.

Mr. Speaker, another study conducted in St. Louis, Mo., during the 1955–56 school year shows beyond a shadow of a doubt that children from low-income families would be hardest hit by an increase in the amount of money they have to pay for milk at school. When the Federal reimbursement to the schools participating in the children's milk program was applied toward the reduction of the price of milk to the children, the pupils in the low-income districts increased milk consumption by 171 percent. Milk consumption by children in the middle-income districts went up 157 percent, but the increase by pupils in the high-income areas was only 44 percent.

We are lucky to live in a land which is blessed with an abundance of food. But this blessing of abundance carries with it a large responsibility. There is little excuse for malnutrition in this country, and even less excuse when it comes to our children. I would not have it on my conscience that I deprived any school kids of needed milk through short-sighted economy. I am sure my colleagues share my feelings and will support my bill to increase the funds for the children's milk program so it can continue the job it has been doing so well.

The Late Steven V. Carter

SPEECH
OF
HON. CARL ELLIOTT
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1960

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, I did not know STEVEN CARTER for a long time. He sat in this body for a single session. But I can say that in that period his demeanor and work made it obvious that his death is a great loss to his district, State, and Nation. I pay tribute to him as a man of devotion to his country who in the space of a year won the esteem of his colleagues and promised to be a great legislator.

STEVEN CARTER served his Nation in many ways: as an officer in the U.S. Navy, as a leader in Boy Scout work, as an active layman in the Christian Church, and as a citizen fulfilling civic responsibility. For 10 years prior to his election he was a worker in the political activity of his district.

I think he will be long remembered here despite his short tenure; and that memory will be one of a fine, outstanding American who gave great service to his Nation. I extend to his family my deepest sympathy for their great loss.

Problems Facing the Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONARD G. WOLF
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, much has been printed in newspapers and periodicals since the first of the year heralding a booming, exciting and progressive 10-year period in our future. We hope that all the good predictions will come true. But, I submit, Mr. Speaker, that before we can go forward with a new blueprint for the sixties, we must finish some of those tasks left undone in the last decade. In this session of Congress we must not let ourselves be sidetracked by false issues.

Some of the issues with which we must deal effectively are social security, agriculture and food for peace, interest rates and fiscal policy, education and school construction grants, and re-evaluation of our defense programs. My views on these problems are outlined below:

1. SOCIAL SECURITY

In my travels through the district, I was struck with the fact that far too many of our older people—those who have made this society great—are not enjoying the wealth and prosperity of our society. We must drastically revise our present social security laws to enable our older citizens who desire to work to be given the chance to work without being penalized. It is becoming increasingly obvious that some form of national health insurance scheme must be worked out which will help all of our older citizens. For example, there are some 4 or 5 million people over age 65 and women over age 62 who are not eligible for social security benefits, although they have contributed to the system for many years, and although they are incapacitated for life. I believe that the present requirement that one must have worked under social security for a least 5 years out of

the 10 years before becoming disabled should be revised.

2. INTEREST RATES AND FISCAL POLICY

The Federal Reserve Banks and the Treasury Department are following independent and often mutually contradictory policies. Our Federal credit policies must be integrated lest we stifle economic growth while continuing the aimless road to inflation. We must create a national monetary and credit council which would include the Chairman of the Federal Reserve System, Secretary of the Treasury, Chairman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and heads of the other lending agencies.

The policy of high interest rates as set out by the administration are not stopping inflationary tendencies, but they are stifling competition and economic growth. From the little businessman in northeast Iowa to the high-powered economics professor, to the corporation executive who makes $100,000 a year, there is an awareness of the fact that only the giant corporations have easy access to money at all times regardless of interest rates. However, high interest rates destroy the chance for small businesses to borrow, compete and grow since these groups depend on readily available money at reasonable interest rates in order to be able to borrow for expansion purposes.

The surest way to destroy small business and continue the road to monopoly and the surest way to destroy the small farmer is by encouraging and keeping a tight money program.

3. EDUCATION AND SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION

Congress should authorize and appropriate more money for more classrooms and higher teacher pay scales. Nationally we are short some 140,000 classrooms and our teachers are woefully underpaid. If this Congress does not pass the kind of legislation in education which will give this Nation more scientists and engineers, philosophers and social scientists, we will cease to be a first-rate power. This Congress must make the school bells ring loud and clear for better schools and teachers, rather than have those same bells toll for a nation that prefers to spend more on cigarettes and cosmetics than on education.

4. DEFENSE

This year Congress must take a long, hard look at its defense budget. Sixty-seven percent of the taxpayer's dollar is spent on defense and defense-related expenditures. It is clear that we are overspending in some areas and not spending enough in other areas. There are over $34 billion in military goods which have, in the last few years, been taken out of use and circulation by the Armed Forces.

Every dollar that is wasted in our national defense program and every dollar that is unnecessary takes away money which could be better spent in making our society richer and freer than any that has ever been known.

5. AGRICULTURE AND FOOD FOR PEACE

An international food for peace program through the United Nations that will get the food out of the storage bins and into the stomachs of the hungry of the world must be initiated. There is nothing more disgraceful to the United States than the fact that we have $10 billion worth of food and fiber resources rotting in our storage bins while a billion people are on the edge of starvation.

A thorough investigation is called for in the price structures of food resources. This Congress must explode the myth that the farmer is living off the fat of the land. We must study how it is that with a $10 billion food surplus on hand, paid for by the American taxpayer, the farmer's income has been lower than it has been in 18 years and, furthermore, why the consumer is paying more for food than he has ever paid before.

Mr. Speaker, when we have finished these tasks, then we will be ready for the adventure of the sixties.

Extend Soil Bank, Encourage Gradual Farm Bank To Reduce Overhanging Farm Surplus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT H. QUIE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, one of the major responsibilities of this Congress concerns farm legislation. The present overhanging crop surplus constitutes a threat which cuts across every segment of our economy and confronts not only the Nation's farmers but all Americans.

For that reason, I believe that one of the first priorities on the agenda of the Congress is to determine how best to reduce the crop surplus.

One of the Nation's most important farm programs is the conservation reserve, known as the soil bank. This legislation is necessary as one of the most acceptable means of reducing production by placing acres in idleness.

The Soil Bank Act is due to expire. On the opening day of this second session of Congress, I introduced legislation to extend the program for the next 5 years. I believe that we must continue the land retirement program which attempts to balance production with consumption, and in these remarks I would like to detail the various features of this legislation.

The Department of Agriculture has viewed the conservation reserve as an opportunity to remove the greatest number of acres from production with the funds appropriated by Congress. I believe this concept is faulty. To my mind, we should remove not necessarily the greatest number of acres, but the more productive acres, in order to cut down the surplus. An increased effort must be made to retire land of higher productive capacity into the conservation reserve than has been the case in the past. I believe the legislation I have introduced provides the incentive to accomplish this end.

In addition to extending the life of the program for 5 years, my bill would set up a goal for the Secretary of Agriculture of $150 million per year to take in contracts with producers for additional conservation reserve acreage, including cost of materials and services.

Also the bill provides that the Secretary would not "enter into contracts with producers which would result in increasing the number of acres of land in the conservation reserve by more than 10 million acres in any year." This means that it will take from 3 to 5 years for sufficient land to be taken out of production by soil banking entire farms. It is necessary to take this time, so that communities are able to adjust to the program. I believe that this program will be of interest to older farmers who are still active, but planning for eventual retirement.

To my mind, the practice of soil banking entire farms ranks as the most efficient, effective way to cut production. If only a part of a farm is taken out of production, the labor and capital formerly used on the idled portion goes into increased output on the remaining acres.

The practice of retiring whole farms has two great advantages. First, the program is the least expensive one for the taxpayers. Secondly, the program at the same time provides more income to the farmers who will remain in farming.

The legislation I have introduced contains a provision of the 1956 act, to prevent the soil banking of land in reclamation projects and the placing of price supports on any crops raised on such land. I believe that the cost of our farm program could be reduced as well as crop production if vast reclamation projects, bringing new land into production, could be at least temporarily halted.

Mr. Speaker, I hope that this legislation will be endorsed by this Congress and that a program of increasing value to America can continue to operate.

Ever-Loving Friends of the Little Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial appearing in the Detroit Free Press on December 25, 1959, in regard to fair trade legislation.

EVER-LOVING FRIENDS OF THE LITTLE MAN

Another fair trade law has been introduced in the U.S. Congress. The bill would permit manufacturers to fix retail prices of their goods for retailers.

The controversy over price fixing has been of long-standing duration. Although the legislative actions and court decisions are numerous, the outcome in every legal test has been in favor of competitive-minded storekeepers and consumers.

The courts struck down a 1937 law that empowered States, 45 of which did so, to enact fair trade laws applicable to those merchants who signed agreements with

manufacturers. In the early fifties, Congress authorized the States to try again, with a law binding even those who refused to sign agreements with manufacturers. In the last 5 years, such laws have been held unconstitutional in 15 States.

How strange it is to see men who, publicly proclaiming a great regard for the consumers, are in the forefront of most fights against price fixing by manufacturers (as in the current investigation into drug prices) but who support mass price fixing that would banish from retailing much of the competitiveness through which the consumer benefits.

Even a small amount of belief in an economically free market, with its carefully balanced controls in the hands of those who support it through their considered purchases, should make price fixing of any kind extremely distasteful to those Congressmen who profess to represent that powerful individual whom they dub and cajole as the little man.

William C. Hull, Executive Assistant to the U.S. Civil Service Commissioners, September 23, 1891, to December 23, 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. B. CARROLL REECE
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. REECE of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, when I came to Washington in 1921 as a young Member of Congress, one of the men in the Civil Service Commission who was very understanding and always ready to render any service within the limits of the Civil Service regulations was William C. Hull, the executive assistant to the U.S. Civil Service Commissioners, a position to which he had been appointed under the administration of Woodrow Wilson, and it was with much sadness that I learned of his passing.

Mr. Hull had served during administrations of 9 Presidents and under 30 of the 48 Civil Service Commissioners in the 76-year history of CSC. The occasion of his golden anniversary in Federal service was marked informally by CSC officials and employees in September 1958, with a reception at which Harris Ellsworth, then Chairman of the Commission, paid tribute to Mr. Hull on behalf of the CSC staff.

All but 3 weeks of Mr. Hull's long service had been with the Civil Service Commission. He entered Federal service on September 18, 1908, with the Patent Office, serving there until October 3 of the same year. On October 5, 1908, he started work as a messenger at $360 a year for the Commission. He became executive assistant to the Commissioners on October 18, 1917.

Mr. Hull's long and able service brought him many commendations. Among them was a golden anniversary salute from Representative JOHN L. MCMILLAN, Democrat, of South Carolina, in an extension of remarks printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. "I think every Member of Congress who has had occasion to transact any business with the Civil Service Commission during the time he or she has been a Member of Congress, will agree with me that Mr. William Hull, who has so ably served for a number of years as executive assistant to the Commission, is one of our most outstanding public servants," Representative MCMILLAN said. "Because of his experience accumulated over the years and his close associations with Commissioners, he is a frequent and authoritative source of information to Members of Congress, high-ranking department and agency officials, representatives of union and veteran groups."

The Commission gave formal recognition to his many contributions to the Federal service by presenting him a special citation for outstanding devotion to the public service at the Commission's diamond anniversary awards ceremony on January 16, 1958. He was named "civil servant of the year" by AMVETS in 1959.

Despite his long and distinguished career with the Civil Service Commission, which reflected great credit upon the Civil Service, he never worried about titles or grades for himself and at the time of his death he still held a grade 14, although he was assistant to the U.S. Civil Service Commissioners. His one great interest was upholding the dignity and integrity of the Civil Service itself and interesting himself in seeing that other employees were justly recognized.

A native of Arlington County, Va., Mr. Hull was long active in community affairs. He served on the boards of trustees of the Arlington Community Chest and Arlington Hospital Association and as vice president of the latter, and as secretary of the Leeway Citizens Association. He has been a delegate to the Arlington County Civic Federation and to the Inter-Federation Council, during this time serving as president of the federation and chairman of the council. He was also a charter member of Lodge 32 of the American Federation of Government Employees and a member of Local No. 2, National Federation of Federal Employees.

He is survived by his wife, Gladys, of their home, 2255 North Powhatan Street, Arlington; two daughters, Mildred Page, Annandale, and Marguerite Oakley, Arlington; two brother and four sisters to whom, I know, my colleagues join in an expression of deep sympathy.

Who's Running the Shop?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK BROOKS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. BROOKS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, apparently it is becoming popular for the members of the Eisenhower administration to prejudge the work of this 2d session of the 86th Congress as solely seeking political advantage for the national elections this coming November. I do not believe our work here in the House of Representatives, under Democratic leadership for the past 5 years, to help solve the problems of our people and our country can flippantly be dismissed as politics. I am confident that Democrats will continue to work for constructive solutions to our problems and if this is also good politics our people will recognize it in good time.

The fundamental difference, it seems, between the Republican administration and the Congress led by Democrats lies in the fact that the Democrats have worked hard to formulate positive programs for progress here at home and for substantial strengthening of our defense posture abroad and we stand fully responsible for our work. During these same years the Republican administration has offered our people almost everything except genuine leadership and responsibility.

Columists Walter Lippmann and Robert W. Akers, editor of the Beaumont (Tex.) Enterprise, have asked: "Who's running the shop?" It is a penetrating question and the fact that two unusually well-informed members of the press are unable to pin the responsibility for decision or lack of decision on the President or any member of the administration is particularly disturbing. This type of administration does not strengthen our democracy.

I would like to submit for the attention of our colleagues Mr. Akers' column of January 3, 1960, in which he reviews Dr. Lippmann's column of the previous day and asks the pertinent questions: Who is really responsible for the administration—Who's running the shop?

IT'S LIKE THIS—

Walter Lippmann's column in this spot yesterday made it appear the American people have taken leave of political reality and soared off on a flight of fantasy.

He writes about Mr. Eisenhower becoming a sort of kingship symbol to the Nation, about him occupying a position up there in the clouds, clear above partisan concern, floating lightly above such mundane duties as administering the Government.

He says the citizens themselves have created this lighter-than-air quality for him in a burst of veneration which places Mr. Eisenhower in state unique among all our Presidents.

And Mr. Lippmann may be exactly right, in fact, I'm afraid he is exactly right.

If he is, then we'd better quit sniffing the "happy-powder" and ask a very important question: Who's running the shop?

Hero worship's fun and all that. Emotional jags provide relief for tension, true.

But Mr. Lippmann's thought on who's in charge of the Government is a vague reference to the "ministers" taking the blame, while Mr. Eisenhower, living in another world, receives only adulation, like Queen Elizabeth bestowing regally distant waves upon admiring throngs.

What ministers? To whom do we turn before the Federal system becomes even more like the early day aviation story: "Who, me? I thought you were flying the plane."

By Mr. Eisenhower's own definition, inflation is a serious threat to our economic system, yet in the 7 years since he took office inflation has grown steadily without one serious action on the part of the White House to check it. Words, yes, but not action.

Mr. Eisenhower has declared over and over that the steel strike could be disastrous to American business, but he has never yet exercised aggressive leadership nor used the tre-

mendous weight which the presidential office once carried as a means compelling settlement in the public interest.

Lately, we have seen allusions to the Vice President getting into the act and holding conferences with the Secretary of Labor toward possible strike settlement. The Vice President is most hesitant to talk afterward, preserving a politically strategic position which will enable him to step up and take credit if things do break right, or hastily abandon ship if the vessel's about to sink.

But the question of who's hands (if anyone's) are on the controls goes unanswered.

Mr. Eisenhower took over the presidency with loud sounding of the trumpets about reducing the national debt. Now it's higher than ever.

There were logical hopes that, as a career military man, he could bring some unity into the Pentagon, more efficiency into armament expenditures. Interservice rivalries have now been projected clear into outer space, there still is colossal waste and duplication in military spending, firm civilian control over the Armed Forces is lacking.

The farm surplus has grown steadily and no one seems to have any idea of what to do about it. What was a national scandal when Mr. Eisenhower took over has now become a world scandal: We send our President over the globe talking about peace and better living while we stay home greedily clutching a mountain of food we don't know what to do with.

Those are some of the problems—and they're ones which can destroy the country if someone doesn't act decisively.

All right, so Lippmann's right. So President Eisenhower is now King Ike and we have no right to place the responsibility on him.

Then who is responsible?

Vice President NIXON?

I'll go along with Prime Minister NIXON—if he asserts his position. But this business of the Vice President holding somewhat covert conferences on issues which normally are the serious concern of the President of the United States, yet keeping just detached enough not to get hurt if things go wrong—that won't answer the question either.

On the other hand, if the plan is to let the Vice President do the President's job, taking credit in the 1960 campaign in case of success, then Lippmann's lofty talk of the President being above politics comes crashing down into the dusty arena of slug-it-out vote-getting.

By the Lippmann theory, then, America enters a strange sort of year in 1960.

The man elected to carry out the responsibilities of the Presidency has been relieved of any accounting for these duties through having been elevated to an even more exalted position—by those very same voters.

But the voters also see all too clearly that great domestic decisions are not being made, great domestic leadership is absent.

Which brings us back to the original question, the one which can only be answered by the unfolding of events over the next 12 months: Who's running the shop?

President Ducks Again

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONARD G. WOLF

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, in the January 1, 1960, issue of the Capital Times, Madison, Wis., two very significant editorials appeared on the question of the FEC and FTC responsibility in the TV mess.

The last few weeks of 1959 were filled with revelations of immorality behind certain television programs. We cannot expect too much from the television authorities when the FCC and the President himself will not assume responsibility in cleaning up this blot on American integrity.

The way in which the administration has dealt with this question is similar to the way it deals with all questions. It first creates the illusion that it is going to do something, and then, in fact, it refuses to carry through its proposals. In this case, the Justice Department made it quite clear that the FTC is not doing its job. The President, who called for the recommendations from the Justice Department, apparently does not intend to pursue the lines outlined in the Justice Department report. The two editorials follow:

JUSTICE DEPARTMENT REPORT HITS FCC BUT PRESIDENT DUCKS AGAIN

President Eisenhower has been quick to fire the Justic Department's hot report on the TV scandals and the derelictions of the Federal Communications Commission right back to Attorney General Rogers.

The President said nothing about the explosive aspects of the report. He merely acknowledged it with a message saying "I would appreciate it if you continued to follow the matter for me."

It is obvious that the White House is going to sweep the FCC scandals back under the rug.

The report makes it clear, despite the assertions of FCC Chairman John Doerfer that the Commission lacks authority to have prevented the TV frauds, that the mess could have largely been avoided if the FCC and the Federal Trade Commission had used the powers they now have. The report says:

"The FCC and the FTC appear to have authority adequate under existing law to eradicate most, if not all, of the deceptive and corrupt practices in broadcasting which have been disclosed—particularly if the agencies are accorded the full cooperation of the broadcasting industry."

In other words, the FCC and the FTC did not do their duty in protecting the public interest.

The President's duty is clear under the circumstances. He should demand the resignations of the public officials who failed in their duty.

This is particularly true where it has been shown, as it has in the case of most of the members of the FCC, that they received gifts, lavish entertainment, and various other favors from interests with business before them.

The President is doing what comes naturally. Despite his claims of leading a great crusade for new morality in Government, he has ducked this mess from the time that White House personnel intervened to assure that the congressional investigation would not get out of control. For all the efforts expended, it did get out of control because its chief counsel, Bernard Schwartz, tried to conduct a genuine investigation only to be fired.

The trail led straight to the White House and the sordid Goldfine-Adams scandal. Adams was let out only after the impact on the public became apparent when the Democrats swept the rock-ribbed Republican State of Maine.

It is obvious that the coverup is to continue.

THE ATTEMPT TO HIDE REPORT OF JUSTICE DEPARTMENT ON TV MESS

The Report of the Justice Department on the TV scandals carries this strong language:

"The testimony before the House committee in connection with the quiz shows has shown that school teachers, infants, clergymen and others from all walks of life had been drawn into a gigantic hoax perpetrated upon the Nation through the medium of television. Other disclosures have revealed substantial corruption in other aspects of the broadcasting industry. The disclosures have been accompanied by a sense of public shock and disgust."

All this is true. But what of the "public shock and disgust that would be forthcoming if it were made aware of the coverup going on to hide this mess?

There has been a most obvious attempt to hide the Justice Department's report. This report was sent to the President on Wednesday. But a rigid deadline for release at 6:30 p.m. Thursday evening was imposed.

This meant that the report would receive a minimum of publicity. The story was timed to break for Friday's papers—New Year's Day.

Washington officials, who are skilled in publicity techniques, are well aware that many of the biggest papers in this country are not published on New Year's Day. For example, the paper with the largest circulation in Wisconsin, the Milwaukee Journal, is not published today.

And they can be confident that the TV news coverage of this embarrassing report will not be too thorough or energetic.

If the public was conned by the TV industry, what about the conning it is getting from officials in Washington who held up this important report for a day when it would go virtually unnoticed?

New York's Billion-Dollar Racket

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

[From the New York Journal-American, Jan. 5, 1960]

POLICY PAYOFFS ROCKED POLICE

(By James D. Horan, Dom Frasca, and John Mitchell)

The announcement released from police headquarters was terse. It read:

"Charges and specifications have been lodged against 12 members of the (police) department. * * * Eight of them are involved in the motion pictures. Four were charged with failing to report gambling on the premises.

"In the 10th division, one deputy chief inspector and two inspectors were transferred, reduced to captain, and retired from the department. Two lieutenants and 31 patrolmen were transferred to other commands. * * * Charges and specifications also were brought against two lieutenants, one of whom retired before trial.

"In the 28th precinct, 1 captain, 4 lieutenants, 24 sergeants, and 32 patrolmen have been transferred to other commands. One patrolman has been dismissed from the department."

FILMS UNDER STUDY

Behind the blunt announcement is the story of the police department's long, enduring, and sometimes losing battle against the policy racket which so often has tarnished its proud and favorite cliche, "New York's finest."

For months police brass have been viewing and reviewing eight rolls of 16-millimeter film. It is strictly an amateurish production staged by the department itself on Lenox Avenue between 110th Street and 115th Street in west Harlem.

The frames sometimes quiver. The neon lights on taverns, automobiles, and children on skates dance across the screen with no apparent meaning to the casual viewer.

But the camera is held steady when a police officer or a prowl car appears.

Here every move is recorded in detail.

During the past several months, the films have been shown many times to high police officials. In a darkened, quiet room of police headquarters, they have seen police officers walking in and out of policy "drops" and laughing and talking with the gambling fraternity.

Ironically, the films were taken by policemen and constitute a documentary of corruption within their own department.

They are members of a select undercover squad sworn to secrecy. Their boss is Assistant Chief Inspector John W. Walsh who led the now celebrated raids on the policy "banks" in East Harlem in March 1958.

The raids climaxed an investigation triggered by information received by this newspaper.

POSED AS BOOKMAKERS

Inspector Walsh became convinced after a preliminary probe that the gambling racketeers were operating under a cloak of police protection. Consequently, he handpicked several members of his special squad to prove it.

Young patrolmen, posing as policy runners and bookmakers, rented a room and made a series of films from a window overlooking the scene of the mob's main "drop."

When policemen appeared on the scene, the cameras ground away. Then came the arduous task of identifying officers in the film. Some were miles from their regularly assigned posts when caught by the hidden eye of the camera.

For weeks, police brass viewed the films with bitterness. Finally, with the evidence in hand, Commissioner Kennedy angrily shook up entire commands, lodging charges and specifications against scores of policemen.

SHAKEUP EXPECTED

The sum-total of Commissioner Kennedy's punitive acts was released to this newspaper in the announcement that appears at the beginning of this article. However, it was said at police headquarters that decisions in the departmental trials of additional officers are still pending.

Shakeups like this comes as no surprise to ranking police officials. They have seen it happen too often before. And each time the honest members of the force have so to speak, paid for the sins of their dishonest brothers.

The stigma of scandal may touch only 2, 3 or 10 officers, but too often the man of the street is inclined to accept it as a broad indictment of the entire 24,000-member department.

Former Special Prosecutor John Harlan Amen in 3½ years' work digging deeply into the machinations of the police department as part of a probe into official corruption in Brooklyn.

In 1942, his work completed, a grand jury returned a presentment charging that 49 policemen were grafters.

THE GROSS SCANDAL

And who in the police department can forget pudgy, vociferous Harry Gross, seized in 1950 as head of a $20 million a year bookmaking empire?

Harry reeled off the names of policemen on the pad like a quiz whiz on a TV show. The only difference was that Harry wasn't rigged.

It was a black chapter in the history of the police department. And 10 years later, the germ bred by greed and known as gambling is still casting its shadow on New York's Finest.

Appreciation Given as Okefenokee Project Nears Completion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IRIS FAIRCLOTH BLITCH
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mrs. BLITCH. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to report the approaching completion of the project for improvements and fire protection of the great Okefenokee Swamp made possible by passage of H.R. 9742 during a previous session of the Congress. A completion date has been estimated for April and as we begin the 2d session of the 86th Congress, I wish to express appreciation to my colleagues for their assistance and approval in making the Okefenokee project possible, and thereby, better protecting from fire the natural features and substantial values represented in the Okefenokee National Wildlife Refuge located in the Eighth District of Georgia. I am grateful also to the people of the district for their overwhelming support of the Okefenokee project and under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following editorial from one of the fine daily newspapers of the eighth district, the Waycross Journal-Herald, Saturday afternoon, January 2, 1960:

SWAMP PROJECT NEARS COMPLETION

It is very good news that the ambitious Okefenokee Swamp conservation and fire protection project is nearing completion.

The very concept of a road around the great swamp attracted national interest. We are now informed that, barring bad weather, the perimeter road and the water-retaining structures will be completed by next April.

The road around the swamp is designed to serve as a firebreak and as a means of moving firefighting equipment and personnel into the vast wilderness.

There remains the grim memory of the fires of 3 and 4 years ago which swept from the heart of the swamp over thousands of acres of timberland.

Homes, livestock and, indeed, whole communities were threatened by the racing flames. Scores of firefighters and thousands of dollars worth of equipment were used in the battle to contain the fire.

When the situation was finally under control there remained acre after acre of charred timberland worth thousands of dollars.

The sills and dikes now under construction in the swamp are designed to prevent other disastrous fires like the ones described.

They are built for the purpose of holding back enough water to keep the swamp from drying out during periodic droughts and thus reducing the possibility of fires.

Legislation for the protection of the Okefenokee area was sponsored by Representative IRIS BLITCH, of Homerville, after a series of meetings with Government engineers, landowners, and others.

Cost of the overall project is $728,500 and, it is our opinion that the money is being well spent. The Okefenokee protection measures will represent insurance for homes and property over a vast area.

Among other things it should serve as an important factor in the continued development of the forestry and pulp and paper industry in southeast Georgia.

Our Challenge for 1960

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, following is the annual message which I delivered to my constituents, Sunday, January 3 over station WIND:

OUR CHALLENGE FOR 1960

Thank you—next Wednesday, the 2d session of the 86th Congress will reconvene in Washington and for the next 6 months, efforts will be made to translate into law the soundings which most Members of Congress garnered from their constituents during the 14-week recess. In a sense, this will be a rather historic session if for no other reason than that it will be the first time Congress will assemble in the new decade of the 1960's. But there are other reasons why this session could become historic. We as a free people in the United States—through our Representatives in Congress—must attempt to strengthen our traditional formula of freedom and well-being at a time when the surface of the world is stirring; when entire continents are surging; when time itself is being telescoped. Everywhere throughout the world there is movement; awakened hopes—new horizons. And all of this springs from the knowledge, no longer subject to suppression, that human life should mean more than a deadening subsistence. The time bomb of human expectancy is loudly ticking. Those who close their ears to it shall have them rudely opened by its explosion.

It is neither my purpose this evening to be an alarmist on the one hand nor an ignoble quiescent on the other. Rather, I should like to discuss with you briefly this evening on "Congressional Report," the problems which confront our Nation and the world as we begin this new decade of the 1960's. I am certain that many of you may have mentioned some of these problems as you toasted in the new year yesterday. But I am equally certain that many of you, more comfortable than ever in your day-to-day existence, have not given them even a fleeting thought. In my brief career as a Representative in Congress, I have found that many people are anxious to discuss the great challenge which lies ahead, if America is to survive as a republic—governed by free people. But I have also found that many of our citizens do not want to face up to reality—do not want to hear anything which may in the slightest disturb the placid calm of their very comfortable existence. Paradoxically, after spending the last 3

months talking to thousands of people, I have a feeling that the ranks of this second group are increasing at an alarming rate. I've found that many of our citizens want to do nothing which might disturb the status quo. This indeed is tragic. For it is my firm conviction that the dynamics of a democracy such as we have, and which has made our Nation the most prosperous in the world, cannot afford the luxury of relaxing when the entire world is on the move. I am deeply concerned about the widespread apathy—the total conformity—which dictates the spirit of so many of our people here in America at a time when leaders throughout the world are inspiring their people into various ventures—some designed for good and unfortunately, some designed for evil.

Frequently, however, it is difficult to be frank in this type of atmosphere. I should like to recall for you an ancient legend about the Locrians in Greece who reportedly gave the first expression to free speech, but at a price that many considered too costly. The Locrians would permit any person to address an assembly on any subject he or she wished but under one condition. A rope was placed around the speaker's neck and if the audience did not agree with what he said, he was promptly hanged. I have recited this story because I hasten to assure you, that as a Member of Congress who must take a position on controversial issues, I frequently understand and appreciate how some of these Locrian speakers must have felt as they faced their audience. While millions of Americans can very easily avoid the fate of the Locrians simply by not engaging in the debate of issues confronting our Nation, a Member of Congress cannot shirk this responsibility. I should like to assure you there is no more lonely place in the world than in the well of the House of Representatives or the Senate when a Member of Congress must stand up and be counted by casting either a "yea" or "nay" vote on a controversial issue. For you see, even after a Congressman has listened to all of the arguments pro and con on an explosive issue; even after he has read all of the editorial comments; studied the mail from his constituents; heard out the lobbyists—he, and he alone, must make the final decision on his vote. Because the world, and our own Government in it, have become so fantastically complicated, I can assure you that a Congressman's final decision frequently is a most difficult one to make.

I shall not go into detailed analysis of the fifties which we laid to rest only yesterday and which in my own humble opinion were to a great extent unproductive. I would rather address the limited time I have this evening to the problem which we as Americans must resolve as quickly as possible during the 1960's if we are to survive as a nation. It is my very firm conviction that overshadowing all else is the great challenge that we as Americans must face in dealing with the growing menace of international communism. Bluntly stated, you and I—and millions of other Americans like us—must decide whether we shall have the courage to stand up against the spread of international communism or whether we shall idly sit back and wait—like the ancient Chinese who never did find a way to deal with the locust—until it devours us. As U.S. News & World Report pointed out in a leading article last week, at some time, not many years from now, the American people are likely to be offered this choice: surrender or fight a nuclear war. And, the article points out, the way things are going, the United States could lose that war. What is the basis for this pessimism at a time when optimism appears to be bursting out on all sides and world leaders are talking of peace and disarmament? Three reports prepared by Americans whose entire lives have been devoted to studying the powerful forces at work in the world—reports prepared for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee—may give us a partial answer. The first report was prepared by a research group at Johns Hopkins University; a second report was prepared by the Stanford Research Institute and a third by experts operating under the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. Add to this the views of highly informed Government officials and these conclusions emerge:

(1) The United States is now open and vulnerable to a direct attack by nuclear missiles and this country's vulnerability is steadily increasing.

(2) There can be no guaranteed security in the world when rival systems of government exist, each possessing the means of mass nuclear destruction. As more nations develop their own nuclear devices, the horror of nuclear war may prove no deterrent if a showdown comes; just as possession of poison gas by both the Western Powers and Nazi Germany proved no deterrent to World War II.

(3) The indisputable trend in the world today is toward dominance in the world by a single power. Let there be no mistaking of Khrushchev's beguiling smile for a sincere desire to work out the problems of the world. For those who might be tempted toward those conclusions, let me remind them that international communism has made fantastic gains in 72 nations of the world in the last decade and that the Communist Party—even though operating from the sewers of the underground, is more powerful and effective in America today than at any time in the history of our Nation. My basis for this statement is a recent report issued by the head of our own Federal Bureau of Investigation, J. Edgar Hoover.

(4) As U.S. News & World Report points out, the United States, at the end of World War II, was in a position to assume world domination. That opportunity was rejected. The United States, ever since, has been retreating gradually from one position after another. Soviet Russia, on the other hand, is demonstrating a determination to rule the world. At the end of World War II, Russia was prostrate. Today, only 15 years later, she is able to challenge America. There is no precedent in world history of such a reversal of positions of nations in such a short time. This Russian success breeds Russian confidence and strengthens Russian determination to push ahead. There are those among us who still cling to the naive belief that an uprising in Russia may reverse this threat, but on the basis of best available information which I have received in Washington, such a move is highly doubtful. Forty years of Communist tyranny in the Soviet Union have destroyed any possibility of revolt among the Russian people and today they stand firmly behind their leadership. In tragic contrast, compare how badly divided is the free world on its own aims. The suggestion in Paris last week by the heads of state that a series of conferences be held with the Soviet rulers should make it clear to all of us that the leaders of the free world are unable to agree on their aims and, in effect, they will let Khrushchev suggest the final decision at the summit.

Finally, No. 5, Soviet Russia, because of her gains, while the United States and her allies draw back under a policy of peace at any price, is tilting the balance of power steadily in her own direction. When the tilt appears to Russia's rulers to be decisive, she then will be tempted to offer the United States the fateful choice—surrender or fight a nuclear war. There undoubtedly will be much testing of strength and alarms—such as the Berlin crisis—before the final showdown comes.

My most bitter indictment of the past decade is that the constant threat of nuclear destruction—used so effectively by the Communists and also, unwittingly, by many decent Americans—has become a form of nuclear blackmail. This second session of the 86th Congress will have to put our Nation's entire foreign policy under a scrutinizing spotlight and see whether we have the wisdom and courage to find an answer. I know this: the free world has always won when it had the courage to stand up for its traditional faith in the truth of human freedom and justice. It is my firm conviction that the unprecedented reception given President Eisenhower on his recent tour of 11 nations in Europe and the Middle East was a manifestation of how deeply the people of these nations rely on the United States to provide courageous leadership in the struggle with international communism. If we as Americans can only accept the doctrine that there is vastly more vigor in defending a right rather than fighting a wrong, we shall destroy Khrushchev's hopes for world domination. Lamentably, however, I fear that the formulators of our foreign policy have already written off the captive nations of Europe—Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, and East Germany—as belonging to the Soviet sphere of influence even though the announcement has not been made official. Khrushchev and his followers, I am certain, will retreat only when we make the liberation of these enslaved nations the cornerstone of our foreign policy.

There are many domestic issues which we Americans must face up to if we are to fulfill the real meaning of democracy. This session of Congress will have to deal with legislation which will give America the edutional tools with which to wage intellectual war against the Soviet Union. I believe passage of the Federal aid to education bill is a must on our agenda when we reconvene. We will have to deal with nationwide strikes so that our economy can meet the growing challenge of foreign trade but here again we are faced with the great problem of trying to avoid nationwide work stoppages without destroying the collective bargaining rights of the American businessman or the American worker. In this next session we must attempt to rewrite our archaic tax structure so that there will be a more equitable distribution of fiscal responsibilities by eliminating many of the tax loopholes now in existence; we will have to meet the ever-increasing need of adequate medical and hospital care for our senior citizens; we will have to help our great cities—including Chicago—rebuild the core of their metropolis so that dead property now considered unproductive slums can be placed back on the tax rolls. In my own 11th Congressional District on Chicago's Northwest Side, thousands of homeowners are paying excessive real-estate taxes because the city now collects little if any tax yield from the slum areas of the city; we must in this session produce effective farm legislation which will end the national scandal under which we are spending $6 billion annually for farm support programs and finally we must produce a budget which will eliminate deficit spending. This is the great challenge for the second session of the 86th Congress.

In closing may I again thank Station WIND for making this time available and to assure all of you that not only I but every Member of Congress shall direct his efforts in this next session toward meeting the great challenge facing America. I will be most grateful, however, if you will be good enough to send me your own views on the problems I have discussed addressing your letter to Congressman ROMAN C. PUCINSKI, 11th District of Illinois, Washington, D.C. May I take this opportunity to wish you all a very happy, healthy, and prosperous New Year.

Coal, Atoms, and Kilowatt Making

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Coal, Atoms, and Kilowatt Making" which appeared in the December 30, 1959, issue of the Messenger of Madisonville, Ky.

The editorial is as follows:

COAL, ATOMS, AND KILOWATT MAKING

Usually, when the subject of coal or oil or gas comes up, somebody will veer off from the discussion of these usual fuels and forecast that atomic power will in the future displace these sources of energy.

Some of the forecasters, allowing their imaginations to run without check, overestimate the possibilities in the matter of peaceful application of nuclear energy, especially in the electric power field.

Since nuclear energy is dramatic, new, and strange, it is natural that it should capture the imagination. However, there is a danger that so great an emphasis might be placed on atomic power development that a lot of people may tend to forget the necessity of fostering continued development of adequate supplies of conventional fuels which have proved to be so good in the past and present—coal, oil, and gas.

People in coalfields like our own know this danger and often point it out.

A warning to this effect has indeed been given Congress by President Sporn, of the American Electric Power Co., who backed up his warning with predictions of his own, based on sound data rather than guesswork.

By 1975 the Nation's electric requirements will be far larger than at present, and nuclear energy will have its place in meeting the demand. Even so, Sporn estimates, the place of nuclear power will be small, only about 7.5 percent of the electric power which the country will need will be atom generated.

The rest of the power will come from coal and oil and gas—mostly from coal—but after 1975 the importance of nuclear energy will grow. Between 1975 and 2000 nuclear power, in Sporn's opinion, is expected to account for 75 percent or so of the increase in electric generation. But coal will still be doing business in a big way, and the year 2000, needless to say, is a long way off, even though the years have a way of speeding by.

The fact is that nuclear energy is simply a fuel which, when used, replaces another fuel. And the cost of fuel is a relatively modest part of the total cost of providing electric service. There is absolutely no foundation for the idea which has been suggested that atom-generated power would be so cheap that it wouldn't be worthwhile to meter its use.

Meanwhile, the development of coal-powered electric plants goes on and on—witness the big Tennessee Valley Authority plant for which grading is now under way at Paradise, in neighboring Muhlenberg County—although the utility people and other interested groups are hard at work learning more about the atom and its application to practical peacetime jobs.

This is the normal course of events, of course, but it does not necessarily mean that within a decade or so coal will be a back number so far as production of electricity is concerned.

Rather the opposite is the case, so far as can be foreseen now, for like the man (Mr. Sporn) said, nuclear power will absorb a lot of the increase in kilowatt generation but coal will still be in business supplying the bulk of the power.

Dedication to Torah Breakfast

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. SANTANGELO. Mr. Speaker, on December 6, 1959, I attended a breakfast of the Association of Jewish Court Attachés. Over 1,200 people assembled at this function, through the industrious activity of the vice president, Jacob Simburg.

The president, George Hodes, made a stirring speech in introducing Attorney General Louis J. Lefkowitz of New York State. Mr. Lefkowitz's remarks made a profound impression upon the audience, and especially upon me.

I believe that the readers will profit by a reading of the attorney general's splendid message, which is as follows:

REMARKS OF ATTORNEY GENERAL LOUIS J. LEFKOWITZ, AT THE DEDICATION TO THE TORAH BREAKFAST OF THE ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH COURT ATTACHÉS, AT THE COMMODORE HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY, ON SUNDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1959, AT 10 A.M.

This is your fourth annual dedication to the Torah breakfast.

A happy occasion such as this annual breakfast is refreshing to the spirit, and equally so to the mind. It brings a pause in our daily tasks, and lifts our eyes and our hearts to a broader vision of life.

When persons of the Jewish faith speak of the Torah, they usually mean the Five Books of Moses. But in a real sense, Torah also stands for all the great Jewish teachings and for all Jewish learning. It reflects the traditions, the ethics, and the values which are our Jewish inheritance. When we dedicate ourselves to the Torah, we assume the sacred obligation to carry on the high moral and intellectual perceptions which have been passed on as our Jewish heritage through countless generations.

Many are the teachings of our sages. To us, as members of the judiciary and of the bar, as administrators and as officers of the courts, must be of particular interest, the admonition of our Talmud that the world is sustained by three things: By justice, by truth, and by peace.

A little more than a century ago a learned Talmudic commentator had this to say of truth: "By truth is meant, literally, speaking the truth to one's fellow. And because the world has grown accustomed to lying talk, people do not consider it an evil thing, they do not perceive that it is evil."

This bit of wisdom has never been more true than it is today. For the past 2 months our attention has been focused strongly on a sad commentary on our adult moral climate. Disclosures of deceptive practices in the conduct of television quiz shows have left us not alone with a feeling of outrage but with a sense of shame at our own gullibility. "Payola" has become a word of common meaning to us. Petty graft in the marketplace which takes money from those least able to afford it has been front page news. In every field of human endeavor we find an unscrupulous segment which preys upon the consumer, the investor and the legitimate business and tradesman.

Have we, indeed, grown so accustomed to "lying talk" that we do not consider it an evil thing, that we do not perceive that it is evil? Have we, by our apathy, permitted a debasement of our moral concepts, our ethics and our standards of integrity in dealings with our fellow men?

Laws alone do not insure decency. The only antidote is a reawakening of our sense of values. I am confident that the American people, spurred on by religious and social views which lay enormous emphasis on honesty and respect, will not tolerate those who make a farce of integrity and truth.

The brain of man has created scientific marvels which stun the imagination. But men have not yet learned to live with one another in peace, in justice, and in truth.

These are the values which are inherent in all religious faiths. In our houses of worship, in the ideals and traditions of our religious groups we can find the wisdom and the strength to live in the spirit of true brotherhood, with heartfelt respect for the legitimate hopes and aspirations of our fellow man.

The Association of Jewish Court Attachés, and the Council of Jewish Organizations in Civil Service of which it is a constituent member, under the spiritual guidance of the New York Board of Rabbis, are making a magnificent contribution toward the promotion and fostering of religious activities among your members. In perpetuating the spirit and traditions of Judaism, you have made our Jewish men and women proud of their religious faith and ever the more loyal and true to the ideals and aspirations of our free American way of life. The recognition and gratitude which you have earned is well deserved.

Greed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, in the closing days of last year a reporter asked me, "Why so many harmful strikes?"

My answer: It may be because those controlling large labor unions, other special groups—veterans, postal employees, farmers—yes, and Congressmen—today, the steelworkers—are never satisfied with what they have. Each group, often individuals, want what might be an unfair share of the national income, of special privileges.

AMBITION

Greed is an acquisitive desire beyond reason. It is not a desirable characteristic. Ambition is an uplifting desire to achieve or obtain, and without it neither the individual nor the Nation would make progress. Without it, we would all become stagnant, never better our individual or national status.

PRESENT TREND

Since coming to Washington, I have observed what seems to me an unfortunate development—laudable ambition displaced by an excessive, acquisitive de-

mand for ever higher wages, salaries, prices, and special privileges, which, granted, injure all.

Politically and financially, powerful pressure groups put the heat on legislators, continually increasing power and incomes for their members, with harmful inflation the result. Naturally, we have always had and probably always will have special groups successfully making such demands. But certainly, if successful demands continue, the disparity between those who have and those who do not will grow wider until finally we may drift back into a situation where a few are inordinately wealthy, privileged, while the many are in dire want and without recourse when a degree of their freedom is taken from them.

Powerful pressure groups from State and Nation—yes, and local governments—are getting more and more for their members, with the result that even today there is just not enough to go around. Illustration: From my district come letters from incapacitated and elderly people, who, because of the high cost of living, have extreme difficulty in obtaining the necessities of life. Result: A high wage, income for the few, little for many.

What we all apparently forget is that, if, for example, today's striking steelworkers are to have an increase in wages and fringe benefits, not only those in the steel industry but all will pay the cost. A part of the cost will fall upon each and every one of us and prices will continue to go up—higher cost of living for the needy.

The same is true wherever in any productive industry wages are increased out of proportion to the increase in production, with the net end result that, while a few receive a special benefit, the additional cost falls upon all. There is an ever-widening gulf between members of a few pressure groups and the great majority. And, quite naturally, those who are on the short end want more.

When increasing salaries, wages, compensation, force the cost of production ever higher, the demand, the ability of all to purchase, grows less—depression threatens.

The answer: We will all be forced to disregard our greed, confine our ambition to limits which will not unduly, ultimately, bring harm to all. What do I mean? Less reliance upon fantastic legislation designed to benefit a few, more compliance with nature's law of supply and demand, and sound economic practices.

Progress is fine but ever-increasing wages, salaries, prices—none are ever through legislation—equitably distributed. Ultimately a disastrous depression. That has been the result every time government has attempted to fix prices, distribute wealth. The Egyptians tried it. The Chinese tried it. The Romans tried it. Other nations made the attempt. No people can ever legislate prosperity, happiness, or contentment. The law of supply and demand, while harsh, ultimately prevails.

Sellers of Smut Saved by Supreme Court Decision

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, obscene printed matter is a factor in juvenile and adult delinquency.

Parents, churches, and civic groups are trying to eliminate this corruption, but their efforts have been hampered by a recent decision of the U.S. Supreme Court. In effect, this decision will require the police to prove that a newsstand dealer or the proprietor of any other outlet for the sale of such material actually knows the nature of a particular publication before he can be convicted.

It seems to me that the Congress should study this serious problem and take steps to assist rather than obstruct the campaign to eliminate obscene printed matter. In order to comprehend the new challenge that now faces us, I bring to your attention the following article titled "Supreme Court Ruling on Smut Will Make Convictions Difficult," from the December 26, 1959, issue of the Pilot, official organ of the Catholic archdiocese of Boston:

SUPREME COURT RULING ON SMUT WILL MAKE CONVICTIONS DIFFICULT

(By John J. Daly, Jr.)

Hundreds of cities will now find it more difficult to convict sellers of obscene books, according to the attorney who argued—and lost—an obscenity case before the U.S. Supreme Court.

Los Angeles city attorney Roger Arnebergh's pessimistic opinion was expressed after the U.S. high court released a Los Angeles bookstore owner (Dec. 14) who had been convicted of possessing an obscene book in his store.

How could the Supreme Court clear the seller of a book described by one high Court Justice as "repulsive" and by Mr. Arnebergh as a "veritable smörgåsbord of sex"?

These were its reasons:

1. The prosecution failed to show that the seller knew the book was obscene—the key point to the court.

2. The public's access to books might be restricted if a dealer had to know the contents of all his books. He would sell only those he inspected and since he couldn't read all, some books would not be put on sale.

3. While it is true that pure food and drug legislation demands that the seller be responsible for the purity of all his wares, there is a constitutional barrier—freedom of speech and of the press—to asking this of booksellers.

What happens now? How do police prove that a bookseller knows the nature of a book they challenge?

MAJOR WEAPON

This is the crux of the matter for those States and municipalities which have an antipossession law as a major weapon in their legal arsenal to curb obscenity.

Even the Supreme Court split on this point.

The majority opinion said it wouldn't be too hard to prove a bookseller knew about the book One Justice said it would be very hard and the Court should tell how to do it. Two Justices said they thought it would be too easy.

These opinions all came when the Court presented not only a majority opinion, written by Justice William J. Brennan, Jr., but also three separate concurring opinions and one other opinion in which the Justice voted one way on one point and another way on a second point.

However the net result was to strike down the Los Angeles law and upset the conviction of Eleazar Smith, who was arrested in Los Angeles in 1956 for possessing in his bookstore a copy of a volume entitled "Sweeter Than Life," a story of lesbianism.

Mr. Smith was found guilty by Los Angeles municipal court and sentenced to 30 days in jail. The conviction was upheld by the appellate department of the State superior court. Mr. Smith appealed to the Supreme Court.

AWAITED DEFINITIONS

The High Court's opinion was awaited because it was expected to indicate further the nine men's thought on what constitutes obscenity and what may legally be done to ban it.

But in their decision, the Justices never did get to the question of whether or not the book Mr. Smith sold was obscene. Only Justice William O. Douglas said he had read it and found it "very repulsive." But the Court itself confined its opinion to the question of the law's validity.

After stating the majority's reasons for striking down the ordinance Justice Brennan addressed himself to the problem of how it can be shown a bookseller knew a challenged book is obscene

"It is argued," he noted, "that unless the scienter (knowledge of the book) requirement is dispensed with, regulation of the distribution of obscene material will be ineffective, as booksellers will falsely disclaim knowledge of their books' contents or falsely deny reason to suspect their obscenity."

"We might observe that it has been some time now since the law viewed itself as impotent to explore the actual state of a man's mind," he commented. He added that eyewitness testimony of someone who has seen a seller look through the challenged book is hardly necessary. "The circumstances may warrant the inference that he was aware of what a book contained, despite his denial," he wrote.

He then said, however: "We need not and most definitely do not pass today on what sort of mental element is requisite to a constitutionally permissible prosecution of a bookseller for carrying an obscene book in stock."

SEPARATE OPINION

Justice Felix Frankfurter said in his separate opinion: The Court obviously does not hold "that a bookseller who insulates himself against knowledge about an offending book is thereby free to maintain an emporium for smut."

But Justice Frankfurter said the Court's decision would reach beyond Los Angeles and for this reason, in Justice Brennan's decision, it "ought at least to be made clear, and not left for future litigation, that the Court's decision is not intended to nullify the conceded power of the State to prohibit booksellers from trafficking in obscene literature."

He said that the majority opinion suggests only "an unguiding, vague standard for establishing 'awareness' by the bookseller."

Justice Hugo L. Black, on the other hand, was impatient with the majority decision because it wasn't strong enough against censorship.

It will be easy, he said, for the prosecution to prove that a bookseller knew a challenged book is obscene and this will leave "the way open for both Federal and State governments to abridge speech and press."

He said the first amendment to the Constitution "leaves no room for inference that abridgments of speech and press can be made just because they are slight."

"That amendment provides, in simple words, that 'Congress shall make no law * * * abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press.' I read 'no law abridging' to mean no law abridging," he said.

Justice William O. Douglas, who said he had read the book, said his opinion is that it could be suppressed only on an argument not presented the Court.

"Freedom of expression can be suppressed if, and to the extent that, it is so closely brigaded with illegal action as to be an inseparable part of it," he said in alluding to his opinion first expressed in an earlier case.

SAFEGUARDS

He said "rather fluid tests of obscenity prevail today" and they require judges to pass judgment on a piece of condemned literature—a role he called "not an edifying one."

While disagreeing with the majority opinion that it must be proven a bookseller knows a challenged book is obscene, he said he regards this ruling as having "no harm and perhaps some good."

"What the court does today," he continued, "may possibly provide some degree of safeguards to booksellers by making those who patrol bookstalls proceed less high-handedly than has been their custom."

Justice John M. Harlan wrote the other separate opinion. He agreed to reversing the conviction of Mr. Smith, but disagreed with striking down the Los Angeles city ordinance.

He said the Court had only "meager data" on which to base a decision on whether the absence of a requirement of knowledge in the law renders it unconstitutional.

"I must say * * * that the generalities in the Court's opinion striking down the ordinance leave me unconvinced," he wrote.

He said the majority's argument that the law would scare booksellers into restricting their offering "seems more dialectical than real."

Mr. Harlan said he would reverse the conviction of Mr. Smith, but would send the case back to lower courts for a new trial, not strike down the law.

He would take this course, he explained, because the trial judge was wrong in turning aside every attempt by the bookseller to introduce evidence bearing on community standards, that is, such matters as whether the book is better or worse than other books openly sold and purchased by the public.

21st U.S. Army Small Arms Tournament

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEON H. GAVIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, during the past fall Mr. Bill G. Wescoat, publisher of the Reynoldsville (Pa.) Star, attended the 21st U.S. Army Corps (Reserve) Commander's Small Arms Tournament at Fort George G. Meade, Md.

Under unanimous consent I insert in the RECORD the very interesting and informative article he wrote relative to the tournament and the Army Reserve program:

(By Bill Wescoat)

It was an interesting experience for me to spend several days recently as a member of the tournament staff of the 21st U.S. Army Corps (Reserve) Commander's Small Arms Tournament at Fort George G. Meade, Md., and to observe firsthand the tremendous progress that has been made, not only in the marksmanship program of the 21st Corps, but in the overall relationship between the troops of the Regular Army and the Reserve.

While you may or may not have any knowledge or interest concerning the U.S. Army Reserve program, it nevertheless affects you inasmuch as it makes quite a dent in the Army's fund appropriation, which of course is all taxpayers' money. Because of this and because national security and the military are so much a part of our daily lives, I feel that a firsthand report on various aspects of the program is indicated whenever the opportunity presents itself.

The 21st Corps is comprised of Reserve troops from Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and the District of Columbia, with its headquarters at our own Indiantown Gap. Within the corps area are combat and service units of almost every description, manned and operated entirely by Reserve troops. Superimposed over this Reserve structure is a sort of skeleton command of Regular Army personnel in an advisory and coordinating capacity. The mission of all concerned is clear—to provide a trained, ready Reserve for quick mobilization in the event of a national emergency.

For years there has existed between the Regular Army and the reservists a certain amount of animosity as the Regulars were inclined to look upon the part-time civilian soldier with disdain. To the Regular Army people charged with the success of the Reserve program the integration of mind and spirit between the Regulars and the reservists for the accomplishment of any given mission has presented a great challenge. It is not unreasonable to believe that the entire success of our military security depends on how well this challenge is met.

The 21st Corps Commander's Small Arms Tournament afforded, among other things, an excellent opportunity to measure the tremendous progress that has been made in welding the Regulars and reservists into one Army and to gage the relatively newly acquired prestige of the Reserve program.

Col. Thomas Mifflin, the present Corps commander and a native Pennsylvanian, has been a tireless worker in behalf of the Reserves and took a personal and forceful interest in the corps tournament. Under his direction, the number of competitors participating in the various matches of the tournament has doubled in less than a year. At the tournament this fall there were 270 competitors and the western Pennsylvania sector commanded by Col. William Rossing, of which we are a part, sent the largest delegation.

One of the chief objectives of the tournament, from a training and economy standpoint, was to saddle the reservists with a maximum of responsibility for the entire operation and thus call for a minimum of help from the Regular Army. To this end the tournament was especially successful. Within the ranks of the Reserve can be found an almost endless variety of talents and abilities and the idea is to place the possessors of these things on active duty for a few days and let them run the show.

In some cases, of course, a few days' duty was not sufficient. It was necessary, for instance, to place a young Reserve captain from the engineers named John G. Koshak on duty for a period of 5 months prior to the actual shoot as the marksmanship coordinator. The success of the entire operation, which was to cost thousands of dollars and involve several hundred people, became his responsibility and he met it headon in excellent fashion.

Captain Koshak had several aces up his sleeve, however, for he knew that within the Corps area he could call on people like Lt. Col. James E. Bartgis, of Frederick, Md.; Lt. Col. Ellis Lea, of Falls Church, Va.; Chief Warrant Officer Floyd E. Kreh, of Frederick, Md.; Lt. Col. John H. Belles, now on duty at IGMR, and a host of eminently qualified enlisted personnel. Within the world of the small arms enthusiasts the names of these people are well known, and it is doubtful if their distinguished records of achievement can be bettered anywhere. The salient feature of this is, of course, that these people are reservists. It is my opinion that your tax dollar couldn't buy better hired hands if and when the balloon goes up, which is Army jargon for the outbreak of war.

It would be grossly unfair to praise the reservists to the exclusion of the Regular Army's part in this project. Let it suffice to say that the wholehearted cooperation of the regulars was a splendid indication that the Reserve program is succeeding, that the reservists are being accepted by the regulars as fellow members of a great team. Everyone, from cooks to generals, went out of his way to be helpful to the 21st Corps reservists. The special rifle and pistol instruction supplied by personnel of the Second Army advanced marksmanship unit was the acme of professional perfection, and was in itself worthy of the time and trouble of the whole tournament.

It has been decreed that the Reserve program is here to stay. That it is succeeding in such fine fashion is about all we can ask.

La Salle Centennial, 1863–1963

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERMAN TOLL

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, I had the honor of being selected by Gov. David L. Lawrence, of Pennsylvania, as a member of the Governor's Committee for Development and Expansion in connection with La Salle Centennial, 1863–1963. The committee included the leaders of the community in the fields of business, the professions, civic, religious, and political life.

Among those who attended were the Honorable WILLIAM J. GREEN, JR., Member of Congress and chairman of the Democratic City Committee of Philadelphia, the Honorable James H. J. Tate, president of the City Council of Philadelphia, the Honorable Gerald A. Gleeson, judge of the court of common pleas No. 7 of Philadelphia and other members of the committee prominent in government, law, medicine, and the clergy.

La Salle is an outstanding educational institution located in my district and is contributing to the culture of our country by turning out well educated and well prepared graduates. The chairman of the evening was Commissioner Randolph E. Wise, of Philadelphia, and the meeting

was also addressed by Brother Daniel Bernian, F.S.C., the President of La Salle College.

The Governor of Pennsylvania is the general chairman of the La Salle Centenary Fund. His talk was so timely, so inspiring and so appropriate that I present same herewith for consideration of the Members of the House. Remarks of responsible leaders of the country on the problem of educational facilities should receive the careful attention of all students of government.

REMARKS BY GOV. DAVID L. LAWRENCE, CENTENARY FUND COMMITTEE MEETING, STUDENT UNION BUILDING, LASALLE COLLEGE, PHILADELPHIA

Last March 7, I was pleased to come to LaSalle for a father-son night, and it was a most enjoyable event. A man who never went to college has missed, I am sure, much of the spirit which campus life adds to the hearts of young people. He has no school he can boast about; no camaraderie for later days when older men exaggerate their youthful adventure.

But if he has a son who goes to college, it makes up for this lack of personal memories. The son's school becomes his school; he reads of its victories and losses with personal feeling; he is elated at the progress he sees in what he considers—now—his college.

If there is a school which I can claim as my own, it is LaSalle; a distinct part of me is very much here in the person of my son. It was, then, no problem for me to accept the chairmanship of LaSalle's centenary fund. I am proud of what the Christian Brothers are doing here for my boy and perhaps yours.

Therefore, whatever I can do in their behalf, I must do—as must all who understand the complete and unselfish personal effort of LaSalle's faculty and administration.

There is much concern at large today on the future of education—higher education, specifically. As I review in my mind the host of really great American colleges and universities in Pennsylvania, I realize we are too great—too firmly rooted in a rich intellectual past—to be actually fearful of what may be ahead.

Few States in the Nation—indeed few nations of the world—are so uniquely blessed with institutions of higher learning.

They range from the sprawling might of Pennsylvania State University, to urban-packed LaSalle, to the simple, pious campus of Messiah College, near Harrisburg. Some are vigorously energetic; others cultivate the virtues of meditation. All are a part of Pennsylvania's greatness.

Like many others in government, I must be deeply concerned about the demands that will be placed on these institutions in the next 10 or 20 years. The raising population, plus the growing economic and cultural needs for a college education, will test our mettle as no other set of conditions since the end of World War II. And unlike that, it will be a permanent test—from this point on, never ending.

But, I know that the Commonwealth—and I know that you—can meet every educational demand put upon us.

Pennsylvania is meeting the problem head-on right now, just as you at LaSalle are preparing to meet that problem with the LaSalle Centenary Fund. No fewer than 60 privately endowed Pennsylvania colleges have already undertaken to build $600 million in new dormitories, classrooms, and similar facilities.

Since the fall of 1958, our colleges and universities have absorbed an additional 15,000 new students with no visible cracking at the seams.

But here is the rub: By 1961 the colleges must be able to absorb an anticipated 25,000 more students than today; and by 1964, another 35,000 more beyond that. And so, progressively, until we find that by 1969 there will be well over 100,000 more young adults seeking a place in a Pennsylvania college or university.

There are two answers to this problem. The first: Simply don't accept them.

The second: To make every reasonable effort to give them what they seek. In the past few years in State government, we have made a great effort to increase the facilities of our State teachers colleges. We have bought additional lands, looking forward to a tripled enrollment by 1970. We are in the midst of the greatest building program of secondary schools and teachers' colleges of any State in the Nation.

And we have fought for the establishment of a system of community colleges—junior colleges with a 2-year course—which could, in the long run, alleviate the overcrowded conditions which are bound to exist in the future.

Community colleges will not only add to the prestige of our existing colleges and universities; they will also screen out the poorer students and identify the better ones. They will provide terminal education for the technicians who are in such great demand; and they will permit the colleges and universities to raise their own admission standards, and to concentrate on the upper level courses—with all that this means for improved education in Pennsylvania.

To go further, I sincerely believe that Pennsylvania cannot long resist creating a program of scholarship loans for students, who should go to college and who want to continue their education, but who lack the resources needed to pay for training which would be of such benefit to them and to our society.

A program of individual assistance in which the State participates with the schools and other groups—Federal and private—would round out a realistic plan for higher education in Pennsylvania.

I am convinced that Pennsylvania, with its abundance of facilities and its wealth of academic heritage has a remarkable opportunity to develop a vigorous and wise program for higher education. It would recognize the great merit of independent institutions like La Salle, while at the same time accepting the public responsibility for higher education which cannot be ignored or denied.

To ignore or deny education to anyone—regardless of economic status—would be to deny the premise established by John Baptist de la Salle—that education was the province of the many and not the few—of the deserving poor as well as the rich.

You have been true to La Salle's concept to "teach the poor gratuitously." In building the centenary fund you will continue this concept. You have consistently maintained modest tuition fees. Yet your faculty and teaching staffs are great ones—if the success of your alumni is any criterion.

What you lack are facilities. The existing buildings are overtaxed by both your daily and your evening schools.

It was a president of Princeton, I believe, who bemoaned the fact that "if you were to throw a brick through the windows of one of our hallowed halls in the late afternoon, no one would be disturbed at all."

To do so at La Salle would be to endanger up to 2,000 diligent day students. Indeed, to do so at 9 in the evening would cause harm, for another 2,000 who are using the facilities at that late hour.

Were this not true—if you were not providing education in every square inch of your facilities at all hours—the problem would not be so great.

But La Salle is filling that great void which exists in America today in adult education. As proof, I refer any of you to the dozens of Philadelphia companies and industries which are dependent on La Salle for the development of their employees at this college's evening schools.

One cannot help being impressed with the effort here at La Salle—or at nearby Temple University—to provide education for our adults in evening classes. Both institutions are taxed to their limits.

I was at Temple Monday and recalled the high hopes of the early reformers for the intellectual era that a shorter working day—and more leisure time—would bring. They envisioned libraries rising on every village square. Symphony orchestras, forensic societies, repertoire theaters, literary groups and art museums would spring up, they said, and America would take on an intellectual attitude unsurpassed in history.

But leisure has not proved an intellectual stimulant, too often it is a sedative, an inducement to mental vacuity, rather than mental energy.

Radio, television, and movies provide a great entertainment, but not learning. They have tried, to be sure—but I am afraid that a forensic battle between Jack Paar and Mickey Rooney will never replace the Lincoln-Douglas debates. Our problems are then, to educate the masses of our youth—and masses they will be in the next few years—for future responsibility. Our problem, also, is to expand intellectual opportunities for adults—politically, scientifically, and historically updating them to the present. For, at this point in our history, only 3 percent of the people between 25 and 65 years of age are actively studying and learning.

To get an idea of La Salle's great contribution to this need, remember that more than half its students are evening students, many of them in the adult area. La Salle, indeed, is doing more than its share; and it is typical of the Christian Brothers to attempt to do even more.

To meet the need, this college has established the Centenary Fund and I am honored to be its campaign chairman.

John Baptist de La Salle espoused education for the many. Unlike many contemplative and saintly men, he was also a practical man. He felt that quantity was equally as important as quality—that the masses were entitled to education.

Today, this college, founded on principles set down by the patron saint of all teachers, is at the crossroads.

It has willingly assumed its share of the immense burden falling on higher education. Yet it can no longer provide effectively for its enrollment—or the doubled enrollment of the near future—without improving and increasing its facilities.

The Christian Brothers have provided high school, college, and community junior college—taxing La Salle's facilities beyond its limits.

This great fount of education is at the point where it can advance and continue its great work only with the cooperation and assistance of those who benefit from its teaching—either as students, as graduates, as parents, or as potential employers. With the rising costs of education, which cannot be matched by commensurate increase in tuition, your support is absolutely necessary.

I ask you to join me in fulfilling the duty which we, collectively, have to La Salle. Together, we will see the fruition of our efforts—in the buildings and the chapel which will someday grace this campus, and which will provide to the world not only the scientists so vitally needed in this age, but the scholars who will assume the future teaching burdens of the Christian Brothers.

Those burdens are many. But the opportunity will be assured if the Centenary Fund is successful.

With your help and your efforts, and with God's blessing, it will be done.

New York State Banking Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, in the forthcoming session of the New York State Legislature, efforts will again be made by a few giant New York City banks to amend the State banking law so as to eliminate the State branch bank district lines that have safeguarded competitive independent banking in this State.

A concurrent effort will be made by the same group to prevent the New York Legislature from continuing the legislative freeze on bank holding company expansion within the State.

For your information I have prepared a statement on this subject. The statement demonstrates that if independent banking, through the competition of numerous small unit banks, is to be preserved in New York State and a monopoly in banking avoided, we must assure, one, that the present branch bank district lines are not changed; and, two, that the current freeze against the expansion of bank holding company operations is continued. I do hope that you will find this statement helpful in your consideration of this most important problem.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE EMANUEL CELLER, CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ON PROPOSED CHANGE IN NEW YORK STATE BANKING LAWS

In recent years the giant New York City banks annually have sought to amend the law and eliminate the State branch bank district lines that have safeguarded competitive independent banking in this State. Every year these big city banks have sought, thus far unsuccessfully, authority to extend their dominion over all of the New York State banking business. They try to do this either through vastly expanded branch banking operations, or, in the alternative, through the use of the bank holding company device to operate by means of a multitude of subsidiaries throughout the State.

It is certain that their efforts will be repeated in the coming session. Both Governor Rockefeller and his assistant, G. Russell Clark, the State superintendent of banks, announced shortly after the State senate rejected on March 24, 1959, last year's omnibus bank bill, that bank legislation would be given first priority.

Another aspect in the banking picture is equally important. The current freeze on bank holding company expansion, which the New York Legislature has imposed since January 29, 1957, is due to expire on February 14, 1960. If nothing is done, if prompt action is not taken, the large New York City banks will be in a position, through the holding company device, to swallow up all of the little banks in the State.

In my considered judgment continuation of independent banking in New York State is dependent upon (1) the defeat of any bill that would change the present State branch district lines, and (2) the passage of a bill that would extend the current legislative freeze on bank holding company expansion.

BRANCH BANK DISTRICT LINES

The banking system of New York State traditionally has relied for its vitality on vigorous competition by a multitude of independent banks, locally organized, locally financed, and locally managed. Nevertheless, there has been in recent years a discernible trend in New York State toward concentration of the banking business into fewer and larger hands. Indeed, in New York City, the four largest banks now control over 60 percent of all commercial bank assets. What is more, the two largest—Chase Manhattan and First National City—control almost 42 percent of the city's banking assets.

Present statutory branch bank district lines were drawn in 1934 in the shadow of the bank holiday in order to arrest undue concentration of banking facilities. The single most important reason for such geographical restrictions was to prevent banks with head offices in New York City from establishing branches in the suburban counties of Westchester, Nassau, and Suffolk and thus to protect independent unit banks outside of New York City from the encroachment of the giant money market institutions located in the city.

In addition, it was felt that control and ownership would not and could not meet the needs of the community as efficiently as locally owned and operated banks. This is as true today as it was in 1934 when the branch bank district lines were first established.

Owing to the increase in concentration among the city's banking institutions in the past 20 years, it is even more important now to guard against the encroachment that the big banks desire. There seems to be little doubt that if giant banks in New York City are allowed to penetrate into the suburban areas, the small unit banks there would be placed in far greater jeopardy. For one thing, their means of competing would be hardly comparable to those available to their huge city rivals. Indeed, to suppose that entry by the giant financial institutions of New York City into the suburban areas might have no adverse competitive effect on the independent banks located in these areas is to suppose that a chicken could dance with an elephant and come out unharmed. With the present district line obliterated, the suburban banking communities would soon be transformed into an area overwhelmingly dominated by a few large city institutions.

Last year the legislature rejected the omnibus bank bill which would have obliterated the branch bank district lines between New York City and the outlying suburban areas of Nassau, Suffolk, and Westchester Counties. This change would have permitted branch bank expansion throughout the entire new district. It is essential that we assure that this type of legislation or some similar legislation does not get enacted during the next session of the State legislature.

EXPANSION OF BANK HOLDING COMPANIES

State branch bank district lines can also be circumvented and their safeguards against banking monopoly destroyed through the use of the bank holding company device. Geographic limitations can be avoided by the simple expedient of forming a holding company to acquire control of banks throughout a State without regard to district lines.

This whole issue of holding company circumvention of branch lines came dramatically to life in New York State when the First National City Bank applied to the Federal Reserve Board for permission to form the largest bank holding company in the Nation. Initial objective of First National City was to acquire control of the County Trust Co., of White Plains, N.Y., the dominant commercial bank in Westchester County, and thus pierce the branch line separating New York City and Westchester. In short, through the device of forming a holding company, the same management which was restricted in its operation under a bank charter to New York City, sought to acquire a unit bank in another district, operate it in the same manner a branch would be operated, and flout the expressed will of the legislative body of New York State regarding the establishment of banks. Moreover, there was every prospect that the First National City Bank plan would initiate a chain reaction until ultimately a handful of giant New York City banks, through the holding company device, would be in control of nearly every sizable bank in the State of New York. Success of the plan would have meant that the day of independent unit and regional banking would have passed and that money and credit in New York State would be largely controlled by a few gigantic banking institutions.

For these reasons, I testified at length before the Federal Reserve Board calling attention to the alarming competitive consequencies of the proposal. You will recall that the Federal Reserve Board after hearing exhaustive testimony on this propoasl by all affected parties, concluded that approval of such transaction would be detrimental to competition and contrary to public interest.

In addition, I testified in the early part of January 1957 before the State of New York Joint Legislative Committee To Revise the Banking Laws and pointed out the necessity of amending the State's banking laws to prohibit any bank holding company from acquiring in the future any bank located outside the district prescribed for branch banks.

It is gratifying that Governor Harriman and the New York Legislature recognized the threat to the State banking structure implied in the First National City plan. This was evidenced by adoption on January 29, 1957, of stopgap legislation, effective until May 1, 1957, prohibiting any bank holding company from acquiring a bank located outside the branch banking district. It has been reaffirmed by subsequent legislative approval of measures extending this legislation until February 16, 1960.

It must be remembered that the proposal to expand bank holding company operation seeks to employ an ingenious device to accomplish indirectly that which is prohibited by the State in establishing branch district lines. It thus effectively dissolves bank district lines.

It is my view that practically speaking a holding company system is a substitute for a branch system and the difference between branch banks and subsidiary banks in a holding company system is a difference without a distinction. Bank holding company groups and branch banking systems both accomplish the same thing—the operation of a number of banking units under one control and management.

You will recall that the omnibus bank bill, which the legislature rejected last year, would have established two bank holding districts in the State, the first consisting of New York City, Long Island, and Westchester and Rockland Counties, the second of the balance of the State. That bill would have allowed a bank holding company to acquire banks anywhere within the district. Beyond that the bill would have permitted a holding company formed by a bank in the second district to acquire banks in the first district if the first district banks constituted 45 percent or less of the holding company's total assets.

If the State legislature had ratified this bill, as Governor Harriman previously had stated, on November 20, 1956, there would have been "ignited what may be the greatest chain reaction in recent banking history"

the effects of which "will go to the very roots of the entire banking structure of New York State" with the "distinct possibility" of "concentration of banking assets in the hands of a few institutions."

In his comments on a holding company proposal similar to the one in the omnibus bank bill, Mr. George A. Mooney, the former superintendent of banks of the State of New York, had this to say on December 12, 1956:

"The very existence of a number of large bank holding companies would create competition amongst them for future expansion in other communities. If the many unit banks found it impossible to resist the holding company movement, we could expect in short order a heavy concentration of banking assets, facilities, and credit in a handful of giant statewide bank holding company systems."

The argument has been advanced that if future bank holding company expansions are to be limited to branch district lines, the effect would be to create a monopoly for the Marine Midland banking system. I am not aware that this system constitutes a serious threat to the competitive banking system of New York. But if this is, or even threatens to be the case, legislation limiting bank holding company acquisition to branch districts, could well be made applicable to the existing Marine Midland system.

The fact that no such suggestion has been made gives rise to the conclusion that existence of the Marine Midland group is seized upon as an excuse for permitting statewide expansion of banks through the holding company device. Moreover, the problem raised is not a new one by any means. Congress was faced with an essentially similar problem in connection with a provision in the bank holding company bill prohibiting future interstate expansion by bank holding groups. The Act as adopted, you will recall, does not affect interstate acquisition of banks by holding companies which were completed prior to the Act's passage. Therefore, a bank holding company's interstate status, accomplished prior to the act's adoption, is frozen.

To follow the rationale advanced here to its logical conclusion, once a company obtains dominance, no action of any kind should be taken against other companies which attempt to obtain similar monopoly status. If this contention were to be followed by the Congress, no action would have been taken in December 1950 to adopt the Celler-Kefauver Anti-Merger Act, which you will recall, amends section 7 of the Clayton Act to forbid corporate mergers, regardless of how accomplished, where the effect may be substantially to lessen competition or tend to create a monopoly. And if this contention were to be followed, the Federal Government would have taken no action to prevent the Bethlehem-Youngstown merger on the basis that the United States Steel Corp. has assets exceeding the combined assets of the merging companies.

It may also be noted that a number of States, including Illinois and Georgia, have enacted legislation recently, prohibiting bank holding company groups from acquiring 15 percent or more of the voting stock of each of two or more banks. Again, such legislation does not apply to stock of bank holding companies acquired prior to passage of the measure.

It has also been contended that unless bank holding companies are permitted to expand on a statewide basis, the hands of supervisory authorities would be tied in any future period of economic decline. It is stated that if weak points in the banking structure developed in a district in which there was no bank strong enough to acquire the failing institution, the supervisor would not be able to call in a holding company from another district.

What must be recognized is that the situation today is entirely unlike that which existed during the last bank depression. Today, the FDIC Act and other measures adopted in the middle or late 1930's, serve to insulate depositors from financial loss. In any event, if this is now a matter of serious concern, there is no reason why legislation limiting bank holding companies to the geographic area in which banks are permitted to operate branches, could not contain an exception so as to allow a holding company in appropriate cases to acquire a bank in another district, if this is necessary to save a failing institution. It is one thing to incorporate such an escape clause in legislation. It is quite another to seize upon the failing bank argument to justify statewide expansion of bank holding companies.

One final point needs comment. It has been contended by advocates for certain city banks that the Federal Bank Holding Company Act of 1956 has preempted the field and that there is no area for permissible State action in respect of bank holding companies. The argument, in short, is that continuation of the State freeze on bank holding company expansion is futile in light of the Federal statute. This, it is evident, is entirely fallacious.

The provisions of the Bank Holding Company Act coupled with its legislative history make it crystal clear that there has been reserved to the States wide latitude to adopt appropriate bank holding legislation. Thus, section 7 of the Bank Holding Company Act specifies that "the enactment by the Congress of the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956 shall not be construed as preventing any State from exercising such powers and jurisdiction which it now has or may hereafter have with respect to banks, bank holding companies, and subsidiries thereof."

I turn to legislative history which explains in detail what that section means. The report of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee [1] makes this comment:

"Another provision of this bill expressly preserves to the States a right to be more restrictive regarding the formation or operation of bank holding companies within their respective borders than the Federal authorities can be or are under this bill. Under such a grant of authority each State may, within the limits of its proper jurisdictional authority, be more severe on bank holding companies as a class than (1) this bill empowers the Federal authorities to be or (2) such Federal authorities actually are in their administration of the provisions of this bill. In the opinion of the committee this provision adequally safeguards States' rights as to bank holding companies."

Beyond that, Senator ROBERTSON, sponsor of the legislation in the Senate and chairman of the Banking and Currency Subcommittee which considered the measure, pointed out in Senate debate that "each State may * * * enact legislation to regulate bank holding companies." [2] As an example of the type of legislation States were empowered to enact, Senator ROBERTSON inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the text of a bank holding bill recently passed by the Georgia Legislature,[3] preventing any bank holding company incorporated under State law or doing business in the State, from acquiring 15 percent or more of the voting stock of each of two or more banks. Illinois enacted similar legislation.[4]

The decision of the Federal Reserve Board on July 10, 1958, denying the application of the First National City Bank to establish a holding company to acquire the County Trust Co. of Westchester, in nowise derogates from these conclusions. On the contrary, the Federal Reserve Board made it clear in its decision that it assumed the validity of the New York State freeze on bank holding company expansion. The Board ruled on the merits of the application holding that while the validity of the New York State statute freezing bank holding company expansion must be assumed, that statute was temporary in nature and there was not certainty that it would be further extended beyond its expiration date. The following excerpts from the opinion of the Federal Reserve Board in the First National City matter are relevant in this connection:

"The extent of the 'power and jurisdiction' of the States in the field of bank holding company regulation is, of course, not a matter for this Board's decision; nor may the Board undertake to determine whether the New York statute represents a valid exercise of that State's power. These are matters for determination by the courts. Unless and until a court of competent jurisdiction holds the New York statute to be invalid, the Board must asume its validity."

The foregoing makes it clear that the Federal Bank Holding Company Act in nowise precludes the New York State Legislature from continuing the present freeze on bank holding company expansion.

---

[1] S. Rept. No. 1095 (84th Cong., 1st sess.), p. 11. See also Senate hearings, p. 48; House hearings, p. 98.

[2] CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Apr. 23, 1956, p. 6043.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Mississippi outlaws bank holding companies while Vermont bars any corporation whose primary business is the holding of stock in other corporations. Wisconsin law provides that any corporation controlling a majority of stock in a State bank is to be deemed engaged in the business of banking and subject to supervision of the State banking department.

Footnotes at end of speech.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

REPRESENTATIVES WITH RESIDENCES IN WASHINGTON

OFFICE ADDRESS: House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

[Streets northwest unless otherwise stated]

Speaker, Sam Rayburn

Abbitt, Watkins M., *Va.*
Abernethy, Thomas G., *Miss.* 6278 29th St.
Adair, E. Ross, *Ind.* 4000 Mass. Ave.
Addonizio, Hugh J., *N. J.*
Albert, Carl, *Okla.* 5115 Allen Terrace
Alexander, Hugh Q., *N. C.*
Alford, Dale, *Ark.*
Alger, Bruce, *Tex.*
Allen, Leo E., *Ill.* University Club
Andersen, H. Carl, *Minn.* 4000 Mass. Ave.
Anderson, LeRoy H., *Mont.* 911 Beverly Dr., Alexandria, Va.
Andrews, George W., *Ala.* 3108 Cathedral Ave.
Anfuso, Victor L., *N. Y.*
Arends, Leslie C., *Ill.* 4815 Dexter St.
Ashley, Thomas L., *Ohio*
Ashmore, Robert T., *S. C.*
Aspinall, Wayne N., *Colo.* Arlington Towers, Arlington, Va.
Auchincloss, James C., *N. J.* 113 S. Lee St., Alexandria, Va.
Avery, William H., *Kans.*
Ayres, William H., *Ohio*
Bailey, Cleveland M., *W. Va.*
Baker, Howard H., *Tenn.*
Baldwin, John F., Jr., *Calif.*
Barden, Graham A., *N. C.* 2601 Woodley Pl.
Baring, Walter S., *Nev.*
Barr, Joseph W., *Ind.* Tulip Lane and Glen Mill Rd., Rockville Md.
Barrett, William A., *Pa.*
Barry, Robert R., *N. Y.* 3019 Normanstone Drive
Bass, Perkins, *N. H.*
Bass, Ross, *Tenn.*
Bates, William H., *Mass.*
Baumhart, A. D., Jr., *Ohio*
Becker, Frank J., *N. Y.*
Beckworth, Lindley, *Tex.*
Belcher, Page, *Okla.*
Bennett, Charles E., *Fla.* 1530 38th St. SE.
Bennett, John B., *Mich.* 3718 Cardiff Rd., Chevy Chase, Md.
Bentley, Alvin M., *Mich.*
Berry, E. Y., *S. Dak.* 118 Schotts Court NE.
Betts, Jackson E., *Ohio*
Blatnik, John A., *Minn.*
Blitch, Iris Faircloth, (Mrs.), *Ga.*
Boggs, Hale, *La.*
Boland, Edward P., *Mass.*
Bolling, Richard, *Mo.* 3409 Lowell St.
Bolton, Frances P. (Mrs.), *Ohio.* 2301 Wyo. Ave.
Bonner, Herbert C., *N. C.* Calvert-Woodley
Bosch, Albert H., *N. Y.*
Bow, Frank T., *Ohio.* 4301 Mass. Ave.
Bowles, Chester, *Conn.*
Boykin, Frank W., *Ala.* The Washington
Brademas, John, *Ind.*
Bray, William G., *Ind.*
Breeding, J. Floyd, *Kans.*
Brewster, Daniel B., *Md.*
Brock, Lawrence, *Nebr.*
Brooks, Jack, *Tex.*
Brooks, Overton, *La.* 4413 46th St.
Broomfield, William S., *Mich.*
Brown, Charles H., *Mo.* 3723 N. Oakland St., Arlington, Va.
Brown, Clarence J., *Ohio.* Alban Towers
Brown, Paul, *Ga.* Boston House
Broyhill, Joel T., *Va.*
Buckley, Charles A., *N. Y.*
Budge, Hamer H., *Idaho*
Burdick, Quentin, *N. Dak.*
Burke, Frank W., *Ky.*
Burke, James A., *Mass.*
Burleson, Omar, *Tex.* 2737 Devonshire Pl.
Byrne, James A., *Pa.*
Byrnes, John W., *Wis.* 1215 25th St. So., Arlington, Va.
Cahill, William T., *N. J.*
Canfield, Gordon, *N. J.*
Cannon, Clarence, *Mo.*
Carnahan, A. S. J., *Mo.*
Casey, Bob, *Tex.*
Cederberg, Elford A., *Mich.*
Celler, Emanuel, *N. Y.* The Mayflower
Chamberlain, Charles E., *Mich.*
Chelf, Frank, *Ky.*
Chenoweth, J. Edgar, *Colo.*
Chiperfield, Robert B., *Ill.* 1713 House Office Building
Church, Marguerite Stitt (Mrs.), *Ill.* 2122 Mass. Ave.
Clark, Frank M., *Pa.* 3735 Gunston Rd., Alexandria, Va.
Coad, Merwin, *Iowa.*
Coffin, Frank M., *Maine*
Cohelan, Jeffery, *Calif.* 5708 Nevada Ave.
Collier, Harold R., *Ill.*
Colmer, William M., *Miss.*
Conte, Silvio O., *Mass.*
Cook, Robert E., *Ohio.*
Cooley, Harold D., *N. C.* 2480 16th St.
Corbett, Robert J., *Pa.*
Cramer, William C., *Fla.* 6714 Joallen Dr., Falls Church, Va.
Cunningham, Glenn, *Nebr.* 4920 Yorktown Blvd., Arlington Va.
Curtin, Willard S., *Pa.*
Curtis, Laurence, *Mass.* 3314 O St.
Curtis, Thomas B., *Mo.*
Daddario, Emilio Q., *Conn.*
Dague, Paul B., *Pa.*
Daniels, Dominick V., *N. J.*
Davis, Clifford, *Tenn.* 4611 Butterworth Pl.
Davis, James C., *Ga.*
Dawson, William L., *Ill.*
Delaney, James J., *N. Y.*
Dent, John H., *Pa.*
Denton, Winfield K., *Ind.*
Derounian, Steven B., *N. Y.*
Derwinski, Edward J., *Ill.*
Devine, Samuel L., *Ohio*
Diggs, Charles C., Jr., *Mich.*
Dingell, John D., *Mich.*
Dixon, Henry Aldous, *Utah.* 1817 N. Quinn St., Arlington, Va.
Donohue, Harold D., *Mass.*
Dooley, Edwin B., *N. Y.*
Dorn, Francis E., *N. Y.*
Dorn, W. J. Bryan, *S. C.*
Dowdy, John, *Tex.*
Downing, Thomas N., *Va.*
Doyle, Clyde, *Calif.* 3877 30th St. N., Arlington, Va.
Dulski, Thaddeus J., *N. Y.*
Durham, Carl T., *N. C.* The Lee House
Dwyer, Florence P. (Mrs.), *N. J.*
Edmondson, Ed, *Okla.*
Elliott, Carl, *Ala.*
Everett, Robert A., *Tenn.*
Evins, Joe L., *Tenn.* 5044 Klingle St.
Fallon, George H., *Md.*
Farbstein, Leonard, *N. Y.*
Fascell, Dante B., *Fla.*
Feighan, Michael A., *Ohio.*
Fenton, Ivor D., *Pa.* 3725 Macomb St.
Fino, Paul A., *N. Y.*
Fisher, O. C., *Tex.* Calvert-Woodley
Flood, Daniel J., *Pa.* The Congressional
Flynn, Gerald T., *Wis.*
Flynt, John J., Jr., *Ga.*
Fogarty, John E., *R. I.* 1133 House Office Building
Foley, John R., *Md.*
Forand, Aime J., *R. I.* 4108 Dresden St., Kensington, Md.
Ford, Gerald R., Jr., *Mich.* 514 Crown View Dr., Alexandria, Va.
Forrester, E. L., *Ga.*
Fountain, L. H., *N. C.* The Westchester
Frazier, James B., Jr., *Tenn.* Fairfax Hotel
Frelinghuysen, Peter, Jr., *N. J.* 3014 N St.
Friedel, Samuel N., *Md.*
Fulton, James G., *Pa.*
Gallagher, Cornelius E., *N. J.*
Garmatz, Edward A., *Md.*
Gary, J. Vaughan, *Va.*
Gathings, E. C., *Ark.* 6377 31st Pl.
Gavin, Leon H., *Pa.*
George, Newell A., *Kans.*
Giaimo, Robert N., *Conn.*
Glenn, Milton W., *N. J.* Arlington Towers, Arlington, Va.
Goodell, Charles E., *N. Y.*
Granahan, Kathryn E. (Mrs.), *Pa.*
Grant, George M., *Ala.* 4801 Conn. Ave.
Gray, Kenneth J., *Ill.*
Green, Edith (Mrs.), *Oreg.*
Green, William J., Jr., *Pa.*
Griffin, Robert P., *Mich.*
Griffiths, Martha W. (Mrs.), *Mich.*
Gross, H. R., *Iowa.*
Gubser, Charles S., *Calif.*
Hagen, Harlan, *Calif.*
Haley, James A., *Fla.*
Hall, David M., *N. C.*
Halleck, Charles A., *Ind.* 4926 Upton St.
Halpern, Seymour, *N. Y.*
Hardy, Porter, Jr., *Va.*
Hargis, Denver D., *Kans.*
Harmon, Randall S., *Ind.*
Harris, Oren, *Ark.* 1627 Myrtle St.
Harrison, Burr P., *Va.*
Hays, Wayne L., *Ohio.* 1323 Barger Drive, Falls Church, Va.
Healey, James C., *N. Y.*
Hébert, F. Edward, *La.* 26 Cockrell St., Alexandria, Va.
Hechler, Ken, *W. Va.*
Hemphill, Robert W., *S. C.*
Henderson, John E., *Ohio.*
Herlong, A. S., Jr., *Fla.*
Hess, William E., *Ohio.*
Hiestand, Edgar W., *Calif.*
Hoeven, Charles B., *Iowa.* 100 Maryland Ave. NE.
Hoffman, Clare E., *Mich.* 100 Maryland Ave. NE.
Hoffman, Elmer J., *Ill.*
Hogan, Earl, *Ind.* 5211 Flanders Ave., Garrett Pk., Kensington, Md.
Holifield, Chet, *Calif.*
Holland, Elmer J., *Pa.*
Holt, Joe, *Calif.*
Holtzman, Lester, *N. Y.*
Horan, Walt, *Wash.*
Hosmer, Craig, *Calif.*
Huddleston, George, Jr., *Ala.*
Hull, W. R., Jr., *Mo.*
Ikard, Frank, *Tex.*
Inouye, Daniel K., *Hawaii.*
Irwin, Donald J., *Conn.* The Coronet
Jackson, Donald L., *Calif.*
Jarman, John, *Okla.*
Jennings, W. Pat, *Va.*
Jensen, Ben F., *Iowa.* 2120 16th St.
Johansen, August E., *Mich.*
Johnson, Byron L., *Colo.*
Johnson, Harold T., *Calif.*
Johnson, Lester R., *Wis.*
Johnson, Thomas F., *Md.*
Jonas, Charles Raper, *N. C.*
Jones, Paul C., *Mo.* 1111 Army Navy Dr., Arlington, Va.
Jones, Robert E., *Ala.*
Judd, Walter H., *Minn.* 3083 Ordway St.
Karsten, Frank M., *Mo.*
Karth, Joseph E., *Minn.*
Kasem, George A., *Calif.*
Kastenmeier, Robert W., *Wis.*
Kearns, Carroll D., *Pa.*
Kee, Elizabeth (Mrs.), *W. Va.* Albemarle House, 4501 Conn. Ave.
Keith, Hastings, *Mass.*
Kelly, Edna F. (Mrs.), *N. Y.*
Keogh, Eugene J., *N. Y.* The Mayflower
Kilburn, Clarence E., *N. Y.*
Kilday, Paul J., *Tex.* 3507 Albemarle St.
Kilgore, Joe M., *Tex.* 4848 Upton St.
King, Cecil R., *Calif.*
King, David S., *Utah.*
Kirwan, Michael J., *Ohio.*
Kitchin, A. Paul, *N. C.*
Kluczynski, John C., *Ill.*
Knox, Victor A., *Mich.*
Kowalski, Frank, *Conn.*
Kyl, John, *Iowa.*
Lafore, John A., Jr., *Pa.*
Laird, Melvin R., *Wis.*
Landrum, Phil M., *Ga.*

Appendix

Tribute to Senator Lister Hill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. MIKE MANSFIELD

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, in the November 1959 issue of Harper's magazine there appears a brilliant article by an excellent writer about an outstanding Member of the Senate. I refer to the article by William S. White entitled "Medicine Man From Alabama." It concerns our distinguished colleague, the esteemed Senator from Alabama [Mr. HILL] and what he has done for the Nation's citizens by his quiet, intelligent, and persuasive legislative leadership in the field of health. Mr. White's article is an excellent tribute to the Senator from Alabama. It is a tribute in which, I am sure, Members of the Senate and millions of Americans who have benefited from his labors are happy to join. I ask unanimous consent that the article by Mr. White be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MEDICINE MAN FROM ALABAMA

(By William S. White)

WASHINGTON.—It is an undeniable fact that LISTER HILL comes from the Deep South. Once you have said that about a man, many people seem to feel that you have said everything—all of it unappealing.

So I may be writing only for practice in trying to suggest that there is something else that needs to be said about Senator HILL, of Alabama. All the same, it is worth a trial; maybe somebody here and there will listen.

For countless millions owe their health to this spare, tall, gray-faced Alabaman, and thousands even owe their lives. He has done more for the public's health than any American in history. A master politician, he has accomplished all this because he is aware of the following:

(1) That certain public welfare matters are too important for the playing of strictly ordinary politics. (Though he plays good, pragmatic politics in this field within these limitations.)

(2) That meaningful reform is too important to be left to the reformers, whose moistly excessive good will and innocence of commonsense have so often paved that well-known road to hell.

(3) That medicine in bulk is too important to be left to the too-relaxed attentions of the American Medical Association.

HILL, that is to say, is a rare, walking compendium of practical and intuitive skills of a special kind. These he applies with devotion—but with an unterrified sense of humor—to a peculiarly sensitive place in public affairs. This is the point where the area of public health joins the political interests of men who are placed (like himself) in the hard framework of political realities.

Considering certain intractable facts of life, including the fact that conservatives control most of the powerful committee posts in Congress, LISTER HILL is the indispensable man. He makes welfare innovations—even those which may look awfully like "socialized medicine"—politically respectable and, far more important, politically viable. A hundred times and more in his long career, he has caused the U.S. Government to play a genuine (and ever-increasing) part in the war against disease of all kinds. (More or less with his left hand he has done much, too, for both education and public power; but these have been mere subsidiary efforts.)

You do not pass the clutch of expensive health bills that HILL has shepherded through Congress simply by being aware that there is great need among the sick and the suffering. You do not pass them merely by proclaiming your liberalism. You pass them only if, first of all, you truly know your profession (politics) and your troops (your colleague). In the second place, you maintain the requisite alliances of convenience and necessity with other legislators, who have other dominant interests and other itching backs to be scratched.

In the third place, you must so conduct yourself over a long and painful period as to convince other men—who, after all, have their own designs upon the Federal Treasury—that you will never call upon them to support programs that are (a) demontrably extreme and silly or (b) demonstrably destructive to a politician's natural hope of reelection. All this is peculiarly true in taking the lead for social legislation, for the idealists who are most interested in it often tend to look down their noses at crass political motives.

What you require to be so effective as HILL for years has been, as the untitled leader for the public's health, is to be wisely obsessed with your mandate and flexible enough to carry on a prolonged, genial conspiracy to push that mandate through. It also helps, of course, to be in the right places of power at the right times. HILL is not merely chairman of the large and quarrelsome entity known as the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. He is also—and not by accident—head of the Appropriations Subcommittee that must in the end allocate the hundreds of millions of dollars annually dished out to programs first approved, as to policy, by Chairman HILL under his labor and public welfare hat. If one is in charge of recommending a project it does no harm to the cause if he is also in charge of whatever outfit must provide the money.

In his early days in the House of Representatives, HILL's legislative interest was principally in the armed services; he was long an active member of the old House Military Affairs Committee. A hangover of that period is still with him. In moments of joviality (and these are rather overpowering in decibel count, for HILL is at heart a quiet, sensitive man who sometimes feels obliged to go through the motions of the loud, extrovert politician) he will call a civilian friend "colonel," or, perhaps, "my favorite of all the field marshals."

The earnest and sometimes vindictive squabbles among the braid and brass for the congressional ear and funds long since ceased, however, to enchant him. Basically a man of constructive motives, he found military legislation no longer to his taste, and so turned his exertions elsewhere. Moreover, he has the rather special and perhaps somewhat exaggerated father-admiration of many of his age and class in the South. His father was a physician—as was, of course, the man whose last name was given to the Senator, Dr. Joseph Lister. Thus Senator LISTER HILL found himself required to justify both his own heritage and a Christian name that had come from a famous medico.

This sort of drive could have had very sticky results. It is dangerous to mix political operations and purposes—even those in aid of indisputably good objectives—with motives of any precious or strongly moral kind. HILL, by the grace of God and his own choice, is no Puritan or professional mankind saver, so he has entirely avoided the sugary approach.

He is a member in good standing of the Society of the Practical. And this is most fortunate for the country, for he has been intermittently pressed hard by various professional southerners who felt they would like to take away his Senate seat.

That this national disaster has not occurred—and it would be nothing less than that, in sober truth—is attributable primarily to HILL's ability to avoid confusing the theoretically desirable with the patently possible. He has never acted so as mortally to threaten either his own head or the heads of his friends.

He is, I believe, as truly liberal a man as sits in our national councils; for decades he has been performing liberally for the millions who need public help, while more frenetic liberals have been parading purposes that never reached performance. But he has never seceded from his home region, never righteously fouled the southern nest from which he sprang. He has, for example, remained in the Senate's unofficial but very real "southern caucus," and he has borne his filibuster burdens even when they were less than welcome to him. He has borne them as his duty and without apology. He is, however, at least one deep southerner whose continued service is manifestly needed by the whole country, even though the right-minded will surely say he is very wrong on civil rights.

This has not been an easy thing for him. For while northern liberal colleagues endlessly push at him from the leftward side, he is one of many courageous southern politicians who have had far more trouble fighting off the rightward side at home. Alabama politics has of late years sometimes seemed to be almost as determined as is the politics of South Carolina to retire from this century. It is amazing that HILL has survived in a State which has so yearned for the past. The "mules"—HILL's term for the wealthy political contributors who are in other areas called "fat-cats"—have been trying to beat him off and on for a long time, though with diminishing enthusiasm every time he comes up for reelection. So far as I can make out from Alabama friends he has accomplished the small miracle of political longevity simply because he is a virtuoso politician.

The fundamental characteristics of this odd and exclusive breed are the same in the Senate as on the stump down home—though of course different scenes require different tactics. In the scenes with which I

am reasonably familiar, the Senate scenes, HILL's behavior pattern (as his sociologist friends would call it) is deceptively simple. He never forgets that the real purpose of debate and maneuver is political action, and that successful action cannot be had unless one has enough votes or the means to scare up enough. Thus upon any of his enterprises—whether it be the providing of 4,000 hospitals and health centers in the country in a single bill or some comparatively small matter like increased cancer research—he does not move until he has counted up the prospective ballots. His rare floor speeches are urgent and thunderous; but of course even he himself pays no real attention to them. He actually works with a blander kind of power than the alleged persuasion of Senate oratory.

The nature of his legislative career has thrown him into perpetual contact with what are to most of Capitol Hill, a disturbingly alien folk, the earnest uplifters. These usually want much more than any politician could possibly get for them; and they want it much quicker than the physical law of politics could possibly allow. But, on the other side, the present administration often asks, in this field, for a good deal less than it really ought to have and is prepared to accept more delay than it really ought to contemplate.

HILL, therefore, sits at the confluence of these two main pressures—to go very far and too fast, or to go not far enough and too slow—and uses his southern vocal cords to spectacular advantage. His soft, lulling voice warms and calms the do-gooders in spite of themselves. They do know, after all, that his bona fides in welfare work is matchless and that when he tells them to slow down it is in their interest and not in his own. And this same voice, though now pitched in quite a different tone, jollies and hectors and spurs the overcautious administration people who would dearly love not to be so timid but are understandably afraid that the Budget men will get them if they don't watch out.

Once at a dinner party I heard Senator HILL operating in this way on an able young official of the Eisenhower Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in behalf of a medical bill. Congress under HILL's leadership had passed it over Presidential objection that it would cost too much.

"Now boy," boomed HILL, as he reached into his vest pocket for a ball point. "Now boy, you take this little ole pen and go down there to the White House and persuade your President to sign this little ole bill that we have got up to protect him in spite of himself. You just tell him this little ole bill won't hurt anybody. You just do that for me—and you can't tell * * * that Department of yours needs a lot of things, doesn't it, now? And I don't know why, but somehow or another those fellows up there in the Senate will listen pretty well to me sometimes when I am up there really trying to get the things you fellows down there really need."

This small, amiable offensive of nerves was conducted with the grace and charm of an old-fashioned gentleman complimenting a lady on her frock—and with the smiling touch of steel that a good politician can put even into a comment about the weather. My friend from the administration grinned wryly and a little nervously; he knew he had been just pinked by a powerful senatorial sword but he was left unclear as to just where the weapon had entered and how best to withdraw it to the advantage of his department and of himself.

At this point it might be well to heave in an armful of statistics. Senator HILL has been responsible for, among other things:

(1) The Hospital and Health Construction Act, which has brought new medical care to countless communities.

(2) Hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of research into cause, cure, and prevention of cancer, mental illness, heart disease, arthritis, rheumatism, and the other killing and crippling diseases.

(3) Training and education program for thousands of medical people.

(4) Preventive medicine all over the country in State and county units.

The last Congress alone enacted into law more than 20 "Hill bills" affecting the public health. These impressive data please but do not enchant HILL. Neither the odor of a thousand beloved hospitals nor the keen, inspiriting scent of the political chase is always in his nostrils. He is so serious underneath that he can be gay, almost flippant, on the outside. Even in his private conversation he is apt (with those he does not know well) to adopt rather the manner of Joel Chandler Harris speaking of the exploits of Uncle Remus.

This he does because of the immense, innate courtesy of his kind and generation. Most people will expect southern stories; by God, then, southern stories they shall have. But beneath all this agreeable nonsense, this social refusal ever to be solemn in a social occasion, is another man entirely: a deeply educated and cultivated mind; an awareness of the interests of the intellectual man; a special, even delicate, sense that every page in the unfolding book of history is every man's true and final concern.

Transport Revolution at the Last Frontier—the Thought Barrier

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, one of the outstanding business leaders of our country and particularly in the transportation business, is Morris Forgash, president of the United States Freight Co., the headquarters of which company is located in New York City. I have a profound respect for Mr. Forgash's views on any subject concerning our country. His views on the transportation problems and questions of our country are worthy of profound consideration. Not only because of his experience in this important field, as well as his ability, but because of his vision.

On October 13, 1959, at the annual convention of the National Defense Transportation Association, held in Seattle, Wash., Mr. Morris Forgash made an address entitled, "Transport Revolution at the Last Frontier—the Thought Barrier." The views of Mr. Forgash are worthy of profound consideration by everyone, particularly by those in the transportation field, as well as Government officials of all agencies of our Government, particularly those having jurisdiction over governmental transportation.

In my extension of remarks, I enclose the address made by Mr. Morris Forgash on October 13, 1959.

TRANSPORT REVOLUTION AT THE LAST FRONTIER—THE THOUGHT BARRIER

It is a pleasure to be with you and an honor to have a place on this impressive program of the 14th annual convention and logistics forum of the National Defense Transportation Association.

The theme of this convention is "Revolution in Transportation." Revolution is a comprehensive word. It means many things. It signifies change—and can mean blood-spilling revolt against the established order of things or progressive development resulting from wide acceptance of challengingly new and different concepts. Industrial revolutions generally are kindled by invention, discovery, or advancing technology, but the lasting benefits and long-range progress resulting therefrom depend entirely upon the extent to which we are willing, in our minds, to accept change. If we are unwilling to discard time-worn concepts and accept new ideas, such a revolution becomes only a struggle which dissipates our energies. Without mobility of the mind we would live in the good old days forever.

We have already demonstrated our awareness of the revolution in transportation. But without decision, continued leadership, and action we will neither make progress nor meet the defense necessity requirements which today challenge transportation as never before. The consequence of failure to face up to these responsibilities could be disaster, for in the words of Bernard Baruch, the only choice that America has today is the choice of the quick or the dead. Transportation lies at the center of this choice.

The oldest records of man, crudely done on the walls of ancient natural caves, include pictures of wheeled vehicles. The story of human progress, from then until now, is simply the saga of transportation. Transportation surely was revolutionized by that unnamed man who in the dim and unrecorded past carved or chiseled or molded the first wheel. But during all the centuries since the inventor of the wheel found an unmarked grave it was the men who adapted the wheel to new uses who changed the course of history.

In the entire spectrum of history—except for the tiny speck represented by the last 150 years—the only force for propelling people and goods about the globe was natural force, wind, and current—muscle and gravity. The revolutions which occurred with the ushering in of the mechanical age in the 19th century, and the multiple-media age in the 20th century, while based on invention, were years behind invention. They were revolutions in the ideas of man.

Steam propulsion was actually devised before the Christian era but the first steamboat was launched by Papin in 1707. The people were not even then ready for the idea and a mob destroyed the boat, almost killed Papin, and set steam navigation back another hundred years to Robert Fulton's *Clermont*.

The automobile was likewise delayed as a medium of transport for almost a hundred years by the "Red Flag" Act in England, which required all self-propelled vehicles to be preceded by a man carrying a red flag or lantern. The speed limit—4 miles per hour in the country and 2 in the city.

Col. John Stevens, with his almost fanatical belief in the future of railroading, kept fanning the flame of idea and concept in America for decades until the Revolution finally materialized and steel rails knitted together a wilderness. Rudolph Diesel made the first working model of his engine in 1897, but to other generations were left the perfection of idea and acceptance of the concept of dieselization.

The motor vehicle and the airplane completed a cycle in the development of trans-

port, and the second quarter of the 20th century found us with the basic transportation plant that we have today. For a long time now it has been the custom to refer to the rapid changes that took place in the structure of our system of transport, during the period roughly bounded by the two World Wars, as the revolution in transportation. Quite recently we have come to realize that we have been talking about yesterday's revolution and that it has literally and figuratively run out of steam. The time has come to put away the uniforms in which we captained the old revolution and, at our peril, to adjust our thinking to conditions which surround us in this, the year 1959.

The potter's clay of change is available in ever-increasing supply. It is for us to mold it to our will. Nuclear power, supersonic speeds, jet propulsion, cargo on a curtain of air. A hundred centuries and a hundred and fifty years. Maybe the next cycle will be completed in a decade. Will the wheel perish as a symbol of transport? A recent editorial in a responsible magazine asked this question and reported the facts which make the question both genuine and earnest.

At the threshold of what I am going to say about developments in the field of equipment and transport pricing, I ask another question: Are we about to witness the demise of the boxcar as the predominant symbol of freight movement? Just hold the question in your minds for a moment, if you will.

Thirteen hundred and fifty billion tonmiles of freight were handled in 1957 by rail, motor, inland waterway, pipeline, and airways, and each of the basic modes functioned almost in a world of its own. Each mode used, primarily, equipment peculiar to its own needs, with deplorable lack of standardization even within modes.

Each basic form of carriage has a means of locomotion, a road or way on which or in which to travel, and a carrying unit. And the only common denominator of these three is the carrying unit. We cannot, in the nature of things, have transport coordination until we perfect interchangeable equipment, for coordination depends on standardization. We found that out long ago when we had a multiplicity of widths of rail tracks in this country and by painful process inevitably came to a standard gage. We have done the same thing with light globes and screw threads. Why should it be thought strange, therefore, to talk about standardization in the transport container field? NDTA, in a sense, is masterminding this part of the revolution. It has submitted to the shipping and carrier public a "crash" program for containerization. Standardization is the central picture of that program.

THE SEEDS OF REVOLUTION

The container, its standardization, and the means of its interchangeability among modes of carriage will revolutionize transportation in this country. It sounds simple, stated that way, but involved are tough problems of engineering, of compromise of viewpoint, and of pricing new services based on radically new concepts. How shall we lick these problems?

Fortunately, the least of these is the engineering problem. We have the inventive and productive skill and ability in this country to produce anything that we agree upon and in any quantity. The elusive problems are the intangibles—the meeting of minds on basic standards—the acceptance of new ideas—the approval and acceptance of new pricing structures tailored to meet new and radically different concepts of service.

When we overcome these problems—and we must and will overcome them—we will reap the harvests of the greatest revolution in transportation in recent time. Let's look at what we of NDTA have done in tackling the various facets of the problem.

STANDARDIZATION

Just a little more than a year ago, at the St. Louis convention of NDTA, I made a brief talk in which I stressed the need for standardization of transportation equipment. The reaction surprised me. I do not take credit for having fathered any new thinking on the subject—the enthusiasm was there and everybody was simply waiting for a chance to get down to brass tacks. The result was appointment of a special subcommittee on containerization and standardization, of which I have the honor of being the chairman.

A distinguished group makes up the membership of our subcommittee, a cross section of American economy, transportationwise. We got to work immediately, and made our report on the major project in less than a year.

First we studied the studies—more than a dozen of them—made by American Standards Association, the Maritime Administration, the Army, and others. We held meetings, and for a time the problem loomed so mountainous that it looked as though we might not find a place to catch hold of it. Finally, we agreed that if we were to crash through any barriers we had to make a start. Based on the best information available, and upon the combined judgment of our members, we unanimously recommended a standard container with a maximum length of 40 feet, for use singly or in multiple, the basic multiple being 20 feet, and standard width and height of 8 by 8 feet.

Among the considerations which led our subcommittee to recommend this first step were: The lengths we recommended are adaptable for use aboard the latest 85-foot rail flatcars; highway chassis can be designed to accommodate either the 20-foot- or the maximum 40-foot-length container; ships and cargo planes, now on the drawing board or in production, can accommodate the lengths and multiples we recommended; and even if we reach the goal slowly we must have a goal—otherwise obsolescence will overtake us all if each man is his own engineer.

As with any bold undertaking in an uncharted field, our recommendations have been widely discussed and written about. One writer, in an article in the Journal of Commerce titled "Standardized Freight Unit Faces Snags," had this to say on the credit side of the ledger:

"If the plan ever reaches fruition it will mean that virtually all common carriers of freight, shippers and receivers of freight, and the Armed Forces will be packing, unpacking, shipping, receiving, or carrying the same container or its multiple, and that all cargo-handling equipment will be specifically designed to handle it."

We simply cannot afford to let the "if" remain in this otherwise accurate summary of the benefits of the universal container. Whether we have recommended the ideal dimensions or not we have demonstrated that the interests most directly involved can agree on something.

Our subcommittee commends to you, as the most important step toward achievement of our goals that we will have the opportunity to take in our time, the necessary concert of action to make fully effective the "first step" recommendations which we have laid before you.

COORDINATION—ITS MILITARY AND COMMERCIAL POTENTIALS

When we have established the standard unit of equipment that can ride on steel rails, on the highways, on the inland and coastal waterways and the high seas, and in the air, with facility of interchange and without breaking seal, then we can reach the goal that has always eluded us—coordinated transportation. The stakes are very high—for the benefit of the shipping public undreamed of speed and economy of transport—for the carriers the solution of economic and operating problems that have always posed a serious threat to their very existence as private enterprises—for the military insurance of adequate public transportation geared to its own transport functions on a global basis.

The revolution that already has taken place in the applied science of destruction has rendered obsolete not only most of the weapons but most of the concepts of yesteryear's warfare. The problems of transport will still be largely one of getting there "first with the most." It is how this is to be done that becomes important. Wherever the battlefront may be, our entire supply line will be within enemy range and, being vital, it will be a prime target.

Dispersal of military depots and supply bases will be one of the first consequences of a future war and the connecting link of a standard, interchangeable container will be the only way the transit pipeline can be kept open. Over-the-beach loading of export cargo, at points not accessible to rail service, may be the only answer to destruction of port facilities. At the foreign beachhead, unloading of cargo where there are no port facilities is an even more likely necessity. Transfers of cargo at sea, the motorization of freight trains, or the transfer of truck cargo to rail service, will add the essential flexibility without which our whole transportation system may be immobilized by a few well-placed explosions.

The military needs for a standardized, interchangeable container, with its many advantages, will not materialize unless such container finds commercial and military acceptance and an everyday basis of use, and this, as all students of the subject realize, cannot be accomplished without the proverbial "bridge" of a proper freight rate or charge to make it feasible from the economic or cost standpoint. All present-day units of haulage, whether truck trailer, boxcar, tankcar, rubber tank, or something else, are simply containers. The problem, after standardization, is interchange and coordination, on such a basis that the container will move by the most economical combination of services available between any two points.

Experiments with interchangeable units of carriage, which would permit transfer of cargo without rehandling of lading, have been conducted for almost a hundred years. But most previous containerization programs have in the end petered out. Today the whole idea is associated with the word "piggyback." There are related "fishyback" and "birdyback" operations, but this program is being conducted according to the clock and not the calendar, so let's consider piggyback for a few moments.

Piggyback means simply the movement of a highway trailer on a rail flatcar. The modern concept of this method of transportation was pioneered by the Milwaukee Railroad back in 1928. It rocked along as a minor novelty until it exploded with electrifying effects on the public conscience about 5 years ago. The growth of piggyback was accelerated by a decision of the Interstate Commerce Commission in 1954, answering certain legal questions propounded by the New Haven Railroad.

Various plans of piggyback operations had evolved and the Commission undertook, at the behest of the New Haven, to clarify the legal atmosphere surrounding them. Basically, there are three plans, although one of them had been subdivided, and there may be further subdivisions.

The first plan involved the transportation on rail flatcars of the trailers of common carrier trucks. Called plan I, this is theoretically a joint motor-rail service, and it was approved by the Commission with the proviso that joint rates be established. In

reality, plan I piggyback is motor service, moving at motor carrier rates and under motor carrier lading, with a rail haul substituted for a part of the over-the-road motor movement. It is limited in scope by the operating authority of the motor carrier. The amount paid to the railroad by the motor carrier is a flat or contract charge, in theory called a division. In fact it is simply a form of a contractual relationship and is not in accordance with the traditional legal concept of a joint rate.

The second plan, or plan II piggyback, is an all-rail service, where the railroad transports its freight in trailers on flatcars instead of in boxcars. The service under this plan cannot get away from the rail lines.

The third plan, which is subdivided into plan III and plan IV piggyback, contemplates the transportation, under open tariff, of freight tendered by the shipper in his own trailers. Under plan III the shipper owns or controls only the trailer and the railroad provides the flatcar on which it rides. Under plan IV the shipper owns or controls both the trailer and the flatcar on which it rides.

Both plans I and II have been in operation—not counting the limited experimentation prior thereto—for about 5 years. Plan I, which is limited primarily to the East, is on the wane. This is shown by the brief of the railroads filed July 1, 1959, in Docket 32533. In the rail brief referred to, the Eastern Railroads quoted with approval the following statement by Dr. Lewis K. Sillcox, an eminent transportation scholar:

"Neither plan I or plan II, in any event, effectively solves the major problem which plagues the railways, namely that of controlling the volume of traffic and the increasing proportion of freight carried by private shippers in their own or leased trucks."

The railroads also said that:

"Since the motor carriers have been unable to stem the tide of private carriage in their over-the-highway operations, there is little reason to believe that plan I will be of any assistance in that important area of competition."

THE BREAKTHROUGH IN PIGGYBACK

The real breakthrough in piggyback came in 1958 when the railroads began to publish rates for plan III and plan IV piggyback. For the first time in the modern era transportation was offered to the public purely as transportation, priced as transportation, shorn of all the costly and time-consuming incidentals to transportation.

The problems of the railroads demanded heroic action and this was their answer. In a constantly rising economy the railroads were rapidly losing ground. The 71 percent of total ton-miles handled by railroads in 1943 had declined to 46 percent in 1957. The Senate committee handling the Transportation Act of 1958 had told railroad management, in its report, that there had been failure to "recognize changing conditions, times, and tastes," and "Failure to compete aggressively for business by use of modernized equipment," and finally failure "to adjust rates to compete effectively for traffic."

In establishing and using plans III and IV piggyback the railroads, shippers, and freight forwarders inaugurated a radically new service, based upon a new and completely scientific pricing formula. With the elimination of most other costs, except pulling the flatcars between ramps, the carriers could determine their costs with ease and accuracy.

In fixing a rate the railroads published a flat charge per flatcar movement, arrived at on the basis of a predetermined amount per car-mile. The charge applies in both directions, whether the trailers on the flatcar are loaded or empty. For example, the rate between New York and Chicago, under plan III, where the shipper supplies the trailers but not the flatcars, is $451.50 per flatcar. Between Chicago and the west coast the charge, under plan IV, for moving shipper-owned flatcars and trailers, is $924. In each case there is a maximum weight, with a per hundredweight charge for freight in excess of the maximum. A mixing requirement specifies that no more than a certain weight of any one commodity may be included on one flatcar.

This is the only basis of charges that provides any hope to the common carriers of stemming the tide to private carriage. I am not decrying private carriage, but I am convinced that many shippers have gone to private carriage simply for the reason that public carriage has not met their needs. The shipper by private truck determines his cost per truck movement and it is affected only to a minimal degree by the commodity or content of the truck. By experience the railroads know what these costs are and what they must publish to meet them. Also by experience under plan I the railroads know what highway costs are eliminated by substitution of a trailer-on-flatcar movement for an over-the-road highway movement. With these known factors the railroads were able to come up with a charge that will move the traffic and yet provide them with a substantial margin of profit.

This method of transportation is truly coordinated service, and not merely substitution of one mode of carriage or one type of equipment for another. The basic economics of cost, speed, service, flexibility, and convenience will determine the extent to which the trailers move on the highway and on the rails.

The flat piggyback charges do not ignore rate classification. One of the most important characteristics of freight in today's competitive transportation system is its density. The space limitations of the trailers used in piggyback service—their cubic capacity—provide a near perfect classification of the lading, based solely upon density and the ability to load. Thus the rates do reflect classification principles which are the most significant under modern conditions. Since the enactment of the Interstate Commerce Act in 1887, basically all rates have been constructed upon the following items of carrier cost:

1. Capital investment in equipment and maintenance thereof.
2. Common carrier liability.
3. Value of the service to the public.
4. Cost of terminal switching and other accessorial services.
5. Empty car movements which are always reflected in the charge for a one-way movement.
6. Line haul cost from terminal to terminal.

Basically, piggyback transportation insofar as the railroad is concerned, only involves the cost of line haul. Therefore, is it not apparent that the elimination in the items of cost involving services not performed requires a radical departure from the former traditional concepts of ratemaking?

An unrealistic, and perhaps unwitting, application of classification principles that no longer had practical significance once set the containerization movement in this country back 20 years. Most of you will remember the containerization service originated by the railroads in the early 1920's. A steel container was devised of such a size that six would fit on a gondola car. By experimentation and shipper demand a rate ultimately was arrived at that applied mathematically on a mileage basis to the unit, without regard to the nature of its contents. But in 1931 the Interstate Commerce Commission condemned this basis of rates and prescribed rates on a classification formula. The prescription killed the patient, for that experimentation in containerization faded from the scene.

At the time of the aforementioned decision the public had not been offered the great flexibility which is now offered by modes of transportation other than the railroads and was, therefore, not a consideration in the decision. I do not think that the Commission in that case was unsympathetic to the idea of a flat rate per unit, but, at the time, there was no backlog of experience from which a just and reasonable charge could then be determined. Fortunately, this no longer need be a barrier to progress since the passage of time has permitted us to accumulate the experience formerly lacking.

I would be delinquent in the duty which I owe to the freight forwarding industry if I did not say that Piggyback plans III and IV profoundly affect the ability of forwarders to provide the shipping public a faster, more universal, more economical and better service. As you probably know, forwarder volume rates, made possible in greater number by piggyback, have been challenged. In a decison of the Commission rendered September 4, with one Commissioner dissenting, the principles on which forwarder volume rates rest were unqualifiedly approved. It is a wise and far-sighted decision and its benefits will accrue not alone to the forwarding industry but to the shipping public, the national welfare, and our national transport system.

TRAFFIC IMBALANCE—WHY?

Of course there is an imbalance of traffic movement today. It is reflected throughout the transportation system and we have been paying for it all these years in our freight rates.

But I say to you that the imbalance of traffic arises largely as the result of specialized equipment, lack of standardization, and adherence to outmoded concepts. Geographically there are sections of the country which predominantly are agricultural—others are strictly industrial. Through the use of multipurpose containers supplanting the present specialized type of equipment empty mileage will be reduced to the very minimum.

The freight train loaded with manufactured products from New England passes the train laden with fruits and vegetables from California, and each train carries a string of empty cars.

Large numbers of rail cars—even some boxcars—are suitable for handling only one commodity and they, of course, have a 100-percent empty return load factor. The same specialization is found in truck equipment, like the automobile hauler, the tank truck, and the refrigerated trailer. The answer to empty car miles—eliminate specialized equipment and substitute an all-purpose, interchangeable unit of haulage.

I am asking you to think way beyond the standard container on which we have set our sights. Think of a container that will carry dry cargo, liquid cargo, new automobiles, products of the farm, the factory, and the processor—almost everything except things that will not physically fit in closed cars. Impossible you say? Not at all. May I introduce you to the first prototype?

At the Milwaukee Road freight station here in Seattle, there is at this moment a Flexi-Van flatcar which we have brought in from the east coast for this occasion. On it has been loaded two 20-foot containers and a 40-foot multipurpose container. This equipment has been manufactured by the Strick Trailer Co. The two 20-foot containers, after removal from the flatcar, can be operated as separate highway vehicles or they can be physically joined and operated as a

single 40-foot trailer. The 40-foot container, as you may see, is now loaded with two automobiles and a rubber tank manufactured by the United States Rubber Co. filled with liquids. This multipurpose unit will carry four automobiles. The ramps on which the auto rides, hydraulically controlled, lift to the ceiling when not in use and presto you have a 40-foot trailer, with normal cubic capacity for other cargo. It can be insulated and refrigerated. The engineers now have on their drawing boards plans for the development of that additional feature. Liquid cargo can be carried in rubber tanks, alone or in combination with automobiles or other freight.

At the Annual Exhibition of the Allied Railway Supply Association, Inc. in Chicago, September 20 to 23, there was on view a number of interesting new ideas on piggyback equipment. This is indicative of how rapidly equipment manufacturers are adjusting their sights to this transportation development of the future. The General American Transportation Co. exhibited an entirely newly devised 85-foot flatcar which would carry four 20-foot containers, or two 40-foot trailers or a mixture of both. A special system of handling the containers on and off the flatcar was devised through the tackle block system. The trailer is driven aboard in the traditional manner by a tractor, but the innovation in that direction is a new hitch to fasten the trailer down.

The Pullman Standard Corp. also had a very interesting prototype of a flatcar to be used exclusively in the handling of containers with special shock absorbing principles. It is anticipated by the manufacturer that this equipment will be on the market for commercial sale in the near future.

The collapsible rubber container is 35 feet long and has a capacity of 3,800 gallons of liquid. Visualize two of these containers on a flatcar and we have a capacity of 7,600 gallons which compares favorably with a great many of the tank cars now in use.

The American railroads chalked up 11,598 million empty car miles against 19,068 million loaded freight car miles in 1957. In other words, approximately 40 percent of the total mileage represents the transportation of empty cars. Think of the enormity of the waste. If the all-purpose container should even cut that empty mileage in half—and I predict it will do better than that—think of the savings in cost which could not help but reduce the price of public transportation.

This all-purpose unit of equipment can change the entire pattern of distribution in this country and have a profound effect on our social and economic life. It can create new markets, accelerate relocation of industries, develop backward areas. It will dramatically affect prices, sales, and marketing.

The inexorable march of time forces me to leave to your imagination—which I hope I have aroused—the limitless horizons to which this new all-purpose equipment may carry us. There are other revolutionary facts and concepts with which I would like to challenge your interest and I think I can best bring them to your attention by reaching back a little ways into recent history.

MYTH OR MIRACLE

In a talk I made last December before the Traffic Managers Conference of Southern California I made certain predictions of things to come in the world of transportation.

I predicted that:

1. Sometime within the next 10 years, the larger portion of the boxcar and refrigerator fleets of the railroads of America will be supplanted by trailer and demountable truck bodies on flatcars.

2. This will bring about revolutionary changes in the growing, merchandising, and transportation of perishable products and other products of the farm, including the frozen foods industry.

3. Empty rail-car-miles will be reduced by at least 50 percent.

4. The deficits in rail passenger transportation on all symbol runs will be solved by hitching piggyback flatcars to passenger trains.

5. Roller bearing piggyback equipment will shrink freight transit time between the east and west coasts to 48 hours.

6. Piggyback will enable the railroads to prevent further erosion of their higher rated commodities to air transportation.

7. Ultimately we will be able to ship a container load of freight from any point in the United States to any point in the world without physically rehandling the contents.

Now look 10 years ahead with me. How much payload does a passenger train need to take it off the dole? Hitch it on. How do you rearrange schedules to reduce 3 days to 2? Surely the intelligence to solve that one can be mustered. And how many hours' margin does it take to make rail a differential service compared to air?

Until we start shipping freight by missile I suggest that the railroads can hold their own against any competitor with piggyback on passenger trains or freight service at passenger train speeds. With this kind of service every primary train movement can be made to pay and even show a profit. Vital passenger service which, in the interest of national defense must be maintained at all costs, can be continued and improved.

Esthetic values will not be sacrified in this mixing of cargoes. The unit of freight haulage can be made to exactly match the motif of any passenger train, and the passenger-freighter, streaking through the countryside, will still be as beautiful a sight as you can find on the American scene.

Ladies and gentlemen, that is the picture I bring you of revolution at work. Myth or miracle, I leave my predictions to your judgment and to the verdict of history. I have told you that revolution is forged on the anvil of the mind and you are the voice and the conscience of America. As the strongest weapon in our arsenal of defense, as the most promising development in transportation to appear on the 20th century scene, I commend to you the new concepts in method and action which I have had the honor to discuss with you.

The progress which I have already outlined to you in the areas of standardization of containers, revolution in practice and pricing represented by plans III and IV piggyback, and development of the all-purpose unit of equipment has brought us to the very brink of some of these predictions. And that in 10 months, not 10 years. You read the newspapers and you know that trailers on flat cars are replacing box car service at a pace which outdates the figures before they can be collated. This is happening despite the handicap of legal controversy which has limited the scope of the piggyback service and increased the risk to private capital which is building the piggyback fleet.

The multipurpose container of which I have spoken holds great promise in contributing toward a substantial reduction in empty car miles. That, ladies and gentlemen, is going to give America a whole new transportation fleet by increasing capacity without increasing the size of the plant.

Now about reducing the rail passenger deficit—shrinking freight transit time to 48 hours coast to coast—competing with air for high grade commodities. Surely you would be entitled to classify these as myths if there is myth to any of the prognostications.

However, the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad has been experimenting with the carriage of roller bearing freight cars on passenger trains. Within the past several weeks the Interstate Commerce Commission has granted that railroad the right not only to continue such a service but has authorized them to increase the number of freight cars in passenger trains. It is only a question of time when this will be the normal make-up of long-distance passenger trains. There is no reason why such a service could not be inaugurated at once from coast to coast with third morning delivery.

Navigation on the Great Lakes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I received today from Mr. R. F. Malia, harbor consultant in Milwaukee, Wis., an address delivered by Edwin W. Nelson, Chief of the Engineering Division, North Central Division, Corps of Engineers, U.S. Army, relating to the present and future of the Great Lakes Basin.

I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD:

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NAVIGATION ON THE GREAT LAKES

(Address by Edwin W. Nelson, Chief, Engineering Division, North Central Division, Corps of Engineers, U.S. Army, Chicago, Ill., presented at symposium on Great Lakes Basin sponsored by American Association for Advancement of Science and American Geophysical Union at Hamilton Hotel, Chicago, Ill., on December 29, 1959)

Seven years ago I presented a paper on Terminal Facilities on the Great Lakes at a meeting of the American Geophysical Union here in Chicago. That paper dealt particularly with the development of harbors as well as terminal facilities.

Major changes have taken place or are in process at this time in connection with the development of navigation facilities on the Great Lakes. I will review briefly the changes, the basis, or background which provided the impetus for these changes and the present status of the further development of the Great Lakes navigation system.

The Great Lakes system consisting of five great bodies of fresh water, extending half way across the North American Continent, are joined with each other by realtively short connecting channels. In its primitive state, the watershed of these lakes was covered by virgin forest. Enormous deposits of iron ore were found in the present States of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. Throughout the watershed were inexhaustible deposits of limestone rock. To the south and east lay the coal fields of the upper Ohio Valley, while to the northwest, west, and south were situated the agricultural areas of Canada and upper Mississippi Basin. The Great Lakes Basin, therefore, contained, or was adjacent to, the natural resources necessary for industrial and agricultural development, and the lakes themselves provided a natural transportation route which was ideal for the movement of bulk commodities. The development of channels and harbors on the lakes has been a vital factor in the exploitation of these

natural resources and in the development of the industrial region of the North Central States.

Navigation improvements on the Great Lakes and their connecting channels have paralleled the growth and development of the Great Lakes region. The improvements provided have resulted in low-cost transportation of basic raw materials such as iron ore, coal, stone, petroleum products, timber products, and grain. Economical water transportation has been a major factor in developing the industrial heart of the Nation in the Great Lakes area. The advantages of low-cost water transportation between Great Lakes ports, particularly for bulk cargo, are well known in industry.

Most of the commerce on the Gerat Lakes consists of bulk raw materials such as iron ore, stone, coal, grain, and petroleum products. Total U.S. traffic on the Gerat Lakes averaged about 219 million net tons annually for the 5-year period 1954–58. The maximum during this 5-year period was in 1957 when the total was about 244 million net tons. During the 5-year period the annual average traffic in iron ore was about 82 million tons; in coal about 58,500,000 tons; in stone about 27 million tons; and in grain about 7,500,000 tons. During 1957, 108 million tons passed through the St. Marys River and 130 million tons through the Detroit River. These amounts are not additive since a large portion of the traffic passes through both the St. Marys and Detroit Rivers between Lake Superior and Lake Erie.

The Great Lakes and their tributaries above Ogdensburg, N.Y., on the St. Lawrence River, drain an area of approximately 298,000 square miles and constitute the major portion of the St. Lawrence River Basin. The length of steamer track from Duluth at the west end of Lake Superior to Ogdensburg, N.Y., in the St. Lawrence River is 1,216 miles.

The Great Lakes, together with their deep-draft connecting channels, constitute the greatest deep-draft inland waterway system in the world. Extensive improvements to channels and harbors have been required to develop this system to accommodate Great Lakes traffic. Up to this time no improvements by the Federal Govermnent have been required on the Great Lakes to accommodate overseas traffic since existing connecting channels and harbors were more than adequate for the small, shallow-draft ocean vessels which could pass through the 14-foot St. Lawrence River canal system.

Although the lakes are deep, the connecting rivers commonly called the connecting channels had shallow reaches in their original state and over the years it was necessary to dredge the river channels to provide adequate depths to accommodate deep-draft lake vessels. In addition, the St. Marys Falls in the St. Marys River at Sault Ste. Marie, were impassable and locks were required to overcome the drop at the falls to permit vessels to pass between Lakes Superior and Huron.

The Great Lakes connecting channels include the waterways between Lakes Superior and Huron, Lakes Huron and Michigan, and Lakes Huron and Erie. The St. Marys River, including the shoal approach to the head of the river, is the connecting channel between Lake Superior and Lake Huron. The Straits of Mackinac and approaches thereto comprise the connecting channel between Lake Huron and Lake Michigan. The St. Clair River, Lake St. Clair and the Detroit River, with the approaches in Lake Huron to the head of the St. Clair River and in Lake Erie to the mouth of the Detroit River, comprise the connecting channel between Lake Huron and Lake Erie.

Experience on the Great Lakes during the past 50 years has clearly demonstrated that ship owners have always taken full advantage of improvements in the connecting channels and harbors. Today there are many vessels in the Great Lakes fleet of such characteristics that they can load only to reduced drafts except during the relatively short periods when the levels of the lakes are at extreme high stages.

Major changes have taken place in recent years in the character of the U.S. bulk cargo fleet. Prior to World War II the fleet was comprised generally of vessels of from 450 to 600 feet long, 55- to 65-foot beam, with maximum drafts of 21 or 22 feet, and with carrying capacities of from 8,000 to 13,000 net tons. In 1942 and 1943, 21 new vessels were constructed from 600 to 625 feet long and 60- to 67-foot beam with maximum drafts of 24.5 feet and with carrying capacities of from 17,000 to 20,000 net tons. Contacts with vessel interests in 1945, in connection with a study of the connecting channels, did not indicate any plans for construction of vessesls larger than those built in 1942 and 1943. However, construction of the *Wilfred Sykes* by the Inland Steel Co. in 1949 instituted a new era in the type of Great Lakes vessels. This vessel is 678 feet long and 70 feet wide, has a maximum draft of about 27 feet, and with cargo carrying capacity of about 23,000 net tons. Since that time 25 large bulk freighters have been built and 8 ocean freighters have been converted for Great Lakes service. These 33 vessels are from 602 to 730 feet long, from 67 to 75 feet wide, with maximum drafts from 24.5 to 28 feet and with carrying capacities or from about 16,000 to over 28,000 net tons. The speeds of these newer vessels have been increased up to 16 or 18 miles per hour as compared to 12 or 13 miles per hour for the older vessels.

The limiting depths of 25 feet in the downbound channels and 21 feet in the upbound channels are inadequate to accommodate the many new large deep-draft vessels being added to the Great Lakes fleet.

Recognizing the inadequacy of the connecting channels for the newer deep-draft vessels, and that legislation then being considered for the St. Lawrence Seaway would provide a 27-foot-depth channel westward only as far as Lake Erie, the Public Works Committees of both the House and the Senate adopted resolutions in March and June 1953 authorizing the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors to review previous reports on the connecting channels to determine the advisability of further improvements to those channels including consideration of providing depths of at least 27 feet.

Engineering and economic studies by the Detroit district, Corps of Engineers, led to a favorable report to Congress to deepen the connecting channels between Lake Erie and the upper three lakes to provide channels with a minimum controlling depth of 27 feet. The improvement was found to be fully justified in the interests of Great Lakes bulk cargo traffic alone although it was recognized that the deepened channels would provide commensurate depths with those provided in the seaway. Deepening the connecting channels to provide controlling depths of 27 feet in both upbound and downbound channels has been authorized by Congress and work is now underway.

Present safe controlling drafts in the connecting channels for bulk lake freighters are considered to be 22.3 feet in downbound and 18 feet in upbound channels when the ruling lake level is at low water datum, whereas after the deepening is completed it will be 25.5 feet for both downbound and upbound traffic. This will provide generally in the connecting channels an increase in allowable draft of over 3 feet in downbound channels and of about 7.5 feet in upbound channels. Estimates of safe drafts pertain only to the Great Lakes type bulk carriers and do not necessarily pertain to ocean vessels as no studies were made to estimate safe draft allowances for such vessel when underway. The apparent inconsistencies between controlling depths and drafts under present conditions and for the deepened channels with depths of from 27 to 30 feet are accounted for in the design of the deepened channels in order to obtain the most economical balanced through-channel system after studying the physical and navigation conditions in each reach to be deepened and the characteristics of modern bulk carriers. The allowances established between channel depth and vessel draft vary from 1.5 to 4.5 feet in individual reaches of channel.

Controlling depths of 25 feet are already available in downbound channels and such depths will be available for through traffic in both directions between Lake Erie and Lakes Huron and Michigan in 1960. The date when 27-foot depths will be available throughout the entire connecting channels system is, of course, dependent upon appropriation of funds, but it is believed that such depths may be available throughout by 1962 or 1963. This controlling depth in the connecting channels is equivalent to that provided in the 27-foot St. Lawrence Seaway which was opened to deep-draft traffic from Montreal to Lake Erie last July.

One lock at the Soo, the MacArthur lock, has a depth of 31 feet over the sills, which is more than adequate for the connecting channels depth now being provided and is large enough to accommodate any vessel which can enter the Great Lakes through the St. Lawrence Seaway. A replacement for the obsolete Poe lock at the Soo is now under design. This lock will be 1,000 feet long, 100 feet wide, with a depth of 32 feet over the sills.

The St. Lawrence Seaway is a project to provide a 27-foot ship channel between Lake Erie and Montreal. From Montreal to the ocean Canada has already provided a ship channel with a controlling depth of 35 feet. There is a fall of about 225 feet in the 183-mile reach of the St. Lawrence River between Lake Ontario and Montreal. Most of this fall is in the 115-mile reach between Montreal and Chimney Point, which is about 68 miles below Lake Ontario. Canada had an existing navigation system in this 115-mile reach of the river with a series of canals and locks bypassing the rapids in the river. These canals had a controlling depth of 14 feet with controlling lock dimensions of 44 feet by 250 feet with 14-foot depth over the sills. The 68-mile reach of river from Chimney Point to Lake Ontario is wide and deep and only removal of rock shoals was required to provide a deep-draft 27-foot channel.

The seaway project has 7 deep-draft locks in the St. Lawrence River 860 feet by 80 feet with 30-foot depths over the sills, and canals and channels between Montreal and Lake Ontario with controlling depths of 27 feet. Five of the locks were built by Canada and two by the United States. The two U.S. locks were built by the Corps of Engineers.

Traffic between Lake Ontario and Lake Erie is through the Canadian Welland Canal which has locks of the same dimensions as the new seaway locks. The seaway construction in this canal comprised only deepening the canal from its former depth of 25 feet to 27 feet.

The large lake type bulk freighter can be expected to be used in the future in traffic between Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River ports as well as in inter-lake traffic. It is also expected that a large volume of overseas traffic into the Great Lakes will be in deep-draft vessels because of the inherent economies in operation of larger vessels.

Contacts with vessel owners and operators indicate clearly that the trend in construc-

tion of the larger, faster Great Lakes vessels will continue. No firm information is available as to the maximum size vessel which can be expected on the Great Lakes in the next few decades. However, it appears that the maximum size vessels on the lakes will be those designed for Great Lakes traffic rather than those entering the lakes from the ocean. Consequently, it can be expected that the channels provided for Great Lakes traffic will continue to be adequate for seaway traffic in the foreseeable future. This same situation will prevail in those harbors or portions of harbors which are improved to accommodate the large Great Lakes vessels. Consequently, improvements to channels and harbors for Great Lakes traffic will provide also a large measure of such improvements required for seaway traffic.

There are 58 federally improved harbors on the Great Lakes with project depths of 18 feet or more. Of these 58 harbors, 3 have depths of 26 feet, 12 of 25 feet, 5 of from 22 to 24 feet, 27 of from 20 to 21 feet and 11 of 18 feet. The deeper harbors are used predominantly for iron ore, stone, grain and coal. In addition to the federally improved harbors there are 9 deep-draft private harbors used predominantly for shipment of iron ore and stone and for receipt of iron ore, stone and coal.

The federally improved harbors on the Great Lakes have in generel been developed progressively from their earliest concept. The present harbors were designed to accommodate the vessel fleet as constituted some 30 years ago. At that time vessel lengths were limited to about 600 feet with maximum drafts of 21 or 22 feet. Many of the present harbor structures, particularly the parallel piers at river mouths, were designed for channel depths several feet less than are even now provided. With few exceptions, structures at all major harbors were completed at least 20 or 25 years ago and were not designed for channel depths in excess of those now existing in the connecting channels.

There are over 50 vessels in the present U.S. fleet which must now load at reduced draft except when the lakes are at extreme high stages. Even then a few of these vessels would be required to load at less than maximum allowable drafts. Upon completion of deepening the connecting channels increased depths will be required in harbors in order that these vessels can take full advantage of the deepened through channels. The 27-foot St. Lawernce Seaway will also generate deep-draft traffic which cannot be accommodated in existing harbors.

Harbor development on the Great Lakes has paralleled the improvement of the connecting channels so as to provide adequate depths and maneuver areas for vessels at ports and terminals. Since practically all of the deepest draft iron ore vessels pass through the connecting channels, the depths provided in those channels have generally been a determining factor in the maximum depths required in the major deep-draft harbors.

The need for improvements at harbors on the Great Lakes to accommodate the large, deep-draft vessels which will transit the deeper channels now being provided has been recognized. Resolutions adopted on May 18, 1956 and June 27, 1956 by the Public Works Committees of the Senate and of the House of Representatives, respectively, requested the Corps of Engineers to determine the advisability of further improvements of harbors on the Great Lakes in the interest of present and prospective deep-draft commerce. In undertaking this study the Committees requested that due regard be given to the scheduled time of completion of the St. Lawrence Seaway and of the deepening of the connecting channels between the Great Lakes.

Studies by the Corps of Engineers are well advanced to determine the deepening and other related improvements at individual harbors which are required to realize the navigation benefits resulting from deepening the connecting channels and from traffic through the St. Lawrence Seaway. Each harbor must be considered individually as well as collectively with other harbors in the area, and the improvements proposed at any individual locality must be justified on their respective merits.

Our studies to determine improvements which can be justified at Great Lakes harbors involve three major elements—namely, traffic analysis, engineering studies, and an economic analysis.

The first step is to do the necessary research to form a basis for estimating the reasonably prospective waterborne commerce to and from a harbor. Next, an estimate must be made of the character of the vessel fleet which will carry this commerce. After preparation of these estimates of prospective commerce engineering and economic studies are undertaken to determine whether the considered improvements can be justified on the basis of savings in transportation cost resulting from such improvements. Each harbor situation is an individual problem and must be given special study to assure that the estimated savings will actually be realized because of the reduced cost of transportation as compared to the cost by any known present or prospective alternative means. Improvements are not recommended for authorization unless there is a clear showing that the annual benefits exceed the annual costs of the proposed improvements. The Great Lakes harbors study is being processed so as to accomplish the most productive work in the shortest possible time. Separate reports must be prepared on each harbor considered. In many cases interim survey reports are being submitted to consider navigation improvements required to serve navigation involved in the transportation of commodities of major importance, such as iron ore, stone, coal, grain, and petroleum products, since the economic analysis of considered improvements which will benefit vessels moving these commodities could be completed in a much shorter time than the analysis of improvements for other Great Lakes traffic and of improvements for general cargo traffic and miscellaneous bulk cargo entering or leaving the Great Lakes through the St. Lawrence Seaway. The general plan for undertaking this comprehensive study therefore contemplated submission initially of interim reports on harbors, or portions thereof, which handle such major bulk commodities. Such interim reports recommending increasing depths to 27 feet in harbors or portions of harbors have already been completed at 16 harbors. Fourteen of these reports have been submitted to Congress. It is pertinent to note here that improvements recommended for Great Lakes bulk cargo traffic will also serve deep-draft seaway traffic, particularly at iron-ore harbors where depths of 27 feet are justified.

Comprehensive studies have been made as a basis for estimating future traffic at Great Lakes harbors for major commodities such as iron ore, stone, coal, grain, and petroleum products. These estimates in conjunction with estimates of the composition of the future Great Lakes vessel fleet are then used to establish the economic justification of considered harbor improvements to serve the traffic in those commodities.

The importance of prospective general cargo or miscellaneous traffic through the St. Lawrence Seaway is fully recognized. This is the first time that the Corps of Engineers has made any detailed studies of prospective foreign commerce to or from harbors in the entire Great Lakes area. In fact, in planning for such traffic studies it was found that data which could be utilized to make a thorough analysis of prospective oversea traffic to U.S. Great Lakes ports through the St. Lawrence Seaway were not available and that a considerable amount of basic research and investigation would be required to arrive at a reasonable estimate of such traffic, first, to the entire Great Lakes tributary area and, second, to individual U.S. harbors on the Great Lakes.

The plan to develop an estimate of the potential Great Lakes overseas traffic as a result of the 27-foot St. Lawrence Seaway involved several basic studies, each one of which has a definite relationship and interdependence upon the other. The program of the traffic analysis study includes several comprehensive studies dealing wtih the following major phases:

(a) Basic economic background factors of the area and its growth prospects.

(b) Origin-Destination of imports and exports.

(c) Freight rates and transport cost differentials.

(d) Prospective traffic patterns of the Great Lakes area.

(e) Delineation of Great Lakes Tributary area.

(f) Estimate of potential Great Lakes traffic.

As a result of above studies an estimate is being made of future overseas traffic from the Great Lakes area. The studies also develop the savings in transportation through Great Lakes ports as compared to shipment through ocean ports. It is necessary for the Corps of Engineers to develop the cost advantage of shipment through Great Lakes ports in order to determine the harbor improvements which can be economically justified for deep-draft overseas traffic. In fact this is the reason why we have been required to make the comprehensive studies of potential overseas traffic through Great Lakes Harbors.

The studies of potential foreign traffic to the Great Lakes through the St. Lawrence Seaway and to individual harbors on the Great Lakes are nearing completion such that we can now use the results in determining harbor improvements which can be economically justified to accommodate such traffic.

It is presently estimated that additional interim reports recommending deepening at 15 harbors will be submitted during the current fiscal year. Some of these reports will include proposals for deepening for seaway traffic as well as for Great Lakes traffic. Providing funds are appropriated therefor as required it is planned to complete all studies and reports for the comprehensive Great Lakes harbors report during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1961.

Studies made by the Corps of Engineers of potential resources of iron ore economically available to the Great Lakes region and of the conveniently located almost inexhaustible resources of limestone and coal in the region coupled with other studies of future trends in population and development of industry find there is every indication that the production of iron and steel will continue to increase in the area. Major improvements to the Great Lakes connecting channels and at many deep-draft harbors are fully justified because of the tremendous volume of estimated future traffic in those commodities. These are, of course, the basic raw materials for the large concentrations of heavy industry in the area and such industries should continue to expand accordingly. The St. Lawrence Seaway will contribute to this phase of the economy of the region as the St. Lawrence River ore-loading points will be accessible to our large economical Great Lakes ore carriers. Although these carriers may not

come as far as Lake Michigan, the availability of eastern Canada ore to the Great Lakes area will tend to conserve the ore resources in the Lake Superior region. Such conservation will, in turn, further enhance the future economy of the region.

The increase in foreign traffic to the Great Lakes through the St. Lawrence Seaway will result in deepening Great Lakes harbors to 27 feet in many areas in order to accommodate such traffic. Some of this deepening will be in areas not required to be deepened for domestic Great Lakes traffic including bulk cargo traffic to and from Canadian ports.

In summary, we are entering a new rea in transportation facilities on the Great Lakes. The Great Lakes connecting channels between Lakes Superior, Michigan, Huron, ard Erie are being deepened from a controlling depth of 25 feet in downbound and 21 feet in upbound channels to a controlling depth of 27 feet in both downbound and upbound channels. The St. Lawrence Seaway with its 27-foot controlling depth from Montreal to Lake Erie replaces the old 14-foot St. Lawrence River canals and increases the depth of the Welland Canal from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie from 25 feet to 27 feet. Thus, we will have through channels throughout the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence System with minimum controlling depth of 27 feet.

Harbors on the Great Lakes will be deepened to 27 feet as may be required to handle all deep-draft commerce through the connecting channels and the St. Lawrence Seaway.

These improvements will provide an increase in vessel drafts of about 3 feet in the downbound connecting channels and a little over 7 feet in upbound channels. The 27-foot St. Lawrence Seaway provides an increase of about 12 or 13 feet in safe draft to the ocean and also provides large locks to permit the deep-draft ocean ships to enter the Great Lakes system.

The Late Richard M. Simpson

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN J. RHODES
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, it was with a sense of profound shock that I learned of the serious illness of my good friend DICK SIMPSON. I am sure that the prayers and thoughts of all Members of Congress were with DICK during his illness, and are with him now. Those prayers extend to the family of our friend and colleague, asking that the Almighty may assuage their grief and leave them only with the memory of the fine strong man that was DICK SIMPSON, and a solemn pride in his life, his accomplishments, and the niche which he has carved for himself in history and in the hearts of all who knew him.

My association with DICK SIMPSON was primarily in my capacity as a member and secretary of the National Republican Congressional Committee. I was privileged to serve as secretary under DICK's chairmanship for the last 4 years. He had a fine mind, great resolution, and an outstanding ability to get things done. His devotion to duty was probably the crowning aspect of his entire character. Once he had agreed to do something, it could be regarded by all as having been done.

DICK SIMPSON possessed many virtues. The one which stands out in my mind is his modesty in all things. I have never heard him utter a single word of self-praise, or even one which caused me to believe that he recognized in himself the abilities which others saw in him. Rather, he was full of praise for his fellow workers, and anxious that they should receive the credit for any tasks well done.

The Congress will miss DICK SIMPSON. The country will miss him. The people of Pennsylvania, and particularly of his own congressional district, will miss him. To Mrs. Simpson and the Simpson family, I extend my heartfelt condolences and sincere sympathy, in which Mrs. Rhodes joins me.

Here's How Farm Leaders Are Thinking

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, a group of farm leaders in my home State of Wisconsin met October 30, 1959, for the 31st annual farmers' get-together conference of the Wisconsin Council of Agriculture Cooperative. After discussing the current farm situation, they adopted a set of resolutions on matters affecting agriculture. Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include seven of those resolutions in the RECORD:

TAXATION OF PATRONAGE SAVINGS

The recommendation of the Secretary of the Treasury, urging enactment of a special and discriminatory tax on cooperative savings, was formally introduced in the House of Representatives on June 19, 1959.

This legislation for the first time singles out cooperatives for imposition of an income tax not levied on other business, unless cooperatives pay an interest rate of at least 4 percent on their securities, and redeem securities issued for a patronage refund within a 3-year period. Equity investments in all other business corporations are not restricted as to time of redemption or amount of dividend payments, and this proposal singles out cooperatives for such unfavorable treatment of its equity capital investment.

Cooperative associations must depend almost entirely on their members rather than investors for their equity capital used in financing operations, and would have undue difficulty and be particularly handicapped in the orderly process of financing by complying with these proposed unreasonable restrictions.

Hearings have already been scheduled on this question when Congress reconvenes the first of the year: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Wisconsin Council of Agriculture Cooperative protests against the passage of such unfair and punitive tax proposals, and directs its board and staff to use every effort to defeat them.

The council reaffirms its position that the net proceeds of a cooperative returned to patrons on a patronage basis in any form—cash, certificate of equity, or allocated book credits—is income in the hands of the patron and not income of the cooperative making the distribution. It is our conviction that such proceeds are not taxable to the cooperative, but should be included in the computation of the recipient's personal income tax. This is in accord with the clear intent of Congress in the tax law. It is likewise consistent with the basic concept of a cooperative as a nonprofit institution in which any income over and above the costs of operation rightfully belongs to the member patrons and is returnable to them on a patronage basis; therefore be it further

Resolved, That the Wisconsin Council of Agriculture Cooperative asks Congress to spell out the 1951 compromise which was put into Federal law and regulations under the leadership of the late Senator Taft, so that our courts will have clear instructions regarding cooperative patronage refunds.

IMPROVING THE COMPETITIVE STATUS OF COOPERATIVES

One of the basic purposes of agricultural cooperatives is to improve the competitive position of farmers in their business relations with other forces in the economy. In recent times there has been a trend toward greater concentration of economic power in most segments of the economy. While cooperatives have shared in this trend, their rate of growth has been much slower than that of noncooperative businesses. If cooperatives do not keep pace with the growth of noncooperative business, farmers will lose much of their present competitive strength and may be forced to rely increasingly on Government programs to protect their interests.

Therefore the council urges—

1. That members of cooperatives give wholehearted support to their established organizations.

2. That associations cooperate more fully with one another at both the local and regional levels.

3. That studies be undertaken to show the effects of competition between cooperatives and the benefits which may accrue from coordinated action or from consolidations, all for the purpose of strengthening cooperatives and enhancing the incomes of producer members.

4. That greater consideration be given to the purchase of established independent outlets as a means of increasing distribution facilities of cooperatives.

AGRICULTURAL PRICE SUPPORTS

The council recognizes the need for programs of Government assistance to agriculture and that present programs have forestalled even greater declines in farm prices which would have occurred without these programs. It is therefore considered advisable that these programs be continued and improved to give protection to farmers' incomes.

The dairy price support program has been of particular significance to Wisconsin dairy farmers. The council recognizes, however, that there are certain deficiencies in what can be attained by continuation of the program in its present form. Both economic and political considerations indicate that some improvements should be made toward adapting the program to meet the longer run problem and to deal more effectively and adequately with the dairy farmers price and income problem. It is recognized by the council that these improvements can probably best be accomplished by the adoption of a mechanism to more closely adjust milk production and marketings to the demand for milk and dairy products.

It is therefore recommended that the council staff work for the incorporation of a supply adjustment feature into the present dairy price support program with the condition that any marketing quotas or allotments be applicable to all dairy producers.

The objectives of such a program should be to—

1. Help improve the incomes of dairy farmers.

2. Promote and provide incentive for technical progress and improved efficiency within agriculture.

3. Provide a wholesome atmosphere for the family-type farm.

4. Provide for a democratic expression of choice through a producer referendum.

FOOD BEST BARGAIN EVER

During this past year, numerous articles have appeared in the press, and especially in metropolitan centers, that leave the impression that food prices are high as a result of national farm price support programs and prices received by agricultural producers of such food products. The facts are that at no time has the American public been able to buy so much high quality, well graded, and sanitarily packaged foods for 1 hour of labor as at the present time. From two to three times as much food can now be bought with 1 hour of industrial wages as could be bought with 1 hour of labor 30 years ago. Food unquestionably is a good buy. Prices received by farmers for their products have fallen during the past several years and, therefore, the increases in the cost of living are not attributable to the prices of food or returns received by farmers. In fact, lower farm prices have provided one of the principal anti-inflation influences in the national economy.

We, therefore, deplore the fact that urban consumers are misled concerning the true status of the relationship of farm prices to retail food prices and that urban-rural relationships are unfortunately strained by such misinterpretation.

NATIONAL UNIFORM SANITATION STANDARDS FOR MILK

Municipalities, counties, States, and other governmental units rely more and more upon recommendations of the U.S. Public Health Service in formulating sanitary regulations applicable to milk and dairy products. Such regulations, however, are permissive, and some governmental units provide for sanitary regulations above and beyond those considered necessary for maximum protection to consumers at minimum cost to producers. The Wisconsin Council of Agriculture favors legislation to establish uniform sanitary requirements for fluid milk and dairy products sold in interstate commerce throughout the United States.

FOREIGN MARKET EXPANSION

The Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act has been very useful in the development of foreign markets. We commend the Congress and the Secretary of Agriculture for extending and expanding programs under this and other similar laws and we urge their continuation.

We commend the Secretary of Agriculture for providing means through the Commodity Credit Corporation whereby dairymen and their representatives may deal directly with foreign buyers in the development of foreign markets.

PROTECTION FROM IMPORTS OF FARM PRODUCTS

Imports of farm products or products manufactured therefrom, may and sometimes do damage or obstruct the proper working of programs designed to further farmer prosperity: Therefore be it

Resolved, That this Wisconsin Council of Agriculture Cooperative oppo s any increase in import quotas and favors revision of section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, as amended, to provide positive and mandatory protection from imports whenever such imports endanger, penalize, or retard the accomplishment of the objective of increased farmer prosperity under the operation of su:h programs; be it further

Resolved, That products imported must meet the same quality standards as domestically produced products.

Prospects for Industrial Expansion in State of Oregon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, one of the most able young citizens in our State is Gerald W. Frank, of Salem, Oreg., who serves as chairman of the advisory board of the Oregon Planning and Development Commission. Mr. Frank, who is a leading businessman, has made a very close and careful personal study of the vast opportunities offered in Oregon for further industrial development.

On January 4, 1960, Mr. Frank spoke on this very pertinent topic at the annual banquet of the Milton-Freewater Chamber of Commerce in Milton-Freewater, Oreg.

Because Mr. Frank's address is so thoughtful and thorough a summary of the resources—both natural resources and human resources—offered by the State of Oregon, I should like to invite to the attention of my colleagues in the Senate exactly what he has had to say. Therefore, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that pertinent excerpts from the address by Mr. Gerald W. Frank, manager of the Meier & Frank Co., of Salem, Oreg., be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEECH PRESENTED AT MILTON-FREEWATER ANNUAL BANQUET

(By Gerald W. Frank)

I

May I thank you for your courtesy in inviting me to participate in your annual banquet. This is an occasion I have been looking forward to for some weeks, as it has given me a chance to renew old acquaintances in this area, as well as to make new friends in your community. I was very flattered to be asked to become a part of this program, and I hope that my remarks tonight will be of interest to you.

I have been in your position many times, listening to a banquet speaker at a program such as this, and I am sure that as you are sitting here tonight, you are hoping that I'm not going to talk too long, and I assure you that I'm not.

I'm not going to talk with you tonight as a politician, because I am not one of those; I'm not going to talk with you as an authority on government, or planning, or economics, because I'm not one of those either; I'm not going to talk with you with any axe to grind, because I honestly have one. I'm going to talk with you tonight only as an Oregon businessman and as a private citizen interested in just one thing—the welfare of our State. I believe all of us in this room share this interest, or else we wouldn't be here tonight.

My family's roots, like so many of yours, are deep in the soil of Oregon—as a matter of fact, 103 years deep. We have watched five generations help build our great State. We, like you, are proud of the past and excited about the future.

Tonight I would like to discuss current economic conditions in Oregon, and where we are headed in the years to come.

The experts tell us that Oregon's population by the year 1975 will be about 2½ million people. This represents an increase of some 46 percent over present levels. Along with this population growth will come a tremendous economic growth.

According to past estimates, the maintenance of Oregon's population requires one job for each two to three Oregon residents. Therefore, between now and 1975 Oregon's population increase will necessitate the development of some 340,000 new jobs.

The first question you might ask is: "Why are we assured of this tremendous growth in our area?" Well, mainly because we have to offer here in Oregon just about everything that prospective investors and settlers are interested in.

Actually, there are 11 major factors that industry considers in the location of new facilities. Just scanning the list, one can readily see how high we here in Oregon stand on most items on this list.

Industrialists are looking for handy location of markets for finished goods; for raw materials and supplies; for low-cost power, and other utilities; for reasonable building costs; for quantities of available land, and room for expansion, for reasonable transportation costs, and good transportation facilities; for pleasant community relationships; for moderate living costs for employees; for an adequate supply of skilled labor; for pleasant labor management relations; for a reasonable labor cost; and most of all, for a place where living for workers is pleasant. We'll talk about how Oregon stands on some of these items in just a moment.

In a recent survey, 36 percent of the industrialists questioned about the possibility of locating in Oregon said that a strong influence in their selection was their personal desire to live in Oregon. Half of these mentioned favorable climate as a major consideration, but an even larger percentage mentioned community factors made up of everything from the appearance of the shopping areas to the quality of the schools and roads as being important.

It's apparent that selling Oregon to industrialists is not so much different than promoting tourist trade. Climate; scenery; nearness to mountains, valleys, and seas; fishing, hunting, and boating—all these need to be stressed.

Add to this the general quality of public services, in which some of you people in this room play such an important part; the excellence of the highway program; the high standing of our school system; the availability of modern shopping centers, hospitals, parks, libraries; and you could almost put the vital statistics in the back of the brochure.

People looking for places to establish new industries are not cold, impersonal computing machines. A good catch of salmon while

vacationing down on the coast, or a fine golf game on one of our beautiful courses, or a scenic ride through the Wallowas probably has brought many an owner and his plant to Oregon.

It's our job as members of the Oregon Planning and Development Commission to sell all of these things for our State, and we think that there has been good progress in the Pacific Northwest, and particularly in Oregon, in the past few years.

One hundred new production workers increase personal income in the community by more than $500,000 annually. They create additional employment for 175 other people. They make possible four more retail establishments and introduce about $360,000 worth of retail sales a year.

We have many examples of new industry in our State. In pulp and paper there are new mills in many communities, some of the most important of which are the Weyerhaeuser Mill at Springfield and the Western Kraft plant at Albany. In plywood alone, 61 new plants have been erected in the past 10 years.

In metals, the activity has been just as impressive, where we see the tremendous Harvey development at The Dalles. Hanna, near Riddle, Oreg., is producing nickel. Uranium ore is being processed at Lakeview, Oreg.

In chemicals, we find sulfuric acid plants springing up throughout the entire Northwest. Factories to make phosphate and fertilizer also have been built in the past 10 years. Others have expanded, such as Pennsalt in Portland.

In electronics, a strong new industry has sprung up, paced by Tektronix in Portland.

Oregon in the past 10 years has made a striking rise in diversified manufacturing—a category embracing aluminum and steel smelting, metal fabrication, machinery, transportation equipment, and other durable goods. This group rose 45 percent in employment in the last 10 years, from 17,000 to nearly 25,000 employees; this classification is important because the number of jobs it provides brings diversity and stability to our basic economy. Thus we are not in a position like Boeing in the State of Washington, where such a large percentage of the labor force is engaged in one particular industry.

II

Let's review for a moment some of the assets of our great State. First and most important, we have a highly skilled, stable labor supply. This is more than just opinion, for census figures show that the median school year completed amongst people in Oregon over 25 is 10.7, or about 3 years of high school. The national average is 9.3. The Army recently reported that Oregonians taking Army intelligence tests had scored second highest average grades of personnel of any State.

And our work stoppage record is great, too. Man-days lost in 1958 were only two one-hundredths of 1 percent of the estimated total working time, compared to the national average of twenty-nine one-hundredths of 1 percent.

How about our water supplies? You and I both know that the day is not far away when adequate supplies of fresh, pure water for industrial processes will be the determining factor in the location of many types of plants. How high we stand on the list of areas having adequate water supplies.

How about agricultural production? Our State's widely diversified agriculture is the foundation of a constantly growing food processing industry and also has a potential of providing raw material for chemical, plastic and similar industries.

How about power? Oregon has plenty of wheel-turning power for industry, and rates are very favorable.

And while we're talking power, we must mention natural gas. We find that it is a big advantage in bringing metal-treating industries here, and a necessity for glass and ceramic plants.

Besides low-cost fuel and direct firing applications, natural gas also is a raw material for the chemical industry.

Sites in planned industrial districts, with utilities and transportation facilities available, and affording freedom from zoning wrangles, are important to industry. Portland now has 1,300 acres available in 12 industrial districts or parks.

Hillsboro and McMinnville industrial development commissions have bought up tracts of farmland and developed industrial parks. At least five other community development groups have raised capital for industry-attracting activities.

No discussion of Oregon's assets, of course, would mean much without reference to our forest resources. Oregon's huge stands of timber, now estimated at upward of 500 billion feet, still remain the No. 1 asset and best hope for a dynamic economy.

The lumber industry has the greatest effect on the Northwest economy of any, of course. The payroll of our lumber business is now twice that of Pennsylvania coal and twice that of the corn crop of Iowa and Illinois.

But the important question which comes most often from all segments of this industry is: "When will our timber supply be exhausted?" The most expert foresters tell us that by the year 2000 the region will be growing as much new timber as it cuts. While this is some time off, of course, the fact remains that we still have enough timber to bridge the gap, and permanency ahead is assured.

Leaving the matter of harvesting the trees, an interesting and important development has taken place the last few years—the utilization of the other half of the log.

Out of this other half of the log, we see new industries cropping up, with payrolls which will eventually reach those of the lumber business. It is the advent of the wood chemical era.

A striking example of the lumber industry's efforts to obtain the most from the logs is the fact that several years ago it was considered by the industry that only 45–50 percent of the log was used. Today's estimate is 90 percent.

To give you an idea of the magnitude of the lumber business in the Northwest, 2,500 out of the 7,000 industrial establishments in Oregon and Washington use wood as the basic raw material. Some 170,000 workers in Oregon and Washington receive $600 million in wages per annum directly from wood-using industries.

Oregon ranks first in the lumber production of the United States and has held this rank since 1938.

III

Now let's talk just a little bit about highways and their importance in our State. Highway improvement and construction in any part of the State is of significance to all other areas of the State, as all of our communities are linked together by the State's 7,400-mile system of primary and secondary highways.

Oregon's major transport problem—that of sheer distance—is complicated by the spotty distribution of our population, and the fact that the metropoiltan trading center of Portland is well-located with respect to deep sea and transcontinenal rail transport, and to the Willamette Valley, but remote from many important production centers to the south and east.

The second major factor in our transport problem is growth. Between 1945 and 1955 vehicle registrations almost doubled in Oregon, and our vehicle mileage has kept pace with our growth in population and registration.

Now what about our recreational facilities? I don't have to stand here and tell you what we have to offer in the way of recreation. That is God's country.

We have wonderful facilities in the way of motels and lodges to make any tourist's mouth water for a return trip to this area. And look at all the things we have for them to do once they get here: Rodeos, water carnivals, livestock shows, floral pageants, ski tournaments—just everything for the active sportsman or for the person who just wants to look on.

Our own State highway department is doing everything possible to attract more people to our area to take advantage of those things with which we have been so richly endowed by nature. In 1957 the travel division of the highway department spent over $300,000 to bring people to our area.

The State's visitor industry is estimated to over $140 million—certainly enough to be a prime contributor to the State's economy.

Industrial growth comes in waves and surges. It is never consistent, nor is it spread evenly. One wave in the past 25 years brought vigorous expansion in lumber and plywood in Southern Oregon. Another, in the postwar period, saw a surge in light metals.

IV

It seems to me that in the next decade there are eight likely sources of growth for the Pacific Northwest.

I will not go into them in detail, but it seems to me that the eight fields that we should watch for expansion are: First, that of consumer goods—both producing them and selling them. As business swells, markets grow for countless consumer goods now brought in from California and east of the Rockies. Thes consumer goods are produced by small independents who see a chance to make a start, and by national corporations who find that the Pacific Northwest has become large enough to warrant a new branch.

The tremendous growth of California helps the Pacific Northwest. In recent years it has been common for eastern manufacturers who wanted to establish manufacturing on the west coast to locate their first branch in California.

These consumer goods must be distributed also, and I am sure that most of you are aware of the new gigantic Lloyd project now taking shape in downtown Portland. This fantastic project, which will be the largest integrated shopping center in the world, will be open next spring.

The second field is that of forest products. As we have mentioned, forest products are the backbone of industry in Oregon.

With integration and fuller utilization of logs, more jobs are created out of every tree that's cut. A suggestion of what this can mean comes from a typical producer like the Hult Lumber Co. in Junction City, Oreg. Hult began making lumber, then added green veneer to get more value from its logs. In 1946, Hult employed four men for every million board feet processed. Last year, it employed eight men per million board feet. In the next 10 years, without using any more logs, but by making new products, it expects to double employment.

The third field is that of raw materials and supplies for heavy industry.

The shift in the manufacture of forest products to items like plywood, pulp, paper, particle board, and laminated products calls for more chemicals and adhesives. The output of chemicals will also increase for fertilizers, fungicides, and weed killers.

The fourth field of interest is that of agriculture and food processing. Continued ex-

pansion of west coast population will open many new opportunities for Pacific Northwest agriculture.

The fifth field of interest is that of the undeveloped natural resources. The Pacific Northwest's abundance of low-grade minerals challenges development of cheaper methods for industrial production.

The sixth field of interest is that of recreation and the sale of scenery. Oregon's matchless combination of mountains, lakes, and salt water will become an increasing attraction as other parts of the Nation become more crowded. Scenery can be sold and resold without wearing out. With promotion and construction of good vacation facilities, this region can add millions to its income from tourist trade. It's no secret that attractive living and pleasant recreation facilities are a great impetus to the attraction of new industries to an area.

The seventh field is that of fisheries and waterpower. The development of the ocean shrimp fisheries off of the Oregon coast is an example of latent resources being brought to production.

Low-cost waterpower, which has meant so much in postwar industrial growth, could be in for new expansion. If Canada and the United States can agree on the division of power from dams on the upper Columbia, this region may again be seeking new manufacturing, for low-cost power is an attraction.

And the final field that shows interest at this time is that of offshore trade. New growth and statehood for Hawaii and Alaska will help the offshore trade and should mean growth of markets where the Pacific States hold an advantage.

V

In order to bring about the fulfillment of these developments, we must have a healthy business climate which will give a boost to Oregon's industrial growth. We feel that our business climate is considerably better after the last legislature, where favorable action was taken to make the Oregon package more attractive to prospective new industries.

I thought you might be interested in some of the new laws which will aid us in helping sell Oregon.

First, the capital gains provision for income taxes—although the legislature tied a "reinvest in Oregon" string to it, provision for special income tax treatment of capital gains should help the State attract and keep capital.

Secondly, the 2-year tax exemption for manufacturing plants under construction—this will be an important asset, and one the industrial developers can use with telling effect in their sales presentation to new industry.

Thirdly, the freeport law exempting goods in transit from personal property taxes—this will give a real boost to growth of regional warehousing and distribution in the Portland area, where it is already big business.

Fourth, the tightening of unemployment insurance benefits to seasonal workers—businessmen consider this a step toward making jobless insurance less of a welfare program.

Fifth, the enabling law for a State industrial development credit corporation—this permissive act will put the State in a position to continue to use Federal funds to finance future development through community development corporations.

And finally, Oregon has a balanced budget, unlike so many other States in the Union.

VI

In short, those of us working on this industrial development work are actually concerned with two phases: First, determining what advantages Oregon has favoring its economic development and then publicizing these factors effectively; and secondly, learning the unfavorable factors and working toward eliminating those that can and should be eliminated.

And so on the brink of our second century of progress in Oregon we can look back to the so-called good old days, when women wore hoop skirts, bustles, petticoats, cotton stockings, high-button shoes, and puffs in their hair; did their own cooking, baking, cleaning, washing, and ironing; raised big families; went to church on Sundays; and were too busy to be sick.

The men in those days wore whiskers, square hats, and red flannel underwear; carried big watches and chains; chopped wood for stoves; bathed once a week; drank 10 cent whisky and 5 cent beer; rode bicycles and buggies; went in for politics; worked 12 hours a day, 6 days a week; and lived to a ripe old age.

Our businesses burned coal oil lamps; carried everything in stock from needles to a plow; trusted everybody; never took inventory; placed orders for goods a year in advance; and always made money.

Today, the women wear silk stockings, short skirts, pointed-toe shoes, an ounce of underwear; have short hair; smoke, paint, and powder; drink cocktails; drive cars; have pet dogs; and go in for politics.

The men have high blood pressure; wear no hats and some, no hair; shave their whiskers; ride in airplanes; never go to bed the same day they get up; are misunderstood at home; work 5 days a week; play tennis; and die young.

Our businesses have electric lights, cash registers, escalators, elevators, never have what the customer wants; trust nobody; take inventory daily; never buy in advance; and never make any money.

Maybe we should go back to the good old days, but I doubt it. All of us pulling together, taking advantage of our advantages, can truly make our great State of Oregon the most prosperous and most pleasant place in which to live as the last frontier of these United States.

The Late Richard M. Simpson

SPEECH
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, the news of the death of DICK SIMPSON cast a cloud of gloom over the entire State of Pennsylvania. It will be a long while in lifting.

DICK SIMPSON was known and respected by thousands of Pennsylvanians because of his human character, his honesty and his stanch and abiding belief in the institutions of our beloved Republic. All of us are going to miss DICK'S words in debate. Whether we agreed with him or not, we were certain that he enunciated a policy that he believed in and that he sincerely thought was in the best interests of America. The State of Pennsylvania has lost a great son. The Union has lost a wise and experienced statesman. We of the House have lost a beloved friend.

To the members of his family I extend my deepest and heartfelt sympathy.

Montana Gourmet Comes to Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the Congressional Club here in the Nation's Capitol has a new manager, Ruby F. Swanson, from Troy, Mont. She brings with her a talent in the culinary arts which will please the discriminating palates of connoisseurs of fine food.

In recent years Mrs. Swanson has been managing a summer resort, Swanson's Mountain View Lodge, in western Montana. Her Swedish recipes have been a contributing factor to the annual return to the lodge of many of her guests.

Montana and its visitors will miss Ruby Swanson, but I know that Washingtonians will realize in a very short time the great talents they have in the new manager at the Congressional Club.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the January 7, 1960, issue of the Washington Post.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 7, 1960]

SHE'S SERVING CONGRESSIONAL WIVES—FOOD FLAVORED WITH A TRACE OF SWEDEN

(By Marie Smith)

Food will have a distinctly Swedish flavor at the Congressional Club this year thanks to the club's new manager, Ruby F. Swanson.

When she arrived to take over last month she brought along a book of favorite recipes from Swanson's Mountain View Lodge in her home town of Troy, Mont., which she manages during the vacation season.

Many of the recipes are old family favorites handed down from her grandmother in Sweden and all have been tested at the resort lodge and approved by its guests.

She'll give her first sampling of the Swedish food at the reception the club is giving Sunday afternoon for new Members of Congress and their wives. "I plan to have prune bread and orange cake," she said yesterday.

It was through one of her guests that she got her job as manager of the Congressional Club here.

Representative and Mrs. WALT HORAN, Republican, Washington, stopped at the lodge en route home last summer. It was one of their many visits there and Mrs. Horan, knowing about the club's need for a new manager, asked Miss Swanson if she'd consider the job.

She did, and a flow of correspondence between her and Mrs. Walter Norrell, club president, followed with Miss Swanson arriving here with cookbook to fill the job.

It was not her first job in Washington. She came here first in 1936 to do research with the Social Security Administration. A year of personnel work in New York followed, and then she came back to do personnel work at the Pentagon during World War II.

An excellent cook herself, Miss Swanson said she rarely got a chance at the lodge except on cook's day off, but she always tests a new recipe before springing it on her guests.

Her hobby when not planning menus and other club activities, is golf, and Miss Swanson has several trophies won at Sherwood Forest when she lived here before, to show her skill at the game.

A Review of the Activities of the Congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy During the 1st Session of the 86th Congress and a Look Into the Future

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, it was a pleasure to attend the meeting of the Nuclear Energy Committee of the National Association of Manufacturers held in New York City, at 10 a.m., on Friday, October 23, 1959.

The program consisted of a review of NAM policies in the nuclear field and a general discussion of the Federal-State relationships in this field.

During the course of the program, as a member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, I delivered the following address in which I discussed the activities of the Joint Committee during the 1st session of the 86th Congress as well as the prospects for the 2d session.

The address follows:

REMARKS BY REPRESENTATIVE JAMES E. VAN ZANDT MEMBER OF CONGRESS, 20TH DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA, BEFORE THE NUCLEAR ENERGY COMMITTEE OF NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS, OCTOBER 23, 1959

Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, the distinguished chairman of your nuclear energy committee, Mr. Fairman, in his letter of invitation, suggested that I speak today on the activities of the Joint Committee during the 1st session of the 86th Congress as well as the prospects for the 2d session.

With all due respect to your distinguished chairman, I believe he has given me quite a large order.

As you will see, the activities of the Joint Committee during 1959 ranged all the way from radioisotopes to reactors, and from the genetic effects of fallout to the fine print in insurance policies.

Our committee held hearings on waste disposal, employee radiation hazards, workmen's compensation, patents, liability, Federal-State relationships, atomic power, new weapons, nuclear war, our nuclear submarine program, and a host of other subjects.

The testimony varied from atomic energy regulations in local communities all the way to international atoms-for-peace agreements, Euratom, and the Geneva negotiations with the Russians for cessation of nuclear weapons tests.

Our committee, and its various subcommittees, held a total of 84 public hearings and 77 hearings and meetings in executive session.

Some 25 publications, consisting of reports and hearings were printed by the Joint Committee during the first session, amounting to over 11,000 pages.

And so I say, Mr. Chairman, you have given me a fairly good sized order.

But, with your indulgence, I will try to touch briefly on most of the activities of the Joint Committee during this past session, and then look into my crystal ball for 1960, as you requested.

I am very glad to begin with the 1959 amendment to the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 to permit greater participation by State and local governments in regulating the atom, because I understand it is on your agenda this morning.

The 1946 and 1954 Atomic Energy Acts both set forth comprehensive frameworks for regulation of the atom by the Federal Government, but were silent as to the role of State and local governments.

As the peacetime uses of atomic energy spread throughout the country, a growing crescendo of interest by State and local officials developed.

In particular, radioisotopes began to find more and more applications in the fields of biology and medicine, agriculture, and industry.

By 1959 the AEC had outstanding over 4,500 radioisotope licensees, spread throughout our 50 States and in almost every community.

In May of 1959, the Joint Committee held 4 days of public hearings and received testimony from representatives of the AEC, Public Health Service, State and local governments, industry, and labor.

As a result of these hearings, the Joint Committee made a number of changes in the bill originally proposed by the AEC.

After a number of committee meetings, we then unanimously reported out the bill, with amendments, together with our committee report.

Let me quote briefly from some of the comments of the Joint Committee in its report:

"2. The approach of the bill is considered appropriate, in the opinion of the Joint Committee, for several reasons:

"(a) The approach is on a State-by-State basis. * * * The bill does not authorize a wholesale relinquishment or abdication by the Commission of its regulatory responsibilities but only a gradual, carefully considered turnover, on a State-by-State basis, as individual States may become qualified.

(b) The bill applies to some, but not all, atomic energy activities now regulated exclusively by AEC.

It applies principally to radioisotopes, whose use and present licensing by AEC is widespread, but whose hazard is local and limited.

Licensing and regulation of more dangerous activities—such as nuclear reactors—will remain the exclusive responsibility of the Commission.

When the bill was considered on the floor of the House, it was my privilege, together with my colleague, Representative MELVIN PRICE, of Illinois, to explain its purposes and intent to the other Members of the House.

After explaining some of the provisions, I summarized for the House as follows:

"In summary, Mr. Speaker, this bill would help the States assume independent regulatory jurisdiction in areas which are now regulated exclusively by the Federal Government under the provisions of the Atomic Energy Act.

"It would assist the States to prepare themselves for assuming such responsibility by increased training and programs of assistance for the States.

"As pointed out in the Joint Committee report, this would increase the protection of the public health and safety because most citizens look to their local health officers for advice and protection against hazardous materials used in the community."

I am happy to say that the House, as well as the Senate, passed the bill in the form recommended by the Joint Committee.

It was signed by President Eisenhower on September 23, 1959, as Public Law 86-373, and is now the law of the land.

The AEC is developing regulations under the new law and has entered into discussions with representatives of at least one State (New York) leading, we hope, to an agreement whereby that State will begin to assume some of the regulatory responsibilities of atomic energy applications.

I think most of you will agree with me that this new law to shift some responsibility out of Washington and to the States represents an important and healthy development.

All of us realize that it is going to take a number of years to develop commercially atomic energy, especially atomic power.

But some day we will have atomic power stations, as well as research reactors and radioisotopes, spread throughout the country.

It's time now for our State and local governments to start preparing to assume increased responsibilities in understanding and controlling this new force.

I would like to emphasize three things about this legislation.

First, it attempts to provide, for any given operation, that either the Federal Government will be responsible, or the State government, but not both.

From the point of view of industry, this should tend to prevent over regulation.

The Joint Committee put it this way:

"3. It is not intended to leave any room for the exercise of dual or concurrent jurisdiction by States to control radiation hazards by regulating byproduct, source, or special nuclear materials. The intent is to have the material regulated and licensed either by the Commission, or by the State and local governments, but not by both."

Secondly, the bill, as amended, tries to encourage uniform standards.

On this point the Joint Committee said:

"5. The Joint Committee believes it important to emphasize that the radiation standards adopted by States under the agreements of this bill should either be identical or compatible with those of the Federal Government. The committee recognizes the importance of the testimony before it by numerous witnesses of the dangers of conflicting, overlapping, and inconsistent standards in different jurisdictions, to the hindrance of industry and jeopardy of public safety."

Third, this is only the first step toward increasing State and local responsibility.

The committee's final comment, number 7, in its report was:

"7. The bill recognizes that this is interim legislation. The committee believes that the uses of atomic energy will be so widespread in future years that States should continue to prepare themselves for increased responsibilities."

Related to, and prior to, the Federal-State hearings, the Joint Committee held hearings on industrial radioactive waste disposal, and also on employee radiation hazards.

Disposal of radioactive wastes from reactors is recognized as one of the growing problems in atomic energy.

We therefore wanted to assess the extent of the hazards, the quantities of wastes being generated now and estimated in the future, and explore the new research on treatment and disposal now underway in our AEC laboratories.

We held 5 days of hearings and received testimony from 52 scientists and experts working in this field.

As finally printed, the waste disposal hearings, including the technical papers for the record, run over 3,000 pages in length, and consist of four volumes.

They are without a doubt the most complete library yet compiled on this important subject.

I have copies of our committee's summary analysis of the hearings here with me if any of you would like one.

The hearings in March on employee radiation hazards also explored workmen's compensation problems.

In the past, workmen's compensation has always been handled at the State level, but there are suggestions now that a Federal workmen's compensation law for radiation injuries should be considered.

We found certain areas of agreement and certain areas of disagreement growing out of our hearings.

We then listed 10 possible future courses of action in the summary-analysis which we prepared after the hearings.

The Joint Committee took no action on this subject this year, but it will no doubt be before us again when we return in January.

The Joint Committee also held hearings this year on insurance and liability problems.

Nuclear reactors are designed with every possible safety device and precaution, and the record of the AEC and industry in operating reactors to date has been fantastically safe.

However, there is always the remote possibility of an accident which could cost hundreds of millions of dollars of damage.

Private insurance companies managed to put together pools totaling $50 or $60 million.

Above that amount, the Congress in 1957 enacted, as recommended by our committee, the so-called Price-Anderson amendments to the Atomic Energy Act to provide governmental indemnity and limitation of liability.

This year we reviewed the operation of these indemnity amendments, including international liability problems, and possible insurance and indemnity coverage for nuclear powered merchant ships.

In general, the indemnity amendments seem to be working well.

There has been no major reactor accident, and no call upon the governmental indemnity funds.

The best insurance, of course, is preventive insurance, and to this end we receive an annual report from the members of the advisory committee on reactor safeguards.

One bad accident would set this industry back many years in terms of public confidence.

We must continue our efforts to prevent this possibility.

After hearings on liability and reactor safety, we held hearings on fallout.

We read in the papers every day about the dangers of radioactive fallout, and it is a difficult subject to evaluate.

In 1957 the Joint Committee held voluminous hearings on this subject and in 1959 we wanted to bring ourselves up to date.

We therefore heard statements from the leading scientists and experts in the field as to the hazards, and as to our program to protect the public against fallout.

The Joint Committee then prepared a summary-analysis of these hearings, following our usual practice.

In general, I think we are in agreement that the fallout caused by debris from past bomb tests, both on the ground and still in the atmosphere, does not constitute a hazard to our public.

If we were to resume atmospheric tests, however, levels of strontium 90 could become uncomfortably high.

We said in our report:

"Thus for testing already conducted, man's exposure to fallout radiation is and will be relatively small compared to the normal background radiation or the standard recommended by the International Commission on Radiological Protection (ICRP).

"Assuming successive cycles of testing over the next two generations or less, following the same pattern as the past 5 years, the predicted average concentration in bone will be about 48 strontium units.

"This is close enough to the maximum permissible body burden of 67 strontium units recommended by the ICRP to suggest that a hazard to the world's population could result during this period."

This suggests the advisability of tests underground rather than in the atmosphere.

This is, of course, one aspect of the prolonged and difficult negotiations with the Russians now taking place in Geneva.

Many military experts believe we may need to resume testing in order to improve our weapons program, including development of small, low-yield tactical weapons.

If the President should decide that we need to resume testing in the interests of national defense, it may be possible to reach an agreement with the Russians to conduct all future nuclear tests underground.

I think we would be willing to do this, and underground tests cause no fallout, of course.

But we have been talking with the Russians on this subject for almost a year now, and it is difficult to predict what, if anything, they will agree to.

Our final hearings this year were on the biological and environmental effects of a hypothetical nuclear war.

For the purposes of the hearings, the subcommittee set up an assumed attack pattern of nuclear weapons by an enemy against the United States.

We received testimony from military and civil defense experts, medical doctors and scientists.

After the hearings, the joint committee met to discuss the results.

Our summary-analysis of these hearings on the effects of a nuclear war are also available, and if any of you would like a copy, I will be glad to send one to you.

I think that you would find it very interesting reading.

The attack pattern assumed for the purposes of the hearings was that the enemy had delivered 263 nuclear weapons in 1, 2, 3, 8 and 10 megaton sizes, with a total yield of 1,446 megatons on 224 targets within the United States.

An additional 2,500 megatons were assumed to be detonated elsewhere in the northern hemisphere in attacks on overseas U.S. bases and in retaliation against the aggressor homeland.

Some of the subcommittee's conclusions were as follows:

"Probably the most significant finding presented to the subcommittee was that civil defense preparedness could reduce the casualties of the assumed attack on the United States from approximately 30 percent of the population to about 3 percent.

"The provision of shielding against radiation effects would at the same time protect against blast and thermal effects for the vast majority of the population.

"The cost of providing high-performance shelter protection for 200 million people was estimated at between $5 billion and $20 billion.

"The main conclusion presented to the subcommittee was that the country must have a national radiological defense system if the Nation is to withstand and recover from an attack of the scale which is possible in an all-out nuclear war."

We all hope to avoid a nuclear war, of course, but we have been less successful in some past years in avoiding a congressional war on another subject: The development of atomic power.

For the past 2 or 3 years before 1959 this had become an annual slugfest.

We used to debate, warmly and with some feeling, the issues of public versus private power, the rate of atomic power development, comparison with other countries, the role of government and industry, the advantages of different reactor types, and so forth.

However, this year, primarily because of the excellent relationships between the new AEC Chairman, John McCone, and our distinguished chairman, Senator CLINT ANDERSON of New Mexico, the Joint Committee and the Commission, after hearings, were able to reach agreement on a balanced atomic power development program for this fiscal year 1960.

This year the AEC authorization bill was approved unanimously by the committee, after a number of amendments to which the Commission consented.

The bill was then passed by both the House and Senate in the exact form recommended by the Joint Committee.

I hope that this spirit of harmony and cooperation will continue, and that we can find means for the Government and industry to work together to develop commercial atomic power.

The Joint Committee also held hearings in April of 1959 on the subject of atomic energy patents, and I know that this is a subject of considerable interest to your committee.

The AEC recommended, and the committee and the Congress approved, after our hearings, a 5-year extension of the so-called compulsory licensing provisions of the Atomic Energy Act.

The Commission testified while the industry is still in its infancy, the "reserve power" of the compulsory licensing section should continue to be available.

The compulsory licensing provision has never been invoked since enactment in 1954.

We wrote in many limitations and restrictions on its use, and it is truly a "reserve power" which I doubt will ever be used.

Our hearings disclosed, I am glad to say, that the number of applications and patents by private inventors is steadily increasing.

In 1947 AEC filed 282 patent applications, and others 110.

Ten years later, by 1957, AEC filed 260 patent applications, and 715 patent applications were filed by others, mostly private industry.

The other patent amendments requested by the AEC are still pending before the committee and will be considered further next year.

One of the most interesting problems is in the international field.

It presents the question whether AEC contractors should receive preferential patent rights abroad on research and development financed by the Commission.

I am not a lawyer—and I can assure you that this subject is very complicated.

But we will continue to try to follow policies of encouraging inventions and development by private industry, and at the same time making any technology developed by AEC financing available to all of industry generally.

Now for the crystal ball.

What will be the activities of the Joint Committee in 1960?

First of all, we normally begin each year with hearings on the development, growth, and state of the atomic energy industry, under section 202 of the Atomic Energy Act.

That section provides for annual hearings by the committee during the first 60 days of the session, with testimony from representatives of industry, labor, science, and the public.

I hope that some of the industry leaders in this audience will take advantage of this

opportunity to make known to the committee your views, either by written statement or by oral testimony.

The "202" hearings are scheduled for February 1960.

Also on the docket for next year will probably be further discussions of radiation standards and allocation of responsibility between the AEC, Public Health Service, and other agencies in formulating standards of protection.

In the past, the National Committee on Radiation Protection and Measurement has recommended standards which have been adopted with only minor changes by the AEC.

In 1959 the President established by Executive order a Federal Radiation Council to review these standards and to advise the President as to policies in the radiation field.

Our committee, in the Federal-State bill which I mentioned earlier, established by statute the Federal Radiation Council, adding the Secretary of Labor as a member, and providing that the council should receive the best possible technical advice.

This year I am sure we will be concerned with the operations of the council and the Federal agencies in developing new radiation policies and standards.

These will, of course, be very important to the atomic energy industry, as well as to labor groups and the public.

We can also look forward next year to a review of the atomic power program.

I believe that the Federal Government should devote its efforts primarily to research and development, and that private industry should concentrate on construction of reactors.

The building of atomic power stations is a very complicated and expensive business.

It requires dollars for bricks and mortar and standard generating equipment which industry should provide.

But new atomic power stations also require heavy research and development expenditures, as Mr. Fairman can testify.

The Commission can, and should, stand ready to bear some of the research and development expenses, in order to accelerate our atomic power program.

Government construction of some small prototypes of new reactor types will probably also be necessary.

New reactor types are being developed, and further refinements and advances are being made in some of our older reactor types, such as the pressurized water and the boiling water reactors.

The committee will review the entire atomic power program thoroughly again next year, probably in connection with AEC authorization bill, since Government assistance in this program requires annual congressional authorization.

I think we can look forward to an interesting year, but it is still too early to predict what reactor types, if any, the committee will add to the Commission's recommended program.

Finally, it is likely that the committee will make an overall review of our international atoms-for-peace program next year.

Many of our friends abroad are fascinated with the atom, and there are many ways that we can work with them to mutual advantage.

Many of them are naive and do not realize the technical, financial, and legal problems involved, but all of them are anxious to work closely with the United States, and to improve their atomic know-how.

But how do our 48 bilateral agreements, our cooperation with Euratom, and our participation in the International Atomic Energy Agency all tie together?

What were the original objectives of each type of program?

What has been accomplished?

Should we redefine our objectives in our international atoms-for-peace programs?

These are all interesting questions which grow out of the past, but also have real significance for all future policies.

So you can see that we have not been idle in 1959, and that we have a very interesting agenda to look forward to in 1960.

The atom was developed during wartime and under conditions of secrecy, but is now finding more and more peaceful uses, with increasing possibilities for bettering the future of mankind.

I hope that this association will keep up its good work, and will make known its views to our committee during the forthcoming year, so that our committee can carry out its responsibilities in formulating policy, both with respect to the military and the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

A Singular Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, within the past 10 days the Eisenhower administration, despite protests from at least 60 Members of Congress, approved an International Bank loan of $56 million to the United Arab Republic in order to widen the Suez Canal.

In the minds of millions of Americans this action is difficult to understand, in fact, cannot be understood. It is another sign of uncertainty and uneasiness.

In my remarks, I include an editoral "A Singular Policy," appearing in the Boston Globe of December 31, 1959, objectively evaluating this loan. I was one of the Members of Congress who opposed the approval of this loan. Denying any country, in this case Israel, the use of the Suez Canal for shipping purposes is a violation of an international agreement.

A SINGULAR POLICY

About a fortnight ago, despite protests from 60 Members of Congress, the Eisenhower administration approved an International Bank loan of $56 million to the United Arab Republic, for the purpose of widening the Suez Canal. The protests stemmed from the fact that, though Suez is supposed to be an international waterway open to all shipping, President Nasser continues the policy he inaugurated last spring of barring Israeli shipping and cargoes from the canal. Indeed, so recently as December 17, his police seized a Greek freighter bearing a cargo originating in Israel.

This latest seizure, antedating by less than a week approval given the $56 million loan by Washington, again focuses attention on Nasser's defiance of the directives of the United Nations that the waterway be opened without discrimination, and of international law.

The State Department now voices hope anew that the U.A.R. will honor its pledges and reopen the canal to Israeli shipping. This optimistic utterance, after granting the loan and while plans are afoot to lend another $50 million to the U.A.R. from the Redevelopment Loan Fund, is unlikely to butter any important parsnips for the U.S. policy in the Middle East. It suggests that the administration's right hand doesn't care what its left hand is doing.

Nasser is presently feuding furiously with Iraq to prove himself a stronger foe of the Israeli than the dictator at Baghdad. To assume that he will alter his blockade policy against Israeli shipping taxes credence. If U.N. Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold, due in Cairo January 21, can induce him to do so as Washington evidently expects, a miracle will have come to pass. Meantime this country is in the position of sinewing an international lawbreaker.

Dedication of Dickerson Generating Station by Gov. J. Millard Tawes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, on September 24, 1959, Gov. J. Millard Tawes spoke at the dedication of the Dickerson Generating Station at Dickerson, Md.

I recommend this talk to the reading of my colleagues, and ask unanimous consent that Governor Tawes' speech be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY GOV. J. MILLARD TAWES AT DEDICATION OF DICKERSON GENERATING STATION OF POTOMAC ELECTRIC POWER CO., DICKERSON, MD.

I should like, first of all, to congratulate the officers and the management of the Potomac Electric Power Co. for their industry and their foresight in erecting this magnificent new generating station in Dickerson.

And may I express the thanks of the people of Maryland, especially those living in the Washington metropolitan area, to the company for this valuable adjunct to the social and economic life of our community.

This powerplant, situated in the charming and peaceful Potomac River Valley, stands as a monument to our American system of free enterprise, refuting the alien doctrine we have heard so much during the last several days that capitalism, motivated by the desire for profit, breeds evil and dissatisfaction among people.

Here we see demonstrated by deed private industry's capacity to provide the needs of the people and private industry's interest in promoting the general welfare of the populace it serves.

I was gratified to learn, from your president, Mr. Dunn, and others, of the cooperation Potomac Electric Power Co. received from the officials of Montgomery County in this undertaking.

It is satisfying to me to know that the project, in a measure, then, is a product of the cooperative effort of public officials and private businessmen.

The political and economic system we have set up in this country will fulfill its potential only if this spirit of cooperation—of a joint effort to attain a common objective—prevails in the relationship of government to business.

The primary significance of this project, as I see it, is that it evidences PEPCo's determination and ability to supply the people in its operating area—the city of Washington with the urban sections of Montgomery

and Prince Georges Counties in Maryland—with the electric energy they need now, and will need in years to come, to maintain their homes and operate their businesses.

To those of us in government and elsewhere who are engaged in the important task of planning the orderly and healthy growth of Maryland, this Dickerson Generating Station of PEPCo has a special meaning.

A healthy and orderly growth of our State demands careful, precise planning for its economic development, and, as we all know here, economic expansion in this age would be impossible without the production of adequate electric energy.

Maryland has been generously endowed by nature with characteristics which have made it a place of pleasant and abundant living.

The hills, valleys, woodlands and fields that spread out before us here afford man all the delights of nature he needs to live prosperously and happily.

But the full life demands that man not only be provided with the necessities of food, clothing and shelter, but that resources surrounding him are sufficient to permit him to exercise to the fullest degree his instincts to build and to create.

These resources the Maryland man possesses in great quantity.

The growth and development of our State over the past three centuries has been determined to a great degree by the wealth of its natural resources.

Its early economy, primarily agricultural, was founded on the sound base of a fertile and productive soil. Commerce, and later industry, supplanted agriculture as the keystone of its economy, although agriculture, even today, is a vital part of it.

The thriving city of Baltimore grew up around one of the finest natural harbors in the country, a seaport that permitted the thrifty and enterprising merchants of Maryland to trade with the peoples of all parts of the world.

Railroad, canals, and highways were built, opening up the West and creating a natural outlet through our State of the commerce of that region with the rest of the country and the rest of the world.

The coal of western Maryland, which we hope Pepco will use in even greater quantities as the years go by, promoted a healthy, vital economy in western Maryland—in cities like Cumberland and Hagerstown.

A remunerative industry was built around our beautiful and priceless Chesapeake Bay with its great abundance of fish, oysters, and other kinds of seafood.

But an economy does not, and cannot, remain in a static condition. It either grows or it decays.

Understanding this, the States and regions of this country are competing keenly for industrial and commercial expansion. One State in the South last year added $153 million to its basic industrial wealth by inducing new industries to locate there.

If Maryland is to retain its favorable economic condition, it must enter spiritedly into this competition.

One of the first decisions I made as Governor of Maryland was to establish a new State agency, the department of economic development, whose responsibility it is to keep Maryland abreast or ahead of its competitors in the development of its economy.

This department is still in the fledgling stage and hence its worth cannot yet be appraised. But I have complete confidence in its leadership and no misgivings about its ability to reach the goals we have set.

Maryland, as I have shown, has plenty to sell, and the selling job can and will be done.

I should like to discuss at some greater length the assets of Maryland and what we can do to improve them. And I should like to use as an illustration this part of Maryland in which we find ourselves now.

This county—Montgomery—was described in an article that appeared in one of our metropolitan newspapers only a few days ago as one of the "richest, highest taxed, and most prosperous" counties of the country.

It enjoys the well-deserved fame of being one of the finest residential areas in the country, with attractive towns, villages, and suburban communities, good schools, good roads, excellent park and recreational facilities.

And the average value of new, single-family homes built in 1958 was approximately $20,000.

Situated as it is within the bulging metropolitan area of our National Capital and being as attractive as it is for gracious living, Montgomery County must of necessity grow and grow at an accelerated pace.

The rate of the population growth of course is conjectural, but I note that the Washington Board of Trade is estimating that the county, with a population now of 350,000, will have 435,000 inhabitants in 1965 and 670,000 by 1980.

Growth at such a rapid rate must be guided, controlled and regulated to escape what the planners call "suburban sprawl." It is consoling to residents of the county, I know, to realize that they have a county government and a planning agency which is equipped to handle this situation and avert the disaster of a suburban sprawl.

Montgomery County for many years has had excellent planning to provide for the orderly development of residential communities, shopping areas, and employment centers. The quality of its planning has been a main factor in its development as one of two or three of the most prosperous counties in the Nation.

Counties which become bedroom areas for adjoining big cities are likely to have serious problems of taxation and financing, and it is to the everlasting credit of Montgomery County planners that they have been aware of this and have taken measures to meet the problem.

They have realized that its economic base for taxation must be broadened by the attraction of industry, but industrial zoning has been carefully programed to avoid injury to residential areas.

Here again the county is most fortunate in that, situated as it is near the seat of our National Government, it is peculiarly suited to the more desirable types of industrial plants—the light, scientific industries.

The Federal Government has established some of its finest and largest research establishments here, including the National Institutes of Health, the Naval Ordnance Laboratory, and the Naval Medical Center.

Some of the world's greatest scientists are doing research in these laboratories. This, of course, affords a great attraction to the kind of industry Montgomery County needs to expand its economy without changing its basic characteristic as a pleasant place in which to live.

In constructing this new generating station and in planning its enlargement in the future, the Potomac Electric Power Co. has envisioned this industrial growth, along with the general growth in population, and is making provisions for the increased use of electric power in the area.

That is what I had in mind in the beginning when I offered my commendations to the company for its foresight. I know we can expect it to grow along with this great community and provide the public with the electric power that is needed.

I alluded earlier to the cooperation between Pepco and the governmental authorities of this county in the construction of this project, and I should like to say a little more about this.

The handsomely printed program for these dedicatory ceremonies graciously acknowledges the help that was extended by these public officials, stating that "without their understanding assistance, our (that is, Pepco's complex and multifarious tasks could not have proceeded as rapidly as they did."

As Governor of the State, I should like to pay a personal tribute to these county officers and agencies for working closely with this private corporation in the construction of a project that will be of enormous benefit to both.

Montgomery County's representatives in the general assembly, its county council, the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission and others were very helpful in what was a gigantic task, I have been told. The advice and the assistance given by Melvin Reese, the county manager, was of inestimable value, a company official told me.

It is quite apparent to all of us that the Potomac Electric Power Co. will be required to expand its generating facilities if it keeps pace with the growth of this community and fulfils its responsibility as a public utility.

I think we can pledge to the company here, as we dedicate this splendid new plant, the continued cooperation of the State and its counties in the tasks of the future.

Statement Made by the Chairman of the Brazilian Delegation, Mr. Augusto Frederico Schmidt, in the First Committee of the United Nations General Assembly, on October 19, 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, a truly great American was the late Gen. George Marshall. There is so much that could be said about the life of the general and his great services and contributions to our country in preventing the forces of vicious totalitarianism from dominating the world.

One of the finest tributes, and which came from his heart, was made on October 19, 1959, in a statement made by the Honorable Augusto Frederico Schmidt, Chairman of the Brazilian Delegation, in the First Committee of the United Nations General Assembly.

I include in my remarks the brief but all-embracing and touching tribute paid by Mr. Schmidt to our late friend, Gen. George Marshall.

Mr. Chairman, just two words to pay homage to the memory of General Marshall, deceased on last Friday. The free world owes him a great debt of gratitude. We cannot forget such a debt at the moment he leaves us for the repose of death. We have already forgotten too many things.

No other name is more deeply linked to the cause of the West than that of the illustrious American public man. His was the initiative of the most constructive of all enterprises dedicated to the maintenance of democracy, namely the Marshall plan, which allowed Europe to accomplish the grandiose

task of its reconstruction after the last World War. For this reason General Marshall was most justly granted the Nobel Peace Prize.

The fact that this tribute comes from a Latin American country vouches for its impartiality.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Economic Trends, Labor and Management Conferences, and the Steel Strike Settlement—Address by the Secretary of Labor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address by the Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell, before the Economic Club of Detroit, today.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SECRETARY OF LABOR JAMES P. MITCHELL BEFORE THE ECONOMIC CLUB OF DETROIT, DETROIT, MICH., JANUARY 11, 1960

Mr. Chairman, members of the Detroit Economic Club, distinguished guests, some 2 years ago I was invited to luncheon with you and, as some you may recall, I had to do it at that time by telephone, neither nutritious nor personally satisfactory.

I am happy to be here myself this time, and I want to thank you for again extending an invitation to me.

I have been asked to speak on the question: "Where are we and where do we go from here in the labor-management relations?"

I don't think that I can return a responsive answer to that question without indicating first what I believe to be important evolutionary changes in our economic life. For labor-management relations exist in a context of change.

It seems that the evolution of our economic life is leading toward larger concentrations of economic power within institutions—power based not on the ownership of wealth but on the control of wealth.

These institutions are various: corporations, of which 500 now account for two-thirds of our total industry; pension and trust funds, already totaling some $40 billion and growing at the rate of $4 billion annually; labor unions, supported by 16 million members; mutual funds, trusts, insurance and banking firms and so on.

It has been estimated that 50 million citizens are now sharing in the profits of the 500 largest corporations, directly and indirectly. Since 1952, the number of direct stockholders in public corporations has risen from 6.5 million to 12.5 million.

In the United States more and more people are enjoying greater and greater degrees of wealth.

At the same time, the control of economic wealth is concentrated in greater degree in our economic institutions, and in the hands of the managers, administrators and leaders of those institutions.

Outside a free society, this might be a dangerous condition, but inside a free society it has an opposite effect; it places in the hands of private citizens both the power and the resources to attain the social and economic goals they set for themselves.

A free society, has within itself the weapon to curb injustice that might result from a selfish or blind use of economic power; that weapon is the political power that the people have reserved for themselves.

We are all familiar with the use of political intervention, from antitrust laws through the regulation of transportation and broadcasting the regulation of labor-management affairs.

Intervention usually results when economic institutions have not lived up to the responsibilities that society has expected of them, either through incompetence or willful mismanagement and abuse of control.

We have, in America, a rapidly growing society, one with impressive needs, and even more impressive wants.

America will be looking to its private institutions to initiate and support positive programs for social and economic advancement.

At the same time intervention by political power has the latent danger of sapping the vitality of private responsibility, frustrating private initiative, and, most importantly, creating a drift toward vesting government with more and more controls over private affairs.

When political power and economic power are joined, as they are in Russia, it can be devastating to the ambitions of freedom.

At the same time, the vigorous and expanding society of tomorrow will not hesitate, I believe, to exert its political power if the needs and the wants the people feel are not met by private means.

That is one of the reasons why it was all-important that the recent steel strike be settled voluntarily—to preserve these vital institutions from political regulation.

And that is one of the reasons why more has to be done in the private sector to solve the social needs represented by the older worker, by the minority group—and on down a long list of problems waiting for remedies.

I disagree vigorously with those who believe that government is the only institution committed by nature to a forwarding of the common good.

We have estimated, at the Department of Labor, that the population of the United States will increase to 226 million by 1975. The labor force in that period will grow to 95 million, an increase of 23 million. Eight million of that increase will be men and women over 45 years of age.

At present, because of senseless prejudices, because of changes in business technology, the older worker is often excluded from employment. He finds that his age has erected invisible barriers around him, cutting him off from participation in the active economic life of his society.

Well, whose problem is this?

Is it the problem only of the mature worker himself, and one that he can meet only by recourse to his political power?

In New York and in other States there are now laws on the books that prohibit discrimination in employment because of age. Is it possible, unless the managers and the leaders of our centers of private economic power realize that this is their problem too, that a national law might someday be on the books—and it will be there not because the Government is seeking to control but because millions of people, frustrated in their desire to join into society in an active way, have demanded such control.

The fact that this economy will be called upon for a maximum response to meet domestic needs and international commitments makes it plain that the maximum utilization of human resources is not a choice but an imperative.

And it is plain to me that business management and labor unions have prime responsibility to get this job done.

A corporation must exist for larger ends than the mere accumulation of profit, the production of goods or the payment of wages. It must also use its economic power to further national goals and serve society's purposes.

It can't do this of it has, for example, discriminatory employment policies in regard to minority workers.

It can't do this if color is made a condition of employment.

I think you will agree with me that the clamor for general use of political power to meet social ends is based on a vote of no-confidence in the ability, and the intention, of the private sector of our economy to assume the responsibility.

I do not mean to give here the impression that the private and public powers stand at opposite poles. On many of the social needs of today they must join. Certainly the problems afflicting those areas of chronic unemployment require such a dual approach—legislation by government and action by the private economy.

The older worker, the minority worker, the area of chronic unemployment—add to these urban renewal, educational facilities, civil rights, housing and health. These, and many more, are problems of total society, and total society solves them in its own way, using the instrument that works best.

I believe that the concentrations of economic power in America have a responsibility to the common good, and that many of our needs can best be met through the exercise and the initiative of that private responsibility.

This is one of the reasons why there must be wider, better, more profound, more continuous communication between those in whom the power to control resides.

Last Thursday, in his state of the Union address, the President spoke of "voluntary, dependable, abiding cooperation among the important segments of our own free society."

Such cooperation rests upon voluntary, dependable, and abiding communication.

The time for labor and management to start talking to one another is now.

To forward this end, I have been suggesting for some time now that labor and management provide a means for communication outside the bargaining table. I suggested this need to the construction industry when I met with them in New York a few years ago, and I am happy to see that a committee has been formed within that industry, with representatives from labor and management, to address itself to mutual problems.

The President announced last week that it was his intention to "encourage regular discussions between labor and management outside the bargaining table to consider the interests of the public as well as their mutual interests in the maintenance of industrial peace, price stability, and economic growth."

We hope to encourage labor and management themselves to begin communicating with each other. For in order for anything practically useful and sound to come from such communication, it seems to me that the parties themselves must first want to communicate.

Without that desire for understanding, without that condition of good will, they are "doomed before they take the vow."

Certainly none of you sitting here this afternoon need an engraved invitation from the White House to talk out mutual problems with your employees or your employer.

It is true that the Government has been talking, and will continue to talk, with men in both labor and management, encouraging them to get together. It is my hope that this encouragement will prompt the repre-

sentatives of labor and management to initiate conferences in every industry—without waiting for Washington to fire the starting gun.

The advantages of open, continuous communication outside bargaining are, it seems to me, clear. Problems not susceptible to bargaining can here be met—the impact of research and development on employment, any practices that may be detrimental to labor or to management or to an entire industry, the impact of foreign competition and the maintenance of a high order of productivity. I am sure that many things come immediately to your minds as well.

And I would hope, finally, that out of these industry conversations, both labor and management will agree to the principle that owners, workers, and consumers are all entitled to a fair share of the fruits of increasing productivity.

And, in line with my previous remarks, it would be a demonstration that the public welfare can be forwarded by private interest.

It is my hope that eventually the bargaining table will become not an isolated battleground upon which hereditary opponents infrequently meet for an often-bitter Indian wrestle over the size of shares but the logical culmination of a continuously developed understanding, where the public interest and the welfare of the industry find their formal expression and their most positive fulfillment.

I was pleased that the steel agreement provides for a Human Relations Research Committee that will recommend solutions to mutual problems in the areas of wage and benefit adjustment, job classification, wage incentives, seniority and medical care.

In regard to the total steel settlement, there have been many misleading reports as to its cost.

I am sure that all of you are interested in the cost aspect of the settlement, and I would like to clarify it for you.

Mr. Roger Blough, chairman of the board of United States Steel, has said that the average annual increase in hourly employment costs resulting from this settlement will be 3.5 to 3.75 percent.

This is in contrast to other steel settlements during the postwar period, during which hourly employment costs have been rising, according to Mr. Blough, at an average of 8 percent a year.

The steel companies and the steel union, in the present settlement, have cut the postwar trend by half.

A comparison of the average annual increase in hourly earnings between the steel and other major settlements shows the following:

Aluminum, 5.2 percent; can, 4.5 percent; Kaiser, 3.82 percent; steel, 3.75 percent.

When compared with other wage settlements reported by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1950, the steel wage increase of 7 cents—which does not go into effect until next December—is less than the average. As a matter of fact, 65 percent of wage increases in 1959 exceed that figure.

What this means is that the steel wage settlement is in line with others negotiated this year, and thus cannot set off a wage pattern with highly inflationary effects, as has happened sometimes in the past.

A great part of the misunderstanding about this settlement is due to news accounts that failed completely to take into account the fact that the steel settlement has been described in terms of total employment costs while other major settlements have been described in terms of wages and benefits to employees.

Thus, to say that the reported steel package of 39 cents is comparable to the reported aluminum package of 28.2 cents is not only untrue but meaningless. The steel package figure describes total employment costs to the companies; the other is a description only of the wages and benefits received by employees.

Mr. R. Conrad Cooper, in comparing recent major settlements in terms of employment costs, said: "* * * the effect on our employment cost of the contractual arrangements we made is from 3½ to 3¾ percent per year. We estimate the can, aluminum, and Kaiser settlements would have approximated 4½ to 5 percent if they had been accepted by the steel industry, or nearly 30 percent more."

On the basis of this settlement—I am convinced that if management and labor mutually seek, as I know they will, to increase the rate of productivity in the steel industry, Mr. Blough's statement that there will be no price increase at present will be good for some time to come.

Certainly no one can predict price stability indefinitely because other cost factors than wages enter into the determination of price policy.

With good will and good sense, and with awareness that an economic institution like a steel corporation or a labor union must serve the public interest as fully as its own interests, it could be possible—on the basis of this settlement—that the United States will have seen its last major steel strike.

It has always been the pride of our people that we have been worthy of freedom. That is because we have turned power to the use and the betterment of the individual; we have made free decision and voluntary cooperation the touchstones of a system that serves and honors the highest ends of society—the elevation of each man toward wider horizons.

The issue before us is the old test of freedom with the new forms of power. It is an issue we should meet with full confidence in our private institutions, and in the ideals of reliance and service that have brought us successfully to this new decade. Thank you.

The NATO Parliamentarians Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, during the week of November 15–21, the Fifth Conference of NATO Parliamentarians was held in Washington, with the general assemblies held in the caucus room of the Old House Office Building and committee meetings in various committee rooms.

Members of the 14 visiting delegations told me that they thoroughly enjoyed the visit to Washington, which was appropriately held here in the 10th anniversary year of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Much of the credit for the successful meeting, together with the arrangements for extending the hospitality of the U.S. Congress to our visiting colleagues, should go to Representative WAYNE L. HAYS, chairman of the House delegation to the conference, and the U.S. member of the NATO Parliamentarians Standing Committee. Mr. HAYS served 1 year as president of the Conference and is presently a Vice President. His work with the NATO Parliamentarians Conference has brought great credit to the United States and to the U.S. Congress among our allies in NATO.

The Parliamentarians meeting here was very successful from the standpoint of discussion of some of the critical problems which face the NATO alliance. The Military Committee, for example, recommended in a resolution approved by the entire Conference immediate action to improve the air-defense system in Western Europe. The gravity of this problem has been made clear in the Council of Ministers meeting and in the conferences in which the President participated last month.

It is now conceded by all concerned that if NATO is to fully meet the challenge to strengthen Western unity, there must be far greater cooperation in political, economic, and cultural fields among the members of the alliance. I think the NATO Parliamentarians Conference should receive a major share of the credit for the impetus given this idea since the Parliamentarians meetings began. Most of the practical proposals for more fully coordinated activity in these broad fields were originally given responsible support in the NATO Parliamentarians Conference.

Citizenship Versus the Power Groups

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD B. RUSSELL
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, during the fall recess, I had the opportunity of reading one of the most challenging critiques of the current state of the American political system that I have come across. It was an address by the Honorable George Romney, the dynamic president of American Motors Corp., to the Commonwealth Club of California. It was delivered on September 14, 1959.

The thesis of Mr. Romney's excellent address is that economic power or pressure groups have all but taken over from the individual citizen the control and direction of our political system and institutions. This power grab by the power groups, as Mr. Romney sees it, involves both of our great political parties. He seems to fear that the arena of American politics has, to a large and dangerous degree, become the exclusive battleground of big labor versus big corporations. The rights of the individual citizen and the general welfare of the country have been ignored in this battle of the giants.

Mr. Romney has an answer for the dilemma facing the American political system. He urges a revival and resurgence of participation and responsibility by the individual citizen in the political affairs of the Nation. This is the only hope for cutting the big power groups down to size.

Mr. President, I have long been alarmed by the growing power and influ-

ence of the political pressure groups over our Government. I have warned time and again that these groups are exerting power and influence out of all proportion to the numbers they purport to represent. Even worse, they callously disregard the general welfare of the country as a whole in the interest of their own selfish and narrow end.

Mr. President, these pressure groups do not confine their activities to the economic field; they operate in virtually every area of our national life. They appeal to the noble instincts of our people, to their patriotism, their devotion to their country, and the like; while actually they are seeking to impose their selfish philosophy on the Government.

I am delighted to hear an outstanding American business leader speak out frankly and courageously against the growing menace of the pressure groups. Mr. Romney's Commonwealth Club remarks amount to a ringing call to citizenship. I believe every Member of this body could profit by reading Mr. Romney's remarks and I therefore ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CITIZENSHIP VERSUS THE POWER GROUPS

(By George Romney, president, American Motors Corp.)

Some years ago, Justice Brandeis, one of the most thoughtful and probing observers of the American scene, declared:

"It is not good for us that we should ever lose the fighting quality, the stamina, and the courage to battle for what we want when we are entitled to it."

Today, I think we have lost a great deal of that "fighting quality." The majority of our people have few flaming interests that they are willing to struggle for. In many important areas of our national life, the individual is being engulfed in vast organizations and power groups. In larger and larger numbers, he is transferring his rights of citizenship to the corporation or the union, or idly watching his responsibilities drift to Washington.

To a very large extent, the people owe their security to corporations or unions which are concerned with the most important single interest that individuals can gain from such association—the individual's economic interest. As long as this is reasonably secure, people have no burning interest that would move them actively into political participation. On the contrary, large numbers of them consider it safer to be nonpolitical.

Without personal interests or convictions, they remain nonpolitical because the ways in which politics operate on them are so generalized and so remote that they consider it all but impossible to interfere.

There are three major dangers from this renunication of politics:

If the people as citizens are unable to fill the role in politics traditionally assigned to them, we will be confronted with a vacuum in political power and leadership.

Impersonal economic interests are replacing and eliminating political and citizenship interests. The substitution of economic citizenship for direct political citizenship could be the doom of our way of life.

Parallel economic and political conflict would destroy the social unity vital to society as a whole.

Today, I would like to deal with these fundamental problems. As the basis of discussion, let's review briefly the established principles of our American democracy.

First, the moral principles.

1. The rights and basic responsibilities of man are derived from the Creator, in whose eyes each man is an individual, created with equal rights and responsibilities and in perpetual brotherhood.

2. Each man in meeting his responsibilities has the right to all freedom that does not infringe on the rights of others.

3. Freedom can be a reality only with separation of church and state. Religious freedom is the key to all the others. If the civil and ecclesiastical governments were joined, the latter would necessarily have to dominate, since it could point to an authority higher than the people.

4. The state derives all of its authority from the people and should be responsive to their control.

With the moral principles established, the mechanics of the social order become the prime consideration, requiring basic agreement among citizens as to principles of government.

I believe these are the essential elements of that agreement:

1. A system of representative democracy most effectively insures individual liberty.

2. Government must limit itself to those rights specifically assigned to it by the governed.

3. The authority of government should be divided to provide cross-checking and dispersion of power.

4. Government should be as close as possible to the people it serves, therefore state and local governments should have adequate responsibility.

5. The people assume responsibilities to be met by voluntary means, in order to avoid excessive reliance on government and the consequent abridgement of liberty to obey or disobey their Creator.

6. The mainsprings of progress should be individual action or the voluntary cooperative action of free individuals.

7. The state should do for the people only those things they cannot do at all or as well for themselves, either individually or in cooperation with each other.

8. Economic and nonreligious social institutions derive their authority from the people and should be responsive to their control. As organizational magnitude and complexity grow, the state becomes for the people a joint instrument of economic and social control. Properly used, the purpose of the state is to maintain the ability of the people to exercise direct ultimate control—as in the case of economic control through antimonopoly laws to enforce competition.

9. The exercise of direct ultimate economic and social control by the people requires the division and dispersion of economic and social power. Power concentration in one place fosters it in others. It diminishes control by the people, and thereby limits their freedom, responsibility and development.

Taken together—these moral principles and principles of government are the foundation stones of our society; the authority of the Creator * * * the sanctity of the individual * * * the brotherhood of man * * * the state as the creature and servant of man * * * the dispersion of power, that freedom may be insured * * * that men should compete and cooperate and be rewarded on the basis of what they contribute to society.

Have these principles changed in any way? I can't see that they have. But circumstances change, affecting not the validity of the principles but their freedom to work. When the system fails in some degree or another, it is not the fallacy of principle but the failure of techniques or the failure of men.

Our techniques will continue to fail from time to time if we freeze them, if we fail to recognize that the American Revolution is a continuing process of applying our basic principles to new problems that arise out of new experience. The fact that new problems arise is in itself almost sufficient proof of the strength of the system, which is fluid rather than static. It produces new successes, new situations and, naturally, new challenges. As Whitman observed, the fruition of each success brings these new challenges, making a still greater struggle necessary.

In the early days of our Nation, it was hardly possible to foresee that our revolution would also embrace other revolutions, particularly in technology. Nor was it possible to anticipate our phenomenal growth, our ascendancy to world power, the enormous economic changes, the growth of the corporation and union concepts * * *. To name only these, is it possible to conceive of an ideal inflexible system? Or to deny the living character of our revolution?

Failure to modernize our techniques as we have moved along has created some severe problems, none of which, in my opinion, has exceded the problem of power concentration.

This strikes at our basic principles. We fought against the power concentration that made our liberty and independence impossible. The weak state of the original Confederation reflected the peoples' fear of concentrated authority. The Constitution itself, while providing for a strong central government, bristles with safeguards against excessive power held in the hands of a few. Jefferson defeated Hamilton and his ideas, Jackson defeated the Bank of the United States, Teddy Roosevelt defeated the trusts, Franklin Roosevelt divided the power of big finance and big business. We are ignoring the problem when we allow the Federal Government, or unions and industry to assume too much responsibility.

I think one of the most regrettable aspects of American life today is a situation in which union power and employer power can be concentrated to the point that an industry which is basic to the economic welfare of the total nation can be shut down as a result of the position of either group. I think that is an unheard-of concentration of private economic power. I think it's going to be impossible to solve the economic problems of this country without dealing with that hard reality of excess economic power. I think any time we permit a few men in labor or a few men in industry to reach the point where they can cripple the economy and adversely affect the public interest, we have created a condition completely contrary to the spirit of America. The employer and union power in the steel strike is a present example. I do not agree that it will impress Khrushchev favorably. I think it will impress him as an abusive exercise of excess private economic power.

When I have discussed concentration in labor and industry on previous occasions, some have remarked that I am seeking increased government regulation. Quite the contrary. We do not need more law but modern law. Neither our labor laws nor our anti-trust laws are up to date. Bear this in mind: when law is not clear or specific or up-to-date, either the problems grow or the intervention of government must necessarily be increased. Vague and outmoded laws are difficult to observe and to enforce. Our present anti-trust laws make their criterion the intent to use power wrongfully—opening up an endless field of litigation and legal interpretation. How can intent be proven and judged with accuracy in the field of business? As in the case of our Constitutional safeguards, the criterion should be the ability to wield power to excess. In the case of labor, our inconsistent laws encourage the fostering of labor monopoly and the creation of a concentration of power that could be matched only by a massive coalition of industrial power. The collision between these two excessive forces is confronting us with the necessity of intervention of government to protect the people as consumers—and the

end result of the road we are on will be some form of totalitarianism.

The attitude of outspoken people toward highly centralized government may be divided generally into three categories: those who believe in the idea of social "drift" that, like a raft on a Gulf stream, society will somehow get where it's going. Another view is that big centralized governments are necessary for big societies, and that comfortable countervailing forces will keep the balance. A third view is that concentration of power ought to be fought wherever it exists or the individual will be smashed—one way or another.

I take the latter view. Certainly big societies, especially those in competition with other big societies, need strong—even big—governments and strong—even big—unions and corporations. But their power can and must be dispersed. The ultimate control can and must be in the hands of the people.

This will be impossible unless we recognize that it is morally and economically wrong for either unions as unions or corporations as corporations to get into politics directly or indirectly.

To me, it is wrong for the very simple reason that it is wrong for any American to transfer his personal rights of citizenship to an institution, and wrong for an institution to act in any way to encourage the relinquishing of such rights.

There is little difference in principle between the present excessive political influence of unions and the earlier excessive political influence of business denounced by both Roosevelts. One excess is as wrong as the other. Both are obstacles to political freedom, economic justice, and individual development. The creation of union power was a desirable offset to business power. Economic power is better distributed now between unions and business than it was earlier when exercised largely by business. Current union political activity does not differ in principle from earlier business political activity. Unions can try to justify their programs on that basis, but the question is whether in a democracy based on political freedom and the rights of the individual, economic organizations should be permitted to participate directly or indirectly in political affairs.

Let me be clear. I am not referring to individual union leaders or members participating in political activity. I do not mean individual business leaders or white-collar employees participating in political activity. Nor unions or businesses presenting economic facts to political bodies or to private citizens' groups. What I am talking about is direct or indirect political activity on the part of economic organizations, whether they are union organizations, business organizations, or other organized forms of economic endeavor.

Before church and state were separated, unquestionably church participation in politics and government exerted a direct influence on the political attitudes of church members. Similarly, political activity by a company is likely to cause an executive to feel that his economic opportunity in the enterprise is affected by his political support of company political thinking. Conversely, the attitude of many American businesses has resulted in political inactivity on the part of its executives.

The same thing is true of unions. How could union members or union officers fail to feel that their treatment by the union would be affected by conformity or opposition to union political programs?

I believe we must prohibit economic organizations from direct or indirect political activity and expenditures. What right have they to use the funds of stockholders or members to support specific political candidates or partisan issues? What right has either to create an atmosphere where a member's or employee's economic status can possibly be thought to depend on his political views and convictions—as long as they conform to the basic principles on which our free society depends to protect individual freedom and inalienable rights?

With the difficulty being experienced in securing competent candidates for local, State and even some Federal offices, it is obvious we must overcome the lack of political participation by individuals, whether they be corporate employees or union members. I believe that corporate officials and union officials should participate personally, as individuals, in political affairs * * * but I think they should take every possible step to assure members and employees that this right is a personal right not to be abridged in any manner, and to encourage others to use it.

We must bring back to life the feeling that each individual can participate with effectiveness.

One businessman wrote me the following question: "How can a public-spirited individual be effective or influential unless his energies are combined with similar energies of other individuals?"

He cannot. He must work with others. But his work must be personal and direct, not by proxy. He must be directed by what he believes in, not what his corporation or his union believes in. He must speak for himself, and not suffer his voice to be drowned in the loudspeaker of an institution. The instrument available to him for the combination of his effort with those of others is the political party, when the party system is functioning properly.

Unfortunately, our political parties at present have given victory at the polls such engulfing preeminence that neither will take a position that might offend any sizable segment of voters. The result is a close similarity between stated party objectives, with very little choice left to the voter. Attention is focused on money and organization power rather than broad citizen participation and sincere spontaneous support.

The parties have allowed themselves to a large extent to become the captives of dominant economic groups. In Michigan, for example, one party is largely under the control of big labor, while the other is largely in the hands of big business. The dominance of these power groups, expressed through organizations and not individual citizens, resulted in a 7-month deadlock that thwarted the progress of the State. The individual has a sense of frustration and helplessness.

To combat this, we are developing a nonpartisan citizens' program identified as Citizens for Michigan. It is made up of individuals acting for themselves and not as representatives of any organization of any type.

Through this effort, we hope, first, to establish a means by which an influence greater than the minority economic groups now dominating our two political parties can be created; second, to acquaint enough citizens with the facts on the State's problems and the means for their solution to secure essential political and governmental action; and, third, to restore citizen belief in the effectiveness of individual political participation.

The success of our program can provide the basis for releasing the political parties from their captivity and restoring to the people these necessary instruments for self-government.

To encourage an increase in political participation, we must have two political parties with programs and methods that provide the people a clear choice. At least one should be devoted to the interest and welfare of all Americans. At least one should be more dedicated to the principles of human liberty and justice than to political victory at any cost through economic power, subsidy and advantage.

Individuals of character and principle, working at free citizens with others of like mind and purpose, can achieve this. Individuals working politically as units of business or labor can only intensify special interest party domination and increase the magnitude and scope of our present economic conflict, while personally giving up the rights, responsibilities and respect of citizenship.

There are three important things we must do to stop the drift toward increasingly massive centralized government.

One, to make certain, by modernized law, that power outside government is dispersed and kept dispersed. Surely the principal way to reduce the size and power of centralized government is to disperse power that only big government can hold in check and increase the influence and control exercised directly by the people.

Two, to improve the character of State governments and modernize the smaller government units, such as the parish or the county, that were set up on the basis of travel and population distribution in a frontier country.

Three, to revive the political participation of the people in control of the government by dramatic steps that would bring back to life the feeling that they can participate with effectiveness.

The most effective means of putting some hope and zest back into political participation would be for the political parties to reject economic power group participation, reach out for citizenship participation, put less emphasis on dollars and more emphasis on people. The give-a-dollar-to-the-party-of your-choice campaigns would be more effective with a give-an-hour campaign. The method today is too much one of guarded exclusion rather than participation. The parties are not going to get participation if the people feel they have no opportunity to choose anything but the word that is passed from the smoke-filled room. Widely publicized open forum-type meeting would put excitement and opportunity back into the political arena at the local level.

Participation on an effective basis would arouse the interest of people who are today without interest. It would simulate people to take stands on issues and it would generate issues One of our problems today is issueless politics, with a tragic simplicity between party positions that give the voter little choice. How can a citizen help but vacillate between parties and be ill attracted to either in such circumstances?

We need to bring our political parties and the people together, if our democratic system is to continue to be truly representative. When the people have no choice, they are powerless to act, and control is defaulted to willful power groups that can be arrogantly unaccountable to a listless electorate.

Today, the power groups are rapidly extending control over the people, the political parties and the State. The individual must use his citizenship to bring the power groups under control, not primarily through the State but primarily through making them responsive to the people. The unions should be primarily responsive to the control of citizens who are members. The corporations should be primarily responsive to the control of citizens who are stockholders and consumers. The citizen must fight for his citizenship, or he will find himself enslaved by the power groups or an all powerful State that is exercising his inalienable rights on the premise that the State must protect him from the excesses of the power groups. The internal struggle of our age is citizenship versus the power groups.

When Franklin D. Roosevelt talked to your club on September 23, 1932, he discussed the necessity of curbing the barons of business, as it had once been necessary to curb the barons of feudalism. He led in releasing the forces that created the barons of unionism. This division of power was better than its unilateral exercise, but the existence of two sets of barons and their widening contest for economic, political, and social power threatens our future at home and abroad. The union barons and the business barons must be curbed anew. When both are so strong that separately or jointly they can jeopardize the interests and rights of the Nation as a whole, citizens are face to face with the age-old struggle to keep power in any form from becoming excessive.

Greater exercise of citizenship is an essential factor in America's future.

We need to reawaken the idea, I believe, that America has some important unfinished business. The American Revolution was not a distant explosion, from which the dust has long since settled. It is a continuing process, and we should never forget this.

We must continue our revolution by restoring faith in the individual and helping the individual to restore faith in himself and his citizenship.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RUSSELL. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I merely wish to supplement what the distinguished Senator from Georgia has said with respect to George Romney, the president of American Motors. He is not only one of the most courageous and dynamic and forthright leaders in American industry, but some years ago George Romney was associated with one of the senatorial committees, as I recall.

I remember that when he appeared before the Judiciary Committee at one time, he made some observations with reference to his committee experience on Capitol Hill. Therefore he sees the whole picture, not only from the standpoint of industry, but also from the basis of his experience in the legislative branch as a sort of working member of a committee. I share the high esteem which the distinguished Senator from Georgia has of Mr. Romney.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I do not recall ever having met Mr. Romney, although it is entirely likely that he was associated with a committee during the time that I have served in the Senate. It so happens that during the adjournment of the Senate I have more time to spend in my office than I am able to do when the Senate is in session, and therefore have more time to read material which comes to my desk. I read Mr. Romney's speech, and it impressed me tremendously.

I am confident that he points to one of the real threats to our system of government. It is the fact that the pressure groups operate in almost every area of our life, and in doing so they make more noise and receive more credit and claim more strength than they are entitled to, and exercise more influence on the operation of our Government and on the making our laws and the enforcement of our laws than their numbers and the merits of their case would justify.

Farm Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, during November 1959 the Los Angeles Mirror News carried a very informative series of five articles on the agriculture program, by Jack Tobin, staff writer, calling attention to the magnitude and seriousness of the farm subsidy and surplus problem. In my view, the Mirror News has performed a valuable public service through its efforts in this regard and I feel the articles should be brought to the attention of the Congress. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the first article of the series:

[From the Los Angeles Mirror News, Nov. 2, 1959]

CITY FOLK PAY COST OF FARM PRICE AID

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Today The Mirror News starts a serious report on a serious problem—farm subsidies. Any urbanite who asks, "What's this got to do with me?" should pause and reconsider. Because all of us city dwellers, all of us who grumble and groan under our tax load, pay the freight. Our tax dollars—literally by the billions—finance a program which started in the depression, mushroomed during World War II, and continues now that we have neither a depression nor a war. The figures will startle you. Your share in both the cost and the results of this program will shock you. We've tried to find out where your tax money goes, what you get for it. We've spent months at it. We talked to farmers, big and small. We've interviewed brokers, economists, bankers. We've pinpointed the problem in California. The report is factual. What can you do about it? Think about it as the five-part series unfolds. We have some ideas of our own. We intend to spell them out in our editorial columns Thursday and Friday. See if they jibe with yours.)

(By Jack Tobin)

Nearly 5 cents of every tax dollar you send to Uncle Sam is spent to perpetuate a wasteful national disgrace.

That's what it costs you—and every other taxpayer—to sustain the most outmoded, wasteful, misguided farm price support program in all history.

It was created in 1933 to aid the depression-stricken farmer. Objective: Keep the farmer in business by guaranteeing him a price for his produce.

Now, 26 years later, the program's still going. As big as ever. Few will claim the average farmer is suffering from a depression. Few will argue the farmer, if he's worth his salt, can't make a living off the land.

POCKETBOOK HOLE DEEPER

But the Government continues its aid to the farmer, good times notwithstanding. The politicians refuse to reduce or eliminate the price support program. The hole they've been digging in our pocketbooks over the years gets deeper.

The experts readily admit the program perpetuates the uneconomic farmer. Depression-designed benefits now help the big get bigger, the rich get richer.

And who pays?

The city dweller. The consumer. The taxpayer.

Consider this:

Taxpayers—all of us—have $9,100 million invested in Government-owned farm surplus commodities right now.

Taxpayers—all of us—shell out $1,750,000 every day of the year to store the farm glut that grows and grows and grows with each harvest.

Taxpayers—all of us—lost $810,854,471 above the original commodity cost just to give away surplus farm produce in the fiscal year ending last June 30.

And so the figures leapfrog to ever-mounting totals. And the taxpayer, who picks up the tab for the farm aid, is hit again in the pocketbook at the consumer level.

He pays just a bit more for the cotton shirt he wears, the loaf of bread he eats. Inflationary? Of course.

This Mirror News exclusive series is based on months of extensive investigation. I talked to farmers up and down the length of California, farmers who profess distaste for the price support program but who use its provisions to build financial empires.

I talked to processors, brokers, consumers. I talked to agricultural economists.

MOST SACRED COW

When The Mirror News launched this study, a high-placed politician said:

"I wish you well. But I doubt if you'll get very far.

"Of all the issues that come before Congress, this price support program is by far the most sacred of the sacred cows. You just can't lay a glove on it.

"Why? Because too many Senators and Congressmen are scared to death of the so-called farm vote and what it might do if price supports were reduced or abolished."

We dug hard for facts. They didn't come easy. Farmers, generally, were cooperative. Most of them level with you. But the Department of Agriculture all too often represented a classic study in foot-dragging and evasion.

'INFORMATION' WORTHLESS

The department's office of information, headed by R. Lyle Webster, employs 236 persons. At least it did November 30, 1958, the last available check-point in congressional testimony. The information section's budget for fiscal 1959 was $1,413,665.

But as far as our requests were concerned, the department was worthless. We had to go to other sources for our facts.

In operation 26 years, the price support program rolls along under a full head of bureaucratic steam. There are agencies and bureaus and divisions. There are bureaucratic domains of all sizes and shapes.

And it doesn't come cheap.

The massive bureaucracy had a total budget last year of $3,200 million. That's more than the entire Government operations budget in 1930.

BENSON OPPOSED

Oddly, the man charged with responsibility for the program doesn't think much of it. He's Ezra Taft Benson, Secretary of Agriculture and favorite whipping boy for farm belt politicos.

The price support program, as we know it now, "is the most costly, irrational hodgepodge ever patched together," says Benson.

And yet his proposals to breathe a little commonsense into it bring the full wrath of Congress down on him.

President Eisenhower, in a masterful understatement, says the price support program "does little to help the farmer in the greatest difficulty."

HURTS FARMER, BUYER

Another bit of low-key criticism comes from L. E. Evans, general manager of Challenge Creamery Co. and an astute observer of the dairy products division of the price support program.

"It doesn't lead to economy or enhance the free enterprise system," Evans said.

Take a loaf of bread, for example:

In 1948, the national average price of a 1-pound loaf of bread was 13.9 cents. Last year, the average price was 19.3 cents, an increase of 39 percent.

But during this period, the farm value of all ingredients in the loaf of bread dropped from 3.4 to 3 cents.

In other words, the farmer's share of the retail price decreased from 24 to 16 percent.

And yet, during the same period, literally billions of tax dollars were poured into the price-support program. Why?

Certainly not to reduce the cost of bread to the consumer. And the farmer didn't improve his proportionate share of the consumer sale.

Obviously, the billions went into an economic squirrel cage that defies logical explanation.

A tour of California's farm-rich Central Valley shows, that most of the big cotton-growers, the so-called corporate farmers, find the price-support program a gilt-edged boon. The bigger the farm, the greater the per-acre production, the more valuable the subsidy.

BIGGEST BENEFIT MOST

The big farmers profess distaste for Government handouts. But so long as subsidies are being passed around, most of them will have some, please, thank you.

To the little farmer, price supports are necessary to stay in business. They'd be gobbled up by the big boys if it weren't for price supports, they say.

BENEFICIARY CRITICAL

Take the case of E. C. Salyer. This crusty, tough-talking Corcoran farmer bosses a 30,000-acre farm empire that is the archetype of the bigtime operation. He's on outspoken critic of the price-support program—although he's not above benefiting from its provisions.

"I'm in the mood now," Salyer said recently as he pounded a cotton bale with his fist, "to take all them supports off and let the fittest survive.

"If they did, 50 percent of the farmers in the country would go broke."

Then he mused:

"And ole Clarence would go broke with 'em."

Grantsburg, Wis.: A Community That Refused To Die

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, one gets a real kick out of observing what we used to call the traditional spirit of the independent American. Grantsburg, Wis., was supposed to be down and out. It reminded me of what happened in my own community when I was a youngster and graduated from law school. At that time the great mill in Chippewa Falls went out of business. People said the town was dead. Instead, the people of the community faced the problem together and built up shoe factories. The community is now a thriving one, located in a beautiful spot in the heart of Wisconsin.

Mr. President, the traditional spirit of independent action and free enterprise, which has served as the foundation of our country's progress, must, I believe, be encouraged, if the Nation is to promote progress and provide for security.

Over the years there has been an increasing tendency to look to Uncle Sam to resolve more and more problems confronting our people.

Where Uncle Sam has a proper responsibility, I believe, of course, that he should do the job, or at least provide the necessary assistance and stimulation to local or State efforts.

In view of the substantial volume of obligations approved by past actions of Congress, however, there will be a real need, I believe, to attempt to establish a priority basis for recommendations for new spending programs.

This will demand of our citizens, special-interest groups, and Congress, itself, a real self-discipline—if we are to maintain a sound fiscal structure in this country.

The situation, I believe, demands a resurgence of the imaginative, forward-moving spirit of enterprise, particularly at the local community level, to find solutions to problems confronting the people.

What can be done?

For communities facing economic and other lack of growth problems, the following principles, if properly applied, would help build a better, stronger economy. These are as follows:

First. Organizing community and area development committees to resolve unemployment and other economic problems.

Second. Spurring local efforts for greater industrial development.

Third. Searching out sources of venture capital—local and elsewhere—for possible new enterprise.

Fourth. Encouraging investments by local people in local enterprises as opposed to letting savings be idle.

Fifth. Encouraging home, store, and public building modernization, as well as community clean-up, fix-up campaigns.

Sixth. Attempting to diversify economic programs, especially in areas where there are seasonal fluctuations, to avoid recurring cycles of unemployment.

Seventh. Making a survey of needed services in the community and its trade area, and attempting to encourage development of such service establishments.

Eighth. Surveying the potential agricultural, mineral, timber, and other resources, including manpower, to see what new industries could possible be developed.

Ninth. Examining the community potential for development of tourist, recreational, or other activity.

Today I would like to pay tribute to a particular community—Grantsburg, Wis.—that has symbolically demonstrated the imaginative creative spirit of American free enterprise.

Five years ago, Grantsville was faced with the prospect of decaying and whithering away.

Lack of industry, migration of people to metropolitan areas, and other factors threatened the life of the community. To meet the challenge, about 60 citizens of Grantsburg got together to see what could be done to forge new ideas, and mobilize local skills and resources to improve the outlook.

What was the result? Within these 5 years the community has attained the following accomplishments:

In 1959 the local industries shipped over $2½ million of finished products out of Grantsburg.

Telephone service has been improved.

The town has had its streets surfaced, and a good water and sewage system—debt free—installed.

Under construction is a $600,000 medical center.

Through organization of businessmen, new industries have been born in the community, benefiting both the town and the surrounding farm people.

In summary, the community—by a "bootstrap" operation—lifted itself to a progressing town that has won top rating and recognition among small communities in Wisconsin.

Symbolic of the kind of enterprising spirit needed in the country—particularly when Uncle Sam is bearing such a heavy burden—I request unanimous consent to have an article, by Bernie Manuel, published in the Wisconsin Agriculturist and Farmer, outlining Grantsburg's progress, printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GRANTSBURG, WIS.: A COMMUNITY THAT REFUSED TO DIE

(By Bernie Manuel)

Survival and growth, death and decay, stalk villages and hamlets in Wisconsin's north country like the fishermen and hunters who seek wildlife along the rivers, lakes, and forests of the region.

Here an old era is dying and a new era is being born. Migration of rural people toward job opportunities offered by gigantic metropolitan areas and large and small cities has been slowed.

These cities and towns are spilling over. Factories moving out of large metropolitan areas bring people with them. And as decentralization speeds up, small factories in rural areas increase.

Expansion of the lumber and paper industries, in particular, offer inducement to stay on the farm in the commercial forest counties of northern Wisconsin.

It was here only a few years ago, that towns, villages, even communities withered and died as urban areas lured away their industry, their youth, and their trading dollars.

THE VILLAGE WAKES UP

Today, there are signs of new life, as villages like Grantsburg in Burnett County, pull themselves ahead. From a sleepy little village—population 1,000—eaten with decay, and strangled by a lack of industry and jobs, the village has emerged as the hub of a growing community.

What does a thriving community mean to both farmers and businessmen? Here's the answer in Burnett County: Local industries shipped over $2½ million worth of finished products out of Grantsburg in 1959.

The healthy impact has provided employment for part-time farmers, brightened the

town's outlook and brought stability to the local economy with home spent dollars.

"No longer do you see empty farm houses along the country roads," says Banker Walter Jensen, who has close contact with community affairs. "Any house that's livable has been rented and new homes are going up in clean, attractive, residential areas."

Behind the success of a small village, 400 miles northwest of Milwaukee, is a rags-to-riches story with a rural twist. It was at Grantsburg that 60 people met five years ago—a group which included businessmen, farmers and people who wanted to see the town grow and jobs made possible.

Here was a group which analyzed their town and found assets that were little more than a reputation for the coldest spot in the Nation.

Liabilities were more numerous—an out-of-the-way location, no railroad, no bus connections and poor telephone service.

WORK MADE DREAMS REALITY

What they saw with imagination was something else. They visualized the prettiest little town in northwestern Wisconsin and went to work to make it a reality.

Once the steam roller got started, it gathered momentum. Homes were made neat and orderly. An old mill pond was restored and became the site of a scenic park.

Telephone service has been improved, a new dial system went into effect this fall. Streets are surfaced and the village has a good water and sewage system, debt free.

Under construction is a $600,000 medical center—a real asset to any community. With the completion of a new 30-bed hospital, one of three units in the medical center, the old hospital building will be converted to a nursing home for the aged in Burnett County.

Two years ago, businessmen organized the Grantsburg Industrial Development Corporation to contact factories interested in making a change in location.

The corporation, headed by Clarence Wagman, went to work writing letters, making phone calls and personal contacts. The rest is history.

Grantsburg's outstanding work of bringing new industry, developing facilities to handle manufacturing and organizational work won the village recognition and a top rating among small communities of Wisconsin at the State Fair in 1958.

Newest industry to settle in Grantsburg and provide jobs for part-time farmers is a manufacturer of a unique folding travel trailer.

INVENTOR INVITED BY INDUSTRY

Inventor Leo Hagenson, of Hastings, Minn., was contacted by the industrial corporation and invited to Grantsburg to manufacture the trailer, after his design was a grand champion exhibit at the Minnesota Inventors' Congress in 1958.

Another recent venture was to bring in a company which makes louvres and shutters. The company, which employs over 40 persons, started in a 60-by-250-foot building built by the industrial corporation last winter. Expansion plans include a new furniture line, which will require an additional 60 employees.

Largest manufacturing plant in town, with over 100 employees, stemmed from a farm shop in Burnett County.

Today the brothers, Jim, Don, and Miles McNally, sell machine parts nationwide.

Another manufacturing plant, owned by Herb Shoholms, makes snow fence and coarse stock for veneered doors from wood obtained at nearby farm woodlots. Here all employees are part-time farmers.

While Grantsburg has achieved a good start in its stable expansion, the job seems to have only begun, when you listen to the enthusiasm of the individuals and organizations who refused to quit a few years ago when factories went elsewhere.

Farm Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit for inclusion in the RECORD the second of a series of five articles on the farm subsidy and surplus problem which appeared in the Los Angeles Mirror News during November 1959:

[From the Los Angeles Mirror News, Nov. 3, 1959]

REAL VICTIM OF FARM AID BILK: YOU

(By Jack Tobin)

An outmoded farm price-support program devised in the 1930's to help depression-stricken farmers is today's eight-headed monster.

The critics of the program are legion. The defenders appear to center in the Deep South and the Farm Belt.

Literally hundreds of experts—real and fancied—have told us how costly, how uneconomic, the program is.

But for more than a quarter century, the finest minds of government, agriculture, economics, and business have sought in vain to find some sensible solution to the problem.

Thus far, no one has succeeded. Usually, the defeats are recorded in the field of national politics.

Agriculture Secretary Ezra Taft Benson, who came into office in 1953 as a solid businessman and farmer, calls the price support program the "most costly, irrational hodgepodge program ever patched together."

He notes it was born in the depression and given new impetus during World War II when food and fiber production became a vital part of our war effort.

"Today, we have neither depression nor war," Benson notes, "and the old program just doesn't fit."

The city dweller, the common taxpayer, keeps doling out the dollars to maintain Government-fixed farm prices. And the city dweller pays a double penalty: in consumer prices pegged to an artificial standard.

That's why there's a growing revolt in California's cities, in metropolitan areas around the Nation, against the program.

MOUNTAINS OF SURPLUSES

Benson says the real responsibility for the expensive program, with its mountains of stored surpluses, "must rest with Congress."

A Farm Belt lawmaker, Representative CARL ANDERSEN, Democrat, of Minnesota, tosses the buck back to Benson and the Eisenhower administration.

The price support program "is your program," ANDERSEN growled at Benson in House hearings this year.

What is this monster known as the "price support program"?

How was it started?

Who runs it?

Why is it so costly?

The Nation's farmers—particularly the smaller ones—were in deep trouble in the depression. The Roosevelt administration decided the Government should step in and help them.

The result: A system whereby Uncle Sam guaranteed farmers they would receive a fixed price for certain crops, no matter how low the market price dropped.

The chain of command for the price-support program is a masterpiece of bureaucracy.

First comes the Secretary of Agriculture. Actually and politically, he's the boss.

Next comes the Commodity Credit Corporation. It has a six-man directorate plus the Agriculture Secretary as Chairman of the Board. It also has a five-man bipartisan Advisory Board named by the President.

A MIGHTY BIG BUSINESS

These men and this agency are supposed to run a business which has an annual inventory exceeding the combined total inventories of the five largest industrial corporations—General Motors, Standard Oil of New Jersey, Ford Motor Co., United States Steel, and General Electric.

And that's mighty big.

According to law, the CCC is authorized to engage in "the buying, selling, lending, and related activities in agricultural commodities," with the object of "supporting farm prices."

But although the CCC sits at the top of the bureaucratic pile, it really doesn't administer the price-support program. Another agency—the Commodity Stabilization Service—has that job.

FOR CALIFORNIA

The CSS operates through regional offices at New Orleans, Cincinnati, Chicago, Minneapolis, Kansas City, Dallas, and Portland, Oreg. The Portland office, headed by Earl C. Corey, Jr., serves California farmers.

All directives, program changes, plans, and information bulletins spread out from all high in Washington to the seven CSS offices. A veritable flood of paperwork.

Next in the chain of command is the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Committee. There's one in each State. In California it's located at Berkeley, headed by William J. Page.

An articulate, trained administrator, Page has the unenviable job of trying to explain the price-support program to each of California's 58 county ASC officials.

And, in turn, the county ASC men are the direct contact with California's farmers.

HOW IT WORKS

Finally, we get down to the farmer participation.

Each California county has an ASC committee of five members, elected by the participating farmers. This committee somehow tries to administer the various features of the program—acreage allotment, marketing quotas, soil bank, storage, conservation.

Now that we're down to the farmer level, let's see how the system works:

Every farmer growing one of the mandatory price support crops—cotton, corn, wheat, rice, peanuts or tobacco—gets to vote once a year on whether he wants acreage allotments with marketing quotas.

INDIVIDUAL VOTE

For instance, a "yes" vote might mean the farmer could receive 80 percent of parity for his crop if he'll limit his acreage. A "no" vote might mean the farmer would be assured only 50 percent of parity for his crop but with the same acreage allotments.

But this is important: Every farmer has a vote, not on the basis of how big an operator he is, but on an individual basis. And the voting is national, not local. And it takes a two-third margin to change things.

As one ASC county manager puts it, "the farmers have been voting 'yes' for as long as I can remember."

What is parity?

One way to put it is this: Parity is the ratio or percentage that the prices received by farmers for their products hold to the prices they should receive if the farmers are to get along just as well as they did in other more normal times.

THE FORMULA

A layman's definition might be: If you can sell a truckload of wheat and buy with your money as much food, clothing, farm machinery, fertilizer and the like as you could in the 5 years 1910–14—a base period during which prices received and paid by farmers were in good balance—your wheat is selling at the parity price.

Although the base period 1910–14 has been somewhat supplemented by congressional action, it still serves—for some strange reason—as the benchmark of parity pricing.

At the start of a crop year, a farmer can go to Uncle Sam for a price support loan. In other words, the taxpayers simply advance the farmer operating capital based on the estimated value of his crop. It's essentially the same as a bank loan, only at cheaper interest rates.

After the crop is harvested, the farmer has two alternatives.

If he finds he can sell his crop on the open market at a higher price than his federally guaranteed parity level, he can do so and pay off his crop loan.

OUT OF HOCK

But if he finds the market price is below his promised price from Uncle Sam, he can simply redeem his crop loan by turning over the crop and forfeit the loan in lieu of payment.

It is through these forfeited loans that the Government loses money—in huge chunks. It winds up with a lot of farm produce already glutting the market. And it must dispose of it at distressed rates.

Henry N. Taylor, Montanan, Wins Ernie Pyle Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, last week the winners of the seventh annual Ernie Pyle Memorial Award were announced. One of the winners was a Montanan, and, in addition, she is the first woman to receive this distinguished award, sponsored by the Scripps-Howard newspapers. I refer to Mrs. Dorothy Rochon Powers, feature writer on the Spokesman-Review, a daily newspaper in Spokane, Wash.

Mrs. Powers is a graduate of my alma mater, Montana State University, and was a student there while I was on the faculty. She has had a distinguished career in journalism, and has covered every kind of a beat in news reporting, in addition to writing feature columns.

I am much pleased that Mrs. Powers has received this honor, and I heartily concur with the statement of the judges of the contest that she "has the heart, the soul, and the insight of a woman Ernie Pyle."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have an article from the January 7, 1960, issue of the Washington Daily News printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HENRY TAYLOR WINS ERNIE PYLE AWARD

NEW YORK, January 7.—The Scripps-Howard Newspapers today announced two 1959 winners of the Ernie Pyle Memorial Award.

They are Mrs. Dorothy R. Powers, feature writer on the Spokesman-Review, Spokane, Wash.; and Henry N. Taylor, correspondent for the Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance, Washington, D.C. (Mr. Taylor's dispatches appear regularly in the Washington Daily News.)

Mrs. Powers is the first woman winner in the 7 years the award has been made.

Each will receive $1,000 cash and a bronze plaque for writing and reporting most nearly exemplifying the style and craftsmanship of the great war reporter and columnist.

The trustees of the Scripps-Howard Ernie Pyle Memorial Fund also announced a grant of $2,500 to the Inter-American Press Association for an exchange scholarship.

TREMENDOUS IMPACT

The judges said Mrs. Powers "has the heart, the soul, and the insight of a woman Ernie Pyle. Her reporting and writing have had a tremendous impact on her community."

Of Mr. Taylor, they said: "He combines good, solid reporting with good, easy-to-read writing devoid of frills. This is reminiscent of Ernie Pyle's topnotch copy. On any front, from home to Rome, Mr. Taylor makes the reader feel right there with him."

Mrs. Powers, 38, was graduated from Montana State University, edited a weekly, the Maryville, Tenn., Enterprise, and was State editor of the Clarksville, Tenn., Leaf-Chronicle.

"OUR TOWN"

She has covered virtually every beat on the Spokesman-Review, from courts to stockyards, and writes a column, "Our Town," in addition to general assignments and features.

She was named 1959 National Headliner of the Year by Theta Sigma Phi, honorary women's journalism sorority, and received a National Headliners' Club medal in 1959.

Mr. Taylor, 30, is a graduate of Virginia University, served as a U.S. Navy intelligence officer from 1951 to 1954, and while stationed in London was a contributor to the London Observer.

He became a reporter on the Cincinnati Post, a Scripps-Howard paper in 1954 and in 1956 won the American Political Science Association's Award for outstanding coverage of State and local politics.

3 YEARS HERE

For the past 3 years he has been a member of Scripps-Howard's Washington and international staff. He accompanied Khrushchev on his recent U.S. tour, and his recent foreign assignments have included Cuba, the Middle East, the U.S.S.R., Europe, and the Far East.

Judges for this year's Ernie Pyle Memorial Award were Edward J. Meeman, editor of the Memphis Press-Scimitar; Loye W. Miller, editor of the Knoxville News-Sentinel; and E. M. Pooley, editor of El Paso Herald-Post.

Brazil's New Capital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, in September 1959 I had the honor to be chairman of a subcommittee from the House Committee on Public Works which attended the very successful meeting of the International Road Congress in Rio de Janeiro. Mr. Alberto Amarante, of Brazil, is the President of the Congress, and the public officials of Brazil together with many private citizens were very hospitable hosts to the many delegates and observers.

One of the highlights of our trip was a visit to the new capital of Brazil, Brasilia. This great new city, which will symbolize the beauty of modernistic architecture for the whole world, is representative of the new pioneering spirit visible throughout many countries of South America. I am sure that after President Eisenhower visits Brasilia next month, new attention will be focussed on this great project, which will very likely become one of the great tourist attractions of the world.

As an example of the interest in Brasilia being aroused in our own country, I include an editorial from the Saturday Evening Post:

BRAZIL'S NEW CAPITAL PROMISES TO BE AN ARCHITECT'S DREAM

Brazil is about to say adieu to her old capital city, Rio de Janeiro, for a new seat of government, the city of Brasilia. Brasilia, which represents an architectural breakthrough, is to be built for the automobile. Its planners proceed on the principle that there will be one automobile for every two inhabitants. There will be no overhead wires in Brasilia. All are underground. Roads are on three levels, with clever cloverleafs at main intersections. Broad speedways are carefully separated from highways for slow-moving traffic.

As a protection against future congestion, a ravine within the city is being transformed into an 8-mile-long cresent-shaped lake. Three rivers have been dammed to create the lake which will serve also as Brasilia's water supply.

Brasilia is planned to take care of 500,000 people. Carefully planned satellite communities will accommodate future expansion. President Kubitschek has promised to move Brazil's administrative offices to Brasilia by April. Already completed: 4 administrative structures, the presidential mansion, a hospital, 3 churches, 2 schools—and 10 apartment buildings each accommodating 1,000.

It took imagination to locate the new capital in Brazil's back country, in the state of Goiás, "back of beyond," a spot which was approached by no passable roads. However, Washington was carved out of the wilds. So was Australia's capital. Modernistic Brasilia might be said to have revived an old tradition.

Dr. Thomas A. Dooley Receives Criss Award for Outstanding Medical Achievement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, in 1950 the Mutual of Omaha Criss Award was established by V. J. Skutt, president of Mutual of Omaha, in honor of the late Dr. C. C. Criss, founder of the company. The award consists of $10,000 and a gold medal, and is presented to the individual or individuals who, in the opinion of a distinguished board of judges, has made an outstanding contribution to public health and/or safety. This board of judges includes Dr.

Charles W. Mayo, Mayo Clinic, who serves as chairman; Lt. Gen. (Ret.) James Doolittle, chairman, Space Technology Laboratories, Inc.; Irene Dunne, actress; Henry Ford, II, president, Ford Motor Co.; Philip M. Klutznick, honorary president, International B'nai B'rith; William L. Lawrence, science writer for the New York Times; Harold Lloyd, actor; Don McNeill, radio personality; Dr. Louis M. Orr, president, American Medical Association; Dr. Thomas Parran, president, Avalon Foundation; Howard Pyle, president, National Safety Council; A. E. Stoddard, president, Union Pacific Railroad; and DeWitt Wallace, editor, the Readers Digest, all of whom have made outstanding contributions to public health and/or safety.

RECIPIENTS OUTSTANDING

Drs. Philip S. Hench and Edward C. Kendall were the first winners of the award which they shared jointly for their work in the development and use of cortisone, a drug which has great value in the control of arthritis. The second award went to a man distinguished in a number of fields, the eminent medical editor of the New York Times, Dr. Howard A. Rusk. The award was given for his outstanding success in rehabilitating the physically handicapped. In 1954, Mr. W. Earl Hall, editor of the Mason City, Iowa, Globe-Gazette, and past president and member of the National Safety Council, received the Criss Award for his distinguished work in the area of safety education. In 1955, the world famed Dr. Jonas E. Salk received the award for his selfless contribution to the development of a vaccine against polio.

Mr. President, on November 10, 1959, this distinguished group of men was joined by Dr. Thomas A. Dooley, the American doctor who has devoted his career to caring for stricken natives in the jungles of Laos and Vietnam.

I have spoken before in the Senate of the humanitarian dedication of Dr. Dooley, and I have written in magazines of this great American's courage, his skill, and tender care. Here is a man, now only 32, who has become the symbol of lifesaving, selfless Americans. He is the antithesis of "The Ugly American." His good deeds have helped conquer the barriers of custom, language, and hate—good deeds that made him become, as the President of Vietnam said, "Beloved by a whole nation." Dr. Dooley is truly a great person.

Mr. President, Dr. Thomas A. Dooley is the type of man whom our country needs for its ambassadors abroad—indeed, he is the type of man whom all humanity needs.

The Milwaukie Review, of Milwaukie, Oreg., on November 19, 1959, published a very thoughtful and eloquent editorial discussing Dr. Dooley's outstanding medical achievement, and his receipt of the Mutual of Omaha Criss Award. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that the editorial from the Milwaukie Review, entitled "Another Tom Dooley," be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ANOTHER TOM DOOLEY

Not too long ago there was a maudlin ballad about one Tom Dooley who was about to be hanged. Teenagers adored this character. His praises were heard wherever a jukebox blared, in adoration that was never clear. This teenage idol was a killer—and stupid, to boot.

This week another Tom Dooley should have become the idol of young people everywhere. In one place, he already is. In far off Laos, young Tom Dooley, now only 32, and 27 when he first came as a naval medical officer to the Orient, has become the symbol of life-saving, self-less Americans. He is the antithesis of the "ugly American."

Not financed by the Government, in fact at first scarcely financed at all, Dooley's outpost medical aid station in the tropic, disease-infected wilderness of Asia, became the hope of life itself for men, women, and children otherwise condemned to a hideous and inevitable death.

Dr. Dooley is an angry man. A young, ordinary, ambitious graduate medical student, he did a bitter internship in the rigors of the Korean war and its aftermath of refugees, of flood, famine and disease. He couldn't forget the misery, the need, the swollen, dying children. He went back and stayed. With modern medicine and with his own talent and that of his recruited associates, he performed miracles.

This week, young Tom Dooley, M.D., received a coveted award. An award received in the past by such as Jonas Salk. It was the Criss Award of the Mutual of Omaha Insurance Co. for outstanding medical achievement. Young Dr. Dooley had thought he would have to use the $10,000 he received to pay for his own recent cancer surgery, but that was subsidized. So he contributed it to another outpost in the wilderness, Africa.

Albert Schweitzer told Dr. Tom Dooley when he was so honored, "All the world should love you for what you do."

Hey, kids, how about this new Tom Dooley?

Alvin Ray Bush

SPEECH
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1960

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, on November 5, 1959, the Nation lost one of its outstanding citizens in the death of our colleague and my good friend ALVIN R. BUSH, who for many years represented the 17th District of Pennsylvania in a highly efficient manner.

AL, as he was commonly known, was born and reared in Boggs Township, Clearfield County, in my congressional district. Many of his relatives are my constituents and have told me over a period of years of AL's early life in the Clearfield-Philipsburg area in Pennsylvania. Like many successful Americans, AL BUSH began life in humble circumstances—as a matter of fact in the coal mines—and by diligent efforts he advanced himself in the business world and at the time of his death was one of central Pennsylvania's most successful and outstanding businessmen.

AL's experience as a soldier in World War I, his success in the business world, and his willingness to help and understand the problems of his fellow man were recognized by the residents of the 17th Congressional District when they sought a capable successor to former Representative Robert F. Rich upon the latter's retirement from Congress. AL was elected to the 82d Congress, November 7, 1950, and since taking his seat in January 1951 he not only established himself as an able legislator but endeared himself to his colleagues through his friendliness and his love for people.

The death of AL BUSH leaves all of us with a heavy heart because we have lost a loyal friend and distinguished colleague. To Mrs. Bush and the children, I extend my deepest sympathy with the fervent hope that they will receive a measure of consolation in the knowledge that AL BUSH through his exemplary life has left many fond memories that will be cherished by the countless friends who deeply mourn his sudden death.

U.S. Army's 140th Anniversary in Nebraska

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN L. HRUSKA
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, the U.S. Army first became established in Nebraska on September 29, 1819. This was done upon the order of the then Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun, whose action established the Yellowstone Expeditionary Force, the location a few miles north of the present city of Omaha. The expeditionary force was commanded by Henry Atkinson, for whom the post was named.

Fort Atkinson thus became the Nation's most remote military outpost protecting the western frontier as of that time. The place where it was located and constructed was a site which had been recommended by Lewis and Clark in their journal as they passed on their expedition through the territory. Observations were made in the journal as to the strategic advantages of the location.

Since those early days, Omaha has been known as a good Army town. It has been the home of many fine military organizations. It has been favored with some splendid commanding officers.

This tradition of excellence in leadership was certainly carried on when there came to Omaha as commanding general of the 16th U.S. Army Corps—Reserve—Maj. Gen. Derrill M. Daniel.

On September 29, General Daniel addressed an assembly at a luncheon meeting in which he delivered a very splendid address commemorating the 140th anni-

versary of the Army in Omaha. It was a most significant occasion. It was followed in the evening by a dinner at the Ak-Sar-Ben Coliseum. The evening's program saw the honoring before a crowd of over 5,000 people assembled for the Ak-Sar-Ben Annual Rodeo and Stock Show, of the Nebraska's outstanding Army reservists and National Guardsmen of 1959.

Omaha and Nebraska are still a "good Army town and State." Because of its excellence in style as well as substance, I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD this very splendid address by General Daniel.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY MAJ. GEN. DERRILL M. DANIEL, COMMANDING GENERAL, 16TH U.S. ARMY CORPS, ON THE 140TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ARMY IN OMAHA, SEPTEMBER 1959

In this day of incessant rush and bustle and hurry from here to there, most of us simply ignore the past; and there are even those who believe that the past is dead, cannot tell one anything and that toward the bright and shining future is the only way to look. Thus is avoided any instructive effects that a knowledge of the past might have on our solutions of today's problems.

And so it is a real pleasure to be with you as the Association of the U.S. Army—and the city of Omaha—commemorate the 140th anniversary of the establishment of Omaha's first Army post. For this gives us a chance to take a brief look over our shoulder at the instructive past. This area unquestionably faced a frontier situation in 1819, for hostile bands stood ready to take instant and deadly advantage of any relaxation in defenses. The establishment of the first Army post in Nebraska in 1819 indicated calm acceptance of those frontier facts of life and thus was prudently maintained a constant state of readiness against a foe who could and often did strike suddenly and without warning.

From 1819 to 1959, Omaha has been known in Army circles as an "excellent army town," and continues to be so designated in baedekers of the Army, which indicates that my enjoyment and satisfaction in being a member of this community are an affirmation of the opinions of my predecessors over the span of years.

The history and the destiny of the Army, of the city, and of the State of Nebraska are curiously and closely interwoven. This is true, of course, of the Army and the entire Nation, but it seems to me I find evidence of a particularly close relationship in the West and the Middle West, coming into sharp focus in this immediate area.

The pattern is recognized by a contemporary writer of Army history—and therefore American history—R. Ernest DuPuy, who describes the interlacing most vividly when he says, "The winning of the West is the warp and woof of the American tapestry." He speaks of the expansion era in terms of North American Indian tribes, cowboys, and pioneers; transcontinental railways spanning the plains; stagecoaches; wagon trains; buffalo herds; wheat, corn, cattle; the war whoop, the sharp crackle of rifle and revolver, the echoing thud of pounding hooves; supply and demand; fur traders. He sums it all up as "A tale of high drama * * * all bound round with a thin thread of blue—gaunt men in worn uniforms—the United States Army."

We have changed our uniforms from blue to varying shades of brown, from brown to Army green, in the 140-year interval. The Army's progress in doctrinal concepts is no less dramatic than the economic changes which have transformed the pioneer settlement of 1819 to the shining metropolis which it is today. But we are still in Omaha—and the relationship, the close association of the Army and the city, has not changed. It remains as strong and enduring as ever.

One hundred and forty years ago this month, September 29, 1819, at the order of then Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun, the Yellowstone Expeditionary Force established in an environ of what is now Omaha the city's first Army pose—the Nation's most remote military outpost protecting the western frontier. The expeditionary force was commanded by Col. Henry Atkinson, for whom the post was named.

Quite by coincidence and affirming the wisdom of their choice as well as emphasizing the strategic advantages of the location, Fort Atkinson was constructed, historians tell us, on the exact site which had been recommended by Lewis and Clark in their journal, as they passed here on their expedition through the territory. The frontier post occupied the natural vantage point from which they, Zebulon Pike, Stephen Long, and others gazed into the great unknown—the region west of the Mississippi.

Establishment of the post was part of a plan developed after the War of 1812 to build a chain of forts west of the Mississippi to serve as protection for the fur trade and as a warning against encroachments on the Nation's frontier. Atkinson was constructed and garrisoned by the troops of the Yellowstone Expeditionary Force; the rifle regiment, commanded by Col. Willoughby Morgan, the Army's crack regiment of that day, and the 6th Infantry Regiment—the immortal "Fighting Sixth," recruited originally in North Carolina and made up largely of war veterans who had distinguished themselves in hard fighting during the War of 1812.

Soon the Sixth's blue and white uniforms and the distinctive gray garb of the riflemen—the pattern of which is retained in the uniform of West Point cadets today—became familiar sights on the frontier—and history tells us these soldiers performed their mission well.

The post—even as are many Army installations today—was understaffed and plagued with budget limitations. The staff—even as mine in the accomplishment of our Reserve training mission—worked with full concentration at top speed. These soldiers battled the elements, the windstorms, and the severity of the plains winters, as well as marauders encroaching upon the frontier.

But, they became Nebraska's first farmers—good farmers, so proficient that some inspectors general complained that the soldiers, at time, did more farming than soldiering. They began the dairy industry, the cattle and meatpacking industry in which Omaha now leads the world. Reflecting the versatility required of the American fighting man down through the years, records of the day indicate it was the usual practice to assign the crack riflemen to act as guards to protect the cattle from wolves. The medical officers served as historians and weather observers. Officers and men served as missionaries and as teachers.

The weaving of the pattern of close relationship of Army and community is taking definite form now—the Army established schools for the Army children to which children of the new scattered pioneer residents were admitted; they conducted religious services—thus becoming the first teachers, the first missionaries, in Nebraska; they constructed roads; extended medical service to the pioneer residents—all in keeping with the Army's tradition of readiness for service to civilian communities and setting the precedent to be followed by later Army posts in the territory.

The few pioneer residents of the day, as well as travelers of a later period who pushed on farther west, came to know and love the white square outline of the structure of Fort Atkinson, with its eight 250-foot-long log houses of 10 rooms each, their rooftops sloping toward an interior court with its stone powder house, the post being nestled in the bluffs of the Missouri, the river on one side, the other three sides completely enclosed by a fence, at a distance of 50 paces, but with three gates, one on each side, which opened to the pioneers.

Here at Atkinson were Nebraska's first gristmill and sawmill (oxen driven), first bakery, smithy, the first cabinetmakers, carpenters. Here, in the wilderness, flew the U.S. flag, having 24 stars at that time.

Here were the first art collectors in this area—with such pieces as black basalt ware, Wedgwood and Staffordshire china—brought from the family homes in the East. Here were the first libraries. Practice sessions of the regimental band were held each evening. Amateur theatricals were presented.

If we look closely at the tapestry, perhaps we can trace in the pattern a faint, barely discernible line from these activities to the Society of Liberal Arts, the Omaha Symphony, and the little theater groups in Omaha today.

In 1827, budget limitations forced removal of the troops from Fort Atkinson to Fort Leavenworth, Kans., and transfer of responsibility for military activity in the territory to that post.

The closing of Fort Atkinson marked the end of service for the Rifle Regiment, as such, bringing to a close the saga of a gallant and colorful force which made a notable contribution to the winning of the West.

The soldier had departed from Fort Atkinson—but not from the territory. Military affairs in the region and protection of the frontier were administered by the Army's western department for a time. Between 1837 and 1842, Henry Atkinson (now advanced to brigadier general), as department commander, was again in command of the troops in the area.

The Army learned many valuable lessons from the frontier policy which was developed here in the Plains region to meet the needs of the time. The principles are applicable today. A frontier, whether it is located along the line which marked the approach to the West during the early years of the 19th century, between East and West Berlin, or in space, is still a frontier. The old problems of troops and supplies—and readiness—remain constant.

The year 1858 brought to Omaha the beginning of the jurisdiction of a major Army headquarters—the Department of the Platte, from which my headquarters is a direct descendant. So, in addition to our 140th anniversary, we are making another significant Army-Omaha-Nebraska milestone, the 101st anniversary of the establishment of a major Army command here.

Nebraska had become a territory. The prolonged struggle between the slave States and the free States for dominance in the region had begun and had precipitated the border conflicts which preceded the War Between the States. Omaha had been named the territorial capital. Plans were being developed for the construction of the Union Pacific Railroad. Settlers thronged to the West in increasing numbers. These events of the early territorial period affected the degree and character of military activity required.

But, the tapestry reflects the continued pattern of close relationship between the Army and the State and city, during this trying period and through the eras of the successive headquarters: Departments of the West, Northwest, Kansas, Missouri, Central Department, 7th Corps Area, 7th Service Command, and Military District of Nebraska, to the reactivation of the 16th Corps with headquarters in the city in January 1958.

To the Omaha headquarters came such men as William S. Harney; John C. Fremont, the explorer; Philip St. George Cooke; George Crook; Phil Sheridan; John R. Brooke, Edwin Sumner; Leonard Wood; some of whom had participated in the winning of the West prior to their command of the headquarters. The command was still known as the Department of the Platte when Generals Fremont and Sheridan flew their flags here. General Crook, for whom Fort Crook was named, twice commanded the headquarters.

The character of the city's military element varied with the years and the particular requirements of the time. When, with changing circumstances, the need for cavalry troops diminished, the foot soldier dominated the scene.

In World War I, Omaha was the site of the world's largest balloon reconnaissance training camp. By the time World War II flared, the command had become the headquarters of the 7th Service Command.

Fort Omaha was an Army post from 1868 to 1947—from the time the 2d Dragoons were stationed there to the days of its use as a residential post for officers of the 7th Service Command.

The 17th Infantry was stationed at Fort Crook for many years and was almost as much a part of the community as is our 355th Basic Combat Training Regiment or the National Guard's 34th today.

The city and the State have a proud Army heritage. They have given the Army many of its most illustrious leaders. You and I know well your part in our major conflicts. The pages of American history reflect the glory of the service of your gallant and distinguished sons.

In this one-hundred-fortieth anniversary year, the tapestry pattern of close relationship and interdependence of Army and community emerges bold and clear. We are again faced with a frontier situation; peril is again just across our threshold; again we are faced with an enemy who can, and undoubtedly will, strike suddenly and without warning.

The Army, Regular, Guard, and Reserve, and the other services, guard today's major frontier, the space in which the earth orbits. The Nike-Hercules and Atlas bases which are being constructed are designed to protect us from encroachment on today's frontier. We face equally destructive and far more treacherous enemies than did the riflemen and the 6th Infantrymen at Atkinson. Today's threat comes from the many-sided faces of Communist duplicity with its carefully designed plans for world aggression.

In this greatly changed world, we cannot defend adequately today's frontier with the flintlocks which were becoming outmoded in the days of Fort Atkinson. No one would suggest such a preposterous course. But, to continue our part in protecting the community—in a greatly broadened sense—we must keep pace with modern science. We must achieve a truly modern army.

The pages of world history are strewn with the gravestones of nations which perished because they failed to make adequate provisions for proper Army forces and their soldiers were overwhelmed by a better equipped enemy aggressor. We have the plans for the modern army we must have. Second and third generation missiles, improved rockets, light atomic weapons, improved conventional small arms and artillery weapons, and other items of modern equipment are required. To purchase them the Army must have additional funds. Our minimum strength requirement is 16 active combat divisions properly supplied with such equipment. This is not achievable within the means presently available to us. It must be made achievable. (Does 16 seem too much? That's the number available to Rumania, one of the lesser satellites of Russia; poor little Rumania, one-quarter the size of my 16th Corps; poor little Rumania with one-tenth our population has now two more divisions than the richest, most powerful nation in the world.)

It may at first thought surprise you, but the size of the Army, its effectiveness, its capability depend upon you. We are only as modern, only as adequate, only as effective as the public insists we be.

It is the personal concern of every one of you, of every member of your family, of every man, woman, and child in America to understand and support our national defense, which must be made adequate. We cannot survive without it. We have no choice.

There is a reciprocal dependence between us. The Army and the community are interdependent today, even as they were in the days of Fort Atkinson's active existence, when the natural resources of the community sustained the troops garrisoned there while the protection which they afforded the pioneers permitted those brave-hearted Americans to advance, to survive.

Your city, your State, your Nation cannot survive without an adequate national defense. We cannot fulfill our role in providing an adequate defense without your support.

Fort Atkinson served its purpose well. It was garrisoned by an Army which was relatively modern for its time.

A modern army in this time is the key to our survival as a nation, the continuance of our way of life, our priceless liberty.

I urge each of you to accept the responsibility, to recognize and support our mutual need so that we may present to the Communist conspirators a truly modern army of sufficient size and capability to stay their plotting for world aggression.

Lest the American tapestry be destroyed altogether, let us devote ourselves to keeping the pattern of close relationship of Army and the city and State clear and unblemished, with no wavering lines, no lack of clarity in design, no obscure blank spaces to mar its rugged beauty.

Let us pass on to the next Army-Omaha-Nebraska generation this precious heritage enhanced and enriched from having been in our custody.

Antitrust Bill To Ban Joint Ownership of Broadcast and News Facilities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill in Congress to prohibit the concentration of control of a substantial portion of the radio and television broadcasting facilities and a substantial portion of news publications in any section of the country.

Modeled on the Clayton Act, this bill would add a new section to that act providing that no news publisher shall own or acquire stock or assets of or a license to operate a radio or television broadcasting station where the result would give him control of a substantial portion of the broadcast and news facilities of the section of the country or area. Broadcasting interests would, in similar circumstances, be prohibited from owning or acquiring interests in news publications.

It has recently been revealed that the owners of many important publications are also the owners of TV and radio stations. This raises the entire question of concentration of ownership and control of communications media.

I am convinced that it was never the intention of Congress to sanction the control of radio, and now TV, by newspapers and magazines. Although the Communications Act is silent on this score, the great danger in permitting concentration of a community's media of mass communications in a single ownership is manifest. Newspapers and magazines have always played an influential part in molding public opinion and shaping public policy. Newspapers in this country have enormous power. TV reaches homes to an even greater degree than the press, and perhaps more effectively. Its visual and accoustical penetration is more dynamic than the written word. In any area, the man who controls both press and TV has an inordinate influence over the political, economic, and cultural destiny of that area.

We must ever bear in mind that the strength of democracy lies in the fullness and freedom of exchange in its marketplace of ideas. Limit the availability of ideas and we limit the effectiveness of our political system. Obviously this must be the result where all an area's media of mass communication are concentrated under one ownership or where there is undue concentration of such media in one entity.

The available spectrum for TV broadcasting is limited. Not every qualified applicant can secure a telecasting station. Hence the FCC must allocate the high privilege of telecasting only where the public interest will be served. What is more, the licensing of TV channels should take into account the basic need of a community for varied sources of information and ideas. The fact that newspapers and magazines control many of the leading TV and radio stations of the country makes manifest that the FCC has not given this principle adequate weight. The danger signals have been raised clearly enough for all to see. There must be a change in the standards for licensing new stations and for the renewal of existing licenses. Heretofore, the renewal of licenses has been virtually automatic. This has given rise to the false notion that a license is equivalent to ownership. The public interest requires that the FCC

give great weight to the principle of diversity of control of communications media, both in the granting of new licenses and in considering applications for renewals.

I should again like to make it perfectly clear that this legislation is not directed at newspaper ownership of TV and radio per se. It is directed at those situations where the press of a community also controls a substantial portion of the television and radio available to the community. Where the press-owned radio or TV station is only one of many operating in the community, as in the case of the New York Times ownership of WQXR in New York, the bill would effect no change in that relationship.

I should also like to repeat that this bill does not deal with the question of honesty in broadcasting and telecasting raised by the recent congressional hearings. It is my understanding that members of the investigating committee will introduce bills dealing with this problem. In the event that such bills are not introduced, I shall certainly offer appropriate legislation in the forthcoming session of Congress.

The bill would take effect on the 90th day after its enactment.

The text of the bill is as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Clayton Act (October 15, 1914, 38 Stat. 730) as amended is hereby further amended by adding after section 10 thereof (38 Stat. 734, 15 U.S.C., sec. 20), a new section 10A, which reads as follows:

"SEC. 10A. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, (a) no person engaged in the publication of a newspaper or newspapers or other news periodicals or periodicals shall own or acquire directly or indirectly the whole or any part of the stock or other share capital or of the assets of any radio or television broadcasting station or shall own or be granted a license to operate any radio or television broadcasting station where such ownership, acquisition, or grant may result in such person controlling the operation of a substantial portion of the radio and/or television broadcasting facilities and the publication of a substantial portion of the newspapers and news periodicals in any section of the country, and

"(b) no person engaged in operating or licensed to operate any radio or television broadcasting station shall own or acquire directly or indirectly the whole or any part of the stock or other share capital or of the assets of any newspaper or other news periodical where such ownership or acquisition may result in such person controlling the publication of a substantial portion of the newspapers and/or news periodicals and a substantial portion of the radio and/or television broadcasting facilities in any section of the country."

2. Section 11 of the Act of October 15, 1914 (38 Stat. 734, as amended; 15 U.S.C., sec. 21) is hereby further amended by substituting for the words "sections 2, 3, 7, and 8 of this Act" wherever they appear, the words "sections 2, 3, 7, 8, and 10A of this Act," and by substituting for the words "sections 7 and 8 of this Act" where they appear, the words "sections 7, 8, and 10A of this Act."

3. The provisions of this Act shall be effective on and after the ninetieth day following the date of its enactment.

The United Nations: The World's Hope for Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, although the United Nations has not made a great many headlines during the past few months, its sure, steady progress as a force for peace in the world has continued. It has strengthened its reputation as the world's best hope for achieving lasting peace.

None of us would be human if we did not become impatient with the slowness with which the U.N. moves in some situations. The important thing is that the U.N. provides a forum where the nations of the world can argue their differences and can disagree verbally. It is far better to throw brickbats in the General Assembly or Security Council than it is to throw lethal bricks behind the barn.

Therefore, it behooves all of us to pay attention to what the U.N. is doing and what it is achieving. In its often unspectacular way, it continues to contribute substantially to world understanding and global security. I am pleased to salute our representatives in the U.N. and the personnel of the U.N. who are responsible for this record.

An editorial published in the Rochester (N.Y.) Democrat and Chronicle on December 15, 1959, underscored some of the activities and accomplishments of the General Assembly during its 14th session. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

USEFUL UNITED NATIONS

Nothing very exciting or surprising happened at the United Nations General Assembly which concluded its 14th session over the weekend. But then seldom is the patient plodding of a peacemaking organization a dramatic affair.

Hopes for an easing of the cold war were high September 18 when Khrushchev appeared with his ambiguous disarmament proposal. The Assembly listened and cheered, then referred the plan to its disarmament committee. The cold war may have warmed a bit but it is still around.

The Assembly deplored Russia's failure to withdraw Soviet troops from Hungary and expressed indignation for the violation of the human rights of the Tibetans, without mentioning the Red Chinese invasion of Tibet. Aid for Palestine refugees was authorized for 3 more years. A 24-nation group was set up to regulate the peaceful uses of outer space. The U.N. declined to enter the Algerian hassle but asked France to give up an atomic bomb test.

The Assembly's final act—in which Russia and the United States agreed on splitting a 2-year Security Council membership between Poland and Turkey—showed how a tough issue in the U.N. can often be resolved when each side gives a little.

These actions sound pretty tame; it would be foolish to try to estimate their long-range effects. The U.N. record has often produced dividends where least expected. This much we know: There is a U.N.; it is not weakening in prestige and respect; it has prevented a large-scale war. As long as the U.N. can keep nations talking, they won't be fighting.

Egyptian Piracy Rewarded

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, the World Bank officially announced that it has made an agreement with the United Arab Republic to loan it $56½ million to widen the Suez Canal. The loan was made despite Egypt's anti-Israel blockade and over the protests of 67 Members of the House of Representatives.

The United States is the largest contributor and stockholder of the World Bank. No loan is made without its consent. The U.S. representative, T. Grayden Upton, voted for the loan. Eugene R. Black, American President of the World Bank, arranged the loan. The Eisenhower administration approved the loan on the score that the World Bank does not permit political considerations to influence granting or refusal of loans. Secretary of State Herter reiterated this principle, but no one is so naive as to believe in it.

The administration has conveniently forgotten the pledge that President Eisenhower made in February 1957, when he said that the society of nations should deal firmly with Egypt if Egypt violated the armistice agreement or other international obligations, at the time when the administration was pressing Israel to withdraw from Suez, Sinai and Gaza. He pledged free Suez passage of Israel ships and cargoes.

The World Bank is an arm of the United Nations, which by resolution condemns Egypt and Nasser for refusal to permit Israeli ships to pass through the Canal. Thus, the United Nations castigates Egypt, while its agent, the World Bank, gives it comfort. Does morality stop at the entrance to the United Nations? Does the President of the United States approve such immorality?

To add insult to injury, the Eisenhower administration, on December 22, 1959, entered into a new agreement with the United Arab Republic to assist it in the building of a multi-million dollar jet airport at Cairo. The cost will be in the millions. The Federal Aviation Administration will cooperate with the UAR, by sending representatives to

Egypt for planning and designing facilities to handle the largest jet planes and to facilitate takeoff and landing problems.

Not only does President Eisenhower's pledge of Suez passage remain unredeemed, but Egypt is handsomely rewarded for her piracy.

The NAACP Bares Its Goal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD B. RUSSELL
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, on December 29, the Albany Herald, one of the leading daily newspapers in my home State of Georgia, published on its front page a searching and thought-provoking editorial dealing with the latest phase of the anti-South campaign of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The editorial, entitled "The NAACP Bares Its Goal," was written and signed by the editor and publisher of the Herald, the Honorable James H. Gray. Mr. Gray is not only widely regarded as an outstanding publisher and an able editor, but as an articulate and persuasive champion of constitutional government and the southern position.

Mr. Gray is uniquely qualified to discuss the problems confronting the South from a dispassionate point of view. He is a New Englander by birth and background, having settled in Albany after World War II. It is for this reason that I commend Mr. Gray's editorial to every Member of this body. I particularly would call attention to the concluding paragraph of the editorial which states:

Consequently, if there is to be future progress in this sensitive field, it must spring from the individual level in both races. It cannot accrue from the highhanded tactics of the NAACP, from Roy Wilkins, from Martin Luther King, or from a Federal Government responsive to their will.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE NAACP BARES ITS GOAL
(By James H. Gray)

In announcing a voter registration campaign among the South's Negroes to enhance their political power, Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Reverend Martin Luther King, president of the Southern Christian leadership conference, were finally candid about the real goals they seek to attain. Of course, adding 1,100,000 Negroes to the voters' lists, swelling the South's total to 2,500,000 Negro voters in both rural and urban areas, could have a profound political effect on all elections—local, State and national in the affected areas. The power of the Negro bloc vote, in the South and elsewhere over America, has been too demonstrably profound in recent years to be ignored.

Yet, just as plainly, it is now clear that political equality is not the ultimate target at which such militant organizations as the NAACP and the SCLC are aiming for the South's Negro population. Nor is it merely integration of the racially segregated classrooms of the South. The goal is nothing short of social equality—fully and completely.

There can be no other interpretation of these words of Wilkins: "We're shooting for something that is more important than whether or not a few thousand Negro pupils or a few thousand white pupils go without schools for a few days or months." That "something," beyond question, is a wholly integrated society—in the classrooms, in the homes, in all public facilities, and even in the churches. The NAACP is fully committed to a destruction of the existing social order of the South, and proposes to substitute in its stead a new system of human association which, by persuasion if possible but by Federal force if need by, would legally compel social intercourse in violation of every American precept of individual choice.

Patently, the current NAACP campaign for school integration is but a single, isolated manifestation of this unerring intention. What is even more tragic is that some gullible Southern white self-styled moderates currently prating about the need for keeping the South's public schools open at all costs, even unto accepting what they describe as "token integration," are deluding themselves about the singlemindedness of the NAACP's efforts.

"Token integration." The NAACP is the first to laugh scornfully at this white-devised subterfuge. To the thinking Negro as to the thinking southern white man, "token integration" or "local option" on the burning issue of the day is a sham, a deceit, an intolerable compromise with principle, a cowardly attempt to avoid dispute. "Token integration" is an aberration in the minds of a few misguided white men. It has never been, and will never be, considered a solution by the NAACP or by the majority of southern whites.

It is time, then, that both races in the South recognize this struggle for what it is—an uncompromising conflict of ideologies, one not wholly confined by its racial outline. The NAACP, which presumes to speak for all Negroes, would forever end the social fabric of the South. Secretary Wilkins holds that "the white South is licked on this subject. Like zombies, they don't know they're dead." The majority of southern whites, conversely, contend that the Constitution of the United States, as well as the long history of human development, grants them the right to choose their associates individually, rather than in the mass, free from the element of dictation as exercised by any government of whatever nature.

It may be, of course, that a social problem of this scope and depth will permit no permanent solution. Certainly, there is evidence that a once-crusading National Administration in Washington is turning toward this view. But if a solution is impossible, an accommodation is not. Certainly, southern whites and Negroes down the years have learned to live together and to work together for their mutual benefit. Where inequities existed in this society, they were being corrected quietly, if patiently, through the exercise of good will by intelligent leaders of both races. That is, they were until the current campaign of force legislation and judicial fiat aroused the unyielding opposition of southern white men.

Consequently, if there is to be future progress in this sensitive field, it must spring from the individual level in both races. It cannot accrue from the high-handed tactics of the NAACP, from Roy Wilkins, from Martin Luther King, or from a Federal Government responsive to their will.

Danger in Your Drinking Water

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BYRON L. JOHNSON
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, the residents of the Denver metropolitan area have shown increasing interest in cleaning up the pollution and contamination of our waters and streams. While we regret that one of our districts should be singled out for adverse mention, we are pleased to see a national publication making so constructive a report on the problem of "Danger in Your Drinking Water." I call this article by Alvin Toffler in Good Housekeeping, January 1960, to the attention of the Members in connection with further congressional consideration of House bill 3610. I am hopeful that this measure will become law in the immediate future.

The article follows:

Every time you turn on a faucet you are committing an act of faith. You believe that the water you give your child to drink, the water with which you cook and wash your dishes is fit for human use. Don't take it for granted.

The fact that you cannot take water purity for granted is pointed up by the statements of public health and water authorities across the country. Their words serve as an urgent warning that if current conditions are allowed to grow worse a water crisis involving a serious threat to the health and well-being of many American communities could become a very real and distinct possibility.

Behind the warnings of the authorities lies a rising tide of pollution in the Nation's waterways. With tax-poor cities pouring untreated sewage into our streams, with industry dumping everything from radioactive wastes to slaughterhouse remains into our water sources, the job of keeping our tap-water safe has become an increasingly vital and difficult task. And it has been made even more crucial and challenging as the population boom and mass movement to the suburbs has placed a greater and greater burden on our sewage disposal and water-purification facilities—some of them antiquated and others inadequate.

Despite heroic efforts to keep it pure—and our water is in many regards the best in the world—the water we drink today contains higher-than-natural levels of radioactivity. It contains detergents. In some places it contains traces of insecticides, weedkillers, fertilizers, and other poisons. It contains new industrial chemicals which our scientists do not understand, have been unable to isolate, and cannot remove through conventional water treatment. Nobody is certain what effects long-term exposure to these substances may have on us.

According to Assistant U.S. Surgeon General Mark Hollis, "The quantity and quality of America's water supplies are being endangered by synthetic living and pushbutton industrial processing * * * and the problem threatens to increase in the future."

Since some of the toxic chemical contaminants in our water sources cannot be removed by any known methods and since they are highly resistant to the natural purification process of rivers, scientists fear their concentration in tap water may build up.

We have been polluting our water sources so recklessly with both sewage and the newer

chemical contaminants that for some localities the threatened crisis has arrived ahead of time.

For example, 2 years ago the city of Rensselaer, N.Y., was told that its 11,000 population was threatened by an epidemic of infectious hepatitis. Dr. John J. Quinlan, as president of the county board of health, warned that "city water in Rensselaer is so polluted it is dangerous for human consumption. * * * A disastrously widespread epidemic * * * is greatly to be feared."

Dr. Quinlan based his warning on a study made by the Rensselaer County Board of Health, which, he said, "revealed that the (water) supplies drawn from the Hudson River just above Albany are inadequately filtrated and chlorinated * * * and have a soaring bacterial count in the water mains." Rensselaer was drawing its water from a point 11 miles downstream from the city of Troy, which, along with several other communities north of Rensselaer, was dumping its sewage into the Hudson—Rensselaer's only source of drinking water.

At the time, Dr. Andrew C. Fleck, then Rensselaer County Health Commissioner, asserted that the continued use of the Hudson River as a source, even with increased chlorine, "cannot be relied upon to provide the long-range optimum protection desired." Commissioner Fleck, who ordered the city to boil its drinking water until the crisis was over, also said that Hudson River water needed seven parts per million of chlorine to make it fit for human consumption. The chlorine level had been reported at one-tenth the required minimum.

In Salt Lake City, the Deseret News quoted sewage experts warning residents that community health was endangered as hepatitis cases shot up three times higher than the previous year's level.

In the East, the New Jersey cities of Paterson, Passaic, Clifton, Nutley, and Harrison were forced to switch to alternate water sources when Passaic River pollution became so bad it killed thousands of fish.

In November 1958 residents of a Denver suburb jammed the offices of the Baker Water and Sanitation District with bitter complaints about the "dirty, rotten water" they had been getting. Their tapwater, milky and swamp-smelling, originated in a creek into which six other communities fed raw sewage. When the creek was at low flow the Baker plant had to process 100 percent undiluted sewage. In January 1959 health officials in the Baker district completed a door-to-door survey. The results showed that customers in the district had suffered twice as much intestinal illness as a similar group in another water district. The survey forced a temporary changeover to well water. But many Baker district residents refused to drink their tapwater anyway. A housewife was quoted as saying, "I don't even bathe my children in it until I add a goodly amount of bubble bath. Sometimes the water is dirtier than the kids." Other Baker district residents were buying distilled water by the case for drinking and cooking.

In another instance, last March, the Lane County (Oregon) Medical Society warned residents of Eugene, Oreg., that sewage was contaminating the McKenzie River one-half mile above the Eugene water intake. The contamination, an outgrowth of rapid population expansion, was so bad the society declared it feared that even high chlorination might not destroy all the disease-producing organisms in the water supply.

Such problems are complicated by skyrocketing demands for water. Modern living uses this resource in staggering amounts. The automatic clothes washer churns through an average 17 gallons per cycle. The dishwasher uses 3. Thirty to 60 gallons slosh down the drain each time someone showers. Bathing Susie in the tub requires another 30 gallons, and Johnny uses 2 gallons every time he fills the sink to wash, however reluctantly, behind his ears. Each flush of the toilet takes 5 gallons.

In all, the average family of 4 uses over three-quarters of a ton of water per day—200 gallons. This is 73,000 gallons per year, or about 300 tons, exclusive of the water used for car washing, lawn spraying, and similar functions. And demand is expected to double by 1980.

Paralleling this increased use of water in the home there has been a sharp rise in industrial water needs. Our new industries require tremendous amounts of clean water. In 1950 industry consumed 65 billion gallons per day. By 1980 this daily figure will have shot up to 394 billions—a sixfold increase. Top Government experts have warned that we simply won't have the water we need unless we stop pouring filth into our rivers and streams, from which this water must come.

To supply our needs, 18,000 water plants apply a variety of treatments. Water is drawn from rivers, lakes, reservoirs, or wells and pumped to a plant where lime, alum, carbon, or other chemicals are added to counteract taste, odor, and harmful bacteria. Next, the impurities in the water are allowed to coagulate and settle to the bottom of huge basins. After this, the water is passed through sand to filter it. Some time during the process, chlorine is added to kill dangerous bacteria surviving the other treatments. Some plants also add fluorine to retard tooth decay.

Water officials find it ironic that the addition of beneficial fluorine in carefully controlled amounts has provoked a furor, while the presence of new and poorly understood contaminants in tap water has drawn absolutely no public reaction at all.

Among the most frightening of these new contaminants are radioactive wastes. Last year, according to the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, approximately 30,000 persons in southwestern Colorado and northwestern New Mexico were using Animas River water that ranged 40 to 160 percent above maximum permissible levels of radioactive content." The towns of Aztec and Farmington, N. Mex., were affected. Both drew drinking water from the river into which a uranium mill in Durango, Colo., dumped radioactive waste.

Under prodding from the U.S. Public Health Service, the mill agreed to dispose of its wastes in some safer fashion. But the incident sent cold chills down the spines of many health authorities who have been watching with some apprehension the rapid development of our atomic-energy industry. In addition to government installations and uranium mines and mills, laboratories, hospitals, and thousands of industrial plants use radioactive materials. As a result of this new threat, the city of Philadelphia, Pa., has purchased equipment to monitor its water supply for radioactivity, and many other cities have considered taking the same step. And at Shippingport, Pa., where the first large-scale nuclear-power reactor is in operation, a detailed emergency plan has been drawn to alert downstream users of Ohio River water in case, by accident, radioactivity over permissible levels is released into the river.

Another of the new contaminants is detergent. Though there is no evidence that synthetic detergents are in any way harmful, they are constantly surging into our sewers and septic tanks from dishwashers, clothes washers, sinks, garbage disposers, and other appliances, as well as from industry. From the sewer or septic tank they are finding their way into our water supply. According to scientists at the Robert A. Taft Sanitary Engineering Center in Cincinnati, only a few municipal surface-water supplies in the entire Nation are free of detergents. Many ground-water supplies are contaminated, too. Chemists at the Taft center have shown that the annoying foam in many city water supplies can be traced to the tons of synthetic detergents entering the water system each day—especially on Monday. What's more, according to Jesse M. Cohen of the Taft center engineering staff, conventional water treatment does not remove synthetic detergents from tap water.

A spectacular demonstration of the presence of detergents in water occurred not long ago in Chanute, Kans. The Neosho River, source of the city's water, ran dry in the drought of 1956. In desperation, city officials decided to recirculate the city's own sewage into the water-plant intake for purification and successfully supplied the town with usable drinking water for 5 months.

However, a buildup of synthetic detergent in the Chanute system caused the water to froth like beer as it came out of the tap. Agitation of a glass of water would send foam to the top. The detergent at the water plant accumulated into waves of foam 10 to 15 feet high, completely inundating a small building which housed equipment. On windy days a snowstorm of suds went sailing through the vicinity.

Detergent has also been found in well-water supplies in Peoria, Ill.; Dania, Fla.; Lac de Flambeau, Wis.; and other places. One of the hardest hit communities has been Babylon, N.Y., where detergent has turned up in both private wells and the public water supply. A study of the Babylon situation by Suffolk County health authorities revealed that one part per million detergent in water would cause foam. At one and a half parts per million, the water begins to taste oily, fishy. * * *

Still another troublesome group of new contaminants includes insecticide, pesticide, weed killer, fertilizer, and other agricultural chemicals and poisons, which are, in one way or another, beginning to get into our water sources. One-sixth of all croplands and millions of acres of forests, rangelands, and marshlands are treated with such chemicals each year, according to Ross Leffler, Chief of the Federal Fish and Wildlife Service. Sales of the poisons—DDT, DLD, dieldrin, methoxychlor, chlordan, aldrin, benzene hexachloride (BHC)—have quadrupled since 1956.

So far the traces of these substances found in water are far below toxic levels. They are measured in parts per billion. But according to Gordon E. McCallum, Chief of the Public Health Service's Division of Water Supply and Water Pollution Control, our normal treatment does not remove them. Mr. McCallum asks, "What is the cumulative impact of these chemicals, singly or in combination, on the human beings who drink them?" At this time, there is no conclusive answer to the question.

Each year American industry spawns thousands of totally new chemicals, each opening the way to new manufacturing processes and new types of waste. Today industry is pumping tons of these strange new substances into our rivers and streams. Some are so potent that a single teaspoonful can impart bad taste and odor to a million gallons of water. A million pounds of these synthetic organic compounds drift down the Ohio River alone every day.

Besides the problem of these jet-age pollutants is another, almost as old as man himself. Incredibly, many communities are still dumping enormous tonnages of disease-carrying sewage—raw and untreated—into the water sources of their downstream neighbors. With population booming, volumes of sewage are rising, and cities are crowding one another along river banks. Consequently, sewage outlets and water intakes are being forced closer and closer together. There was

a time when the natural bacterial action of a stream could purify much sewage within a few miles of downstream drift. Today, quantities of sewage are so great—over 50,000,000 pounds of solids per day—that many of our waterways are overburdened and cannot help in purifying.

Sewage isn't all. Congressman JOHN DINGELL, of Michigan, a leading advocate of pollution control says, "slaughterhouse wastes, toxic industrial and mine waste, garbage, and cannery refuse all go into our rivers and streams. So do petrochemicals, coal-tar dyes, rotting animal carcasses, and the effluent from mortuaries and hospitals."

A case in point is the Missouri River, source of drinking water for Omaha and other cities. The water just below Sioux City was described by F. W. Kittrell, a Public Health Service engineer as being "clogged with untreated packing-plant wastes. * * * Gas bubbles rose from sludge deposited on the bottom. Offensive odor filled the atmosphere."

Sioux City and its factories dump untreated sewage and waste in the river. "Some of the solid materials carry downstream as far as the Omaha water-plant intake, where they clog the metal screens * * * and sometimes pass into the water-treatment plant."

Conditions such as these are not merely disgusting. They are a red flag indicating that germ-laden, raw sewage is present in the water source. The menace of sewage is well known. It carries the seeds of dysentery, typhoid, hepatitis, and many other diseases. To correct the Sioux City situation, the city last September announced plans to comply with a Federal order requiring it to treat its wastes before disposal.

Despite severe problems, Omaha's water-plant operators have so far been able to distribute safe water. But T. A. Filipi, of the Nebraska State Department of Public Health, told Good Housekeeping, "Our scientists are working day and night to keep ahead of the pollution problem. How much longer we can, I don't know. In 1957 we had cases of infectious hepatitis going down the river. The cases weren't spotted all over the State. They were concentrated in communities that draw water from the Missouri. Omaha is at the mercy of Sioux City."

Omaha's dilemma is hardly unique.

Herbert L. Hartung, Sanitary Engineer at the St. Louis Water Company, said, during a conference on Missouri River pollution, that his company—which serves over 500,000 consumers—has been "noting with growing concern the increasing amount of pollution. * * * If this pollution continues to increase," he warned flatly, "the quality of the drinking water in St. Louis County will be seriously impaired and endangered. * * * This company has no assurance that its existing water plants can satisfactorily process Missouri River water unless pollution abatement becomes a reality."

St. Louis is concerned about Kansas City, Mo., which pipes its raw sewage into the river above St. Louis. Yet St. Louis itself—perched at the juncture of the Missouri and the Mississippi—draws its water from the Missouri, then proceeds to dump its raw sewage and its garbage, untreated except for grinding, into the Mississippi. This has caused serious problems for Cape Girardeau, Mo., and for Chester, Ill., with only slight improvement in recent years.

Mounting pollution is forcing our waterworks to boost chlorination levels. In some cities chlorination is so high that tap water smells and tastes of it. Still, this is preferable to exposing users to many diseases associated with bad water, some taking the form of a "mild cold," or diarrhea, or other seemingly minor conditions which are seldom reported, even to family physicians. Experts suspect, but can't prove, that waves of vomiting, cramps, upset stomachs, which sometimes whip mysteriously across a community are water-borne.

Most evidence that disease outbreaks are caused by contaminated drinking water is—as water-purification authorities point out—usually circumstantial. For it is difficult to prove that the source of the disease is indeed the water. However, as Norman A. Clarke, Sr., and Shih Lu Chang, writing in the Journal of the American Water Works Association, point out, "infectious hepatitis has been established as a water-bourne virus disease, and (in the past 15 years) more than 70 newly discovered viruses have been added to the original list of enteric viruses known to be present in human wastes."

Modern water-treatment methods can and do prevent contaminated water from affecting a community's health in almost every instance. However, with the vast amount of pollution of water sources, there is a limit to even the superefficiency of our purification methods. Where a plant is tremendously overburdened, where modern methods are not in use, or where no purification facilities exist, breakthroughs of disease-bearing water can occur. Clarke and Chang in their report say that an "explosive outbreak of poliomyelitis" in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada, was "reasonably correlated" with sewage pollution, and a similar outbreak in Nebraska was probably traceable to the same sources of infection. "There is also sufficient . . . evidence that the [infectious hepatitis] epidemic that occurred in the small town on the Tidal River (Pennsylvania) was water-borne," Clarke and Chang report.

A. E. Weatherford, operator of treatment facilities in Atchison, Kans., testified at a hearing held by the Public Health Service that badly polluted Missouri River water had been inadequately chlorinated and piped into homes by accident. No outbreak of illness was reported in this instance; but in New Delhi, India, late in 1955, contaminated water passed through the modern plant there. Result: 30,000 to 50,000 cases of infectious hepatitis.

What does all this mean to you? According to health experts, water-treatment officials, conservationists, and leading women's organizations, the time has come to mount an all-out crusade to protect our water supply. They believe women help safeguard our drinking water by battling on two fronts—one against pollution and one for better sewage-treatment and water-purification facilities where they are needed.

To begin with, the authorities say, you can check your own local water supply. According to a spokesman for the American Water Works Association, 40 percent of existing water-treatment plants are deficient in treatment capacity; 57 percent need improvements in their distribution system. Find out whether your water is treated, whether it is safe. Your State's water and health authorities can help you here.

In Chester, Vt., a few years ago, the town health officer recommended that the water supply be chlorinated. His suggestion was defeated in a village referendum. Local women took matters into their own hands. They learned that samples of Chester water were not reaching the State board of health regularly. So they began sending samples. When half the samples came back marked "Water unsafe for drinking," the women called on other nearby communities to get the facts on chlorination—how much it cost, what people thought of it, how the funds were raised. They made an exhibit which included a taste test. This involved bottles of both chlorinated and unchlorinated water. Anyone who could successfully taste the difference was awarded a prize. Two public meetings were held. Petitions were circulated and a new vote taken. The women won.

Second, we need better enforcement of existing laws against pollution, and we need better laws. Every State in the Union has a pollution-control agency and some statute regulating the contaminants which may be dumped into our water. But there are still many States where the law is loose and the enforcement lax. As a housewife and a voter, you can insist that your State bring its pollution law up to the standards suggested by the Public Health Service in a model law it has developed. You can help get better enforcement, too. The State authorities who police pollution have a thankless and difficult task. You can insist that they do their job, and you can help by lending them support when they get into a scrap.

We also must plug holes in our scientific understanding. Industry spends billions to produce the synthetic organics and other products polluting our rivers. But we, as a Nation, spend well under $5 million a year, from both Federal and private sources, on research aimed at keeping our tap water safe. This helps explain why the phrase "we don't know" turns up so often in relation to our water problems. Health experts are convinced the annual research outlay must be doubled or tripled.

Finally, and most important, is the clean-up job that can be primarily accomplished by building new sewage-disposal facilities. Communities cannot continue getting rid of their sewage by pumping it out of sight and mind. Sewage must be treated before it is dumped, and you can help make sure that it is.

In Idaho Falls, Idaho, the local League of Women Voters decided to study the town's sewerage problem. Shortly afterward, the town hired an engineering firm to make a survey. When the firm recommended additional water-treatment facilities, the league endorsed its report. When the sewerage-plant-expansion bond issue came up for a vote, the women rolled up their sleeves and went to work. They put up arrows all over town leading to a nearby sewage outlet in the Snake River. Signs read, "Follow the arrows" "See it now" "It's a shocker." They issued leaflets explaining in blunt language why "even increased chlorination" would not "sufficiently purify our drinking water" unless the community awakened to its problem. They got milkmen to distribute the flyers in every milk box. They put notices on every menu in every restaurant in town. They painted slogans on the sidewalks. When the bond-issue election was held, the community voted 4 to 1 in favor of building a new sewerage plant.

Today the city or town that wants to build or improve its sewerage-treatment facilities can get financial help from Uncle Sam. Congress considers the pollution situation so dangerous that in 1956 it set aside funds to stimulate local self-help. Under Public Law 660, your community can get Federal funds in amounts up to 30 percent of the cost of the new facilities or $250,000, whichever is lower. Some States provide additional assistance. You can find out about this by writing to the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, in Washington, or to your State water-pollution control board.

But even with these aids, the initiative, the action, and the basic funds must come from your own community. Here is where intelligent and aroused women can do the most important job. The cleanup of our rivers to safeguard our precious water supply—this is the biggest housekeeping chore facing the Nation today.

Student Loyalty Oaths

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OREN E. LONG
OF HAWAII
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. LONG of Hawaii. Mr. President, I am hopeful that the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare will come forward with a new bill giving the Senate another opportunity to vote on repealing or modifying section 1001(f) of the National Defense Education Act of 1958. It is well known that Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and a number of other colleges have withdrawn from the Federal student loan program because of the oath and affidavit requirements of that section. Although the University of Hawaii has not withdrawn from the program, it has, along with many other colleges, formally protested against this unfortunate legislative provision. I heartily agree with the committee majority which reported last June that "Experience has shown it—section 1001(f)—to be ineffective as a security device and harmful to the educational program." If it is necessary to have additional legislation for the prosecution of possible subversion, the proper course is to amend the Nation's internal security laws, not to hamstring an educational program with a vague and indefinite provision which may do violence to constitutional safeguards.

I ask unanimous consent that two editorials on this subject recently printed in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Jan. 1, 1960]

STUDENT LOYALTY OATH

We admire the action of Harvard and Yale Universities in withdrawing from the Federal student loan program because of the loyalty-oath requirement.

In doing so, they join Princeton and several of the country's leading smaller colleges, such as Amherst and Oberlin, in the one way of effectively protesting the insult to American youth that is implicit in the National Defense Education Act of 1958.

* * * * *

Under this law every student recipient of a Federal loan must not only swear allegiance to the Government but also sign a disclaimer that he believes in or supports any organization advocating its illegal overthrow.

Why is this wrong and why is it insulting?

Because the imposition of oaths of this type on members of the academic community inevitably suggests a wider infringement on freedom of thought; because it suggests that students are more suspect than other citizens—such as farmers or manufacturers, to whom vast outpourings of Federal aid in the form of subsidies or tariffs are given without thought of loyalty oaths; because, finally, such formulas are utterly useless in their avowed purpose of protecting the state against real subversion.

The loan program, in which some 120,000 students are expected to participate during the current year, can be an extremely useful method of encouraging higher education among American youth.

But its values gravely suffers from anything so un-American and so fatuous as this relic of McCarthyism.

By a narrow margin last summer efforts of Senator KENNEDY and others to remove, or at least soften, the oath provision were defeated.

The stand now taken by Harvard and Yale should encourage a renewal of such attempts at the next session of Congress. (From the New York Times.)

[From the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Jan, 3. 1960]

THAT TEST OATH FOR COLLEGE STUDENTS

Now that President Eisenhower has flatly stated his disapproval of the anti-Communist affidavit required of students seeking Federal loans, Congress when it reconvenes should strike down this obnoxious test oath.

The President objects to it for the same reason that a number of schools, including Harvard and Yale, have refused this aid to their students.

At his press conference on Wednesday the President said:

"I personally am ready each morning to take an oath that I am not a Communist and that I am loyal to the United States. I think, however, that when we begin to single out any group of citizens and say, 'This is a matter of legal compulsion,' I can see why they are resentful."

That is the big point. To require this oath of college students and not of citizens in general is to single out the students and to imply that their loyalty is questionable.

That is a gratuitous insult, and a serious one.

This was recognized by Congress when in adopting new labor legislation last summer, it repealed the Taft-Hartley statute's requirement of an anti-Communist oath by union officials.

The oath amendment was slipped into the education act almost by sleight of hand. Yet when Senator KENNEDY sought its removal, too many Senators lacked the courage to vote for its repeal. The Kennedy bill was maneuvered back to committee by a vote of 49 to 42.

The test oath is no protection for the Nation. But it is a gratuitous offense. Since the indignity is resented, it frustrates the very purpose of the education act, the training of specialists essential to the national defense. (From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch.)

Address by Samuel Rose

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

(Mr. FARBSTEIN was granted leave to extend his remarks by inserting address by Samuel Rose.)

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Samuel Rose, chief of contact, Central Office, Veterans' Administration, before delegates of the 32d Fleet Reserve Association national convention:

The Fleet Reserve Association. What a great outfit you are.

And what a grand feeling, to be here with you once again as the special representative of the Administrator of Veterans Affairs, Sumner Whittier. I bring you his greetings and his warm-hearted good wishes.

I am happy and proud to see all of you—my shipmates—and to receive the welcome I always do at your national conventions. I can assure you that this 32d national convention is no exception to the rule.

The Fleet Reserve Association membership carries its own special badge of honor. You don't just walk up a gangplank and sit down in an easy chair on the main deck, if you hope to become a shipmate in the Fleet Reserve Association. You have to complete 6 years of active service in the Navy or Marine Corps before you can hope to join up and become a member. In other words, it's a real privilege to belong to the Fleet Reserve Association.

It's good to see Charlie Lofgren aboard. Charlie has had some intimate encounters recently with surgeons at the Naval Medical Center in Bethesda, Md., but we must remember: One can push Charlie's head under salt water—but he's going to pop up again where we can all see and enjoy him. And it wouldn't be a Fleet Reserve Association convention without Schuyler Pyle—or Russell Langdon. It is unfortunate that because of an unhappy stroke of fate a familiar face is missing. I know you share my sorrow in the untimely and tragic passing of Shipmate Charlie McCarthy, the editor of Naval Affairs, his wife and sister. Charlie was a devoted shipmate and tireless worker. He will be missed.

Since we have dropped anchor in Texas, I want to pay tribute to a gallant soldier and an honorable gentleman, known, respected and admired far beyond the confines of the Lone Star State. I refer to the Honorable OLIN TEAGUE, chairman of the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, and a sponsor of the Veterans' Pension Act of 1959, recently enacted into law by the Congress and signed by the President. He is a true friend and has served well the cause of veterans in America.

Speaking of the new pension law, I would like to say this. It modifies the pension programs for veterans of World War I, World War II, and the Korean conflict, and their widows and children. It does something new, something never before attempted, in rendering pension assistance to those whose need is greatest. It does this by providing a sliding scale of pensions, based on the income and the dependency status of the recipient.

I want to emphasize one further point. The new pension law does not go into effect until July 1, 1960.

Veterans, widows, and orphans now on the pension rolls or coming on the rolls before that date will be allowed to choose the present system of payment, or the new pension plan—whichever they prefer. VA will help them make the best choice by mailing them a form to be filled out to be followed by a detailed analysis of the new pension act. Writing to the VA will not speed things up.

I wish I could make you feel the wholehearted dedication of the VA as it seeks to serve veterans like yourselves everywhere in America. I wish Sumner Whittier himself could be here, to tell you in his eloquent way the inspiring story of the new, modern, streamlined, electronic-minded VA. It is a thrilling story.

The VA budget for the fiscal year 1960 totals up to more than $5 billion. It is a good budget, a hopeful budget for veterans and for those near and dear to them, because it demonstrates that the American people

have not forgotten the American veteran. It calls for more than $17 million in medical research, a record amount.

We have set aside $792 million, also a record amount, for inpatient care in our hospitals. This allows us a better staffing ratio and hence, improved care. We have set aside $84 million for outpatient care; that's a million and a half more than last year. We have set aside $47 million for maintenance and repair of our VA hospitals, and this too is a record figure.

And how much of this massive $5-billion-plus budget would you imagine is spent on administrative expense? Only 3 cents out of every VA dollar appropriated. Think of that.

You can bank on it, shipmates. When VA asks Congress for money to spend, practically all of it will be spent on service for veterans. That's the way we do business.

I want to mention one other medical fact. I mean the new authorized 125,000-bed policy for the VA hospital system. This might be termed the "Administrator's bill of rights," something dear to Mr. Whittier's heart—the freedom for the Administrator to assign beds where they are most needed, when they are most needed—and for the specific treatment that is most needed.

Other challenges are being met today by our new streamlined, electronic VA. One of them is the challenge of the aging veteran. Today, of more than 22½ million veterans, only about 6 million are over 45. But 12 years from now—and time moves fast these days—there will be only 6 million veterans under 45.

Today, almost half of the patients in our VA hospitals are 55 years of age, or older. We believe that the one important thing to an older veteran is the feeling that he is wanted; the feeling that there is something useful he can do, the feeling that he retains his self-respect.

And so we are seeking ways to establish good communications between the VA hospital, the VA domiciliary, and the nearby communities. We are interested in foster homes; we are interested in part-time jobs that are worth doing by veterans who want to do them well; we are interested in anything and everything that adds dignity and self-respect to the aging veteran.

This is our philosophy: We in VA are not in business to manufacture things. We are in business to serve human beings. Think of our GI insurance program. More than 6 million GI life insurance policies were in force at the end of August 1959. The face amount of those policies amounted to nearly $43 billion. What an invaluable stabilizing force in our Nation's economy. What a guarantee of future financial security to those near and dear to the veterans holding those policies.

It's the same hopeful story on our GI loan program. Think of 5,700,000 GI home loans guaranteed or insured by the VA with a combined value of more than $47 billion. Think of the unparalleled record established by veterans in meeting their GI loan obligations by having repaid in full more than 1,700,000 GI loans. Think of the national impact on the United States of all those houses built and occupied, all of those families setting up strong ties between their homes, the church, the school, the shopping center, the nearby communities.

Or think of the more than 10¾ million veterans who have received GI education and training over the years. Think of their amazing contribution to the sciences and the arts, to our industrial and business world. Think of what might have happened in America—the added perils we might have faced—had there been no GI bill for veterans. Home from war, their vigor has revitalized our colleges and universities.

We are a better nation, a stronger nation, a sounder nation, because of our veterans.

You and I know the answer. It is obvious. In serving the well-being of veterans, the VA is serving America. In assisting young veterans to improve their future, the VA helps America to improve its strength and stability.

I spoke a while ago of the VA budget of more than $5 billion. And do you know what the spending of that $5 billion actually represents? It is a tremendous investment in the growth possibilities of more than 22½ million fine Americans. It has already paid our Nation prodigious dividends. It will pay more and more, as the destiny of our Nation unfolds. This reminds me of a thought from the pen of a great American, Ralph Waldo Emerson. He wrote, "The true test of civilization is, not the census, nor the size of cities, nor the crops—no—but the kind of man the country turns out." In that gem of truth can be found the meaning of the facts I presented to you this morning.

To my shipmates of the Fleet Reserve Association I will say this: If you are puzzled about some benefits, if you want information or help or anything in connection with veterans' affairs—speak up. That is why I am here.

One thing is certain. I don't know any group of veterans I admire more than you shipmates of the Fleet Reserve Association. As I glance about me, I can see that some of you are gray—some of you don't have too much hair of any kind. But I can also see, when I gaze at your eyes, that every one of you here is young.

You remind me of a certain admiral, now departed. You may know who I mean. He was going aboard his ship one day. A sailor whispered: "There goes that old so-and-so." The admiral heard it. He turned around and said, "Call me a 'so-and-so' if you please. But don't you ever call me old."

That's the spirit of the Fleet Reserve Association. That's how I feel when I come to your conventions—my shipmates—my dear friends.

God bless you all.

Loyalty and Academic Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, last year the Senate defeated an attempt to repeal the loyalty oath and disclaimer affidavit requirements of the National Defense Education Act, and by a vote of 49 to 42 recommitted S. 819 to the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. But the Senate's action in removing the bill from the floor and returning it to committee has neither killed nor hidden the issue which it raised.

In the New York Times Magazine of December 20, 1959, there appeared an article by A. Whitney Griswold, president of Yale University, entitled "'Loyalty': An Issue of Academic Freedom." Yale University, like Reed College in Portland, Oreg., has refused NDEA funds in protest against politico-test oath provisions which the act contains. In clear, concise language, President Griswold explains exactly what is wrong with such loyalty oaths. He focuses his remarks on the negative disclaimer affidavit.

DISCLAIMER AFFIDAVIT DISCRIMINATORY

President Griswold points out that the only recipients of Federal benefits to whom the disclaimer affidavit now applies are students and teachers in colleges and universities. Farmers and veterans do not sign such a statement. Nor do social security recipients. Officials of railroads, steamship lines, and airlines are not called upon to swear that they are not disloyal each time they handle a Government subsidy check. Why should students and faculties be treated differently, President Griswold asks? Under the NDEA, he points out, "In one and the same breath they are told that they are the Nation's first line of defense—and the Nation's poorest security risk. They are called upon to put forth their best effort in the name of national security; yet they alone are obliged to submit to certain qualifications concerning their loyalty."

And colleges and universities—which supply 10 percent of each loan—are forced to perpetuate this discriminatory practice by administering the disclaimer affidavit if they participate in the National Defense Education Act. Some schools have decided that they would not be justified in denying needy and deserving students the help made available by such activities as the student loan program; they have protested vigorously this unfair provision, but continued to take part in the program. Others, like Yale and Reed, have declined to participate.

LOYALTY CANNOT BE COERCED

President Griswold points out that the entire concept of the disclaimer affidavit is a fallacious one. Such an oath is futile in achieving its declared purpose—loyalty to the Government. "Loyalty cannot be coerced or compelled," he states. "If men are born loyal, the only kind of loyalty that survives infancy in any thinking person is the kind that survives curiosity and withstands criticism and even doubt."

But if the NDEA disclaimer affidavit suffers from the faults of discrimination and ineffectiveness, it is guilty of a graver philosophical indictment. As President Griswold declares, the disclaimer affidavit, joined with the affirmative oath of allegiance in the act, distorts the combination and gives it the character of a political test oath—a type of declaration said by Alexander Hamilton to "invert the order of things, and instead of obliging the State to prove the guilt, in order to inflict the penalty, it was to oblige the citizen to establish his own innocence to avoid the penalty." The effects are those of bills of attainder.

ACADEMIC FREEDOM ESSENTIAL

President Griswold concludes his article with these words:

A people that is afraid to expose its political and social institutions to the curiosity and criticism of the rising generation is not free; by whatever method it whispers this fear to itself, it shouts its insecurity to the world.

It is not the disclaimer affidavit that will make our colleges and universities bulwarks of our security, nor even the oath of allegiance, which they accept. It is our trust in them to pursue the course the Nation has

set for them—a course they can pursue in freedom and in no other way.

Mr. President, I ask that President Griswold's cogent remarks appear in their entirety at the conclusion of my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Oregon? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, S. 819, introduced by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY] and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] would provide for repeal of both the positive loyalty oath and the negative disclaimer affidavit in the National Defense Education Act. I announced my support of this proposal immediately following its introduction. I was proud to back it with my vote when the Senate considered it on June 29, 1959. I regret that the majority of Senators present for that vote chose to recommit the bill, even after it had been modified so as to repeal only the obnoxious negative affidavit but retain the loyalty oath, which, though inappropriate and unnecessary, is affirmative.

PRESIDENT FAVORS REPEAL

On December 2, 1959, President Eisenhower told his news conference that he would favor repeal of the non-Communist affidavit. During Senate hearings last year Arthur S. Flemming, Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, declared that the oath and affidavit requirements of the National Defense Education Act are unnecessary, useless, and discriminatory.

In 1959, Congress eliminated the affidavit of nonbelief in overthrow of the Government and nonmembership in the Communist Party from union officials before they could use the services of the NLRB.

Administration backing exists for repeal of the disclaimer affidavit. Congress took a similar action last year in repealing such a requirement in the Taft-Hartley Act. I hope the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee will soon report S. 819 and that the Senate will again have an opportunity to eliminate this most undesirable addendum from the National Defense Education Act. I favor elimination of the entire section 1001(f) of title X of the National Defense Education Act. But certainly we must remove the distasteful and unfair "test oath" feature which violates the very principles which motivated enactment of the National Defense Education Act. Maintenance of this feature actually injures the very freedoms which it is said to protect.

EXHIBIT 1

LOYALTY: AN ISSUE OF ACADEMIC FREEDOM

(By A. Whitney Griswold)

(President Griswold of Yale explains why many universities, including his own, have refused Federal funds for student loans in protest against loyalty affidavits.)

A debate of large dimensions is going on over the issue whether loyalty oaths and affidavits shall be required of college students seeking Federal loans. But the central issue is not always entirely clear to those directly involved, and is blurred and confused in the public mind. It is not a question of being for or against the Constitution, for or against loyalty. It is a case of two different groups of Americans talking at cross purposes about the same thing—namely, the security and welfare of the Nation and the means of strengthening both through higher education. These are the only terms in which the central issue of the controversy can be accurately identified and understood.

Since the National Defense Education Act went into effect a year ago last September, the great majority of the Nation's colleges and universities have raised their voices in criticism of one particular provision. This is the disclaimer affidavt that accompanies the oath of allegiance, and that is required of all recipients of the act's benefits. The affidavit requirement appears in title X, section 1001(f), the full text of which reads as follows:

"No part of any funds appropriated or otherwise made available for expenditure under authority of this Act shall be used to make payments or loans to any individual unless such individual (1) has executed and filed with the Commissioner an affidavit that he does not believe in, and is not a member of and does not support any organization that believes in or teaches, the overthrow of the United States Government by force or violence or by any illegal or unconstitutional methods, and (2) has taken and subscribed to an oath or affirmation in the following form: 'I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of America and will support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States against all its enemies, foreign and domestic.' The provisions of section 1001 of title 18, United States Code, shall be applicable with respect to such affidavits."

Individually, and through such representative organizations as the Association of American Colleges, the Association of American Universities, the American Association of Land Grant Colleges and State Universities, the American Association of University Professors, and the Association for Higher Education of the National Education Association, the colleges and universities have protested this affidavit and have urged its repeal.

I

The Government has not been unresponsive to their views. Last winter the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Mr. Flemming, testified in their support, and Senators CLARK of Pennsylvania and KENNEDY of Massachusetts, introduced a bill repealing section 1001(f) in its entirety. Hearings on this bill, which had the approval of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, were held before the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare in April and May, and the committee reported the bill favorably by a vote of 12 to 3.

After debate in late July, however, the bill was amended to eliminate the disclaimer affidavit but retain the oath of allegiance, and then sent back to committee. Finally, on December 2, on the eve of his departure for his trip abroad, President Eisenhower spoke out categorically in favor of the affidavit's repeal. There the matter rests awaiting reconsideration by Congress when it assembles next month.

The colleges and universities are not protesting the oath of allegiance. They do question its appropriateness as a condition to financial aid for college students, as distinct from its traditional usage in connection with the assumption of a public office or trust; and they also question whether more general use may not wear it thin.

Too, they are mindful of the historic fact that any oath required by the state can be misused. Nevertheless, they accept the oath of allegiance. By itself the oath is no more than an affirmation of the duties every citizen owes to his country, whether he takes the oath or not. It is thus coextensive with and expressive of the basic law of the land. The disclaimer affidavit, on the other hand, extends beyond the basic law of the land into the realm of belief and conscience, where definitions are vague and actions become matters of debate. What the colleges and universities are objecting to is this disclaimer affidavit.

II

Unfortunately, these are not the terms in which the issue is commonly presented. Although the position of the colleges and universities is extensively documented in the printed hearings on the Clark-Kennedy bill and in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and has attracted widespread press attention, what comes through to the public is an oversimplified impression of fastidious intellectualism finding fault with the law, of the "egghead" refusing to accept the common lot of the citizen and the patriot.

What's wrong with loyalty oaths? We have all pledged allegiance to the flag as schoolchildren. Everyone who takes out a passport swears to uphold the Constitution. Why should anyone hesitate to take such an oath in any circumstances? Why should any American object to disclaiming beliefs abhorrent to all Americans? These and less temperate questions imputing subversiveness and disloyalty are evidence of a wide gulf of misunderstanding between the public and the colleges and universities.

III

A natural reason for the position of the colleges and universities is that no one enjoys being doubted when everyone else is trusted. Yet this is the way the colleges and universities are made to feel by the disclaimed affidavit. The affidavit originated in the Taft-Hartley Act. From this act it was written into the National Science Foundation Act of 1950, and then into the National Defense Education Act of 1958. Farmers, veterans, and beneciaries of social security (to say nothing of other recipients of Federal benefits, such as the officials and employees of railroads, steamship lines and airlines) have never had to make a disclaimer affidavit. In 1959 it was dropped out of the Taft-Hartley Act. This means that the only recipients of Federal benefits to whom it now applies are students and teachers in colleges and universities.

To the latter, this seems like the short end of the stick. They do not see why their students and faculties should be treated differently from any other individuals, groups, professions, or occupations that receive Federal subsidies or loans. And it is all the harder for them to appreciate the justice of this when they reflect on the role they are being asked to perform and the manner in which they are being asked to perform it. In one and the same breath they are told that they are the Nation's first line of defense—and the Nation's poorest security risk. They are called upon to put forth their best effort in the name of national security; yet they alone are obliged to submit to certain qualifications concerning their loyalty.

IV

To them, this seems worse than discrimination in the ordinary sense of the word. It seems like a vote of no confidence from the very party that is asking them to come to its aid, at the very moment and in the very circumstances in which that aid is most urgently needed.

Is this the result of a native anti-intellectualism that stubbornly survives even the most serious crises? Whatever its origin, the fact is that the most important act of Congress to identify education with the national interest since the Land Ordinance

of 1785 and the Morrill Act of 1862 singles out higher education from all professions and occupations as a dubious loyalty risk—which goes far to explain the objections of the colleges and universities.

Feeling as they do, the colleges and universities are all the more averse to being parties to the discriminatory practice. Yet this, too, is forced upon them by the terms of the National Defense Education Act. In the student loan program the institution is required to invest 10 percent of its own funds in each loan, and to administer the disclaimer affidavit and oath of allegiance to each recipient.

Thus the institution not only becomes an active agent in administering an affidavit of which it does not approve; it also is forced to adopt a double standard for its students, as only those who need financial assistance are required to take the affidavit and oath. This places the institution in a moral dilemma which none enjoys, and which a number have decided they could resolve only by refraining from or withdrawing from participation in the loan program.

V

It is true that repeal of the affidavit will not wholly relieve the colleges and universities of the discriminatory practices of which they complain. Students and faculty accepting benefits under the terms of the National Defense Education Act will, presumably, still be required to take the oath of allegiance, while others will not. But, as already pointed out, the colleges and universities regard the oath of allegiance as a far less onerous requirement than the disclaimer affidavit, and one that, in present circumstances, is supportable.

Another and purely practical reason for the objection of the colleges and universities to the disclaimer affidavit is their belief that it is inherently futile. They know that similar affidavits have led to some convictions for perjury. But they do not think the affidavit can be relied upon either as a safeguard against disloyalty or as a means of inculcating loyalty.

That no truly subversive or treasonous person would hesitate to use it—or the oath of allegiance, for that matter—as a cloak for his intentions has been proved, rather than disproved, by the perjury convictions.

VI

On the other hand, the affidavit cannot create loyalty. Loyalty cannot be coerced or compelled. If men are born loyal, the only kind of loyalty that survives infancy in any thinking person is the kind that survives curiosity and withstands criticism and even doubt. Such loyalty may and usually does have an instinctive base; but if the opportunity to satisfy curiosity and answer criticism is limited, or qualified, or made conditional upon the acceptance of restraints, the instinctive base of loyalty is undermined.

The only loyalty upon which true reliance can be placed is the kind evoked by the inherent virtue of the cause or institution or individual toward which the loyalty is felt. In creating this kind of loyalty, oaths of any sort are of little value compared to the devotion of a man who has been free to examine and evaluate the evidence and, on the strength of that experience, in Cromwell's words, "knows what he fights for and loves what he knows."

While the oath of allegiance may have the effect of recalling or stimulating such a sense of loyalty in the person who takes it, that effect is hardly strengthened by the accompanying affidavit. When a man pledges his allegiance to the Government and the Constitution, either we take him at his word (in which case the disclaimer affidavit becomes tautological) or we doubt his word and say to him (as the affidavit seems to say), "Even though you have just affirmed your allegiance to the Government and the Constitution, you are still not to be trusted." In the latter case the affidavit implies perjury in taking the oath of allegiance. In either case it is difficult for the colleges and universities to see how it will inspire loyalty in the rising generation.

VII

The question now presents itself, Why are the colleagues and universities objecting to the affidavit in the National Defense Education Act, when for nearly a decade they have acquiesced in it in the National Science Foundation Act?

The answer is that, although they have not liked it in either act, in the National Science Foundation Act the affidavit was the responsibility of the individual receiving the benefit. But in the National Defense Education Act, through investment in the loan program and administration of the affidavit, the institution itself is involved.

Again, the broader scope of the National Defense Education Act, its trail-blazing character, and its weightier impact on the younger generation make the affidavit stand out more prominently as a matter of principle. It was also felt that the National Defense Education Act might be establishing the pattern for Federal support of higher education and setting the example for governmental relations with the colleges and universities for the indefinite future; and in this context matters of principle assumed special importance. When the framers of the National Defense Education Act followed the precedent of the Taft-Hartley and National Science Foundation Acts, and the disclaimer affidavit seemed about to be frozen into the system, the colleges and universities decided the time had come to make their opposition known.

But the case of the colleges and universities rests on more than mere discomfort at being objects of and parties to discriminatory practices. One possible remedy for any such practice is to generalize it. If every recipient of Federal benefits and all students in higher education were required to make the affidavit, the colleges and universities could no longer plead that they were suffering from discrimination.

The truth is they would find this cure no better than the disease. Justice Holmes once said that questions like this were better answered by a page of history than a volume of logic. The fundamental position of the colleges and universities is rooted in history, and it is only through an understanding of that history that we can fully understand what they are driving at today. The gravamen of their case against the affidavit is that, in juxtaposition to the affirmative oath of allegiance, it distorts the combination and imbues it with the nature of a political test oath.

VIII

This is the historic way in which such oaths have been constructed. They invariably begin with simple declarations or affirmations of allegiance, like the ancient oath of fealty or the present oath of allegiance. They are then expanded (as by the disclaimer affidavit) to include more and more avowals or disavowals of disbeliefs, doctrines and associations, as well as denials of unpopular or criminal acts. Thus they project the authority of the state into the realm of belief and conscience where, according to our political tradition, it has no business; and the individual may be forced to acquit himself of crimes and offenses left so vague that he can be convicted on the mere appearance of evil if he cannot be convicted of its practice.

Experience has taught us lessons about political and religious test oaths which are all too easily forgotten. It was under the scourge of these oaths that our Protestant ancestors emigrated from England to settle in America; that our Catholic ancestors lost their lands and lives; that Sir Thomas More died telling his daughter, "It was a very hard thing to compel me to say either precisely with it against my conscience to the loss of my soul, or precisely against it to the destruction of my body"; that Puritan dissenters and Quakers went to jail, sat in the stocks and had their ears cut off.

The oaths that caused these sufferings grew to be over a page long, and, in the words of Sir Frederick Pollock, became "swollen with strange imprecations and scoldings," until in 1868 they were at last abolished in favor of the simple oath of allegiance:

"I, ——— ———, do swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, her heirs and successors, according to law. So help me God."

IX

These things are easily forgotten, but colleges and universities, where history is studied and the past is ever present, remember them. They were fresh in the minds of the framers of our Constitution, fresh enough for Alexander Hamilton to denounce test oaths as "a subversion of one great principle of social security, to wit: That every man shall be presumed innocent until he is proved guilty."

Their effect, said Hamilton, "was to invert the order of things, and instead of obliging the State to prove the guilt, in order to inflict the penalty, it was to oblige the citizen to establish his own innocence to avoid the penalty. It was to excite scruples in the honest and conscientious, and to hold out a bribe to perjury." All this, Hamilton concluded, was "repugnant to the true genius of the common law" and "unknown to the Constitution."

X

The colleges and universities recall more recent experiences with test oaths than those which began with the marital troubles of Henry VIII. They recall the oaths of religious conformity that bound the early American colleges in the 18th century and were not finally sloughed off until the 19th (by Oxford and Cambridge in the middle of the 19th)—oaths that militated against Catholics and Protestant sects dissenting from the established religion of the institution.

They recall, too, the loyalty oaths imposed by Congress in the reconstruction period after the Civil War, of which Lincoln declared: "I have found that men who have not even been suspected of disloyalty are very averse to taking an oath of any sort as a condition of exercising an ordinary right of citizenship."

In the words of the Supreme Court (in Ex parte Garland), "All enactments of this kind partake of the nature of bills of pains and penalties, and are subject to the constitutional inhibitions against the passage of bills of attainder, under which general designation they are included."

For the benefit of a generation which, fortunately for it, has less knowledge of them than the men who drafted the Constitution, bills of attainder were arbitrary bills which extinguished the civil rights of an individual and enabled the State to impose upon him such penalties as loss of property, prison, and death, without benefit of trial by jury. Bills of attainder and test oaths grew up together in the same country, in the same period of history, and, although they are not identified with one another in modern law, they partook of the same essence in their day and served the same brand of justice.

That oaths of allegiance, even without the objectionable features of the historic test oaths, can be misused as instruments of

oppression was proved by Hitler. He merely required that civil servants and professors swear allegiance to him. That was all he needed to give the semblance of legality to whatever coercive steps he chose to take to compel their adherence to the Nazi party line.

XI

It was in no small measure his use of the oath that drove many German university professors into exile—among them many of the leading nuclear scientists who enabled the United States to produce the atomic bomb instead of Germany. They and their fellow exiles in other fields of learning, finding posts in American universities, have testified to the dangers of all oaths, however innocuous their beginning, in a way that has undoubtedly made their American colleagues sensitive to those dangers.

The colleges and universities do not believe that the oath of allegiance in the National Defense Education Act will be used as Hitler used his oath of allegiance. Indeed, as I have already said, they have accepted it. But the German experience, with its peculiarly direct and intimate significance to our college and university community, and that community's continually fresh memory of the political and religious test oaths in Anglo-American history, make it that much more anxious lest the disclaimer affidavit bend the present oath of allegiance in the direction of either. Hence it is that much more critical of the affidavit and more strongly in favor of its repeal.

XII

Underlying this concern with test oaths, in fact underlying the whole position of the colleges and universities in this controversy, is their concern for freedom. For centuries, in Europe as well as in England and America, they have struggled for the right to pursue learning for its own sake without interference by church or state. They have done so not because they thought society owed them this right as a mark of respect or a special privilege, but because they have regarded it as a functional necessity identical with freedom of the press and similar to freedom of speech, freedom of religion, and freedom of assembly.

In this historical perspective, they see a consistent use of oaths like the disclaimer affidavit as instruments of coercion, condium. Nazi Germany is a glaring example. of learning as much as they are opposites of freedom. If, now, our colleges and universities are to serve the cause of freedom and discharge the solemn duties with which the public, through the National Defense Education Act, has vested them, they can do so effectively only through procedures consistent with both freedom and learning.

XIII

Again and again history affords object lessons of what happens to learning when it is denied the freedom that is its natural medium. Nazi Germany is a glaring example. Anation that cannot trust its intellectuals cannot trust itself. A people that is afraid to expose its political and social institutions to the curiosity and criticism of the rising generation is not free; by whatever method it whispers this fear to itself, it shouts its insecurity to the world.

It is not the disclaimer affidavit that will make our colleges and universities bulwarks of our security, nor even the oath of allegiance, which they accept. It is our trust in them to pursue the course the Nation has set for them—a course they can pursue in freedom and in no other way.

New Agony for Russian Jews

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article which appeared in a recent issue of Life magazine. It is indeed shocking to read of the persecution of the Jews in Russia, especially in view of the fact that Mr. Khrushchev, while at the National Press Club here in Washington, vehemently denied that such discrimination exists in Russia today.

NEW AGONY FOR RUSSIAN JEWS—ANTI-SEMITIC DRIVE BRINGS SUPPRESSION AND VIOLENCE

(By Patricia Blake)

Over the last several months the Soviet Union's campaign against Jews and Judaism has intensified. All over the country synagogues have been closed, prayer meetings have been raided and newspaper articles have appeared attacking Jews as "thieves" and "enemies of socialism." In this climate of official attack, hoodlums have felt free to stone and set fire to synagogues. Jews have been severely beaten and even killed.

The extent and the virulence of the new campaign, which may come as a shock to the outside world, does not surprise the Jews of the U.S.S.R. They have had to live with organized anti-Semitism for more than a decade. "The government regards Christianity and Islam as the 'opium of the people,'" a Gentile Russian told me in Moscow recently, "but it treats Judaism as if it were poison gas. What's more, it doesn't matter whether a Jew is religious or not. He's pushed around just because he's a Jew."

Less than 15 years have passed since Russia valiantly pushed back the German armies which had slaughtered over two million Jews in Soviet territory alone. Yet since that victory the Jews of the U.S.S.R. have known little else but deprivation and despair. No other minority has been attacked so relentlessly and so mercilessly by the Kremlin.

Soviet officials will not admit to this discrimination. Khrushchev, when asked about it at the National Press Club in Washington during his visit, denied it vehemently. There is, after all, no ideological justification for a Communist to be anti-Semitic; the equality of all peoples is a cornerstone of Marxism-Leninism.

"Don't ask the doctor, ask the patient" goes a Jewish saying told to me in Russia in connection with official denials of anti-Semitic policy. During my two months in Russia, I followed this advice and talked with scores of Jewish "patients"—old and young people, intellectual and workers, believers and agnostics. From nearly all I heard the same story. As adherents of a despised religion, Jews are allowed far fewer facilities for worship than any other faith. As members of an alien nationality, they are being systematically excluded from higher education, government service, medicine, teaching and other professions.

The chief showplace of Judaism in Russia is the central synagogue of Moscow. The cavernous 80-year-old structure is empty on weekday mornings, but upstairs in the gallery where women sit during services, some older men and boys, in pairs, pore together over antique volumes. These, chief Rabbi Levin explained, are the yeshiva (Jewish theological school) teachers and students studying the Talmud. Other faiths—Russian Orthodox, Armenian, Moslem—have big classrooms and extensive libraries, but here there are no classrooms, no libraries. Students study in nooks under staircases, in corridors, in the basement.

There are 3 million Jews in the Soviet Union, 600,000 in Moscow alone. Yet Rabbi Levin's yeshiva has only 18 students—and it is the only one in the nation. In all Russia these 18 boys are the only ones allowed to study Hebrew, the only ones permitted any education in the traditions of Judaism.

The next morning, the Jewish Sabbath, I went to another one of the three synagogues in Moscow. It was typical of the facilities accorded Jews for worship: a small dilapidated wooden building, shaped like a quonset hut, standing in a muddy courtyard. Only a faded Star of David identified it. Some worshipers were closely wrapped in the ritual shaws which Orthodox Jews wear during prayer. The shawls were tattered, patched and stained with age. The men's headgear was varied and fanciful. Instead of the traditional black skullcaps—these, like all other religious articles, are not available in Russia—they wore Russian fur hats or the brightly embroidered beanies of Central Asia which sell for a few rubles at any department store.

Some of the worshipers sat huddled together in their seats, swaying and moaning their prayers. Others roamed the aisles like sleepwalkers, their eyes shut, their faces distorted by suffering, praying at the top of their lungs. Louder than the rest was the cantor's rhythmical chant which rose, broke now and then like a sob, was silent and rose again. Although the ritual of Jewish Orthodox services is the same around the world, the cry of these worshipers had a special quality. The destruction of the temple, the dispersion of the Jews to hostile lands, the massacres, the ghettoes, the pogroms, the gas chambers of Hitler and the slave camps of Stalin—the whole tortured history of a people was contained in that cry.

A small worn hand tugged at my sleeve. Would I like to share her prayer book, an old woman asked. I leafed through the ancient volume which was carefully bound in oilcloth. "What's this?" I pointed to a prayer across which she had drawn two thick black lines. "That's a prayer to Czar Alexander III and his family," she answered. I turned to the title page. The book was dated 1891. Jews must preserve these antiques preciously; only 3,000 copies of the Hebrew prayer book have been printed in Russian since the revolution, and only a few hundred were ever distributed.

When the old woman found out I was an American, she called some of her friends in the gallery to see me. I overheard one woman's whispered query, "Is she a Communist?" Someone said angrily, "Would she be here if she were?"

The women asked many questions. Is there as much antisemitism in America as there is here? Are there Yiddish theaters, Yiddish newspapers and Yiddish books in America? (None is allowed in Russia but the United States has a continuing Yiddish language culture.) Would I take messages to their relatives? What could I tell them about Israel?

I was told many personal histories of Jews under Communism. Jews spoke about the black years between 1948 and 1953 when they were terrorized by mass arrests, deportations and executions. One young man told me that at the time of the "doctors' plot" in 1953, when a group of Jewish doctors—later exonerated—was accused of trying to kill high government officials, Jews in Moscow were afraid to go out in the streets for fear of being beaten up. "My wife and I had a little bag packed with a few things for ourselves and our baby standing by our door. We all expected to be arrested and deported to Siberia. Things have got better since then for us Jews. It's been like moving from the death house to a common cell."

A middle-aged Jewish teacher in a small Russian town provided a description of life in this common cell.

"Before the war I had a lot of close friends who were gentiles. Anti-Semitism was taboo in this country and just unthinkable among educated people. But when the Nazis brought their racial theories with them into Russia, they fired up a lot of latent anti-Semitic feeling in all kinds of peoples—peasants, workers, even intellectuals. Although Jews received the third highest proportion of decorations for bravery among the many Soviet peoples who fought in the Red army, we were always accused of malingering or of bribing our way out of threatened areas. Practically everything that went wrong was blamed on the Jews. I think it was then that Stalin first caught on to what fine scapegoats Jews made for the horrors of war—and the horrors of peace in the Soviet Union.

"Afterward," he continued, "the anti-Semitic myths that sprang up during the war just stuck with people. Hardly a month goes by now that I don't hear some crack about how the Jews shirked the war effort. Jews have even been arrested and tried for trying to sell eastern Siberia to the Americans. Since the Government treats us as if we were security risks, it follows that we shouldn't be educated too much, or serve as officers in the army or as officials in the government.

"I've been lucky. I didn't get arrested or even fired from my job during the 'Black Years' because I live in a small town where mathematics teachers are hard to come by. But my son has been beating on the door of a university for 3 years now, even though he had the second highest marks in his school graduating class, and he isn't any more religious—I'm sorry to say—than Khrushchev himself. The only way I could get him in would be to slip the head of the university examining board 10,000 rubles [$1,000]. Even if I could afford it, I wouldn't want to demean myself and my son that way.

"You see," he said, "although we Jews walk the same streets, live in the same apartment houses and shop in the same market places as other people, we are confined to a social and professional ghetto. It's been years since I've had a real friend among the gentiles in this town. Maybe some of them would like to be friends again with the Jews, now that Stalin is dead. But what have we got in common any more? Sure, they've had their troubles with the Government too, but I, as a Jew, have an ache in my heart that only other Jews have shared."

The story of a 22-year-old Jewish student in Leningrad reveals much about how his people have managed to survive 25 centuries of persecution. "I'm a half-Jew," he said. "My Jewish mother married my father in the early thirties when a lot of Jews thought the Revolution had finally put an end to anti-Semitism. In fact, both my parents were party members, and neither of them was religious. I was never brought up to speak Yiddish, and I didn't know a thing about Jews—their history, their culture, their religion. I'd never even been to a synagogue.

"My father, who was a party official in Leningrad, was arrested during the purge of 1937 and never returned from Siberia. In 1950 my mother lost her job as a bookkeeper just because she was Jewish, and she never got it back. She died last year. When I entered the university, my friends told me how lucky I was: I probably wouldn't have been accepted if my passport hadn't stated I was Russian."

(Every Soviet citizen must carry a passport, even inside the country, and this passport states the nationality of the owner: Ukrainian, Armenian, Georgian, Russian, Jew, etc. The only nationality that carries an onus is that of Jew. A half-Jew, however, is often permitted to choose the nationality of his gentile parent.)

"I 'lost' my passport last year," the young man explained, "and when I applied for a new one, I put myself down as a Jew. This means that my chance of getting into graduate school has practically evaporated, but I don't care. Why shouldn't I be like other Jews, for better or for worse? I feel like a Jew and I'm going to find out what that means. I often go to the synagogue now, and I'm learning Hebrew from Radio Israel. Maybe one day they'll let us go to Israel." He paused thoughtfully. "No matter how they beat us down here, I know one thing: we Jews will survive only if we stick together."

In Kiev, the capital of the Ukraine, the Jews have long and bitter memories. There in the 17th and 18th centuries the Cossacks slaughtered hundreds of thousands of Jews. The Russian czars imprisoned Jews in the Pale of Settlement, a huge ghetto. Government-inspired progroms in the 1880's and in 1905 drove millions of Jews to settle in the United States. And, as Jews can hardly forget, the Nazis were able to murder 2 million of their people in the U.S.S.R. partly because the Soviet Government made practically no attempt to evacuate them from the path of the advancing German armies.

It is in this historical context that 180,000 Jews now live in Kiev. Recently the Ukraine has again been the scene of pogroms. Synagogues have been broken into and worshipers beaten up. "The Government isn't exactly responsible for the pogroms," said a young Kiev Jew. "The police puts a stop to the violence before it goes too far. Maybe the local authorities don't even know about the pogroms before they start. But on the other hand, very little is accidental in a police state. After all," he added bitterly, "Ukrainians have always hated the Jews. The Russians are smart enough to turn local anti-Semitism to their own advantage. Pogroms give the Ukrainians a chance to let off some of the hatred they might otherwise turn against Moscow."

In Kiev itself the central synagogue has not been subject to violence. The Government has merely turned it into a state puppet theater. Only one synagogue remains, an old ramshackle structure where this year the authorities forbade the baking of matzos, the unleavened bread eaten by Jews on Passover, and arrested many people who took a day off from work to celebrate the festival. No matzos, no kosher butcher shops, no Jewish life of any kind is permitted in Kiev, except that which is contained in the hearts of the people.

But Kiev has a monument—of sorts—to the Jews of the Ukraine. It is Babi Yar ("Grandmother's Ravine"), the place where the worst wartime massacre of the Jews occurred.

It is difficult for a visitor to get to Babi Yar. Intourist officials have "never heard of it," Ukrainians shake their heads and profess ignorance of its whereabouts. Finally, I persuaded a taxi driver to take me to it.

At Babi Yar I found a garbage dump and a few scruffy trees on the edge of a ravine. I walked for a while among tin cans and pop bottles until I found an elderly man who was dumping refuse from a truck.

Did he know where the massacre had taken place? He stopped working and led me to an open space. "Here," he said, gesturing vaguely, "the Germans and the Ukrainian collaborators set up desks. When they had taken the Jews' papers and clothes, they lined them up on the edge of the ravine and shot them. They killed 96,000 in 3 days."

As for a monument, the old man said that Khrushchev, who was Communist party chief in the Ukraine after the war, had made a speech promising to build one to the dead of Babi Yar. "But you see, the only monument we have out here is garbage." "What happened to the bodies?" I asked. "They were left here to rot. But there's a Jewish cemetery nearby. It might be worth your while to go there."

The road to the cemetery was a stream of mud. I asked the driver to wait and waded a quarter mile to the entrance. Although Jews take great care of their cemeteries, this place was wild and untended. Tombstones had fallen over, the low metal fences surrounding plots were flat on the ground, high grass and weeds grew everywhere. There were no fresh graves: the newest tombstone was dated 1938. Some young girls were seated on a bench, talking quietly. "Are any of the victims of Babi Yar buried here?" I asked. They rose to leave without answering. I followed them, repeating my question. One girl dropped back and said diffidently, "Nobody is buried here any more. Jews are buried along with everybody else now."

"Why is the cemetery so run down?" I asked.

She gave me a look of utter panic. "We've had some trouble here," she said. She would say nothing more.

But later on I learned what the trouble was: a mob of Ukrainians had desecrated the cemetery last year, knocking down tombstones and chalking messages such as "We are starting with the dead and we will continue with the living." The day they picked for this desecration was September 29, the anniversary of the massacre of Babi Yar.

Space Vehicle Speedup Likely To Double Outlays

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Space Vehicle Speedup Likely To Double Outlays," which was published in the New York Sunday Herald Tribune on January 10, 1960.

The author, Allen M. Smythe, is a financial writer who has specialized on defense subjects. He points out the large sums which are scheduled to be spent by the Department of Defense and the National Aeronautics and Space

Agency for the development of spaceships and satellites under present plans.

It is my belief, Mr. President, that citizens of this country should become increasingly aware of the costs of the space program and of the facts concerning this development.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPACE VEHICLE SPEEDUP LIKELY TO DOUBLE OUTLAYS

(By Allen M. Smythe)

President Eisenhower's statement in his state of the Union message to Congress that he would ask that funds for space exploration be doubled could mean that the National Aeronautics and Space Agency and the Pentagon each would spend on their space efforts an additional $500 million over the present fiscal year 1960 budgets.

The present NASA budget is slightly over $500 million, with a strong probability of a deficiency appropriation appeal to the Congress in order to expedite some of its space-age programs. Projects under way have convinced NASA officials that the 1961 budget should be at least $1,050 million. Some scientists urge greater efforts and even more funds to narow the 3-year Soviet lead in space explorations.

The Pentagon has 14 projects which have a slight military value but are primarily space projects. Congress established the Advanced Research Projects Agency within the Department of Defense to handle these projects. They will cost nearly $550 million this year. ARPA officials recently have distributed most of these projects to the separate services.

NASA funds and top priority efforts over the next 5 years will center mainly on the development of large rocket engines which serve as the first stage of any launching program. The three most important projects in their order of completion are the Centaur, Saturn, and Nova.

TO OUTDO SOVIETS

The Centaur, expected to cost $400 million, will be operative late in 1961 and should enable this Nation greatly to exceed any of the Soviet exploits. It will use an Atlas ICBM rocket as its first stage. A pair of 15,000-pound-thrust liquid hydrogen propelled engines, built by Pratt & Whitney, will serve as second stage. For light weight, air vehicles as third stage could be used.

The Centaur should launch an 8,000-pound vehicle in orbit about 300 miles high. It could push 3,000 pounds of metal and instruments into deep space or for interplanetary exploration. It could soft-land 750 pounds of instruments on the moon.

The Saturn, which ultimately will cost $800 million, recently was transferred from the Army to NASA by the President. It is a first-stage booster engine to be made from a cluster of eight improved Jupiter type rockets. This 1,500,000-pound-thrust booster should be completed late in 1961. A year or so later, the three additional stages, all probably liquid hydrogen propelled, will be able to launch 35,000 pounds of air vehicle in low orbit around the earth.

The Saturn could also be the first stage for placing 12,000 pounds on another planet; 4,000 pounds of instruments could be soft-landed on the moon. Some $34 million was spent by the Pentagon on this project last year. NASA has $70 million to spend this year.

The Nova will require at least $1 billion, and should dwarf all Soviet capabilities. NASA has issued a $102 million contract to North American Aviation to build a 1,500,000-pound-thrust rocket by July 1963. A cluster of six of these will form the first stage of a five- to seven-stage launching of air vehicles.

The final program should be completed in 1965 and should easily launch a 40,000-pound platform 22,000 miles high in orbit at the same revolution of the earth. This permanent and apparently stationary platform above the earth could serve a variety of scientific space programs.

The Nova also could serve to soft-land 30,000 pounds on the moon and return 3,200 pounds to the earth.

The ARPA unit in the Pentagon started many space projects that the armed services considered to be valuable aids to their military ICBM and other strictly military weapons. These included such projects as detection devices for nuclear explosions, weather observations, photographic satellites, missile and spaceships warning satellites.

Details on these projects are classified. One called Transit, a navigational satellite, has been transferred to the Navy. The Notus has been given to the Army. The Discoverer, Tribe, Longsight, Samos, and Midas are now under the Air Force. ARPA officials still retain the Pontius, Susano, Defender, Principia, Shepard, and Vela.

At least two of these projects have cost nearly $100 million each this year. Pentagon officials believe this military space effort may require nearly $1 billion to fiscal 1961.

The Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to an organization which is performing a very valuable service to our Nation. I am speaking of the Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, founded 51 years ago this year. This organization has expanded to include 170,000 members of more than 3,400 clubs who are dedicated to community service, to helping those who are in need, and to improve the working conditions and opportunities in the business world for womankind.

In my own home State of Michigan, the federation has conducted numerous research projects which have proved of great value to some of our Nation's leading universities and to research agencies of our Federal Government.

The efforts of the federation in my own congressional district of Oakland County, Mich., have been outstanding. Many civic projects would never have come to pass if it had not been for the dedication, the hard work and the ability of the members of this group of business and professional women's clubs. In every worthy cause, these ladies are in the forefront.

It is well for all of us to pay tribute to the Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, to recognize the valuable contribution which these clubs and their respective members have made to our society, and to let them know that we appreciate their efforts.

The Panama Canal Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD B. RUSSELL
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I have received, as perhaps have other Members of the Senate, a letter from a Mr. Arthur Wynne, chairman of the Canal Zone Committee for the U.S. Retention of the Panama Canal, regarding the growing crisis over the Panama Canal Zone.

I do not know Mr. Wynne or the committee he heads, but it appears to me that Mr. Wynne and his committee have some interesting views and comments to make on the Canal Zone crisis, and deserve to be heard.

I believe that these views will be of interest to many people in the country, and I therefore ask unanimous consent that Mr. Wynne's letter be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BALBOA HEIGHTS, C.Z.,
December 9, 1959.

The Honorable RICHARD B. RUSSELL,
U.S. Senator,
Winder, Ga.

DEAR SIR: We Americans living on the Canal Zone do not feel that the average U.S. taxpayer is aware of the real story on the Panama situation or realizes what is at stake. Therefore, we believe the best way to get this story to them is through you who represent them in Congress.

It appears that the United States is going to pay off in one of the most fantastic and bizarre blackmail plots ever perpetrated. The basis for this plot is our State Department's consistent policy of appeasement and its mortal fear that a policy of firmness would be propagandized to the world as aggression.

To cover all the background of United States-Panama relations would be voluminous. But the treaty under which the canal was constructed at an investment of more than $1 billion is the foundation. Under the treaty, Panama granted all rights in the zone to the United States as if the United States were sovereign to the entire exclusion of the exercise of any sovereign rights by Panama. Thus, the United States has exercised jurisdiction and the U.S. flag has flown alone for 50 years. Peacefully negotiated amendments to the treaty, conceding financial advantages to Panama, have been concluded in the interim.

Panama is controlled financially and politically by no more than 50 families (the oligarchy). The gist of the political game is strictly that to the winner of government control belongs the spoils—unlimited graft and corruption. One 4-year term in a key office is enough to set a man up for life. But these 50 families never get enough—although all are millionaires in their own rights through control of the country's industry. There is a constant struggle between them for political power—the key to more money. There has never been a strong government and the "outs" are continuously striving to overthrow the "ins".

It was an "out"—Aquilino Boyd—who plotted the incident of November 3. For months he had been arousing the people, particularly the students, on the theme that Panama is sovereign over the Canal

Zone. He did not generate much public support, however, it being recognized as a political scheme.

His clever plot was to deliberately instigate an incident with the United States—he advertised his planned march to the Canal Zone months in advance. He wanted trouble. He succeeded. The choice of the Canal Zone Government was to permit Boyd's lawless mob of thugs and hoodlums to overrun the zone or to stop the mob with force.

Why did the Canal Zone have to use the U.S. Army to protect lives and property? This was because of the twist which foiled Boyd's plans. Boyd calculated that the Panamanian Guardia Nacional would attempt to quell the mob and thus the Panama Government would be put in the position of fighting its own people and protecting the Americans. For this, the present Panamanian Government was to be overthrown. But the Government, weak and shaky, did not fall into the Boyd trap. The Guardia Nacional was not called out and the incident of November 3 developed as it did, with the Americans being forced to defend the zone and the U.S. Embassy being attacked and the flag desecrated.

The oligarchy in Panama immediately saw dollar signs aplenty from Boyd's frustrated ambitions. They also own the newspapers and radio stations. An unbelievable avalanche or anti-U.S. propaganda continued for days on the Panamanian radios and in its press. Outright lies—horrible cartoons, distorted reports, charges of employment discrimination, treaty violations—all that would put Pravda to shame—were ground out continuously. All of this was to whip up a violent solid front anti-American hatred among the populace. The purpose—to lay a foundation for blackmail in demanding huge concessions from the United States. These concessions would be in the form of (1) granting monopoly rights, at their price, to the oligarchy for supplies required by the Canal Zone and its employees, (2) outright monetary payments, and (3) conceding to Panama sovereign rights in the Canal Zone. The Panamanian Government climbed right on the bandwagon and stole the leadership right away from Boyd and his clique who had instigated it all.

This terrific denunciation of the United State calls for another march on the Canal Zone, abuse against the Governor, and so forth, continued for days. The United States lowered itself by sending Under Secretary of State Merchant to discuss matters. He announced that the United States would grant no concessions until normalcy was restored and obtained a promise that the Panama Government would protect American lives and property. This was not quite the result the oligarchy anticipated. Also, business was hurting because no Americans were buying anything in the Panama stores. Immediately the radio and press changed—conciliation, not violence, became the word.

But it was too late to prevent further violence. For days the populace had been bombarded with cries to rise to the call of their nation. A mass sovereignty demonstration had been set for November 28. The Communists, Cubans, and rabble rousers were not going to lose such a golden opportunity. Again, on November 28, a mob of hoodlums marched. After several U.S. soldiers had been injured by thrown rocks and glass and had taken all the abuse that any human could be expected to take, the U.S. Commander advised the Guardia Nacional that if they couldn't break up the demonstration themselves, he was going to order his troops to open fire. Almost immediately, adequate Guardia Nacional troops arrived on the scene and turned the mob back from the border—to protect them from American bayonets and bullets. The grand patriotic demonstrators then proceeded to loot and vandalize the business section of Panama City.

Summation: Uncle Sam has let a bunch of money-mad demagogs and business barons kick him in the teeth—he turns his back and they kick him in the pants. Apparently it is State Department creed that no matter what happens, the United States shall not get mad.

Result: Blithely ignoring the views of the Canal Zone administration and the Department of Defense, Ike and the State Department are going to give substantial concessions to the oligarchy—and most likely will let the Panamanian flag fly. If that ever happens, the United States is doomed in its control of the Panama Canal—for the flag stands for sovereignty—and sovereignty means jurisdiction.

The moral is, be as nasty to the United States as you can, and the State Department will pay you off to be quiet. When you want more, just be nasty again. Panamanian demagogs have learned this—presumably their kind all over the world knows it.

Irony: To fan up the poor average Panamanian, the oligarchy charged discrimination in employment and wages in the Canal Zone. Last week—the timing was coincidence—the Panamanian Congress on its last day in session passed a 40-cents (repeat, 40 cents)-an-hour minimum wage law. The same people who caused all the furor against the United States have denounced this as unconstitutional, say that it will ruin the country, and are fighting it with all their power. The current Government had to do some little something for the people because elections come up in about 3 months.

That's the story in a nutshell. We Americans here in the Canal Zone are disillusioned and discouraged. The State Department's attitude is beyond our comprehension. If the United States capitulates to Panama for this political blackmail, it will forfeit all right to respect from any nation in the world. The United States will certainly have become such a laughingstock in Panama that it will be unbearably embarrassing to be an American in the Canal Zone.

Sincerely yours,

ARTHUR J. WYNNE,
Chairman, Canal Zone Committee for United States Retention of the Panama Canal.

Farm Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit for inclusion in the RECORD the third of a series of five articles on the farm subsidy and surplus problem which appeared in the Los Angeles Mirror-News during November 1959.

The article follows:

COTTON PRICE SUPPORT BIG TAX BURDEN

(This is the third in a series of five articles illustrating the wanton waste of taxpayer funds through farm price support subsidy. It is of prime importance to you—the city dweller—the taxpayer who pays the largest part of the bill.)

(By Jack Tobin)

Cotton is the king of California farming.

It's the most profitable major crop in one of the Nation's richest farm States.

It's also a protected parity price crop.

Today, thanks to congressional boondoggling, it's California's big problem in the wasteful, inflationary price support program.

Scores of experts have said so. Government officials know this to be true. Taxpayers—all of us—groan under the burden of perpetuating the program. And still it goes on.

On August 1, the Federal Government took title to 666,319 bales of prime California cotton.

Why?

UNITED STATES HANDED CROP TO REPAY LOAN

Because California cottongrowers decided to take advantage of the peculiar provisions of the price support program. They simply decided to let Uncle Sam take over the crop, rather than pay off the crop loans made to them under the price support program.

Nationwide, 6,039,117 bales of cotton became Federal property.

California's 666,319 bales of forfeited cotton represents about 40 percent of the State's crop for the season. It represents almost $120 million in forfeited crop loans.

But more than that, it means the taxpayer, through his agents, must chunk in dollar after dollar to store the surplus cotton, to finance some kind of marketing operation that will dispose of the glut.

The dismal record on the 1958 crop stems, to a large degree, from a political-administrative foul-up in Washington that openly encouraged cotton buyers to hold back, depress the market price, and then pick up the crop at distressed rates.

According to the New York Cotton Exchange, the net effect was "a guaranteed loss to the Government of up to $15 on every bale it purchases."

And that, fellow taxpayers, runs into millions of dollars.

The cold, hard fact is that the price support program, an outright subsidy of one segment of agriculture, really doesn't solve the cotton problem in California—and probably not in any other State.

The problem, experts contend, is that a lot of cotton farmers are trying to make a living with uneconomic farm units. Too small, too marginal, too underfinanced.

MANY DON'T BELONG IN BUSINESS

The fact is, they say, a lot of small cotton farmers—notably in the South—don't belong in the business and should get out.

The parity program merely perpetuates uneconomic farming.

Perhaps intended to help the little farmer, the parity program works to the greatest benefit of the big farmer, the corporate farmer.

These farmers, cotton producers with gross sales over $5,000 a year, produce 66 percent of the Nation's crop. If it weren't for acreage limitations within the program, they might produce much more.

And yet consider these figures:

From 1954 through the first 8 months of this year, the Government sustained a net loss of $1,008,741,231 on its cotton program.

And that isn't the entire loss. Because we don't know yet how much we'll have to pay in additional storage and disposition charges.

For instance, the Government proposes to offer this cotton for export about $55 a bale below the actual cost of Government acquisition.

This could add another $385 million to the taxpayers' burden.

And so it goes.

Why does this fiscal farce continue?

OUTPUT KEEPS RISING

If we assume it is to control production as well as market prices, look at the figures on yields per harvested acre for the Nation's Cotton Belt:

	Pounds
1938	235.8
1948	311.3
1958	469.0

To combat this startling increase in yield per acre, the price support boys tried clamping on severe acreage restrictions. Here's the national picture:

	Acres
1938	25,018,000
1948	23,253,000
1958	12,375,000

And so we have acreage cut in half, but the yield per acre climbs steadily. And so do the thousands of bales of surplus cotton. The 1958 California cotton crop was big. But the current crop is going to be the granddaddy of them all. A real smasher.

Who profits?

BIG BOYS GAIN

Not the city dweller, the taxpayer. He's stuck with the tab.

Not the small farmer. He doesn't produce enough to benefit substantially.

But the big boys really come in for some heavy money.

Don't get the idea the dollar figures shown in the table indicate, however, net profit to the farmer. Nothing of the kind. The figures show only the crop loan totals. They show only the amount of money the taxpayers—all of us—have invested in the farmer's cotton crops.

Some of the large cotton growers assail the price support program—but most of them take advantage of it. Very few refuse to have anything to do with it—mostly because they're big enough to get the financing they need from private sources.

But up in the rich San Joaquin Valley, the litle man fights to stay alive.

PLIGHT VOICED

Walter Munday of Caruthers, whose 40-acre ranch certainly qualifies him as a small farmer in a big field, says: "I don't see how we can get along without supports.

"The little man's fighting to stay alive now. He'd die for sure without them."

The question is: At what point does the little man become big enough to join the group of economic, profitable farmers?

Mrs. W. L. Clayton, Widely Respected Philanthropist and Wife of Former Under Secretary of State, Will Clayton, Made Remarkable Contributions to Charity and to Government

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, Texans everywhere are mourning the loss of one of their great Democratic leaders of bygone years, Mrs. W. L. Clayton, of Houston. A noted philanthropist and the wife of the distinguished former Undersecretary of State Will Clayton, Mrs. Clayton distinguished herself through outstanding Democratic Party leadership in Texas, in Washington, and throughout the Nation.

Mrs. Clayton, an ardent supporter of President Franklin Roosevelt, was our Democratic National Committeewoman from Texas in 1940. When she and Secretary Clayton moved here she was soon elected president of the Women's National Democratic Clubs. She devoted a great part of her life to enriching and improving the lives of less fortunate people. Her passing is a genuine loss to Texans and all freedom-loving people everywhere.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the following news reports and editorials:

From the Houston Post of January 8, 1960, the story, "Mrs. W. L. Clayton Dies After Illness," and an editorial "Mrs. William L. Clayton's Contributions Many."

From the Houston Press of January 8, 1960, an editorial, "Mrs. W. L. Clayton."

And from the Houston Chronicle of January 8, 1960, an article entitled, "Private Rites Conducted for Mrs. Clayton."

There being no objection, the articles and editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Houston Post, Jan. 8, 1960]

MRS. W. L. CLAYTON DIES AFTER ILLNESS

Mrs. William L. Clayton, a descendant of the old South who helped mold the new South, died shortly before noon Thursday.

She was the wife of the cofounder of Anderson, Clayton & Co., the world's largest cotton marketers. Her husband also is a former Under Secretary of State.

Mrs. Clayton, who would have been 79 on January 23, died at the family home at 5300 Caroline Street after a yearlong illness. The cause of death was a respiratory ailment.

As her husband grew to world stature in business and government, Mrs. Clayton made her own mark in politics and philanthropy.

She was a militant supporter of President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

While she retired from active politics in her later years, Mrs. Clayton followed to the end her other great cause—helping those who needed it.

Once a friend asked Mrs. Clayton why she, a Methodist, worked so hard for a Baptist hospital.

"I'd work for the Hottentots if I thought they needed help," Mrs. Clayton replied.

To her friends, the Kentucky-born Mrs. Clayton epitomized the grace and wit of the old South.

To the residents of the now-destroyed Houston slum known as Schrimpf Alley, Mrs. Clayton was the woman who in 1951 provided them with decent housing.

She purchased and donated land for the project that was named the Susan V. Clayton Homes.

More recently, in 1957, she and her husband gave the city 184 acres of land along Halls Bayou for a new park. It was the largest such grant since Hermann Park was deeded to the city in 1914.

Mrs. Clayton also found time to work as a director of the Houston Museum of Fine Arts. She was a zealous worker in raising money for the museum's present building.

Yet in 1944, while her husband was in Washington, Mrs. Clayton once told a reporter:

"I'm a complete homebody. It's a struggle to pull myself away from my own four walls."

While the Claytons lived in Washington from 1940 to 1948, Mrs. Clayton spent many hours working for the Home for Incurables and the Children's Hospital there.

Mrs. Clayton was born Susan Vaughan in Clinton, Ky.

She was 1 of 10 children of Columbus Montgomery Vaughan who as a State senator revised Kentucky's revenue system.

Mrs. Clayton was educated in her home town at Marvin College—where she was a schoolmate of Alben Barkley—and later at Washington College in Washington.

At the age of 18, she became engaged to Will Clayton, whom she met on a trip to Jackson, Tenn.

Clayton had started his career by studying shorthand and becoming a court reporter at Jackson when he was only 15.

They were married on August 14, 1902, at the bride's home, Bellwood, near Clinton.

Mrs. Clayton through the years became the mother of four daughters and a son, William L. Clayton, Jr., who died in 1910 at the age of 15 months.

Inheriting her father's penchant for politics, she fought for the woman's suffrage movement and in later years was treasurer of the Harris County Suffrage Association.

In 1936, in recognition of her work for President Roosevelt, Mrs. Clayton was chosen a Texas delegate at large to the Democratic National Convention.

After 4 successful years in organizing women's Democratic clubs throughout the South, she was elected State Democratic executive committeewoman in 1940.

After the Claytons moved to Washington that same year, she became president of the Women's Democratic Club.

She proceeded to astound the club's members by raising enough money to wipe out the club's perennial indebtedness.

Out of respect to Mrs. Clayton, the offices of Anderson, Clayton & Co. will close at noon Friday.

Private funeral services will be held for Mrs. Clayton Friday morning under the direction of Settegast-Kopf. Burial will be in Glenwood Cemetery.

The pallbearers will be St. John Garwood, of Austin, J. M. Johnson, S. M. McAshan, Jr., St. John Garwood, Jr., William L. Garwood, Dr. L. M. Vaughan and Jerrold D. O'Bryant.

In addition to her husband, Mrs. Clayton is survived by four daughters: Mrs. St. John Garwood, of Austin, Mrs. S. M. McAshan, Jr., Mrs. J. M. Johnson, both of Houston, and Mrs. Ben M. Baker, Jr., of Baltimore.

MRS. WILLIAM L. CLAYTON'S CONTRIBUTIONS MANY

In the death of Mrs. William L. Clayton, Houston lost a distinguished citizen whose contributions toward its betterment were substantial.

With her husband, the former Under Secretary of State and chairman of the board of Anderson, Clayton & Co., Mrs. Clayton made many gifts of a philanthropic nature. Among recent gifts to the city of Houston were 184 acres for a park in the northeastern part of the city and the Clayton home at 5003 Caroline, which eventually will become the Cultural Center Branch of the Houston Public Library. Mrs. Clayton at one time also took an active interest in national politics.

Her friends were many and all who knew her mourn her death.

MRS. W. L. CLAYTON

Houston has lost one of its truly great citizens, Susan Vaughn Clayton.

She, with her husband, W. L. Clayton, the cotton king, many times proved their devotion to their city and their Nation.

Together they not only donated the land off East Texas Freeway for Clayton Homes. They also planned for convenience and service to its occupants that low-rent public housing development on the close-in, handy location they furnished.

Together they gave to Houston a 184-acre tract off Green's Bayou at Green River Drive known as Brock Park which, when developed by the city, will serve Northeast Houston.

Together, Mr. and Mrs. Clayton have arranged for their magnificent home at 5300 Caroline in Southwest Houston to go to the City Library Department after they both have passed away.

But these were only the material manifestations of Mrs. Clayton's interest in and concern for those she tried to help. Her life was a consistent record of one whose thoughts and actions were always outward—toward others and for the benefit of others.

Whether here in Houston amid their friends and neighbors, or in various corners of the world where Anderson, Clayton & Co. deals in cotton, or in Washington while Mr. Clayton served his Nation in vital wartime roles, Mr. and Mrs. Clayton worked as a team. And so it was also with their many other activities and interests.

With their other many, many friends, we extend to Mr. Clayton and their children our sympathy in the passing of Mrs. Clayton.

[From the Houston Chronicle, Jan. 8, 1960]

PRIVATE RITES CONDUCTED FOR MRS. CLAYTON

Private funeral services for Mrs. W. L. Clayton, wife of the cofounder of the world's largest cotton marketing firm, were held Friday in Houston.

Mrs. Clayton died Thursday at her home, 5300 Caroline, after a long illness.

She would have been 79 on January 23.

Mrs. Clayton's husband, a director of Anderson, Clayton & Co., is a former Undersecretary of State and a former Assistant Secretary of Commerce. He retired in 1951 after serving as board chairman of the firm, but returned to the board last year.

FIGHTER FOR SOUTH

Born in Clinton, Ky., Mrs. Clayton was a model of the charm and grace of the old South and a fighter for progress of the new South.

She inherited an interest in politics from her father, who was a member of the Kentucky Senate.

She was educated at Marvin College in Clinton, Ky., and at Washington College, Washington, D.C. At Marvin, she was a classmate of Alben Barkley, who became a U.S. Senator and Vice President of the United States.

Talented and known for wit and repartee, Mrs. Clayton, the former Miss Sue Vaughan, was interested particularly in drama in her college days.

She and Clayton were married August 14, 1902, at her home, Bellwood, near Clinton.

MADE OWN MARK

As her husband, who had started as a stenographer, rose in his business and Government service career, she also made her own mark in politics and philanthropy.

She early fought for women's suffrage and was treasurer of the Harris County Suffrage Association.

Later, she was known for her work for the poor and unfortunate. She fought for slum clearance. She and her husband purchased and donated the land for the Susan V. Clayton Homes in Houston.

An ardent Democrat and supporter of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, she organized a national women's movement for Roosevelt in 1936.

CONVENTION DELEGATE

She was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention in 1936 and was elected State Democratic executive committeewoman in 1940.

After the Claytons moved to Washington in 1940, she became president of the Women's National Democratic Club.

While in Washington, she served on the board of directors of the Home for Incurables.

In Houston she supported a variety of activities to make the lives of her fellow citizens richer and happier. She was a director of the Houston Museum of Fine Arts and did much work to raise money for its present building.

Once asked why she, a Methodist, worked so hard for a Baptist hospital, she replied, "I'd work for the Hottentots if I thought they needed help."

DONATED PARK SITE

Recently she and her husband gave Houston 184 acres of land along Halls Bayou for a park and arranged that their palatial old home should be used for library purposes.

In addition to her husband, Mrs. Clayton is survived by four daughters, Mrs. St. John Garwood, Austin; Mrs. S. M. McAshan, Jr., and Mrs. J. M. Johnson, both of Houston; and Mrs. Ben M. Baker, Baltimore.

Pallbearers were St. John Garwood, J. M. Johnson, S. M. McAshan, Jr., St. John Garwood, Jr., William L. Garwood, Dr. L. M. Vaughan, and Jerrold D. O'Bryant.

Warsaw: Scene of the 48th Interparliamentary Union Conference

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following article by Dr. Franklin Dunham, Permanent Executive Secretary of the U.S. Group of the Interparliamentary Union, is informative and accurate as Dr. Dunham attended the recent conference in Warsaw, the first conference ever held behind the Iron Curtain.

The Interparliamentary Union is the oldest organization dedicated to the promotion of peace in the world. It is also the only organization that consists of elected representatives of the peoples of the world.

At this time in the world's history it is a matter of vital importance that the elected representatives be informed on international politics and policies, and that they sit down and discuss these questions with their opposite numbers from the parliaments of the world.

The U.S. Group is fortunate in having a Permanent Secretary of Dr. Dunham's experience and knowledge to follow the deliberations and often to guide them through many complicated international problems and personalities.

WARSAW: SCENE OF THE 48TH INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION CONFERENCE

(By Franklin Dunham, permanent executive secretary, U.S. Group, executive secretary American Peace Society)

Meeting for the first time behind the Iron Curtain, the Interparliamentary Union held its 48th conference in Warsaw, ancient city of the pomp and glory of medieval splendor now crowned with an incongruous skyscraper devoted to education and culture, copied from one of the seven almost identical structures eretced by the Soviet in Moscow. Yet the ancient quarter of the city, with the beautiful Roman Catholic Cathedral, has been bravely and solidly rebuilt with loving hands and represents the true spirit of the city and indeed of Poland. No one can visit Warsaw without feeling the effect of this impact—its many churches crowded at all services, its splendid educational institutions overtaxed with students and its lovely parks and winding avenues filled with a hopeful people caught in the vise of East and West.

The meetings were held in the new, modern Sjem Building, a superb, well-appointed structure with all proper meeting rooms for efficient conduct of business. The Parliament Room itself was just the proper size for a gathering of some 400 delegates. The building itself actually incorporates some of the curved walls of the previous structure and is just across the park from the American Embassy.

The 48th Conference opened with a meeting of the Executive Committee on August 25, followed by a meeting of the Council on August 26 and the official convening of the Conference sessions on August 27.

The Honorable HAROLD D. COOLEY represents the United States on the Executive Committee. However, both Congressman COOLEY and Senator A. S. MIKE MONRONEY serve on the Council. The Hon. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI represented Congressman COOLEY at the executive sessions and Congressman DERWINSKI and former Senator Homer Ferguson were U.S. representatives on the Council, until the arrival of the regular delegation. At the executive meeting, applications for membership in the union came from Venezuela, New Zealand, North Viet Nam, and North Korea. Action on North Viet Nam was delayed for further investigation. Its current attack upon Laos, a member of the Interparliamentary Union, was, of course, a mitigating circumstance and its claims of qualifications were strongly opposed by Viet Nam, already a loyal member of the union. The North Korea application was never officially received since it did not meet the rules of the union in either form or substance. Therefore, Venezuela and New Zealand were unanimously recommended and were subsequently elected next day by the Council. The Venezuela and New Zealand delegations took their seats at the convening of the congress on August 27, thus bringing the membership of sovereign nations to 59.

Representing the United States, the official delegation included: The Honorable HAROLD D. COOLEY of North Carolina, Chairman and President of the group, the following members of the U.S. Senate: FRANCIS CASE, of South Dakota, FRANK CHURCH of Idaho, the Honorable J. ALLEN FREAR, Jr., of Delaware, and the Honorable A. S. MIKE MONRONEY, of Oklahoma. Former Senator Homer Ferguson of Michigan, honorary member of the Interparliamentary Union and former President of the U.S. group, served also with the delegation. Members of the House of Representatives included the Honorable W. ROBERT POAGE, of Texas, Treasurer of the U.S. group and alternate on the Council; Mrs. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE, of New York, Chairman of the Committee on Non-Self-Governing Territories; Hon. E. ROSS ADAIR, of Indiana; Hon. HALE BOGGS, of Louisiana; Hon. GERALD R. FORD, of Michigan, Hon. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI, of Illinois, Hon. PAUL C. JONES of Missouri; Hon. GORDON L. MCDONOUGH, of California; Hon. THADDEUS M. MACHROWICZ, of Michigan; Hon. JOSEPH

M. MONTOYA, of New Mexico, Hon. D. S. SAUND, of California, and Hon. ROBERT L. SIKES, of Florida. This was a total delegation of 17 Members, representing both House and Senate. Dr. Franklin Dunham, Permanent Executive Secretary, accompanied the group and acted as liaison officer with the U.S. Embassy and Ambassador Jacob Beam. Mr. William Magistretti of the Department of State and Hon. Michael Francis Doyle, former Justice of the International Court at The Hague, acted as observers. Dr. Charles J. Zinn represented the Clerk of the House of Representatives at the meetings of the Association of Secretaries General of Parliaments held concurrently during the conference meetings. Dr. Zinn is Law Revision Counsel of the House Judiciary Committee and is a permanent member of the Association.

The President of the Interparliamentary Union is Dr. G. Codacci Pisanelli of Italy. He is technically President of the Council, which has as its Vice President or second in command, Senhor Saturnino Braga of Brazil. The Secretary General is André de Blonay of Geneva, head of the Interparliamentary Bureau at 6 Rue Constantine in that beautiful city where headquarters are located. Dr. Blonay brought his entire staff of 21 people to Warsaw for the Conference.

The Conference opened with President Pisanelli in the chair. After the election of Vice Presidents of the Conference, M. Ostap Dluski of the Polish Parliament took the chair as President of the 48th Conference. The Honorable HAROLD D. COOLEY was elected as Vice President to represent the United States and the Honorable W. ROBERT POAGE to serve as his alternate.

The inaugural ceremony included a speech of welcome by the President of the Polish Republic and after a short interval, the general debate opened on the subject of the Secretary General's report. This report which now covers the principal developments in international affairs over the period of the past year is, at once, one of the most prodigious reports made in summarized form existing in the world. Secretary General Blonay inaugurated this type of report in 1955 on his accession to office and it was first made at the Washington, D.C. Conference of that year. Speaking to this report was Congressman THADDEUS M. MATHROWICZ, who opened his address in English but continued in Polish, since he lived in Poland. Congressman MACHROMICZ was interrupted by the President in the chair when he referred to the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact before World War II which had been followed so quickly by the invasion of Poland. The Chairman said these remarks would not be favorably received in Poland today but allowed Congressman MACHROWICZ to continue without further interruption. Later, Congressman COOLEY, U.S. Chairman, accompanied by Congressmen MACHROWICZ, DERWINSKI, and Poage laid a wreath on the graves of those Polish heroes who had bravely resisted that invasion. This was on the 20th Anniversary of this tragic event, the anniversary occuring during the days of the Conference.

Congressman W. ROBERT POAGE, as acting head of the Delegation at the opening, also spoke to the Secretary General's Report, commending the report and praising Poland's resistance to arbitrary rule from beyond her borders.

After the general debate, the resolutions[1] prepared by the study committees were introduced. The first resolution approving talks between President Eisenhower and Chairman Khrushchev was passed unanimously, looking forward to exchange of visits between these Chiefs of State this year.

The second resolution on "The Removal of Obstacles to World Trade" was debated by Senator MONRONEY, who had served as Chairman of the Economic Committee at Nice, as well as by Congressman BOGGS. The final resolution as passed, called for "multinational assistance, specifically by means of long-run, low-interest loans, as well as by schemes leading to greater contributions of currencies and multilateral trade." This is the Monroney plan now known as the International Development Association which is being currently organized under the World Bank.

The third resolution in "Problems of International Security and Disarmament" was discussed by Senator CASE, who has long been a member of the Disarmament Committee, and who helped frame the resolution at Nice. It reinforces the principle of collective security and calls for strict adherence to the United Nations Charter. This resolution was also discussed by Congressman FORD in a glowing speech advocating the elimination of antagonisms among nations and the right of every nation to remain neutral if it so desires, in any dispute between its fellow nations.

The fourth resolution on "The Role of Parliament in Protecting the Rights of the Individual" was presented and the United States was represented in the debate by Senator CHURCH and Congresswoman ST. GEORGE. Senator CHURCH effectively supported the resolution calling for the continued adherence to human rights as laid down in our Bill of Rights and Mrs. ST. GEORGE in a short and pointed speech captured the audience with her appeal to resist lipservice to those principles we all hold dear and to which we all subscribe.

The fifth and sixth resolutions on "Universal Education of Youth" and the "Problem of Education in Non-Self-Governing Territories" originally presented by the United States, and worked over at Nice, were presented without debate, as was the resolution on "Methods of Developing International Tourism." The last resolution embodied the ideas of customs exchange and visits between peoples and was heartily approved.

The Conference also approved the idea of setting up a steering committee for all future Conferences consisting of the President of the Conference, the President of the Council, and the vice president of the Executive Committee with the Secretary General ex officio. It also passed an amendment to the rules which provides explicitly that all applications for membership in the Union once reviewed by the Executive Committee shall be submitted to the Council, who will have complete responsibility for their election to the Union. This amendment clarifies previous language in the rules and makes it adamant that election to membership is the sole responsibility of the Council in which all member groups are represented by two delegates.

The Conference, which was admirably arranged by the Polish group, then proceeded to elect six new members to the Executive Committee. The following were elected to serve 4 years: Hon. Harold D. Cooley, of the United States, and Hon. Stefan Zolkieviski, of Poland; for the 3-year term, Hon. Finn Moe, of Norway, and Pandit Kunzru, of India; for the 1-year term, Hon. David Hacohen, of Israel. The Honorable M. P. Brasseau, of Belgium, was elected to serve out the unexpired term of Mr. Zarroug, of Sudan, for a 2-year period.

It is contemplated that the Conference will be held in Brussels in 1961, after the Tokyo Conference which is now set for September 26–October 3, 1960. The next meeting, however, of the Council is in Athens, April 19–24, 1960. After the conclusion of the 48th Conference in Warsaw, the new Executive Committee was guest of the Soviet group and the Supreme Soviet in Moscow. The Soviet Government furnished transportation to Moscow and invited a large number of delegates to accompany the Executive Committee, as guests to stay various lengths of time in the Soviet Union. The Warsaw Conference was resplendent with many social events provided by the Polish group. Receptions and luncheons by U.S. Ambassador Jacob Beam, trips to Krakow and Czestochowa, visits to ancient shrines of Poland, and a visit to the home of Frederic Chopin, one of the greatest musicians of the 19th century, where a concert of Chopin compositions was given, were also included.

The U.S. delegation returned to Washington via Berlin and Paris, where meetings were held with Willy Brandt, famous mayor of Berlin and at NATO headquarters in Paris, as guests of NATO Ambassador Randolph Burgess.

[1] Copies of all resolutions obtainable by writing: Interparliamentary Union, 1307 New Hampshire Avenue NW., Washington 6, D.C.

The Supreme Court Decision in the School Cases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD B. RUSSELL
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, for the past several years, many of us from the South have been critical of the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court that undertook to strike down the right of the States to control their own tax-supported schools. We believe this decision to be an outrageous misconstruction and a monstrous distortion of the Constitution.

Because we have dared to exercise our right—nay, our sacred duty—to speak out against a decision that we believe to be unwise, unjust, and unconstitutional, we have been subjected to all sorts of vilification and abuse.

More than 5 years have now elapsed since the Supreme Court undertook to rewrite the Constitution in terms not of established law and legal precedent but on the basis of psychological factors. During that time, many nonsoutherners have taken a closer look at a decision that at first appeared to involve only one section of the country. They have discovered that the implication of this and other decisions goes to the heart of the Constitution and applies to every area and every person in the Nation.

As a result, more and more responsible persons and publications are joining the rising tide of criticism of the recent trend of Supreme Court decisions.

Mr. President, on last November 21 the Los Angeles Times, one of the Nation's leading and most respected papers, published as its lead editorial a discussion of a recent critical article about the Court written by Prof. Henry M. Hart, Jr., of the Harvard Law School. His article was published in the Harvard Law Review.

The Times not only indicated general agreement with Professor Hart's erudite and scholarly criticism of the Court, but went on to supply some blunt points of its own. Referring to the school decision, the Times said:

A classic example of the Court's meandering into obscure reasoning was its reliance, in part, on the viewpoint of a European, hostile to our way of life, in making its school desegregation decision.

The newspaper then cited the Court's incredible use of a Swedish Socialist, Gunnar Myrdal, as one of the authorities for its school decision. Myrdal, the Times points out, holds the Constitution of the United States in "open contempt."

Mr. President, this editorial is all the more significant because it was published by a major newspaper in the home State of the Chief Justice who wrote the school decision shortly after going on the Court.

Because of the importance and significance of this editorial, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Los Angeles Times, Nov. 21, 1959]

THE JUSTICES AND JUSTICE

The U.S. Supreme Court, long a target for criticism by concerned laymen who fear some of its decisions endanger our Constitution, is now charged by one of the Court's most respected students with serious inadequacies.

TALKS WITH AUTHORITY

The latest critic to speak out is Prof. Henry M. Hart, Jr., of the Harvard Law School. Once clerk to Justice Louis D. Brandeis, Professor Hart is considered an authority on the Supreme Court's work.

His criticism, just published in the Harvard Law Review, is described in a New York Times report as constituting "what is likely the toughest intellectual criticism the Court has had from one of its friends in years."

"Few of the Court's opinions, far too few," wrote Professor Hart, "genuinely illumine the area of the law with which they deal. Other opinions fail even by much more elementary standards.

"Issues are ducked which in good lawyership and good conscience ought not to be ducked. Technical mistakes are made which ought not to be made in decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States."

THE COURT INDULGES

Agreeing with two Yale law professors, Alexander M. Bickel and Harry H. Wellington, who said the Court is indulging too much in "the sweeping dogmatic statement—the formulation of results accompanied by little or no effort to support them in reason," Professor Hart warned:

"It needs to be said with all possible gravity, because it is a grave thing to say, that these failures are threatening to undermine the professional respect of first-rate lawyers for the incumbent Justices of the Court, and this at the very time when the Court, as an institution and the Justices who sit on it are especially in need of the bar's confidence and support."

Professor Hart believes that the legal profession shares responsibility for the quality of the Supreme Court's work. "Neither at the bar nor among the faculties of the law schools," he said, "is there an adequate tradition of sustained, disinterested, and competent criticism of the professional quality of the Court's opinions."

The problem which Professor Hart analyzed in particular is the burden of work on the Court. His conclusion is that the workload is far too large and that the Court contributes to its own difficulty by agreeing to review too many cases.

Looking beyond the problem of time and the large number of cases, Professor Hart said he believes that there must be other reasons for inadequacy in the Court's opinions. In discussing a particular case, he concluded that the majority deliberately obscured what it was deciding.

MENTAL ATTITUDE

The "attitude of mind which permits this kind of obscuration," he wrote, is a pressing reason for reappraising "the standards which the Court is setting for itself."

A classic example of the Court's meandering into obscure reasoning was its reliance, in part, on the viewpoint of a European, hostile to our way of life, in making its school desegregation decision.

Cited as one of the Supreme Court's foremost authorities for the historic desegregation decision of May 17, 1954, was a book compiled and partly written by a Swedish Socialist, Gunnar Myrdal, who holds the United States and its Constitution in open contempt.

We find it more than difficult to grasp the pertinence of Myrdal's dogma in deciding a question of American constitutional law.

Municipal Interest in an Adequate Civil Defense System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT RAINS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. RAINS. Mr. Speaker, last week my good friend, Mr. Ed E. Reid, executive director of the Alabama League of Municipalities, addressed a statewide conference of local civil defense directors and coordinators in Montgomery. Mr. Reid is well known in municipal circles throughout the Nation, and I believe that his remarks concerning the civil defense picture will prove most interesting to my colleagues.

I submit the following address:

THE MUNICIPAL INTEREST IN AN ADEQUATE CIVIL DEFENSE PROGRAM

(By Ed E. Reid, executive director, Alabama League of Municipalities)

In behalf of the municipal interests in our State, let me say that we appreciate the opportunity to take part in this annual meeting of civil defense directors and coordinators. For myself, I am delighted to have been chosen to bring you some municipal viewpoints on the subect of civil defense. It has been asked that I speak to you briefly upon "The Municipal Interest in an Adequate Civil Defense Program." Upon my arrival at this auditorium I noticed the number of municipal officials in attendance and wondered but what my message had not already been demonstrated more forcibly than I could present it in words.

THE YEAR 1959 AGAIN BROUGHT DISAPPOINTMENTS

It seems only a very short while since our officials gathered here last January with high hopes of finally getting down to grips with civil-defense needs. Only 6 months before that time Congress had shown a realistic and practical interest in civil defense when it adopted Public Law 85–606. Unfortunately, this law was not adopted early enough in the 85th Congress to receive the appropriation necessary to implement its aims. You came together 1 year ago trusting that in 1959 Congress would provide the funds necessary to make the Federal Government a full partner with the States and their local governments in the civil-defense program. Unfortunately, our hopes, however justified, were shattered by drastic congressional slashes in the civil-defense budget. After working so hard, and coming so close to the first really workable civil-defense alliance between the three layers of Government, our cities and towns found 1959 to be another disappointing year.

OUR MUNICIPALITIES WORKED HARD

Following World War II, the cities and towns across the Nation realized the vital importance of civil defense. The terrifying examples of the great conflict impressed upon them that isolation is to be forgotten and that our urban centers, the prime targets of war, must have preparations for the survival of their populations in the event of future hostilities and, incidentially, they became more aware of their need for preparedness to meet natural disasters. With this in mind, organizations such as the American Municipal Association, the U.S. Conference of Mayors, and the individual State municipal associations, such as our League of Municipalities, have year in and year out placed this need before the Congress and the various State legislatures.

Since your meeting here last year, a delegation of municipal officials from our League of Municipalities appeared before the Alabama congressional delegation in Washington and outlined the league's stand on civil defense. I would like to call your attention to excerpts from the policy backed by your Alabama cities and towns:

"We agree with present policies which place the responsibility for civil defense jointly in the Federal Government, the several states and their political subdivisions, which call for Federal sharing in the administrative and personnel costs of state and local civil defense organization. * * *

"We urge you to support legislation providing the funds needed to implement these programs.

"We endorse the National Plan for Civil Defense Mobilization establishing national nonmilitary courses of action both to deter aggression and for national survival in event of attack. * * *

"We hope that attention continues to be given to all aspects of civil defense as they affect our national preparedness including, among others the broad training program of OCDM staff college, assistance to all elements of local training programs and the public information program. * * *

"We urge you members of the Alabama Congressional Delegation to do all in your power to immediately vote the appropriations needed for the complete and proper implementation of the provisions of Public Law 85–606 to provide for the full and proper assistance of our State and local civil defense efforts.

"We commend to you the following specific policy recommendations:

"That a much more complete and adequate financial program of civil defense which recognizes the urgent importance of protecting and defending our homeland be approved by the Congress. To this end we recommend funds under the Federal Civil Defense Act which will assume 75 percent of the administrative costs of recognized local civil defense agencies. We further recommend that the Federal Government

assume full financial responsibility for the purchase and maintenance of all equipment primarily purchased to further the civil defense effort.

"That the Congress of the United States continue laws which give to all civil defense agencies a high priority in the procurement of such Federal surplus properties as are necessary to the organization, maintenance, and operation of an effective civil defense and disaster program.

"That the President of the United States and the Secretary of Defense adopt and enforce policies relating to the military and manpower recruitment of municipal personnel which will preserve the capacity of municipal government to protect its citizens and to discharge its national obligations for civil defense in case of national emergency.

"That the Federal Government establish a system of issuing priorities for critical items in times of national emergency. A single agency should determine these priorities and the essential needs of municipalities should be given a preference at least equal to that afforded private industry.

"That the Federal Government raise sufficient funds to finance the construction of shelters in cooperation with State and local governments, including schools and other districts. A program of blast, heat and radiation shelters within target areas is a necessary addition to the present work toward fallout shelters.

"We recommend also that the shelter program give proper consideration to multiple public uses that may be obtained so as to make them as self-liquidating as possible. We urge that adequate shelters be included in all new public construction and that standards for construction of buildings under all federally aided programs include requirements for adequate shelter spaces."

In addition to adopting this policy on the Federal scene in 1959, our league lent its support to the passage of legislation in the 1959 session of our State legislature to provide for the continuity of government in times of disaster or hostile attack. This action which we took has been taken by other municipal leagues and cities and towns over the Nation. Gentlemen, civil defense has definitely had the interest of our municipal officials since its conception, and indications lead me to believe that this interest is becoming more intense with the passage of time.

CONTINUING NEED FOR CIVIL DEFENSE

There is a continuing need for civil defense. To put it more frankly, there is a growing need for civil defense. The problems of civil defense are multiplied by the rapid urbanization of our Nation. When our people gather together and voluntarily create our cities and towns for a better and more abundant life, in doing so they create a more complex life. Vast networks of utilities and municipal services are necessary to make this life possible—each phase of municipal life being dependent upon the other, and upon the proper functioning of each rests the life and safety of thousands and thousands of our State's people. This complexity demands preparation for emergency and preparedness for natural and hostile disaster. However much we might like to believe it, we are really no further from nor any closer to hostilities today than we were 12 years ago. The possibility remains with us, and I dare say that not one man in this room is truly satisfied that we are prepared and ready for such an unhoped for catastrophe.

In the last decade we have learned much about civil defense—both good and bad. We have seen civil defense organizations operate with precision and effectiveness in meeting numerous natural disasters. On the other hand, we have seen apathy and frustration displayed at practice alerts and civil defense drills. We must use these examples for the good purpose of building a civil defense organization that will function under all circumstances, for it is through our mistakes that we learn the most. I would advocate putting forth more and more effort—with more mistakes if necessary—for through such activity strength will grow. Until civil defense is accepted by our people as a part of their daily lives, and recognized as a medium of security rather than a reminder of doom, we shall still be on the first rung of the ladder.

HOW DO WE STAND ON CIVIL DEFENSE?

This leads us to the question, "How do our cities and towns across the Nation stand with regard to civil defense preparedness, capability of preparedness, and attitude?" In 1958 the American Municipal Association made a survey of some 250 of the largest cities in the country touching on these questions. As I am sure you can predict, the answer generally given to preparedness for hostile attack was negative. Apparently, the larger cities are more aware of their need for preparation against hostilities than the smaller cities, but generally speaking, satisfaction was not a keynote.

On the question of capability of preparedness for hostile attack, again we find a negative answer. The survey made it abundantly clear that our cities and towns are financially unable to meet the demands required to establish and maintain the organization required to properly carry out the civil defense objectives. This is partially due to the tremendous outlays of capital funds which have been required to provide needed facilities for their expanding populations. At the present time our cities and towns across the Nation are 5 to 10 years behind their needs for water, sewage and sanitation facilities. These facilities are of first priority merely to provide a safe place in which to live under no attack or disaster conditions. The survey revealed that there has been a deplorable lack of money interest shown by the State legislatures and that without funds from the State and Federal Governments the local governmental units alone cannot supply the answer.

On the matter of attitude toward civil defense, there was a variety of description but the summary would indicate that local officials and the public generally are much more concerned over civil defense than their congressional and State legislative delegations.

Quite ironical was the questionnaire answer made by the No. 1 target of the Nation—Washington, D.C. It stated: "Volunteer organization nonexistent; civil defense plans in process of revision; city employees not adequately trained; Congress' financial support inadequate; city lacks legislative power to deal with civil defense emergency." Since this answer was made Congress has acted to enact Public Law 85-606, and we hope that the city of Washington is going to be better prepared—certainly when funds needed to implement the statute are voted by Congress.

To summarize our position, (1) we are not prepared; (2) we have learned much; (3) we need legislative leadership that recognizes civil defense to be a factor of vital importance to our Nation, just as foreign aid is of vital importance to the free world.

FACTORS OPPOSING ADEQUATE CIVIL DEFENSE

Proceeding upon the premise that our civil defense program is not adequate at this time, and that we want an adequate civil defense organization, we come face to face with the question, "How are we going to get it?" While the answer is not simple, we know first hand that we must single out the opposing factors and meet them head on. Civil defense is faced with opposing factors in two categories: First, there is the negative attitude of apathy, frustration, and wishful thinking on the part of those who really want civil defense; and, second, there are the positive opponents who very strongly and ably present the viewpoint that our best civil defense lies in a strong offensive—a powerful military force of retaliatory striking power coupled with unlimited foreign aid.

It would be useless to expect legislative response to action requested by half-hearted proponents of any measure. Therefore, the first job lies in kindling a fire under the public to recognize the problem for what it is and to demand positive action. Much has been done to accomplish this through mediums of public information. However, more has been done toward this end by the launching of the first sputnik than by any other factor. In addition to firing the people with enthusiasm for civil defense, it is essential that definite minimums be established as necessary to meet the job. With these minimum requirements backed by public enthusiasm, civil defense will then be in a position to more skillfully meet positive policymakers of opposing conviction in the middle of the arena.

Civil defense has this very strong point in its favor: Our Nation was not founded upon a fatalistic philosophy. Our people are resourceful, independent, and defiant in the protection of their rights. They have survived under many hardships by virtue of a tough spirit and a tenacious desire to stay alive. Any person who opposes civil defense as futile denies the American heritage. Moreover, there is no need for those of us interested in a civil defense program to deny the value of foreign aid, or oppose it. Certainly there should be a place for a practical meeting ground for the viewpoints of all factions in these fields. Likewise, there should be a meeting ground for intelligent consideration of the demands made for more offensive weapons.

PROPER ANSWER IS THROUGH ACTION

The achievement of an adequate civil defense program can be had only through action which will stimulate legislative response. Unless we want a "caretaker" type of civil defense we must be interested enough to act to make it otherwise. Every effort must be made to correct situations described as apathetic, confused, fatalistic, indifferent, lackadaisical, passive, and inert. These tabs have on occasion been ascribed to civil defense efforts. Often they have not been true. Nevertheless, they hurt just the same. No Congressman or State legislator wishes to sponsor legislation which results in a fizzle—and every Congressman and every State legislator wishes to place his name upon legislation which the public recognizes as the suitable answer to its problem. However simple these truths may be, we often lose sight of them.

We of the League of Municipalities intend to continue our support of the policy declaration which we made last year. Our interest has not waned because of any disappointments. We have enough municipal officials present here who know that disappointments happen quite frequently in public life. If anything, the interest of our cities and towns increases as they become more certain of their civil defense objectives.

It has been a pleasure to be with you today. I sincerely hope that from this meeting, and from the many others held throughout our Nation, we shall find the wise and appropriate answer to our pressing civil defense needs.

Retirement of Lee Wooden as President of Oregon State Rural Electric Cooperative Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, one of the most useful and outstanding citizens of my native State is Lee Wooden, of Jewell, Oreg., who has recently retired after many years as president of the Oregon State Rural Electric Cooperative Association. Countless farm families in Oregon enjoy the blessings and comforts of electricity because of the effective leadership of Lee Wooden, who is a man of warm human friendliness and humanitarian instincts. I salute him for his accomplishments and for his personal popularity.

In the Northwest Ruralite for January 1960, Mr. Henry Alderman, editor of that monthly publication, has paid tribute to Lee Wooden and to Mr. Wooden's able successor, A. R. Teater, of Post, Oreg. At the annual meeting which elected Mr. Teater, Lee Wooden was accorded a standing ovation for his long and tireless service.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial from Northwest Ruralite, entitled "Wooden Takes Bow," be published in the Appendix of the RECORD for the information of my colleagues.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WOODEN TAKES BOW

For the first time in 8 years, the Oregon Rural Electric Cooperative Association has a new president.

At the association's annual meeting a couple of weeks ago, he told the group's nominating committee not to select him again.

His friends made him honorary president for life, gave him a standing ovation and gave him a valuable gift.

Mr. Wooden got to his feet and said: "I'm not sure I can say much now except thanks."

Later he apologized for "losing my self control."

A day or two later he dropped into the Ruralite office. "I think," he said, "that a State association is stronger if many of its members participate in its affairs. I like to see turnover in governing boards. We have often been handicapped by not having enough people who can devote a lot of time to such things as legislation. The answer is to split the work up as much as possible."

In age, Mr. Wooden is well into his seventies. He has been a pioneer in Oregon rural electrification. He has held many unpaid positions of public trust in his home county and he deserves the thanks of all cooperators for having faithfully done the very best he knew how.

Oregon statewide's new president is A. R. Teater, a highly successful central Oregon rancher and businessman. Mr. Teater has been president of his own local electric cooperative for a number of years. His judgment and ability have been well demonstrated.

Oregon cooperatives are fortunate in having two such men available for leadership.

Nixon Meets the Challenge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include three editorials of recent publication, from different areas of the Nation, the continuity of which point out that the Vice President has boldly cut the Gordian knots of each situation which have confronted him in recent months.

We can expect him to meet each challenge during the coming year with equal vigor and tact, culminating in his securing the nomination and eventually vanquishing any foe for the Presidency.

The editorials follow:

[From the Chicago Tribune, Dec. 27, 1959]

ROCKEFELLER WITHDRAWS

Gov. Nelson Rockefeller of New York, who has been very busy acting like a presidential candidate, has announced his withdrawal from a race he never formally entered. He says that his swings around the country have convinced him that those who will control the Republican national convention do not want a fight made against Vice President RICHARD NIXON.

In the interests of party harmony, Rockefeller stated, he will abandon the "massive struggle" which would result if he were to enter presidential preference primaries. Nor, he added, would he consider nomination as Vice President.

Thus the governor has left the field to NIXON, and his decision seems to be final and irrevocable. He says that it is, and the only thing that could possibly change it—a spontaneous and overwhelming draft by the party—seems out of the question.

We believe that Mr. Rockefeller has read the political portents correctly and has discovered that there was no broad popular sentiment in support of his candidacy. He was the only possible challenger to Mr. NIXON and his withdrawal makes the nomination, and election, of the Vice President as close to a certainty as the uncertain world of politics provides.

The Democrats have a sorry crew of candidates, most of whom would be plausible as nominees for Vice President in an off year but they have no one who looks and acts like a possible President. Nor has the Democratic party any issue which would carry conviction. Its spokesmen admit that the Eisenhower record on peace and prosperity is virtually unassailable, and whoever rides the donkey into next year's election will be restricted to trying to make the best of fringe issues, such as farm discontent and easy money.

No one in our political history has been better trained for the task of serving as President than Mr. NIXON. He has been the most active Vice President the country has known. He has had legislative experience in both House and Senate, has filled in for Mr. Eisenhower during the President's illnesses, and, through extensive travel and participation in all the high councils of the administration, is intimately acquainted with world affairs and all the workings of government. His preparation is unique and the people are fortunate that he is available.

Mr. NIXON will have behind him a united party. Mr. Rockefeller promises that he will give what assistance he can to the party, its nominees, and its program. In these circumstances, Mr. NIXON can look forward confidently to next November's decision.

[From the Peoria Journal Star, Jan. 5, 1960]

NIXON'S STATURE GROWS

(By C. L. Dancey)

The steel settlement, with Vice President NIXON playing a prominent role, is bound to strengthen NIXON as the Republican presidential candidate, and to increase the growing public picture of him as a man of real weight and substance—right or wrong.

The real pressures on both industry and the union existed before Mr. NIXON entered the scene. As we pointed out when Taft-Hartley was invoked, neither the steel companies nor the union could afford another industrywide shutdown in January.

To do so would be to throw the whole principle of collective bargaining on the counter before a jittery election-year Congress sitting in short term. The only possible result would have been some form of Government control. This would supplant collective bargaining, the union mainstay, and might have become the beginning of the end of unions as we know them now.

At the same time, Government control would be the worst thing that could happen to the private steel industry as well. So both sides had powerful reasons to settle.

This was so plain that we did not hesitate to say they would settle early in the new year, and there would never be a renewal of that strike.

Now that it has come to pass with Mr. NIXON playing a big part, we must still, in all honesty, recognize that the forces existed with or without NIXON.

Whether he was responsible or not—and whether this proves to have been a wise settlement or not—the fact remains that NIXON took part in using these forces to get the settlement and that he won the praise and obvious respect in the process of both the steel bosses and the steelworkers' president.

That doesn't hurt him as a candidate for President.

KENNEDY and others may try hard to ridicule and downgrade the job of Vice President, saying, in effect, they wouldn't take it on a bet. But they are swimming against the tide and trying to minimize the job for obvious reasons, and facts are facts. In the past few months the Vice President's actions have been turning points in both the biggest international crisis and the biggest domestic crisis.

A new dimension has most certainly been added to this job. It has become the key job, short of the White House, in the United States and it is going to become increasingly hard to ignore that fact—or pretend it isn't so.

[From the Washington Evening Star, Jan. 7, 1960]

NIXON AND THE LABOR VOTE

(By Gould Lincoln)

A month ago Democrats would have laughed in your face if you had been so brash as to suggest that Vice President RICHARD M. NIXON, as a Republican presi-

dential nominee, would have any material labor support. Within that month, however, two things of major importance to the Vice President and his presidential chances have come to pass. The first was the withdrawal of Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York from the contest for the Republican presidential nomination of 1960. A second was the settlement of the long-drawn-out and costly steel strike, largely through the leadership of the Vice President. This settlement has been acclaimed by President David J. McDonald of the Steelworkers Union as the best the workers have ever achieved, which would be no small boost for Mr. NIXON in itself. But aside from that the half-million steelworkers, by the settlement, have been spared the agony of going on strike again, which they might have done had there been no strike settlement by January 26, when the injunction under the Taft-Hartley Act was to have expired. Now the workers have a contract covering the next 2½ years. The workers and their wives are not likely to forget that fact when next November rolls around. Nor are they likely to forget that Mr. NIXON played a full part in bringing about the agreement.

As a matter of fact, some of the labor leaders, as well as the rank-and-file workers, are taking a second look at the political scene. Many of them see labor employed at higher wages than ever before under the present Republican administration, with prospects for plenty of work during the coming year.

In addition, many of them have not been satisfied with the work of the Democratic Congress. Some of them still resent bitterly the passage of the Kennedy-Griffin-Landrum labor bill in its final form in the past session of this Democratic-controlled Congress. They also are not satisfied with the Democratic Congress because it has failed to put through other legislation which they had considered promised to them when they helped to roll up a sweeping Democratic victory in the 1958 congressional elections.

DEMOCRATS CAN'T ATTACK

The Nixon coup arising from the settlement of the steel strike, which removes from the list of probabilities and possibilities a recurrence of heavy unemployment and another serious recession during 1960 cannot be attacked by the Democrats directly if they wish to retain the good will of the steelworkers and other unionists. Senator LYNDON JOHNSON, of Texas, majority leader of the Senate, has taken one line of attack, however—that the settlement of the strike should have been brought about by strong Government pressures long before and that the steelworkers thus would have escaped many payless weeks. But in view of the adamant attitude of both sides, labor and management, it is doubtful that such a compromise could have been effected sooner.

Also from anti-Nixon and pro-Democratic camps come predictions that under the so-called NIXON settlement steel prices will rise, causing inflation and further increase in the cost of living and devaluation of the dollar. It still remains to be seen, however, whether steel prices will be increased—certainly before the election this year. The actual wage increases provided in the new steel contracts do not begin until December 1 next, although the so-called fringe benefits, including the payment by the companies of the whole cost of insurance for the workers, become effective immediately.

The steel companies may find it possible to withhold price increases. Certainly, they will be wise to do so. For if they rush into price increases, starting another wage-price spiral, they may find themselves in hot water. And they, as well as labor, must be aware that if prices go too high, the general public will not buy steel products, and also foreign competition will take much of their market away, not only abroad but also in this country.

ACTED AGAINST DANGER

It seems unlikely that Vice President NIXON would have been brought into any program that was likely to bring about greatly increased inflation. It is certain, however, that he could easily grasp the great danger to the country and its economy if another prolonged battle between the steel companies and workers had arisen. And he acted accordingly.

It appears at present that it is the Democrats, not the Republicans, who must make their peace with organized labor. A continuation of the steel strike might have wrecked any chance of the GOP winning the presidential election next November. If the Congress had been forced to take drastic action to halt a resumed steel strike, even though the control of Congress is lodged in Democratic hands, the workers probably would have placed the blame for such action on the shoulders of the Republicans who control the executive branch of Government. That branch—with the President at its head—is usually the target of disgruntled voters.

It is being suggested that Governor Rockefeller is still angling for a draft by the Republicans as their presidential nominee next July. The present added strength in the hands of Mr. NIXON pushes any such possibility further into the background. It will be recalled that the New York Governor, as soon as President Eisenhower left the country on his 22,000-mile trip to three continents in December, came forward with a suggestion that the Vice President should use his influence to settle the steel strike. That Mr. NIXON has done—and indeed, at the time of Mr. Rockefeller's suggestion, Mr. NIXON was already at work on the problem.

As things now stand, it will be difficult for the Democrats to convince the voters that Mr. NIXON is antilabor.

Resolution of the Mayors' Association of Southern Illinois, Inc., Relative to Area Redevelopment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, the mayors of southern Illinois recently met at Mt. Vernon, Ill., and passed a resolution endorsing the principle of the area redevelopment bill which I had the honor of introducing last year, which was passed by this body, and which is now pending before the House of Representatives. I ask unanimous consent that the body of the resolution be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"RESOLUTION OF THE MAYORS' ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN ILLINOIS, INC.

"Whereas the mayors of southern Illinois are in convention assembled at Mount Vernon, Ill., on this 22d day of December 1959 for the purpose of discussing problems of mutual interest to the cities and communities which form the southern Illinois area; and

"Whereas the said mayors are deeply concerned with the economic conditions in their various cities and communities and in the southern Illinois area; and

"Whereas it has come to the attention of said mayors that approximately 30,000 employable persons are now unemployed in the southern Illinois area, and that the cost to government by way of unemployment compensation, township relief, and other governmental aid amounts to approximately $45 million per year, this sum for the southern Illinois area alone; and.

"Whereas the southern Illinois area is considered an area of chronic unemployment by the U.S. Government; and

"Whereas the southern Illinois area is not in a good competitive position with the wealthier cities and communities elsewhere and with better economic conditions; and

"Whereas inquiries are made from time to time by industrial concerns with reference to locating in southern Illinois, and although every effort is exerted by local communities and individuals, the lack of financial aid to those concerns prevents location in southern Illinois; and

"Whereas the mayors of southern Illinois believe that they have a solution to this depressed economic situation, the solution, however, not being one of drastic proportions, but a reasonable progressive and economically sound solution to the problem; and

"Whereas the mayors of southern Illinois believe that if new industry could be located in southern Illinois, that the economic burden to government would be practically eliminated or greatly reduced, in that the aforesaid 30,000 unemployed persons would be employed and would, therefore, in fact, contribute to government at all levels by way of taxes, thus creating a new source of governmental revenue, heretofore not existing; Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Mayors' Association of Southern Illinois, Inc., in convention assembled, at Mount Vernon, Ill., this 22d day of December A.D. 1959, as follows:

1. That the United States, through its agency or agencies or other appropriate means provide for loans to the extent of 100 percent or insure such loans made by private financial institutions to persons or corporations with approved credit risks, for the purpose of establishing new industry by way of new construction or by way of existing facilities, said loans to be for a duration of at least 20 years and to bear a reasonable rate of interest.

"2. That the approval of credit risks in this behalf be determined by the United States Government.

"3. That persons or corporations receiving said loans and responsible for the establishment of new industry be allowed to depreciate their real estate investment within a period of 5 years.

"4. That privtae financial institutions may be encouraged to make the aforesaid loans as may be established and insured by the United States, but, that in the alternative, if private capital is not available, that provision be made for obtaining loans directly from the United States.

"5. That industry be otherwise encouraged to establish in the southern Illinois area, and that the aforesaid system and plan for making loans be continued for so long a time as the various cities and communities in the southern Illinois area are considered to be areas of chronic unemployment.

"6. That the Secretary is instructed to mail copies of this resolution to Senators EUGENE MCCARTY, VANCE HARTKE, Senators DOUGLAS and DIRKSEN, of Illinois, and Congressmen GRAY and SHIPLEY, of Illinois.

"Passed by the Mayors' Association of Southern Illinois, Inc., at Mount Vernon, Ill., this 22d day of December, A.D. 1959.

"Approved by the president of the Mayors' Association of Southern Illinois, Inc., and by other mayors whose signatures are hereinbelow subscribed, at Mount Vernon, Ill., this 22d day of December, A.D. 1959.

"Approved:

"K. NEIL THURMOND,
"President.

"Attest:

"FRED HENDERSON,
"Secretary."

Otis Lamar, Rosiclare, Ill.; O. D. Flatt, Buckner, Ill.; Wm. Cunningham, Pinckneyville, Ill.; Curtis Taylor, Mounds, Ill.; Carl Streuter, Okawville, Ill.; Harold Stephenson, Sesser, Ill.; E. A. Prudent, Zeigler, Ill.; Walter Shipp, Centralia, Ill.; Russell M. Parkinson, Coulterville, Ill.; R. E. Vermillion, Sparta, Ill.; Ronald Hampton, Christopher, Ill.; Virgil T. Baily, Mount Vernon, Ill.; Detrich Helmers, Chester, Ill.; Howard Lewis, Benton, Ill.; K. Neil Thurmond, Johnston City, Ill.

The foregoing resolution also approved, individually, by the undersigned chambers of commerce:

Goffrey Hughes, Southern Illinois, Inc.; E. J. Gregory, Benton, Ill.; James Parker, Johnston City, Ill.; Buford L. Mabery, Sparta, Ill.; J. R. Miles, Chamber Indian Commission, Coulterville, Ill.; H. B. Brayfield, Sesser, Ill.; M. Huie, Christopher Area Betterment Association, Christopher, Ill.; Leo. J. McLean, Chester, Ill.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, it will be noted that the mayors suggest certain amendments to the bill, which I commend to the attention of the House of Representatives.

It is interesting to observe that the resolution was signed, apparently, by every member of the conference of mayors, of both political parties, and that it was also approved, individually, by a number of chambers of commerce.

I may add that in a hearing which the Senate Committee on Unemployment held in West Frankfort, Ill., on December 17, 1959, the chambers of commerce of Cairo and of Herrin also expressed their endorsement of the specific bill on area redevelopment.

The Late Richard M. Simpson

SPEECH
OF
HON. PAGE BELCHER
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Speaker, the death of RICHARD M. SIMPSON comes as a great shock to all of us who have had the privilege through the years to enjoy his warm and loyal friendship.

I met DICK SIMPSON when I first came to Congress at the beginning of 82d Congress. We became very close and warm friends.

DICK was a man of stalwart character, high integrity, and strong convictions. He had the courage of his convictions and would fight for what he thought was right. Yet, he was always kind and courteous and accorded those who disagreed with him the right of their convictions.

He was an able Congressman, and had the respect and love of his colleagues on both sides of the aisle. He was never narrowminded or petty. He was devoted to the service of his community, State and Nation. Perhaps it was his zeal in trying to serve his constituents to the best of his ability that hastened his death. The better you knew DICK SIMPSON, the better you loved him; he was indeed a wise and sympathetic counselor.

My life has been enriched, and I am eternally grateful for having known DICK SIMPSON.

Opposition to High Interest Rate Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM PROXMIRE
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a lucid and persuasive argument against present high interest rate policies that is carried in the current issue of Rural Electrification.

There being no objection, the article was ordered printed in the RECORD as follows:

RURAL ELECTRIFICATION

REA AND TIGHT MONEY POLICY

For months now we have been besieged with warnings that the high-interest, tight-money policy must be imposed on REA.

President Eisenhower, himself, came to our annual meeting last February to tell us this. Since then, the Director of the Budget, the Secretary of Agriculture and the Administrator of REA have been bringing up reinforcements.

To date each of the battles against the high-interest, tight-money policy has been lost, one by one—veterans, Farmers Home, Farm Credit, housing, and so on.

At some point we as consumers must make a stand. We need a call to arms to rally all those who are hurt by the usurious high interest.

Such a call was sounded at the recent region IX meeting when the rural electric systems' delegates resolved: "That we, as a segment of the population concerned with the welfare of the entire population, recognize that these unsound money policies are a threat not only to our rural electrification program, but to the economic stability of the communities we serve and to the whole country, and must be corrected before our program and the economy are more seriously hurt."

Similar resolutions were adopted in regions III and VII.

The drive to raise REA interest rates is no isolated undertaking. It's part of a deliberate, carefully calculated national policy. It is part of the Government-sponsored, high-interest, tight-money policy.

If this national policy continues to sweep the country unchallenged, we can be almost certain that it will be imposed upon REA no matter what the effects, and no matter how the rural electrification program may be hampered or damaged as a result.

What do we want to do about this situation.

We can see all around us the harm that high-interest rates are having upon consumers generally, and that includes all of us along with the farmer, the laboring man, the housewife, the small businessman, the homebuilder, the student, the car buyer, and, in fact, everyone who has to buy or borrow. We are being forced to pay billions a year extra in interest costs for goods and services without getting any extra goods and services. In other words, we are forced to pay billions in tribute to persons unknown to most of us.

INTEREST ON U.S. DEBT

Let's look at the extra interest cost of running the Federal Government. In 1959, the high-interest, tight-money policy increased the cost of carrying the Federal debt by $1.4 billion over 1958. Compared to 1952, the increase is $4 billion.

Imagine what might have been done with these extra billions in the way of reduced taxes, new resource projects, space vehicles, or better education for our children.

The total amount required in this year's Federal budget for interest on the debt has grown to $9 billion. This is greater than the entire Federal budget prior to World War II. It is the second largest item in the budget; only the huge national defense expenditures come higher. It is larger than the combined total for aid to housing and business plus spending or investment on labor, welfare, education, dams, rivers and harbors.

It is startling that in 1 year we are paying nearly three times as much in interest as we lent under REA in a quarter of a century. Put it another way. The annual interest cost is big enough to build two TVA's a year.

The cost is growing. In the next year, Uncle Sam is going to have to borrow about $100 billion, most of it refinancing. Under the high-interest policy, we will be replacing low-interest obligations with high-interest obligations. And every time we raise the interest rate one-quarter of 1 percent, we will add another quarter of a billion dollars to our tax bill.

INTEREST ON PRIVATE DEBT

The Federal debt, of course, is only a part of the picture. Consumers, business concerns, farmers, States, municipalities, schools, and many other private institutions need loans to function, and the interest rates they have to pay are strongly affected by whatever rates Uncle Sam establishes.

Because of the Federal Government's high-interest, tight-money policy, these borrowers are having to pay this year a total of $8 to $10 billion more in annual interest charges than they would have had to pay at rates in effect previously.

Everyone has to help pay this toll, directly or indirectly. This includes rural electric cooperatives which have to buy wholesale power and other supplies and services. Also included are those rural electric consumers who have to finance purchases of electrical appliances and equipment.

Rural electric consumers who plan to build homes will find they have to pay higher interest rates. A homebuilder prior to the tight-money policy could have obtained a $10,000 FHA loan at 4 percent for a 25-year period. Today the same loan calls for an interest rate of at least 5¾ percent and the potential electric consumer is also likely to have to pay finder's fees or discounts in addition—all of them interest costs under other names.

Farmers on your lines are finding they have to put more of their shrinking income into

higher interest charges. Most of the land banks have raised their rates on loans to farmers to 6 percent, the legal limit. Many PCA's are now charging 7 percent or more on new loans. Farmers Home loans have higher rates than previously.

UP AND UP IT GOES

The Wall Street Journal recently described the vicious cycle in this way: "A 5-percent interest rate on U.S. Government obligations cannot exist in a vacuum; it will have its effect on interest rates for all other types of borrowing, from the capital investment of business to the personal borrowings of individuals to buy homes, cars and household goods.

If the tight-money and high-interest rate issue were an uncontrollable natural phenomenon, there would be little we could do but bear it. This is not the case. These monetary policies are manmade. And they are made deliberately by the Government's top command, including the Secretary of the Treasury and the Federal Reserve Board.

Representative WRIGHT PATMAN, vice chairman of the Joint Economic Committee, has this to say: "The Fed (Federal Reserve Board) controls the amount of money and credit in the banking system—and controls the level of interest rates in the whole economic system—mainly by buying or selling Government securities."

Just what is this high-interest program accomplishing? Are we heading into another 1929, or are we avoiding one?

The tight-money policy has been heralded as a defense against inflation, but the cost of living is right now at the highest point in history.

The November cost-of-living index just made public is one in a series of 7 monthly increases recorded in the last 8 months—seven increases in 8 months. As inflation medicine, this policy is poison.

In any case, how can higher interest rates combat inflation? We know that higher interest rates increase costs without in any way increasing output. Nothing could be more inflationary.

WHO BENEFITS?

So, what are the benefits from this high-interest, tight-money policy which appears to be so bankrupt from the standpoint of the taxpayer, the consumer, the farmer, and most other citizens?

The Wall Street Journal reports that New York City banks expect to realize a 25–30 percent increase in net operating earnings for the third quarter of 1959, compared to the year before. Why? A "climbing volume of loans at higher interest rates."

Most of the Government's $9-billion interest payments will go to the Nation's banks. They are the largest single group holding Government securities.

Bank profits, reports the Federal Reserve, have jumped 135 percent in the past 10 years.

HOW WILL AN REA RATE INCREASE HELP?

The foregoing outlines the high-interest, tight-money policy that the Administration now wants to impose on REA. The rural electrics, they say, should ask for the opportunity to join the high-interest club as a public relations gesture.

But is this a good course from the viewpoint of either the rural electric member or the consumer generally?

Would not the rural electrics perform a greater service to their own members, farmers, veterans and all consumers by leading a backs-against-the-wall fight—which it is—to reverse the whole confiscatory policy? Wouldn't we be doing more for our public relations, and ourselves, by helping replace the Big Bankers Monetary Policy with a People's Monetary Policy?

All of us in the rural electrification program have a big stake in finding the solution to the inflationary high-interest, tight-money problem.

We must urge Congress to take positive action to stop any more interest rate increases and to roll back the increases the tight-money policy has already made.

We must urge Congress to do something about the monetary policy-makers in the Government. For example, the Federal Reserve Board which has such tremendous power over money and credit is completely banker-dominated. There ought to be representatives of agriculture, small business, labor and consumers on this Board. They are not there now.

We must plan an all-out mobilization of our own members and likeminded consumers in each of our communities. There are many who want policies keyed to the needs of the consumer rather than the money lender. We have helped to stem tides before and, together, we can help stop this one.

Raising the Philippine Quota in the Next Revision of the Sugar Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, in the 1956 amendments of the Sugar Act the Philippines alone received no increase in quota. It is hoped that in the present Congress when consideration is given to a further extension of the act more equitable provision for the Philippine sugar producers will be made.

Indeed such action in behalf of the Philippines has been promised. When the President signed the law in 1956 extending the Sugar Act for 4 years, he expressly indicated that when new amendments were being prepared at the conclusion of the present act, consideration should be given to increasing the Philippine share of U.S. sugar consumption. A press release to this effect was issued on May 29, 1956, which I take the liberty of quoting in full:

MAY 29, 1956.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

I have today approved H.R. 7030, to amend and extend the Sugar Act of 1948, as amended, and for other purposes.

In addition to extending the Sugar Act for 4 years, the bill restores to the domestic areas the right to supply 55 percent of this country's increased requirements of sugar. The amendments also permit foreign countries to supply as much as they have been, plus 45 percent of the increases in our requirements. These increases will be most important relatively for the countries that heretofore have been minor suppliers.

It was not considered feasible to recommend an increase in the Philippine quota at this time. I believe, therefore, that when new amendments are being prepared at the conclusion of the present act, consideration should be given to allowing the Philippines to share in increased consumption, as is now provided for other foreign countries by this bill.

The New Look in Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I asked unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, a talk by Earl L. Butz, dean of agriculture, Purdue University, Lafayette, Ind. His subject was "The New Look in Agriculture."

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE NEW LOOK IN AGRICULTURE

(By Earl L. Butz, dean of agriculture, Purdue University, Lafayette, Ind.)

The most constant thing about our society is change. Ours is a dynamic society. Change is the law of progress. This is especially true of modern American agriculture. Those who process our food and fiber are also swept along in the same swift current of change.

Adjustments which have occurred in agricultural production and marketing during the past 10 years have been phenomenal. Still greater changes lie ahead.

The advances we will experience in the next decade will be unparalleled in American agriculture. It is possible that a generation hence agricultural historians will refer to the 1950's as the "decade of the scientific breakthrough."

Never before in history has the future been so near as now. Research and education are shortening the time span of progress. We shall occupy rinkside seats in scientific and technological developments during the next decade equivalent to changes which our fathers took a generation to accomplish.

Adjustments have always had to be made in American agriculture. But because these adjustments in previous generations were spread through several decades, farm families were able pretty well to take them in their stride. Today the agricultural revolution is advancing with such rapidity that farm families and rural communities often find it difficult to make the kind of economic and sociological adjustments that are required. This is equally true for agricultural businesses.

Growth is always painful. Economic and sociological changes in our way of living have always been difficult. The present adjustment is no exception. It is not easy for farm families to change their methods of production, their scale of operation, or even to shift vocations. It is more difficult for a farm family to shift vocations than for an industrial worker. However, farm sons and daughters, as well as farmers themselves, have been shifting to non-farm vocations in this country for generations. It was in this manner that industrial America grew. Only the rapidity of the present shift is new.

The impact of these agricultural developments on farming itself, on community life, and on food processing and distribtuion is tremendous. These are days when farmers and businessmen alike, like Alice in Wonderland, have to "run like the dickens just to stay where they are."

WHAT WILL BE THE IMPACT OF THESE CHANGES?

For purposes of the present discussion, we may group the impact of these technological changes under five headings.

1. Capital requirements for agriculture will grow, in total, per farm, and per man. This trend has been particularly pronounced during the past two decades. Its continuance is inevitable.

Our agricultural plant now has total assets in excess of $200 billion. This is a record high figure. About 89 percent of this represents owners' equities, as total debt is now around $22 billion or about 11 percent of total assets. This is a conservative figure, and is probably a healthy minimum, considering the necessity to refinance most farms each generation when ownership changes to younger hands.

Total investment per farm in the United States now averages more than $40,000. This includes a lot of small part-time or subsistence farms. Investment per commercial farm is much higher. It is not uncommon for family commercial farms in the Corn Belt, for example, to have a total investment in excess of $100,000.

Investment per worker is growing rapidly. Only 15 years ago, the average U.S. farm had about $3,500 invested in land and equipment for each farm worker. Today that figure is over $16,000 per worker. On many commercial family farms the investment per worker runs up to $50,000 or higher. This compares with an average investment per industrial worker of around $14,000. This means it takes three to four times as much capital investment to create one agricultural job on many of our family commercial farms as it does to create a typical industrial job in our cities.

As agricultural science continues to advance, it is inevitable that the business units in agriculture will get bigger and bigger with still larger amounts of capital required. This trend cannot be stopped. Nor should it be. We must adjust our farm institutions and our farm programs to it, so as to capture such benefits as will flow from it.

Machines will continue to displace men on our farms. We will produce more with fewer farms and with fewer workers than at present.

This is not a new trend. It has been going on for decades.

2. The number of farms will decrease. At the present time we have about 4.6 million farm units in the United States. Slightly less than 2 million of these are what we commonly call commercial family farms. The remainder are in effect part-time or quasi-subsistence farms. They contribute relatively little to the commercial flow of food and fiber in this country. Indeed, the top 2 million of our farms produce approximately 90 percent of all food and fiber entering into commercial trade.

The other 2 million plus farm units, although classified in agriculture, are operated by farm people who really need more opportunity to improve their situation either through enlargement of the individual farm business or through additional employment off the farm. Many of these people are so situated that the solution to their problem must ultimately be found outside of agriculture.

We must help the marginal farmer and the operator of an undersized acreage to become a better and more efficient farmer, or to find opportunity in other fields where he is better suited and where his income opportunities are larger.

There are some people who just weren't cut out to be farmers, just as other people don't make successful machinists, carpenters, or salesmen.

It is not at all coldblooded to suggest to a farmer that he seek other employment or that he supplement his farm income with an off-the-farm job if he can't make a good living in farming. It is really coldblooded to attempt through legislative programs to keep him tied to a farm which everyone knows is inadequate to provide a decent living for himself and his family. People in other jobs and in other professions take this kind of healthy competition in their stride. And they usually improve their lot in life. Many low income farmers can and will do the same if they are given the opportunity, and if the politicians will stay out of their hair.

In many areas of the country, there is a job waiting in industry, a job with good pay, for the farmer who finds that farming is not his long suit. And if his children want to go into engineering, into medicine, into teaching, or into the skilled crafts in the city, they can be sure that a position awaits them when they finish school. There is nothing dishonorable about this kind of vocational shift. It's been taking place ever since the founding of the nation. Without it, our high level of living would have been impossible. We would have been a nation of peasants, with each family tied to its small acreage of land. We would have advanced little beyond the current status of major agrarian populations in the Near East and the Far East.

In 1910 we had 32 million people on farms, representing 35 percent of our total population. In 1940 we had 30 million people on farms, but only 23 percent of our total population. At the present time the number of people on farms is down to about 21 million, or 11 percent of our total population. It has been predicted that by 1975, farm population may be around 17 million, or about 7.5 percent of the total of around 228 million.

This will mean that production per worker on our farms two decades hence must be more than twice as high as it is now. And it's now twice as high as it was less than two decades ago. This kind of development must inevitably mean higher living standards for those who man our farms and produce our food and fiber.

These commercial family farms will increasingly take on the characteristics of a business organization. The percentage of gross receipts consumed by production expenses will rise even higher than today. At the present time about 65 cents of each dollar the farmer receives is spent for goods and services which he requires to run his business. This does not include his wages to himself. In earlier periods, expenses consumed less than 50 cents out of the dollar. A decade or two hence expenses will consume more than 65 cents of the dollar. The farm will operate on a narrower margin per unit of output. This means that volume must increase in order to increase profits.

This trend suggests that farms are becoming more like other businesses in that they acquire more and more of their goods and services rather than having them produced on the farm or consumed there. In a sense, therefore, the farmer becomes the manager of a manufacturing operation, as he puts together packages of technology which have been processed on a custom basis by others. One of the best illustrations of this is, of course, the highly integrated broiler industry.

3. The trend toward integration will spread. We have heard so much about vertical integration in agriculture in recent months that many of us are frightened by it. We should not be. Vertical integration in agriculture is the result of fundamental economic and technological changes occurring in the agricultural industry—not the cause of them. It is a manifest effort by individual sectors of the "agribusiness" assembly line to survive in the swift competitive current of our modern dynamic food and fiber industry.

Agriculture is in the midst of a far-reaching scientific and technological revolution which is shaking the very foundations of its traditional institutional patterns.

Agriculture is changing from a way of living to a way of making a living. It is changing from a business of arts and crafts to a business undergirded with large amounts of science and technology.

The present agricultural revolution, resting on basic science and closely allied with the widespread advance of automation in both production and distribution, is threatening the traditional pattern of owner-manager-operator all wrapped up in a single person.

This is the very basic of much of today's social and political unrest in agriculture.

The fact that vertical integration is one of the stage properties being used by science, by technology, and by automation places it under political suspicion as the villain in the act.

Nearly everyone is familiar with the industrial integration which characterizes production of poultry meat in this country. But poultry is not alone in this field. It's just led the procession. We find similar illustrations in some of our canning and freezing vegetable crops. Large animal production in this country is by no means immune from the possibility of integration. Indeed, the pressure is in that direction. Production of meat animals to market specification is just around the corner. Advances in genetics and nutrition, both for plants and animals, and advances in environmental physiology will make this possible. This means that we will have predetermined performance built into breeding animals just as is now the case with crops.

If and when this kind of integration begins to hit the large animal field, it will precipitate sociological and economic adjustments that will be difficult. We will need to study the organization of our production units carefully and steer our farm policy course wisely in order both to minimize the adverse impacts, and to maximize the favorable aspects of this development.

4. Our countryside will be "rurbanized." A transformation is taking place among us which is changing the thinking and actions of a vast segment of our population. The "country hick" and the "city slicker" have virtually disappeared as prototypes on the American scene. The line of demarcation between people living in rural areas and those in urban areas is fast becoming obliterated.

Cultural and social patterns are being changed in every section of our country by the population shifts that are taking place. Our modern science and technology have made it possible for the city to move to the country and for the country to move to the city. Our countryside is becoming "rurbanized." Farm and city folk live alongside each other in our newly "rurbanized" communities. The effect of the resulting intermingling has been that there is no longer a farm population and an industrial population, especially within 40 or 50 miles driving distance of our big industrial centers, and that includes practically the whole eastern and central parts of the country.

Today the commercial farmer not only takes on the financial aspects of a big businessman, but because he now associates with businessmen and laborers who live nearby him in the country and whose children go to the same school, increasingly this farmer is beginning to think like they do.

The city-limit sign at the edge of your county-seat town doesn't mean the same thing it did a generation ago. It's now just a tax boundary. It's no longer a cultural boundary, an educational boundary, a recreational boundary, an economic boundary, or a social boundary. The same kind of people live on one side of that city-limit sign as on the other side. They have the same literature, the same radio and TV programs, the same recreational opportunities, the

same educational opportunities, the same social and cultural opportunities.

In this process of "rurbanization," the elements of rural and urban living are being blended together. The "rurbanization" of America has long been in the making. Only in recent years has it come to the fore as a powerful influence reflecting a great change taking place in our way of life.

A new agriculture in America is emerging with breathtaking rapidity. The transformation is taking place so quickly that we are experiencing great difficulty in adjusting to it economically, sociologically, and politically.

For many years in our city communities the doctor has lived beside the lawyer, beside the machine operator, beside the bricklayer, beside the schoolteacher, and each has lost his vocational identity as a member of his community. So it will tend to be with our commercial farmers in the newly "rurbanized" communities. The farmer-businessman will live beside the urban businessman, the urban industrial worker, and the urban professional man, with a decreasing emphasis on vocational differences among them.

Ultimately they will lose their vocational identity as members of the community. At this point farming will no longer be a way of life, but will be a way of making a living, just the same as other business enterprises.

5. Agriculture is an expanding industry. American agriculture is an expanding industry in every important respect except one—the number of people required to run our farms. Only in this single respect can it be said that agriculture is a declining industry.

Our agricultural plant uses each year more capital, more science and technology, more managerial capacity, more purchased production inputs, and more science and research than the year before. It is obvious, therefore, that those writers and analysts who refer to agriculture as a "declining industry" look only at a single phase of this growing and important American industry.

The declining trend in farm population, although viewed with alarm by some politicians and rural fundamentalists, is itself a sign of a strong agriculture. This is the age of science and technology in American agriculture. Brainpower has replaced horsepower as the central ingredient of success on our farms.

We have already seen how total capital and capital per worker in agriculture greatly exceeds that in American industry. Total capital assets on our farms now exceed $200 billion. If you add to this the investment in agricultural businesses, the total investment in what has commonly come to be called "agribusiness" exceeds the total industrial assets in America.

When we consider the agricultural industry, we need to include in our thinking those businesses that supply our farmers with items used in production, as well as the processing and distributive concerns that handle the food and fiber produced on our farms. For every worker on American farms, there is approximately seven-tenths worker engaged in supplying farmers with goods and services used in production, and approximately another worker engaged in processing and marketing the food and fiber produced on our farms. This entire group comprises approximately 37 percent of our labor force. This figure hasn't changed much the last decade or so. We've had a trend toward fewer workers on farms, but increasing numbers of workers in the agriculturally related businesses.

When the total Agribusiness is taken into consideration, approximately one-third of the workers are on farms and two-thirds off. Approximately two-thirds of the capital is on farms and one-third off. Approximately one-sixth of the value added is on farms and approximately five-sixths off the farm.

The farm plant in America purchases approximately $17 billion worth of goods and services used in farm production. To this it adds a value of about $17 billion, which means that total farm produce leaves the farm gates at about $34 billion. Processing and distribution add another $45 billion to this, which makes a total value of output in Agribusiness of approximately $80 billion.

These figures point out the growing importance of agriculture as a market. Industry depends upon agriculture as a customer to a greater extent than most people realize. In contrast to 40 or 50 years ago, when farmers were producing most of their own fuel, power, and fertilizer, industry is now furnishing farmers each year:

Six and one-half million tons of finished steel—more than is used for a year's output of passenger cars; 45 million tons of chemical materials—nearly 5 times the amount they used in 1935; 17½ billion gallons of crude petroleum—more than is used by any other industry; 285 million pounds of raw rubber—enough to make tires for 6 million automobiles; 22 billion kilowatt hours of electrical power—more than enough to serve the cities of Chicago, Detroit, Baltimore, and Houston for a year.

I could go on citing other evidences of the tremendous importance of agriculture in our national life, but I think I've made the point. Whatever happens to agriculture has a direct and major impact upon industry—and industry, by the same token, has a very great interest in the welfare of agriculture.

Those of us who work in agricultural education and research have a responsibility to service the whole broad area of agribusiness. The mere fact that functions once performed on the farm have now been transferred off the farm does not mean that our responsibility to them has diminished. Indeed, it may have increased.

THE JOB AHEAD

It is not the purpose of this discussion to detail our job in the difficult days ahead. Suffice it to point out that the job will be a challenging one, and a difficult one.

We must all combat the philosophy that sometimes rears its ugly head and asserts that because of current agricultural surpluses we should "declare a moratorium on research and education".

This is a false and dangerous doctrine. It was preached in 1920 when post-World War I surpluses developed. Think where we would be today if that philosophy had prevailed 25 years ago. It was preached again in 1940, just before World War II, when surpluses again plagued us. Think for a moment where we would be today if we had listened to that just 19 years ago. The best way today to stop the steady march toward fulfillment of the American dream would be to pull the rein on research and education. This we must never do.

We talk a lot in America about horsepower. However, our greatest national resource today is brainpower. This complex scientific and social environment in which we live demands increasingly competent men and women to manage it effectively. We must develop the brainpower of young America in such a way that the generation ahead can enjoy fully the technological and social developments which await us. Not to train to its highest capacity the brainpower of our young men and women in America is just as wasteful of one of our great natural resources as not to exploit a new pit of iron ore, a new bed of uranium, or our fertile fields.

Those of us in adult educational work must not be frightened by the economic and sociological changes which agriculture is undergoing.

Change is the law of progress. The challenge which faces us is to direct the change along constructive and beneficial channels.

Our problem, therefore, becomes one of intelligent analysis and direction of the future—not cowering fear of it.

None of us would want to live under the economic institutions which prevailed just a short 20 years ago. Yet I am confident that some of us in this room, 20 years ago, vigorously resisted changes which were then occurring in the patterns of production, processing, and distribution. As we look back now, we wonder why.

Likewise, 20 years from now we'll look back on 1958 and be a little amused that we were so fearful of change, rather than directing our energies toward channeling change down beneficial pathways.

It has been said that the proponents of the status quo are often the villains of history.

Those who resist inevitable change frequently perish in the process.

Those who manage our agricultural production, processing, and distribution firms are challenged to give intelligent direction to the changes ahead, so that our great food and fiber industry will function even better than now.

The future belongs to those who prepare for it.

Lyndon Johnson Best Choice for Democrats

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JIM WRIGHT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including a very well reasoned editorial which appeared on the front page of the Fort Worth Star Telegram on the evening of Tuesday, December 29 and on the morning of Wednesday, December 30.

This editorial so well expresses what many of us have thought concerning the unique qualifications of LYNDON B. JOHNSON for President of the United States that I thought it would be well for our colleagues to have the opportunity of reading it and for it to be given the general distribution of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

LYNDON JOHNSON BEST CHOICE FOR DEMOCRATS

Texas can take pride in having, for the first time in a good many years, a native son who potentially is a formidable contender for the Democratic presidential nomination and who, if nominated, would be a formidable contender for election to the White House. So far, however, though he must be counted among the leading Democratic prospects for the nomination in 1960, the candidacy of Senator LYNDON JOHNSON remains potential rather than actual.

As a master of political strategy, the Senate majority leader has few peers. That being the case, it is likely that he has his course skillfully charted in the direction he wishes to go. Nonetheless, we hope that he soon will see fit to become an avowed and open candidate for the nomination, throwing into the ring the broad hat of a Texan who has made himself an outstanding figure on the national scene.

Only in this way, we believe, can a standard be raised to which JOHNSON followers in

Texas and the Senator's numerous admirers in other States can rally with enthusiasm and effectiveness. Only in this way can support for him be crystallized and the movement for his nomination be given the momentum it must have for success.

Under the astute guidance of Speaker SAM RAYBURN, Johnson-for-President clubs have sprung up in many parts of the State and show signs of taking root beyond Texas borders. But these are handicapped, and their fervor is somewhat curbed, by the fact that as yet they do not have a declared and eager candidate to champion. Until they do, they can not do their zealous best in furthering the chances of a Texas presidential prospect.

Among all those prominently mentioned for the Democratic nomination, whether they are coyly or brashly "available," in our view none is as preeminently qualified to be the party's standard bearer as Senator JOHNSON. And certainly, if he openly entered the fray, Senator JOHNSON would be far more than a native son candidate in the frequent sense of that term. He could not be considered a mere temporary resting place for the votes of the Texas delegation until it could be ascertained at the nominating convention how the tides are running. In the true Texas spirit, he and his followers would go into the convention with a determination to win and a good prospect of doing so.

If the banner of his candidacy is boldly raised, help from other States could be expected to flock to it, for the remarkable quality of the Johnson leadership is as well recognized and his prestige is as great in other States as in Texas. Non-Texans are well aware of the qualities that have made him an almost uniquely effective political and legislative technician—one so adroit in his handling of men and issues as to get results in a divided government and a divided party. They have not missed the fact that by sheer force of personality he has become the dominant member of his party and the man second only to the President in national power.

Like President Eisenhower, Senator JOHNSON has suffered and recovered from a severe heart attack. The strenous work schedule to which he has adhered in recent months is evidence of the completeness of his recovery. So broadly national has he made his interests, and so many Northern leaders of both parties has he brought into his debt, that he is in good position to shatter the doubtful tradition that no one from south of the Mason and Dixon line can win the nomination.

By exercise of great skill and responsibility, Senator JOHNSON has been the chief builder of the record upon which the Democratic nominee, whoever he might be, must run. The Texas Senator deserves to be the presidential candidate who is given a chance a run on that record.

American Flag Stamp

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MILTON R. YOUNG
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, the Minot Daily News of Minot, N. Dak., under date of January 2, 1960, contained a very interesting editorial concerning the new American flag stamp.

I share its proposal to extend the American flag stamp to other postage denominations and believe it is something that might well be considered.

Mr. President, I ask that this very interesting editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A STAMP FOR ALL TIME

Some of the season's geeting cards that came to the News office carried in the upper right corner of the envelope that bright red, white and blue postage stamp with the American flag on it.

New Year's cards are welcomed, we appreciate, not primarily for the postage stamps they bear, whether regular issue or commemorative.

But we will make a confession that when a large bunch of mail dropped onto the desk, those few envelopes which had the American flag stamp on them sort of stood out before our eye. That 4-cent stamp is a beauty.

It would please us if every letter we mailed, to everyone far or near, could have the Stars and Stripes on it. And we have nothing against the face of Abraham Lincoln, which appears on the regular 4-cent issue.

Yes, we know the flag stamp, which was issued July 4, 1959, after Alaskan statehood became official, has only 49 stars on it. It is not the number of stars which makes the design and colors of this stamp so striking. It ought to be possible for the postal department to redo that stamp with the 50 stars it should carry, with Hawaii's statehood taken into account. Then it could be reissued.

Our thought about this particular stamp is more than three cheers for the Red, White and Blue. It stems from the fact that the designer, whoever he was, made the flag come alive in remarkable fashion. This prompts us to think that the symbol of the Stars and Stripes, brought up to date with all the stars, would be an inspiring one to every person who mailed, or received, a first-class letter. Faces of our great statesmen of the past are fine, and they would continue to adorn the stamps of other denominations in every series we issue. But there is something about the face of the flag that represents all of us in the United States as we are today.

The Late Richard M. Simpson

SPEECH
OF
HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, it was with profound sorrow that I learned of the passing of my friend and colleague, DICK SIMPSON. The true measure of life is not its duration, but rather it is found in its contributions of dedicated service. Our Saviour lived upon this earth for only 35 years, and in this brief time contributed more than we can ever appreciate.

So it was with DICK, a man of faith and a man of works. His death may seem untimely, but who can measure time, in years, as God in His infinite wisdom stretches forth His hand and gathers into His arms His little children, and no one knows the time or the place.

With the inexorable passage of time, each of us will be gathered into His kingdom.

DICK'S friendly help and counsel left nothing to be desired. His memory and influence will long be felt in these Halls of Congress where he served the ideals of Americanism and of Christian faith. He did all that was required of him. He loved mercy, he did justly, and he walked humbly before God. Man can ask no more.

To his wife and family, Mrs. Utt joins me in expressing our deep sympathy.

The Lady From Missouri

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NEWELL A. GEORGE
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, one of the real privileges of being a Member of Congress is having the opportunity to meet so many wonderful people from all parts of the United States.

One of the very rare privileges is knowing the Congresswoman from the Third District of Missouri, LEONOR KRETZER SULLIVAN. Especially is this true when one had the honor and pleasure of meeting her distinguished husband, the Honorable John B. Sullivan, whom she succeeded in the House of Representatives.

It was my good fortune, Mr. Speaker, to read the Sunday St. Louis Globe-Democrat of January 3, 1960. On the editorial page appeared a feature article written by Marguerite Shepard, staff writer. Miss Shepard recognizes the strong and continuous fight the Honorable LEONOR K. SULLIVAN has made and is making to require that only pure, wholesome, and nonpoisonous drugs, food, and cosmetics are produced and made available to the American public.

During the 1st session of the 86th Congress, the battle of Mrs. SULLIVAN to have her food stamp plan enacted brought about the first clear sign of unity among the Democratic Members in the House of Representatives. Her charm, her personality and her perseverance succeeded in having her plan to feed the poor enacted into law.

Although her legislative victory was complete, a cold, callous, and heartless administration has refused to put the statute sponsored by Mrs. SULLIVAN into operation and the people of America who do not have enough to eat remain hungry, and starving children continue to cry themselves to sleep.

Because of its timeliness and because each Member of both bodies should have an opportunity to read it, I ask that under unanimous consent, the article by Miss Shepard be included in the extension of my remarks:

[From the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, Jan. 3, 1960]

THE LADY FROM MISSOURI IS CONSUMER'S FRIEND—PURE FOOD AND DRUGS HER BABIES

(By Marguerite Shepard)

The battle of the lipsticks will soon be joined in the Congress, and, fittingly, one of the most determined fighters in that battle will be the lady from Missouri, Representative LEONOR K. SULLIVAN.

Like most women, lipstick is one of the first things she puts on when she gets up in the morning.

But some of the yellow, red, and orange colors in lipstick come from coal tar dyes. The Food and Drug Administration recently fed the dyes to rats and the rats got sick.

"Everybody says, 'You don't eat lipstick,'" Mrs. SULLIVAN points out.

"But ask any woman how many times a day she has to apply lipstick. It goes somewhere.

"And perhaps the amount of the chemical ingested is very, very small, yet year after year they devise new means of testing, and perhaps next year or the year after that they will find the tolerance they said wasn't harmful does prove harmful under the new testing. * * * That's what happened with the coloring used in Florida oranges."

FINE REPUTATION

Congress reconvenes next Wednesday. Mrs. SULLIVAN, who is driving back to Washington this weekend, has been home since mid-November. But it has been no vacation.

If anything, she has been working harder at home than when in Washington—and that's saying a good deal. She has the reputation of being one of the hardest workers in the Congress.

There's a male tendency to adopt a condescending attitude toward female ability in fields outside the home. Men may readily admit a woman is charming, attractive, and all that.

Men who know Mrs. SULLIVAN apply those adjectives to her, all right. But they add others.

Things like "independent and resourceful," "has the courage of her conviction," "never opens her mouth until she's sure of her facts and she's far from the quietest Member of Congress."

One male associate says of her, "She can do anything a man can do and do it better." From him, that's the most.

Yet LEE SULLIVAN is not the flat-heeled, tailored-suit type. She believes a woman should be feminine.

"A woman with a woman's viewpoint is of more value than when she forgets she's a woman and begins to act like a man," she says.

ASTUTE POLITICIAN

The day we spent with her she was, as usual, dressed most femininely. High heels, a red wool jersey dress ("First thing red I've had in ages," she said), and pearl earrings.

That was also the day that she had lunch at her desk. A hamburger with lettuce and mayonnaise, no onion, and a paper cup of milk that her secretary brought up from the corner drugstore. Such a lunch is not unusual for her.

Representative SULLIVAN keeps an office open in St. Louis (in the Old Federal Building at Eighth and Olive Streets) the year round. Until recently, she was the only representative from St. Louis who did so.

During congressional recesses, she's in her St. Louis office only by appointment, but that, and keeping up with her mail, means a good part of every day spent in the office.

Says one Democratic power here: "She's a very astute politician in the most constructive sense. That is, she keeps in touch with her district and the people in it."

Her ear is nearly always available for those who want it. That doesn't necessarily mean she does as she is asked.

Another Democratic power here puts it this way: "You can always come in and tell her your story. She's never argumentative. If she disagrees, she says 'No' and that's the end of it."

WROTE IMPORTANT BILL

(We got a firsthand sample of that when a Globe-Democrat photographer, who happens to live in Illinois, harangued her at length about the injustice of an out-of-state resident's having to pay the city earnings tax and the Missouri income tax. She disagreed with him on the earnings tax, agreed he had a point on the State income tax.)

Many Congressmen have an executive assistant who acts as their right hand. Mrs. SULLIVAN was that for her husband, the late John B. Sullivan—though she never held the title—but she is the executive in her office. She has a staff of seven, a man who stays in the St. Louis office year round, two secretaries who are wherever she is, and four more who stay in Washington all the time.

She runs her own campaigns and does her own publicity. She seldom seeks reporters out to say she's going to do thus and so. She goes ahead and does it, waits for them to seek her out. Some of her colleagues regard her as rather self-effacing, though she's not the timid type.

In fact the first bill she introduced in Congress didn't bear her name (it carried the name of the committee chairman, as is customary) but she wrote it, down to the last comma.

That bill revised the FDA factory inspection law to give inspectors the right to go into any food, drug or cosmetic plant at any time during regular working hours, without previous notification.

CONSUMER'S CHAMP

Her reasoning was typically feminine: "If anybody knows company is coming, they're certainly going to clean up and be ready."

She wrote the bill herself because she wanted to be sure it said "exactly what it meant, with no chance for interpretation two or three ways according to which lawyer interpreted it."

Mrs. SULLIVAN is one of only 16 women in the Congress (15 in the House, 1 in the Senate).

"As long as women marry and have babies and run the home, I don't think Congress will ever have too many women in it, but I think it's good to have a good sprinkling of women in every legislative body," she says.

She firmly believes the woman's viewpoint is of great value in her work.

"Why do you think I spend so much of my time fighting for the FDA and for the consumer's interests?" she asks. "I could probably get by with my own committees, just handling my own work.

"But I think this is a natural for a woman. We understand it. Women do most of the buying, women use most of the products made for the home."

And so the lady from Missouri has come, over the Nation as well as from her own State, to be known as the champion of the consumer.

READY FOR BATTLE

She is on committees having to do with banking, currency, housing, the merchant marine, fishing, and the Panama Canal. But she spends a lot of her time, appearing at her own request, as a witness before committees dealing with the regulation of food, drugs, and cosmetics.

Consistently she has fought for more money to allow the Food and Drug Administration enough inspectors to do an adequate job of protecting the public.

One of the first fights she expects in the House after it reconvenes is the one on the coal tar coloring bill.

As the law now stands, coal tar colors have to be taken off the market, even though, as in lipsticks, they're used in such small amounts the tolerances are so far believed safe.

Secretary of Health Flemming, enforcing the law as it stands, has ordered lipstick makers to stop using those colors by January. They've demanded a public hearing, which has the effect of postponing the ban.

Meantime there'll be concerted pressure to pass an amendment to the FDA Act which slipped through the Senate just before it adjourned without any public notice, without even public hearing or debate on the floor.

That bill would allow the questionable dyes to be used in so-called "safe" tolerances—that is, in very minute amounts considered presently to be harmless. The same dyes are also used in some foods.

HELP FROM HOME

"If there is any danger, should those colors be used?" asks Mrs. SULLIVAN. "Let's find another way of coloring.

"I think it's important to point out that here in the United States cancer is much more prevalent than it is in European countries, where they are much more strict about chemicals that can be added to food," she declared.

She expects the whole food and drug law to come under strong industry attack in this coming session of the Congress. But she also thinks the public will be more alert, because of the recent to-do over cranberries.

It was the St. Louis Consumer Federation that first got Mrs. SULLIVAN interested in the FDA. In December, 1952 shortly after she was first elected to Congress, the federation asked her to talk to it about food and drug laws.

"I went to the public library to study up on it and the more I read the less I knew, so when I made my speech to them I admitted I knew very little about the FDA outside of what I'd learned years ago from reading 'Twenty Million Guinea Pigs'," Mrs. SULLIVAN recalled.

"I turned the meeting back to them and asked them to tell me what was needed," she said. "And I've been meeting with them and having them keep me informed ever since."

That sort of think explains a remark one of the Democratic pros here said about Mrs. SULLIVAN:

FOOD STAMP PLAN

"It's surprising how many women's organizations, nonpartisan ones, will do a great deal of work for her that normally we'd have to pay for."

Quite frankly, the Democrats don't spend a great deal on Mrs. SULLIVAN'S campaigns. Fortunately, they don't have to.

Her district (the third) is pretty solidly Democratic. It takes in nearly half the city's population and is bordered roughly by Cass and Maple on the north to Meramec and Fyler on the south, the Mississippi River on the east and the city limits on the west.

A stanch Democrat, and an outspoken one, Mrs. SULLIVAN nevertheless leaves partisan politics at the office in most of the speeches she makes. She keeps her Democratic fireworks for party rallies, talks about things like the FDA and her food stamp plan before most clubs.

Not a "joker" herself (she belongs only to the St. Louis League of Women Voters and the American Legion Auxiliary), she gets a lot of invitations from both men's and women's clubs to talk about her work.

What she is perhaps proudest of is passage of her food stamp plan in the last session of Congress.

She had tried to get it through—to "outlaw hunger" by providing for distribution of surplus foods to the needy through food stamps usable at food stores—since she first went to Congress in 1953.

HER COMING PLANS

Her attitude toward the food stamp bill pretty well sums up her attitude toward her job: "You can't take 'No' for an answer. If you believe in a thing, you have just got to keep pushing till you win or you're convinced you're wrong."

She has her plans laid for the coming session.

As she puts it, these are the "things I've got my teeth into":

1. The grading of lamb, suspended this month, so that consumers can no longer tell what grade they're buying. She calls it an opening wedge to stop grading beef and pork too.

2. Getting sufficient funds for FDA to protect the public properly.

3. Keeping the Delaney amendment and the chemical additives bill, which safeguard the public against potentially dangerous chemicals.

4. Trying to force Secretary of Agriculture Benson into putting into effect the food stamp plan. As passed, it was left to his discretion whether he uses it.

"I've yet to get an answer from Mr. Benson on anything I ever wrote him about," she says.

But it's a safe bet she's not going to take "No" for an answer.

The Legal Aspects of Space

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, space law is a technical and difficult subject to discuss. It is a new and challenging field of law. It will be the subject of study, discussion, and on the international level, negotiations for many decades to come.

One of the best versed and qualified persons to discuss this delicate subject is George J. Feldman, of New York City, prominent lawyer and outstanding student and practitioner of the law, former director and chief counsel of the House Select Committee on Astronautics and Space Exploration of the 85th Congress, and currently a member of the U.S. delegation to the United Nations.

On December 11, 1959, Mr. Feldman was a member of a panel at the Harvard Law School forum, in Cambridge, Mass., discussing "The Legal Aspects of Space."

In my extension I include the able and constructive address made by Mr. Feldman on that occasion:

THE LEGAL ASPECTS OF SPACE

My subject this evening is certainly not lacking in scope. In fact, to speak on so broad a subject as "the legal aspects of space" would seem little more capable of resolution than a topic like "how to make order out of chaos—and what is it?" It is true, as I shall take up in a moment, that as yet no one has produced a satisfactory legal definition of what space is—that is, what boundary can be set between outer space and what we earthbound people think of as the air around and over us. Nonetheless, the problems of sovereignty, authority and claims involved with exploration and residence of outer space are rushing on the legal profession with the speed of a missile. They are not fanciful problems. On the contrary, some of them have a frightening immediacy. If any of you are disposed to think of them as visionary, or farfetched, or beyond the needs of our time, I might remind you of that famous lonely piece of metal resting in a dry crater on the surface of the moon, with the Soviet emblem on its dusty face. The piece of metal from the successful Soviet Lunik very adequately symbolizes not only a new legal problem, but a tremendous area of opportunity to insure the rule of law as a governing principle of international relations in outer space.

At the moment experts in this field are by no means confident that the rule of law will prove equal to the task—even to the extent of setting up preliminary permanent ground rules governing space exploration. Dr. Wernher von Braun, the man most responsible for putting the first American satellite into orbit, stated the dilemma well when he said: "One of the most crucial problems of our times lies in the fact that the very nature of technology is dynamic, while the forms of political law and order which mankind needs for a peaceful coexistence are fundamentally static." A British legal publication has dotted the i's on Von Braun's statement with the conclusion that "these problems will provide international jurists with years of detailed study and, such being the case, the big powers can ignore the whole thing until it is time to appoint another Commission to amend the laws of the last, which were, of course, so out of date as to be inapplicable. The giddy cycle of law chasing power but never quite catching up will thus be perpetuated."

We need not, and we must not accept such unrelieved pessimism, even when it seems justified by the relative inaction of governments, conspicuously including our own, to take any but the most cautious, hesitant steps toward a space law formulation. But we will achieve little unless we first understand the peculiar problems of legislating for this medium, which in many ways is justly called the new "fourth dimension" of our time.

First, let us look at the precedents or—in the case of such a new field—at least at the analogies. I am aware of Justice Frankfurter's notable warning on this subject: "One of the most treacherous tendencies in legal reasoning is the transfer of generalizations developed for one set of situations to seemingly analogous, yet essentially very different situations." It is well to bear this warning in mind, when we consider the two analogous bodies of law we are accustomed to deal with: the law of the air and the law of the sea.

In Anglo-American law at least, the doctrine of air sovereignty has its apparent roots in the old principle cuius est solum, eius est usque ad coeleum (he who owns the land owns it up to the sky). Although this has been cited frequently in space law discussions, it is of very limited use to us. Professor Cooper, one of the few authorities on space law, has concluded that the maxim referred merely to private real estate rights with no wider meaning. The U.S. Supreme Court has rejected the principle as a doctrine of air law. "It is ancient doctrine," the Court has said, "that, at common law, ownership of the land extended to the periphery of the universe. * * * But that doctrine has no place in the modern world."

Nevertheless the international law governing the sovereignty of air space and flights over national territory is based on a similar principle. Both the Paris Convention of 1919 and the Chicago Convention of 1944 made firm the principle of national rule over air space. As the Chicago convention put it: "Every State has complete and exclusive jurisdiction over the air space above its territory."

It is clear from the language of these pacts, however, that their signers intended them to apply only to aircraft and that limited portion of the airspace where aircraft can fly. This is, at its very broadest interpretation, the airspace extending upwards to a height of 52 miles, the point beyond which it is impossible to fly a vehicle which derives its support from the air.

It is clear from simple scientific fact that such a simple rule could not apply to travel in outer space. The earth moves. So do the other heavenly bodies. A system of cones of sovereignty—measured from the center of the earth through each nation's national boundaries out into space would be patently ridiculous. For one thing, as the earth and the other bodies moved, the content of each country's area of sovereignty would be constantly shifting. A space vehicle could not go from a point in the United States to the moon, for example, without trespassing on the air sovereignty of many nations.

Sovereignty over airspace is a fact of international law but it is a static jurisdiction wholly unsuited to the new fourth dimension of space. The only sane thing to do is to delimit airspace and outerspace—probably by some kind of imaginary line. One such proposal is the 52 mile figure I have just mentioned. (This is called, incidentally, the von Karman line, after Dr. Theodore von Karman, one of the scientific pioneers of space exploration and its problems.) So much for the limits of sovereignty over airspace. There is no further relevance for us in the comparison of air law and space law. They must inevitably be separate.

The law of the sea offers a more promising analogy. This is founded on Hugo Grotius' idea of mare liberum, the idea that the open sea is by its nature free, because it is not susceptible of dominion by any nation or force. On its face, this would seem to be the solution to a legal principle for outer space. Where so many conflicting sovereignties may exist, why not eliminate the factor of national sovereignty all together.

Grotius' principle is an important one, and with some qualifications it could be a basic rule-of-thumb principle for space law. But these qualifications also are important and too often forgotten. To regard the high seas of space as absolutely free is to grant the right of use to any vehicle—whether it has aggressive or peaceful intent—as long as it remains above the limit of conventional air space. This may not be a very comforting thought to a country, say, which is being watched by a Soviet military reconnaissance satellite. A more reasonable qualification might be the right of innocent passage, by which ships on peaceful missions may pass through the territorial waters of any nation.

Going further, what are the origins of the high seas concept, as opposed to that of definite territorial waters? I think we shall find that they are military. The original 3-mile limit was determined by the range of a cannon shot. Grotius himself, in his De Jure Bello ac Pace, conceded that dominion could be gained over portions of the sea by armed fleets as well as by coast artillery. So the fact that we had a mare liberum idea at all was due to the inability of the weaponry of that time to cover the high seas.

This is not true of outer space. The amazing ingenuity of missile and space technology—and they are inseparable parts of the same science—make it apparent that there will be no protected sanctuary of the high seas in outer space. Any satellite or space craft can be detected from this planet—and

from the progress of the art we can safely assume that any object in space will soon be subject to interception.

So we see that space is unique. The same scientific strides which put the world at the mercy of instruments and vehicles that traverse outer space have made of the space medium itself a high seas which is also a no man's land.

Other factors have underlined the uniqueness of this medium, all of them—as it happens—fit subjects for law. It is unfortunate that the question of national sovereignty in space, the thorniest of all possible problems, has taken up the vast proportion of the thought and discussion thus far given to the entire subject. For there are other problems of more pressing concern. To exclude them in favor of the debate over national sovereignty and the limits of space is like arguing about how to slice an apple, but doing nothing about some obvious wormholes in it.

In the first place, what happens to a space craft or satellite when it comes down? International law is strict about the treatment of off-course commercial aircraft or ships. Once they enter the territory of another state, they come within that state's jurisdiction. But space vehicles, at least in this early stage of their development, are far more difficult to control than surface or conventional aircraft—at least as far as their destination is concerned. There are explosive possibilities inherent in the fall of a U.S. satellite on Soviet territory or vice versa. Only some kind of agreement in advance can obviate or at least sanitize these possibilities.

Already regulations of the International Telecommunications Union have been violated by the Soviet sputniks broadcasting on the 20- and 40-megacycle frequency. Signals from space vehicles can interfere with navigational aids on earth, time signals, and instrument calibration. To regulate and assign satellite frequencies is thus an imminent problem, and one which will worsen if no international agreement is reached on the subject.

Then there is the question of liability for damages in the event of a space vehicle's untimely return to earth. This is no laughing matter. The carrier of Sputnik III, which fell into the South Pacific, was about the size of a pullman car, weighing somewhere between 2 and 5 tons. Suppose one or several pieces of a similar rocket stage were to fall on a densely populated area? This is apt to occur, not only with uncontrolled spent parts of rockets, but guided or controlled components out of control—witness the famous case of the Air Force Snark missile which fell in Brazil in 1956, far off course and, fortunately, deep in the jungle. Under Anglo-Saxon law the old theory of liability-without-fault would probably apply. But what of other nations' views on this subject? Also, since all the rocketry thus far attempted and envisioned will be done under Government auspices, there would probably be special immunities involved. Even in this country, suppose a citizen, injured by a space vehicle, brought suit against the Government under the Federal Tort Claims Act. We have no assurance that his cause would be successful.

There is a pressing need for filing flight plans of satellites—even in advance of any general inspection scheme, which we can imagine will be difficult to work out.

What about the registration and identification of spacecraft, or the surrender of downed spacecraft to the country of their origin?

Perhaps some of our citizens are in advance of the Government on such questions. The Office of Public Lands in the Interior Department has recently, believe it or not, been receiving a heavy number of sober inquiries about the legal forms for staking out land claims on the surface of the moon. "P.S.," wrote one letter writer, "Do you furnish free transportation for settlers?"

Seriously, space law is no longer an academic study. As with most departments of science, knowledge in this field—both in scientific discovery and engineering technique—is increasing by geometrical progression. What was hypothetical yesterday is a matter of today's urgen concern. Yet the only regulation we have at the moment for any space travel, the only waiver of sovereignty among nations—even for the passage of satellites hundreds of miles above them in space—is the temporary agreement for the International Geophysical Year. The International Geophysical Year has been extended once. It cannot be extended indefinitely.

But when we look around to see what has been done about working out agreements, the field of accomplishment is very bare. Neither the United States nor the Soviet Union has come up with anything remotely resembling a coherent body of proposals for regulation of space craft and the like—except to declare that space should be devoted to peaceful uses—an ambiguous phrase, as we shall see. The Soviet Union has even refused to join our Legal Committee of the United Nations on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, and Soviet representatives have made it clear they will participate in any international rulemaking on the subject only if both the veto principle and a virtual parity of Communist-bloc nations with those of the West is observed.

On similar occasions in the past other nations have acted without the Soviet Union. But here, obviously influenced by the Soviet lead in space achievements, they have all been reluctant to move—including the United States. And so the most we have been allowed to draw up is an agenda of the problems to be discussed—hardly a beginning of decision.

We may now justly ask: (1) What are the chances that some basic elements of space law can be laid down?; (2) Is there any hope of establishing a working rule of law to govern the exploration of this fourth dimension?

As you may have gathered, I think the chances for the first are good, if for no other reason that there is here a mutuality of interest among nations facing certain common problems—the radio frequencies, for example. Perhaps a system of law may evolve organically from these first few concrete steps. As I have already suggested, the very nature of the medium makes all our previous notions of national sovereignty outmoded—or at the very least highly difficult to apply.

The second question is not so readily answered. Its solution is in the long term. It is possible, and I believe that we must solve it satisfactorily if we are to avoid mutual annihilation on this planet. But we cannot solve it unless we observe closely the nature of the Soviet space effort and correct a fundamental misconception about our own space effort.

You have heard much made of the distinction between the peaceful exploration of outer space and certain military aspects. The entire structure of our national space program—incorporating the new National Aeronautics and Space Administration and the various space agencies of the armed services—is based on the assumption that you can draw a line right through the entire art with military projects on the one hand and civilian or peaceful projects on the other—as easily as you can separate a soldier from a civilian. This assumption unfortunately has become a pet idea of a great many people.

I say "unfortunately," because the assumption is incorrect. The same research that goes into bigger and better missiles makes possible bigger and better boosters for space travel. The same satellite that can put the world under military reconnaissance could revolutionize our civilian communications industry and other things like jet age air traffic control. The same manned space platform that will form a base for space probes to other planets could also dominate the world below it. Indeed, the first men to reach the moon will be availing themselves and their country of a military advantage as well as accomplishing a purely scientific research feat.

Most of our military men and our best scientists are aware of this inseparable duality. They may not like it or wish it this way, but they know that the two functions are inseparable as long as we live side by side in our world with an implacable enemy. The Congress was aware of this dual function when it drafted the space legislation. It was a noteworthy fact that none of the expert witnesses before our committee in the House had been able to suggest a satisfactory separation of peaceful and military uses in this sense. That is why the word "peaceful," as used by the Congress in the original Space Act of 1958, had the sense of "nonaggressive," rather than nonmilitary. The same meaning of "peaceful" is found in international law; and the American Bar Association, discussing the Space Act in its 1959 convention, took this interpretation also.

Nonetheless, the administration's wishful thinking about this separation between civilian and military has thus far prevailed in many quarters. Not only has it resulted in a harmful and, to say the least, wasteful duplication of effort by NASA and the services, but it has obfuscated the whole attempt to make a beginning at a workable—and I underline workable—space law. On one hand, we cling to the idea that any and all space exploration must be neutral and completely nonmilitary. On the other hand, judging from our past experience, we conclude that the Soviet Union may not have exactly the same idealism as President Eisenhower when talking about the peaceful uses of space.

The result is a complete standstill, a caution so great that for want of a sweeping general disarmament agreement with controls—what controls we will have in space I wouldn't want to predict—we are inclined to hedge even at preliminary definitions. There is no need for this to be. After all, maritime law has operated successfully for centuries without total disarmament of the world's navies. If some applications of space travel could be military, we had better recognize this fact now and deal with it—not ignore it.

This brings me to the nature of the Soviet space effort. There we have no distinction between so-called peaceful or civilian and so-called military usages. The Soviet space scientists are understandably puzzled when we mention our own distinction of this sort, although predictably they always tell us that all Soviet space exploration is peaceful. Their space effort has been a mixed civilian and military endeavor from the beginning. This is in line with the unitary Soviet concept of politics as something in which you attain a goal one day by force, another day by diplomacy, another day by scientific prestige. The original director of the Soviet program typically was a general working for the Soviet Academy of Science. At the moment both military men and civilian scientists sit on the same governing board, with most of the logistical support being furnished by the former.

We can safely presume that the military applications of space travel have long been in the consciousness of Soviet planners—whatever their spokesmen say about peace and friendship. Let us not take everything

the Soviet scientists say at face value, or we will regret it. While Khrushchev assures us that the moon belongs, in effect, to the world; other Soviet spokesmen, speaking to Soviet audiences, sing another tune. There is no speculation in the U.S.S.R. about how many miles we should set as the outer limit of state sovereignty. On the contrary, Soviet legal experts insist that "the outer altitude limit of state sovereignty must be established in such a manner as to protect the state against encroachments on its territorial sovereignty." Where this sovereignty stops is conveniently left out of the question. Again, a Soviet judge, addressing the Soviet Association of International Law, said flatly that logic of space law would have to be based on "state sovereignty. The principle of respect of sovereignty is the most important and universally recognized principle of international law."

To be forewarned is to be forearmed. And I think such statements give us ample warning. This is not to say that we should abandon hope of establishing the rule of law in space exploration. The radical new character of the space medium is in our favor here—it is not a comfortable field for reasserting national sovereignties, but it will be a hard and possibly a rough struggle to assert the rule of law, and one which we are only beginning. If we approach it watchfully, we may win it. But we should not approach it either by deliberately shutting our eyes to the dual potential—civilian and military of the space medium—or by neglecting the first patient steps which can be taken now in the direction of law and order.

I mentioned at the beginning of this talk the dour comment of the British legal editorialist on the space law problem as possibly perpetuating "the giddy cycle of law chasing power but never quite catching up." We can stick to our lawbooks all we want, but if we abdicate the power in this field to the Russians we and our children will know for a good many years what it feels like to be a perennial second runner.

The Late Richard M. Simpson

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, I was indeed saddened this morning to receive news of the passing of our friend and distinguished colleague, the Honorable RICHARD M. SIMPSON, of Pennsylvania.

While I was of course aware of Congressman SIMPSON'S recent serious illness and operation, I somehow felt that he might have a normal recovery since he always appeared to be very rugged and healthy. His rapid decline and passing was a great shock to all of us.

I always considered DICK SIMPSON to be a most capable and conscientious public servant. During his long career as a Member of this Body he left a profound imprint on his colleagues and friends. He will be greatly missed by the people of his district, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and the entire Nation.

I extend my sincere and deepest sympathy to his wife and family.

Address by Archbishop Bernard J. Sheil About Israel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to call to the attention of my colleagues today a brilliant speech delivered recently on the subject of Israel by the Most Reverend Bernard J. Sheil, D.D., titular archbishop of Selge, auxiliary Roman Catholic bishop of Chicago.

These remarks were delivered by His Excellency Archbishop Sheil in Chicago on November 11, 1959, at a dinner sponsored by the Greater Chicago Committee for State of Israel Bonds.

Archbishop Sheil had been named 1959 Man of the Year by this organization, and the dinner was held in tribute to His Excellency.

I trust we can all find a new source of inspiration from Archbishop Sheil's remarks about the real significance of Israel in the world complex of freedom and progress.

I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate the Chicago Committee for State of Israel Bonds for selecting Archbishop Sheil as its 1959 Man of the Year. His Excellency Archbishop Sheil has indeed made an indelible mark on the entire Chicago community among the people of all creeds, for in his heroic struggle against bigotry, in his determination to preserve the full principles of equality and justice, Archbishop Sheil has brought light to many corners which too long have remained in total darkness.

Archbishop Sheil's remarks follow:

ISRAEL

The return of the Jewish people to their homeland, after centuries of exile, is an event of prophetic importance to the history of man. These immigrants to their own country are much like the early settlers of America. For they possess, as these did, the ideals, the knowledge, and the skills necessary to bring about a social revolution in a large area of the world. Like the founders of America, their achievement may serve as a model for other peoples who seek an escape from the oppressive past.

The establishment of the State of Israel is an indispensable step toward this larger goal. Its creation, like most human endeavors, meant much bitter sacrifice and suffering. But, these have been transcended in that satisfaction which comes only from good accomplished. There are thousands of children in Israel today who have been given a second chance at life. For years their world was one bounded by barbed wire. Now, their lost childhood has been restored to them. Their happiness is, in itself, a sufficient reward for the struggle endured.

After 10 years, Israel stands as the living, concrete embodiment of two traditional Jewish ideals, namely, human freedom and social justice. Moreover, Israel proves that both are requisite to the founding of a genuinely human community. It is only in a climate of freedom and justice that man's knowledge and skills can be used for the true betterment of man. To change a desert into a garden, to harness the powers of nature, to build factories—these are high achievements. But, they must always serve the enlargement of human freedom and the promotion of justice. Otherwise, they may become subtle instruments for the enslavement of man. Israel has laid her foundations deep in the soil of freedom and justice. That is why her accomplishments carry such an important lesson for the world.

It is of crucial moment that we grasp the full meaning of this lesson. We are witnessing a far-flung attempt by the Communist world to place science and technology at the service of politics. The philosophy underlying this type of politics either denies or distorts the common concepts of freedom and justice. That is why the attempt is of such immediate danger to us.

The world is fully aware that science and technology are one of the keys to the future. For they have the power to transform the world. They can do strong battle against poverty, ignorance, and disease. They can leap across centuries and bring to people everywhere a standard of living undreamed of in a primitive yesterday. They are capable of answering the aspirations of man for a physical existence compatible with his spiritual dignity.

These are tempting prospects for all men. Moreover, the people of the world are becoming more conscious of the fact that a better life is within their reach. It is no longer a distant possibility. It is a present opportunity.

These people shall not be denied their legitimate desires for a better existence. Even now, the surface of the world is stirring, continents are surging, time itself is being telescoped. Everywhere there is movement, agitation, awakened hopes, new horizons. And all of this springs from the knowledge, no longer liable to suppression, that human life can mean more than a deadening subsistence. The time bomb of human expectancy is loudly ticking. Those who close their ears to it shall have them rudely opened by its explosion.

To help all people in their struggle for human integrity is our obligation. It is a moral duty, because it is the application of that belief in human freedom and social justice which we publicly profess. These are ends to be sought after for their own value, independently of any advantage to us. Too often they are being used merely as strategic defenses against Communist expansion.

This reversal of means and ends, perhaps, explains our partial failure to inspire much hope and confidence in the oppressed and dispossessed people of the world. In spite of a good deal of talk about our own idealism, these people think that our objective is not to help them achieve freedom and justice. They suspect, rather, that we are primarily concerned with our own security. And this suspicion, well founded or not, may explain much of the cynicism and pessimism that exists among them.

It is time, I think, for the West to return to the practice of its traditional faith in the truth of human freedom and justice. And this should be done according to our own convictions and moral standards. There is grave danger in allowing our actions to become mere countermoves against Communist policies. In so doing we not only lose the initiative in world affairs. We also sacrifice the moral leadership so necessary if freedom and justice are to be achieved.

We are sometimes told that peace is maintained by such means. We might answer that this kind of peace is a precarious one. It rests upon our acceptance of the enslavement of hundreds of millions of people by a regime of legalized terror. Furthermore, it is

a peace secured at the point of a gun. For, it is obvious that the constant threat of nuclear destruction has become a form of political blackmail. Finally, one might question the ultimate value of a peace, if it is purchased at the cost of compromising our ideals and convictions. Peace can only be built upon justice. And, neither the niceties of protocol nor the delicacies of diplomacy are capable of clouding this truth.

Let us, I say, discover again our own historic path. Let us, on our own initiative and out of our own convictions, rededicate ourselves to the task of bringing the hope of freedom and justice to all mankind. This is the way of truth. It alone can lead to genuine peace. Only it can be the foundation of a truly human society in which men may find their real fulfillment.

You may well ask what all this has to do with Israel. And I answer: a great deal. The founders of modern Israel carved it out of a wasteland. Today, it is literally an oasis in a desert. For, Israel stands in a barren land of human oppression and destitution. Millions of her neighbors exist in an outmoded society built upon ignorance and exploitation. Trapped in a dead end of history, these people have had no choice but to submit to serfdom.

Here precisely lies the importance of Israel in the wider context of history. For, Israel can become for all the people of the Middle East the model and symbol of a more humanly satisfying life. She opens up the prospect of a community founded, not on ignorance but on knowledge; not on exploitation but on opportunity. Israel proves that human freedom, anchored in justice, is the only lasting foundation upon which the city of man can be erected.

To be this model and symbol of hope for millions of dispossessed people is the mission of Israel. To accomplish it, she herself must be made strong and impregnable. Otherwise, she becomes an easy target for those who see in her a threat to their selfish privileges. Those who benefit from the past, fear the future. To them the future may destroy these benefits. That is the reason that every weapon of passion and propaganda is being used against Israel. It is her enemies who are most aware of the real meaning of modern Israel. That is why they fear her.

If Israel is to remain strong, if she is to carry out her historical destiny she must have the support of all who recognize her importance to the cause of human freedom. The meaning of Israel extends far beyond her national borders. She is part of the free world. She is an embattled outpost of all who believe that God has endowed man with the right to life, freedom and justice.

We who profess this belief have the serious obligation to help all those who protect and propagate its truth. To do this is more than a duty. It is a privilege. For, to serve the cause of freedom is to serve the cause of man. Man, without the dignity of his liberty, is less than man. And it is precisely this dignity of freedom which is at stake today. What we do now for the cause of human freedom shall determine in large measure the whole future of mankind.

Israel, against heavy odds, is doing her part in this struggle for man. To help her is to help the cause of human freedom everywhere. There is no endeavor more worthy of our support. Nor could there be any more satisfying return than the knowledge of having shared in the defense of man, his dignity and his freedom. Israel offers us the privilege of participating in this effort on behalf of man. I am certain that we shall accept the offer and respond to it generously.

Massachusetts Farm Bureau Protests National Milk Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SILVIO O. CONTE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an excellent statement by the distinguished executive secretary of the Massachusetts Farm Bureau Federation, Carleton I. Pickett, expressing serious objections to the proposed National Milk Sanitation Act (H.R. 3840).

The statement follows:

COMMENTS BY CARLETON I. PICKETT, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, MASSACHUSETTS FARM BUREAU FEDERATION, INC., ON NATIONAL MILK SANITATION ACT

The Johnson bill (H.R. 3840) proposes national milk sanitation laws to replace State and local laws. It is an obvious special purpose bill to try to capture distant markets, such as Massachusetts, for Wisconsin.

It has two appeals to the public: it promises to break down barriers to the free movement of milk and to give the consumer cheaper milk.

This is the essence of Senator HUMPHREY'S remarks.

Neither conclusion is true.

1. For local inspection and State inspection it substitutes a new experiment in Federal bureaucracy by giving the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service unlimited authority over the Nation's milk supply and, if enacted, the Federal law would preempt all town, city or State regulation—not by less regulation necessarily but with more administrative labyrinths into an already complicated industry's productive, processing, and distribution methods.

2. The unsupported statement that "Mrs. Housewife is paying from 1 to 3 cents more per quart for milk than she would pay if the market was open and competitive" can not be substantiated by sound economics. Instead this harmful assumption just is not true. In a market like our Massachusetts markets, where surplus exists at all times, and where competition is such that an extra cent a quart is often enough for new out-of-State sevices to come into the market, price depends on supply, demand, the state of unemployment earnings, and public wants. This last is a tricky thing and can be promoted by giving milk an image of deliciousness, healthfulness, purity and economical food value. Federal or State officials may affect the quantity of milk consumed by their statements just as legislators may, by incautious statements about any one of the factors that affect buying. But government has not yet found a way to raise the price of farm products above what people want to pay considering supply, demand, earnings, and taste. And neither has the farmer nor the distributor.

If you will examine the statements such as the recorded brief of the Governor of Wisconsin, you will find that there is an assumption that "in every other field, freedom of commerce is the rule; perishable products of every nature—meat, eggs, vegetables, fruits, manufactured products, and raw materials of the earth move freely and without manmade restraint." We have no time for the gigantic compilation of health barriers or of self-protection against plant pest, fungi, and other disease that have become historical. Let the good Governor fill the back of his car with a few items of nursery stock, some oranges, apples, and drive from Maine to Florida to California for an education in the untruth of this common slander against milk regulation. The cow cannot travel unimpeded across State lines nor the pig.

The perishability of milk makes it especially the subject of local standards and State regulation. If this has led to local barriers for the purpose of a sort of protective tariff it is a shortsighted policy which cannot long persist. Milk flows into the market where the need and the price create conditions attractive to such flow.

Now to turn a moment to the proposed uniform system of milk sanitation and a Federal code of standards. We already have the code which has had to be revised 12 times in its lifetime but we do not have and do not want the Federal preemption of State regulation. Just as surely as the Congress enacts H.R. 3840 they provide a stepping stone to future disaster to the milk industry of the whole Atlantic seaboard.

How it will come or when I do not know but historically I am on safe ground in the prediction. If any doubt, let them study the cause and effect of Federal power on the cranberry industry.

H.R. 3840 proposes the most vicious invasion by Federal Government into powers best exercised by States that I have seen proposed in the agricultural field in three decades.

It would be possible for me to take the entire recorded testimony of the proponents and refute it line by line but Congressmen would never read it all.

Let us take one more general argument.

Proponents point to the growth of a large number of different rules and regulations of sanitation. The conclusion always is that this is bad and the Federal Government must wipe them all out and establish one utopian set of rules. Have you considered the carrying of this theory to its ultimate possible conclusion?

Would it not be so much more efficient to run our zoning, our planning, our public health, our police systems, and everything else from Washington? Let's not try it in our day.

Menace of Obscenity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by J. Edgar Hoover:

MENACE OF OBSCENITY
(By J. Edgar Hoover)

The morals of America are besieged today by an unprincipled force which will spare no home or community in its quest for illicit profits.

I am speaking of the unquestionably base individuals who spread obscene literature across our land through the means of films, decks of playing cards, photographs, comic books, salacious magazines, paperbacked books, and other pornographic products. These forms of obscenity indeed threaten the morality of our Nation and its richest treasure—our young people.

While our schools, churches and youth organizations conscientiously strive to improve the morals and thinking of our juvenile citizens, forces of evil are working on the other side of the fence to contaminate all that we hold decent. The most disgusting part of this assault is that our youth is subjected to lurid exhibitions of obscenity in many of the places where they seek clean entertainment.

Despite the splendid service rendered daily by the overwhelming majority of advertising and entertainment executives, a small group of opportunists in these industries are degrading America and its youth. Our young people are literally bombarded with vulgar motion picture advertisements in some newspapers; certain movies have too often made good on the provocative promises in the advertisements; and profanity and rapacity are the main ingredients of more and more screen offerings. A few television producers, too, sometimes break through the veil of decency as if some of them were trying to see just how much the public will stand. Recently, we have seen considerable publicity concerning certain elements in this medium who have sacrificed scruples on the altar of monetary gain.

It is also a grevious fact that drugstores and "sweetshops," pleasant meeting places for past generations, now display publications which a few years ago would have a place in only the bawdiest of gathering places. These signs of moral decay, tolerated by adults, cannot help but debase the thinking of our impressionable teenagers. Yet, while they are impressionable, American youths are remarkably wise in recognizing pseudo-piety in adults and the sham of a society which condones declining morality.

In 1957 there were nearly eight forcible rapes per 100,000 inhabitants in the United States. In 1958 this figure increased 10½ percent, a forcible rape occurring every 36 minutes. This truly shocking and shameful state of affairs is made even more deplorable by the knowledge that sex crimes and obscene and vulgar literature often go hand in hand.

The time for half-hearted, oblique action against dealers in depravity is past. Although their despicable trade reaps $500 million a year, this diabolical business is costing the Nation much more than money. It is robbing our country and particularly our younger generation of decency—it is a seedbed for delinquency among juveniles and depravity among all ages. If we are to survive morally, Americans must search within themselves for the answers to these questions: Have local governing authorities investigated to insure that laws against smut salesmen in their communities are strong enough? Is the public outcry of sufficient strength to impress local judges with the need of defending morality by sentencing filth purveyors to maximum terms? Are community and civic groups cooperating with law enforcement authorities in fighting this debasing blight?

And—above all—are good citizens teaching their youngsters habits and beliefs which will be an armor against the tainted temptations of muck merchants?

The Late Richard M. Simpson

SPEECH

OF

HON. CLARENCE E. KILBURN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. KILBURN. Mr. Speaker, I was awfully sorry to hear of the serious illness and then the death of my dear friend, DICK SIMPSON. Over the years we have talked over many problems before the House and he was always so sound and so kind and considerate to me.

I shall miss him and I extend my deepest sympathy to Mrs. Simpson.

A Slow Pace to the Summit Is Fast Enough

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call the attention of my colleagues to a very penetrating editorial entitled "A Slow Pace to the Summit Is Fast Enough," which appeared in the January 9, 1960, issue of the Saturday Evening Post.

I believe this is one of the most intelligent analyses of the clamor for a summit conference that I have seen published in any American publication.

I should like to call particular attention to that part of the editorial which points out so convincingly that international communism is in no position to move in on anybody, unless tempted by indications of weakness, irresolution, and a fatuous aim to please.

I hope that after reading this editorial, we here in Congress will have a better understanding of what our approach should be toward the Soviet Union and its false peace propaganda.

The editorial follows:

A SLOW PACE TO THE SUMMIT IS FAST ENOUGH

People are apt to take their blessings sourly, or we should be hearing widespread expressions of gratitude to President de Gaulle, of France, for at least postponing the embarrassments of another summit conference. President Eisenhower is hardly free to express such views but, now that even some British public figures are beginning to take a dim view of the summit idea, we suspect he secretly shares them.

Khrushchev, of course, still insists that a summit conference is necessary, but there have been hints that the "chairman" is content for the present to rest on the laurels won on his American tour, making mysterious references to the "spirit of Camp David" whenever any Communist outrage or aggression is mentioned. Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge assured the world that nothing was done at Camp David to condone murder and aggression. But in Sovietland the chairman can probably get considerable mileage out of the "spirit of Camp David" argument on the general assumption that heads of states do not retreat into the woods just to swap golf scores. Soviet propaganda can make a little go a long way.

It is predictable that a new summit conference would result in some equally useful propaganda advantage to the Communists. Although former Secretary of State Dean Acheson in his time was not distinguished for recognizing Communist purposes—at any rate, in Asia—he was right in his recent statement that Khrushchev is "inviting us to confer with an idea of coming to terms about our own existence." In discussing the argument that we might agree to some new solution on Berlin, Mr. Acheson asked this question, "What conditions more in the interest of the West can he think of than now exist?" What concessions could we make that would satisfy Khrushchev and at the same time protect the security of the West? Nobody seems to have given more than the vaguest answers to these questions.

To purchase security by withdrawing troops from Germany, Mr. Acheson pointed out, would mean withdrawing our troops from Europe altogether. Of course, as Secretary of State Herter said in replying to Mr. Acheson, there is no indication that any such result would come of a summit conference. Nevertheless, Mr. Herter agrees that, however long a way Khrushchev may have come to meet certain procedural demands of this country, his objective is still that he is going to get us out of Berlin. That being the case, was there ever any legitimate reason, beyond helping Prime Minister Macmillan with his election, why we should have agreed to go into a summit conference at all, except on the terms originally set by President Eisenhower—namely, convincing evidence of progress toward some honest agreement?

Returning to General de Gaulle, one might point out that his tough rejection of Khrushchev's desires, besides maybe pulling the Eisenhower-Macmillan chestnuts out of the fire, has paid off for France as well. While statesmen who appease Big K get nothing for their pains, De Gaulle got from Khrushchev a most important concession in an agreement to cease sending arms to the previously Red-supported Algerian rebels. All of this suggests that international communism is in no position to move in on anybody, unless tempted by indications of weakness, irresolution and a fatuous aim to please.

The lesson of De Gaulle should be more widely appreciated in this country. Already there are too many indications of quite contrary conclusions. C. L. Sulzberger pointed out in the New York Times recently that the Khrushchev visit, the exchange of cultural and other missions, and fear of atomic war have resulted in a popular attitude toward the Soviet Union so affable and trusting that State Department officials feel themselves deprived of a base from which to negotiate realistically. In the meantime the Soviet program remains substantially the same. It could be tragic if, after all our efforts to ease tensions, the only tensions relieved were our own—relieved before the putative enemy had given any indication of justifying such relaxation.

The Late Honorable Charles A. Boyle

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 6, 1960

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, I should like to pay a brief but sincere tribute to the memory of the late CHARLES A. BOYLE, Congressman from Illinois who passed away on November 4 during the recess of the Congress.

I was privileged to serve on the Appropriations Committee with CHARLIE BOYLE and learned to admire and respect him greatly. He was an extremely active, capable and forceful legislator. He served on our committee and in the House with distinction and honor. The news of his sudden and tragic death while the Congress was in adjournment came as a shock and we

were all saddened to learn of his passing and his presence will be missed.

To Mrs. Boyle and the members of his family I extend an expression of genuine sympathy in their bereavement.

Body and Soul

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARCH A. MOORE, JR.
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, for quite a long time I have been very interested in the attitude of the Congress with respect to the income limitations that have been placed in the law regarding veterans.

I have introduced H.R. 7240, which has as its specific purpose to increase the annual income limitation governing the payment of pensions to certain veterans and their dependents. I am hopeful of favorable action on this measure during this session of the Congress.

Yesterday while reading the National Tribune and Stars and Stripes, an editorial came to my attention on this particular matter. I ask that it be included in my remarks at this point in the RECORD and I commend it to the reading of my colleagues. Also, I commend the editor of this newspaper for writing on this problem so vividly.

BODY AND SOUL

The caption which we have chosen for this editorial was not picked at random. It it directed to all the Members of the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives, and more particularly, to the members of the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs and its chairman, Representative OLIN E. TEAGUE, of Texas. The subject of this editorial is the income limitation called for under present pension law for World War I veterans and the new pension law, Public Law 86–211, which goes into effect on July 1, 1960.

First, let us say frankly that we are opposed to income limitations when it comes to the question of payment of pensions to veterans of the First World War, or, to veterans of any war when the time comes where they may need some extra aid from the country for which they fought.

However, we do try to be practical in seeking aid for our war veterans and if some income limitation must be imposed we are ready to understand the situation and recognize it and agree that, for the benefit of those who oppose all war pensions, some concession must be made to keep them happy. We refer here to big business which apparently hates to put out for those who, by their courage, have made big business so big.

Of course we could offer generalities in an attempt to prove our point that there should be no income limitation when it comes to payment of pensions to war veterans who need this extra help.

But we believe, if we are to impress our legislators we should offer them something concrete to consider when it comes to the possibility of amending the present pension law or the new law known as the Veterans Pension Act of 1959.

First of all we are firmly convinced that no war veteran should be penalized for whatever income he may have been able to acquire during his years of employment. By this we mean such benefits as social security, railroad retirement, and other pensions, annuities, and retirement benefit, whether payable by law, contract, or otherwise.

We are willing to go along with the proposal that any income earned by a World War I veteran—and we mean by this "earned from actual employment"—should be considered in determining the eligibility of the veteran for pension, but we cannot admit that any benefits for which the veteran has paid during his working period, such as those listed above, should be considered as earned income.

True, these benefits were bought and paid for by the veteran and by a far stretch of the imagination they could be considered as earned income, the veteran having made them possible during his employment period, but in a more liberal sense we do not believe they should be considered as earned income once the time has come when he can no longer contribute toward such benefits.

If we face the situation honestly we should admit that earned income is something which the veteran might earn when he is actually employed—not something that he had earned before his full employability ceased.

In our editorial of October 15, 1959, we printed a résumé of figures compiled by the General Accounting Office at the request of Congress as of July 31, 1957, dealing with the income of World War I veterans. These figures show that there are few veterans of the First World War who had excessive income and it follows that 3 years after the figures were put together there are many more veterans of World War I whose incomes have diminished.

While we may have indulged in some generalities in the foregoing these generalities are backed up by Government figures which show that there are few veterans of World War I with bloated incomes at the present time.

Now let us take up a specific case. Under present law a World War I veteran, without dependents, 65 years of age, with sufficient disabilities may be paid a pension of $78.75 a month, provided his income does not exceed $1,400 a year.

Let us consider this particular veteran. He has worked steadily for many years. During that time he has held down a good job which required him to pay for social security benefits at the highest rate the law demanded. He now reaches a period of unemployment. He may be paid as high as $120 to $127 a month from social security. Now 12 times $120 or $127 a month puts him over the $1,400 income limitation prescribed under present law.

Thus, he may not receive the $78.75 monthly pension because of the income limitation. As a consequence his ability to enjoy the few years which are left to him is curtailed since, in all reason, a man accustomed to the decent things of life is bound to feel the pinch when he has to exist on his social security payments alone.

All this applies of course to the single veteran under Public Law 86–211 which becomes even more vicious when we come to the veteran with a dependent.

Under the new law not only does his own income earned from previous employment come into consideration in determining his eligibility to pension but any income which his wife might be able to earn, as well as any little nest egg which he and his wife have acquired over the years is also counted as is any property of which he and his wife may be possessed.

Under the new law this is known as the "corpus of the estate." We would venture to say that very few World War I veterans know what is meant by "corpus of the estate." It is a neat legal term which the smart boys have inserted in the law. It sounds good when you roll it off the tongue but it amounts only to penalizing a man and his wife for being thrifty.

Now, "corpus" is the Latin word for body—in other words the body of the veteran's estate. With the introduction of the veteran's body we may look eventually for the inclusion of the word "anima" which is Latin for soul.

Having made the veteran pay for having a "corpus" we may look for some other legal phrase which would include his "anima."

Now this veteran might have in his soul some precious memories of the past—memories which to him are priceless. Should the Veterans' Administration and the Government attempt to put an estimated price on these memories the veterans, after having paid for his "corpus" would find his soul included with the result that he would wind up using as this theme song when he applied for Government aid the title of a one-time popular song, "I'm Yours, Body and Soul."

South Carolina's "Firsts"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Camden Chronicle, Camden, S.C., January 6, 1960:

Nothing ruffles our fur more than to hear some know-it-all visitor or tourist belittle South Carolina as one of the "backward, less progressive" States of the Union. This sort of erroneous observation usually comes from someone whose knowledge of the South and South Carolina is gleaned from some "educational survey" or some history books which touch only briefly on the Palmetto State.

If persons with this sort of impression of South Carolina would but care to read on, we believe they'll find that this State has more firsts than any other in the Nation.

Here's a list of South Carolina firsts:

Oldest museum in America in Charleston.

First chamber of commerce, Charleston.

First statue to Confederate soldier.

First man to pilot steamship across the Atlantic was a South Carolinian.

First long railroad in America, Charleston to Hamburg.

First train to carry mail.

Branchville, oldest railroad junction in the world.

First submarine was built in South Carolina.

First musical society, St. Cecelia, Charleston, 1762.

First State hospital for insane.

First orphan home.

First monument to women.

First agricultural society, Charleston, 1785; second, Philadelphia; third, Pendleton, S.C.

First Bible society, Charleston, 1810.

First YMCA in industrial plant, Monoghan Mills, Greenville, S.C.

First girls' 4–H Club work, Aiken County.

First Negro school, Charleston, 1743.

First public library, Charleston, 1743.

First building used solely for library, University of South Carolina.

Memorial Day had its beginning in South Carolina.

De La Howe, in McCormick County, first normal training school.

First decisive victory of Revolution fought in South Carolina.

First inoculation given for smallpox.

First native American to receive degree as doctor of medicine was South Carolinian.

First monument erected to slaves.

First high school with military feature.

First botanical gardens were in Charleston area.

First to erect statue to Indian.

In World War I, South Carolina had six Congressional Medal of Honor men, largest number of any State except New York, which had same number.

South Carolina ships more fresh peaches than any other State.

Spartanburg County produces more peaches than any other county in the United States.

Barnwell County produces more watermelons.

Pedigreed Seed Co., Hartsville, most outstanding in America.

Leads in Nation in finished cotton and woven goods with 2 percent of population of the United States, produces 28 percent of cloth.

In 1950 South Carolina had lowest percentage of business failures in the Nation.

Santee River empties more water in Atlantic than any other river on the Atlantic seaboard.

South Carolina rivers empty more water in Atlantic than the rivers of any other State.

First hydroelectric plant.

In last 3 years greatest progress in school system.

In 1951 had highest percentage of motor-vehicle gains.

In 1951 percentage of per capita income gains greatest in the Nation.

Highest percentage of native-born Americans, 99.7 percent.

History's mightiest industrial enterprise, Savannah River project.

The Chronicle concludes that South Carolina, generally speaking, is one of the most progressive States in the Nation, judging by the foregoing facts.

A Bill To Increase Social Security Benefits, Improve Trust Fund Earnings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, on the opening day of the 2d session of the 86th Congress, I introduced H.R. 9372, a bill making a number of important changes in the Social Security Act, including improving the earnings of the social security trust funds, and increasing social security benefits.

I am confident that the Congress will make social security improvements in 1960. I hope that the improvements will be comprehensive, rather than piecemeal, and will correct not just one but many of the shortcomings of the present law. I believe that H.R. 9372 fits that description.

Of vital importance is that provision of my bill which will increase the earnings of the social security trust funds, to permit payment of more realistic benefits and to insure soundness and fairness in the social security system.

In the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of July 27, 1959, at page A6484, I pointed out that the social security trust funds were being short changed by some 260 million a year, and introduced H.R. 8407, a bill to insure an adequate return on the social security trust funds by removing the Secretary of the Treasury as managing trustee of the social security trust funds, substituting for him a person without conflicting interests, and requiring a return on the trust funds as near as possible to the return being realized by regular investors in U.S. Government securities.

The situation which I describe last July has not changed. I have therefore incorporated the provisions of H.R. 8407 in the new bill.

The Treasury is still depriving the social security trust funds of interest earnings amounting to about $260 million a year.

While private investors average more than 4 percent interest on Government securities, the Treasury Secretary, who manages the trust funds, has invested virtually all of the $20 billion in social security funds in Government securities earning only 2½ percent.

We can correct this situation by reconstituting the Board of Trustees of the social security funds and requiring the new board to take all needed steps, including proposing legislation if necessary, to bring the interest yield on the social security funds up to the level of earnings from Government securities of other investors.

In addition, H.R. 9372 will improve social security in the following ways:

First. A 10 percent across-the-board increase in old-age, survivors and disability insurance benefits, with a minimum increase of $5 a month.

Such an increase is needed to restore the dollar power which steady inflation has taken from our elderly citizens and others dependent on social security payments as their financial base.

Although Congress has several times raised benefits, they have never caught up to overall cost increases in our economy. A 10-percent increase will put social security payments back in a fair, realistic relationship to the cost of living in 1960 and, we can hope, long after that.

Second. An increase in future benefits by raising the earnings ceiling for contribution and benefit purposes from the present $4,800 to $6,000 a year.

No matter what a person earns in any year, only the first $4,800 of income is counted for social security purposes. This means that social security benefits are limited by that figure.

In 1939, the earnings limit was $3,000. That was fine then, because 97 percent of all workers covered by social security earned $3,000 or less. Today, however, more than 25 percent of covered workers earn more than the present earnings ceiling of $4,800. Unless that ceiling is raised, the future benefits of millions of retired workers will be considerably less than realistic in relation to the actual wages they had been earning. Raising the earnings ceiling to $6,000 will produce realistic future benefits for more than 90 percent of covered workers.

Third. Repeal the existing requirement that a disabled person must be at least 50 years old before he can qualify for disability insurance benefits.

As an army of experts has testified to congressional committees, there is absolutely no justification for denying disability benefits to persons under 50, who otherwise meet the requirements of the law. The younger disabled man needs help just as much, and sometimes more, than the older. For example, the disabled person of 35 or 40 is less likely to have children old enough to help support the family than is the man over 50. This arbitrary disability age should definitely be removed.

Fourth. Permit persons receiving benefits to earn up to $1,800 a year, instead of the present $1,200, from outside sources without a reduction in benefits.

Many older men and women are able and eager to work part time and feel they are contributing to society in a productive way. The present limit on outside earnings penalizes many such persons unduly. I believe that a modest increase, letting a person earn up to $150 a month without a cut in social security payments, is justified.

Fifth. Increase the maximum family benefit by removing the present arbitrary ceiling of $254 a month. The bill would increase the maximum family benefit to 80 percent of average earnings. This would mean a maximum of $320 a month under the present earnings ceiling—$4,800—and $400 a month under the proposed $6,000 ceiling. The existing $254 ceiling deprives large families of the full survivorship benefits to which they are entitled.

According to figures supplied by the Social Security Administration, the proposed additional benefits, offset by the increased earnings of the social security trust funds, would require an increase in the social security tax of only one-half of 1 percent in the employer's and employee's respective contributions.

The Late Charles A. Boyle

SPEECH

OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 6, 1960

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, our early meetings of this session are saddened as we think of old friends who are no longer with us. One loss comes home to me personally with particular force, that of the jovial, the energetic, the eloquent CHARLES A. BOYLE. We shall long miss and deeply mourn the loss of that forceful mind, that great heart.

As a legislator, CHARLIE BOYLE was noted for his mastery of some particular fields of interest, growing out of his life experience, such as labor and transportation and housing; but it was for his human qualities that he was most notable. CHARLIE BOYLE loved people, individually, in illimitable numbers. He could not stand to see anybody pushed around, and he would not stand for anybody being pushed around, whether by other individuals, by organized groups, or by governments. He was a one-man task force, doing battle against injustice and tyranny and prejudice wherever he found them. May his soul rest in peace. Our hearts go out to his wife and eight fine children in their great loss. May the heritage of courage and vigor, of love and religious faith, which is their legacy from that good husband and father, console them in their affliction, and strengthen them for the hard tasks ahead.

Hon. Alvin R. Bush

SPEECH
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1959

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, it is with great sorrow we record the passing of our very good friend and colleague, ALVIN R. BUSH—one of Pennsylvania's outstanding Representatives. His loss will be keenly felt by the Pennsylvania delegation and our State.

AL, as we called him, was a man who loved his district, State, and Nation; and served them well. He was intensely devoted to the interests of the people he represented.

He was always calm, and strong, and self-confident, and treated everyone with great courtesy. AL was always congenial and affable and by his kind deeds and many useful services he evidenced a great love of people.

He was a humble and kindly man whom one admired as companion and friend; always considerate of everyone; a man who added much to our daily lives with a kind word for everybody.

He was an honest, conscientious, and loyal legislator, always looking after the welfare of his district and State. He was a firm believer in the principles of liberty and our American way of life, with the highest concepts of citizenship.

His devotion to and love of country was something to be admired; always ambitious to uphod and defend the fine ideals and traditions of our Nation. He strove mightily to attain those objectives which he thought were for the best interests of all our people and his work in the House of Representatives was useful and constructive.

In a life such as his perhaps the thing most to be admired was the fact he was a good citizen and a devoted American; a man who contributed much to the building of his community, State, and Nation.

We will miss his fine friendship and companionship and it is with great sorrow we record his passing. To his family I extend my deepest and heartfelt sympathy.

The Late Richard M. Simpson

SPEECH
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, it is hard to realize that the able and devoted Representative, RICHARD M. SIMPSON, will no longer be with us. For all our difference of religious affiliation and political loyalties, I have felt very close to DICK SIMPSON, as I have been priviliged to work with him for many years in a common devotion to the welfare of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and of the United States of America. Much has been said on this floor, and in the other body, in exalted praise of DICK SIMPSON'S conscientious dedication to the service of his country, of his sincerity and energy and ability. I shall not attempt to repeat what has been so ably and eloquently said in honor of the memory of DICK SIMPSON, but I should like to comment simply that, to one who knew DICK SIMPSON well, not one word in all this chorus of eulogy has rung false. Nothing but good has been said of him, because there was nothing but good to be said. He was a man who would not condone a wrong or serve a falsehood, whether by act, by speech, or by silence.

Typical of DICK SIMPSON'S driving ambition to serve his country to the best of his magnificent ability is the story of his early years in Congress, when, finding that he was assigned to the House Committee on Ways and Means, and that a knowledge of law would contribute significantly to the value of his work on that committee, he immediately enrolled in the Georgetown Law School, taking night courses in law, while carrying out his legislative duties with undiminished energy, for the 4 years necessary for the achievement of his degree. That is the spirit in which DICK SIMPSON, throughout his life, undertook and carried out all the duties that circumstances laid upon him, and all the duties that he himself perceived and chose to perform. For no personal advantage, for no political loyalty, for no lofty cause, would he do or permit any unfair act, but drove always with resolute determination at the accomplishment of great results by fair and honest means.

I wish to join my friends, and DICK SIMPSON'S friends, in the Congress, in expressing to his wife and their daughter, Kay Josephine, to his two older daughters, Susan, and Barbara, and to his three stepsons, our heartfelt sorrow and sympathy.

Greeks in America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEO E. ALLEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Speaker, May I have the pleasure of inviting the attention of the Congress to a most enlightening article entitled "Greeks in America," giving us a bird's-eye view of the flesh and bone contribution of the Hellenic race from Greece proper and the Diaspora to the American commonwealth.

It has been prepared by my good friend, George C. Vournas, of Washington, D.C., for publication in the Greek World Encyclopedia and the Twentieth-Century Publications of Athens, Greece.

The author of the survey brings to the task preeminent qualifications. He was born in Greece and came to the United States at a tender age; attained U.S. citizenship and became a member of the legal profession; was commissioned as captain in the Army of the United States and elevated to the rank of major prior to his separation from the service; he is a past supreme president of the Order of Ahepa; one of the founders of Saints Constantine and Helen Greek Orthodox Church in Washington; and served as personal attorney for the late Metropolitan Vassilios during his tenure of office as Greek Orthodox Archbishop of the United States and Canada.

I feel that Mr. Vournas' interesting and impressive treatise will prove rewarding to students, educators, Government officials and the public in general.

GREEKS IN AMERICA

(By George C. Vournas)

In writing about "Greeks in America" it is necessary that one define his terms. Who is a Greek? I think it was Socrates who said that "A Greek is a person who received Greek education." Venizelos' definition given at the Versailles Peace Conference was different. Said he, "A Greek is a person who wants to be a Greek, feels he is a Greek and says he is a Greek." Neither definition meets the problem here. Nationality in the New World is not based on racial grounds—the De Sanguinis principle—but on the United States evolved principle of de Sol—of the soil. Thus, all children born in the United States become U.S. nationals-irrespective of the nationality of the parents. (Children of diplomats excepted.) In addition, an alien legally residing in the United States may, after the lapse of a number of years, apply for and be vested with U.S. citizenship, placing himself on a par with native-born persons in all aspects with the exception of his ineligibility to be elected President or Vice President of the United States.

By operation of U.S. law, one may be a Greek as far as Greece is concerned and an American for the United States and the rest of the world in general, since all other nations recognize U.S. nationality acquired either through birth or naturalization.

The question is a complex one and has at times confused politicians, journalists,[1] and even diplomats.[2] Our short survey will be concerned with erstwhile immigrants, now Americans of Hellenic ancestry, whether hail-

Footnotes at end of speech.

ing from Greece proper or Diaspora, and their progeny in the United States.

APPEARANCE OF GREEKS IN THE NEW WORLD

Greeks appeared in the New World shortly after the voyage of Columbus. Indeed, according to Mr. S. Canoutas,[3] Columbus was what the title of Mr. Canoutas' book said he was, "A Greek Nobleman," finding his way to France, Portugal, and Spain after the fall of Constantinople to the Turks. There were other Greek seafarers. Particular mention should be made of the Cephalonian Juan De Fuca, who explored the Pacific shores of the Northern Continent as a leader of a Spanish expedition—the channel and straits lying between Vancouver Island and British Columbia bearing his name. There were still others. Their names appear here and there as "Greek," "Grecian," or "Greco" (the Spanish equivalent).

The first organized immigration from Greece proper, however, occurred around the year 1767, when the Scot physician, Dr. Andrew Turnbull, who was married to a Greek girl from Smyrna (Maria Gracia), gathered a few hundred Peloponnesians—he operated from Methoni—and brought them to the New World, founding the colony of New Smyrna in southern Florida, in honor of the birthplace of his wife.[4] When the colony disbanded, a number of the Greek colonists found their way to St. Augustine, Fla., as it was evidenced by the recording of baptismals of children born of Greek parentage—Katherina Mavromati, baptised March 1785; her sister, Margarita, baptised in 1787; and another sister, Mariana, baptised in January 1790.

GREEKS IN NEW ORLEANS

One of the first recorded Greeks in New Orleans appeared prior to 1764. His name, Michael Dracos (Michael Dragon, in its French translation). He was survived by a daughter named Marianni Celeste Dragon (born March 1, 1777). She was married to Andrew Dimitri, obviously another Greek resident of the same city, and from this union 10 children were born.[5]

The rise of cotton, both in importance and production, attracted the cotton and produce merchants (Ralli, Rodochanaki, Benaki, et al.). They, in turn, became a magnet for other Greeks. The first Greek Orthodox community and church was founded in this city. It was used by the local community until a few years ago.

GREEKS ARRIVING AFTER U.S. INDEPENDENCE

The early arrivals in the New World at the turn of the 19th century were young children or war orphans brought by Americans who went to Greece at the outbreak of the Greek revolution in 1821 either with medical or relief committees. A number of these children became prominent, such as George Colvocoressis, who, after graduating from the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis, took part in an exploration mission under Wilkes (1838–42) and wrote a book entitled "Four Years in a Government Exploring Expedition to the Island of Madeira, Cape Verde Islands, Brazil, Coast of Patagonia, Chile, Peru, Paumato Group, Society Islands, Navigator Group, Australia, Antarctic Continent, New Zealand, Friendly Island, Fijee Group, Sandwich Islands, Northwest Coast of America, Oregon, California, East Indies, St. Helena, Etc."; and Gregory Perdicaris, the father of John Perdicaris, who became famous by virtue of his capture by the Moroccan brigand, Raissuli. In the United States even schoolchildren are familiar with the picturesque demand made by President Theodore Roosevelt on the Sultan of Morocco: "Either John Perdicaris alive or Raissuli dead."

Particular mention should be made at this juncture of Michael Anagnostopoulos—known in America as Michael Anagnos—who first arrived in the United States in 1867 in company with Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, whose daughter he married in 1870, and whom he succeeded as director of the Perkins Institute (school for the deaf, dumb, and blind). The importance of the institute may be gaged from the fact that Helen Keller is one of the graduates.

MASS IMMIGRATION

Greek immigration to the United States, as the term is commonly understood, did not begin until late in the 19th century. In 1889, 158 immigrants arrived from Greece; in 1890, 2,175—the number reaching 36,580 for the year 1907. The statistics: 1820–80, 398; 1881–1946, 431,650. To this number, however, must be added a great proportion of the immigrants arriving from European Turkey, statistically given for the period as 156,000, plus proportional numbers of those from Egypt, Albania, Rumania (total for the period, 157,345), Bulgaria (66,026), Russia (3,340,611), Austria, Hungary (4,444,556), and Asiatic Turkey (205,473). Thus, on the basis of these statistics, it would not be an exaggeration to state that immigrants to the United States up to 1946 meeting the Venizelos' definition of a "Greek"—without its political connotation—would number between 750,000 and 800,000. (Cyprus, Dodecanese Islands, no statistics available.)

THE FIRST STEPS IN THE NEW WORLD

The early immigrants to the United States were roughly divided into two categories: (a) Common laborers who were attracted to the Western States—mines and railroad construction; and (b) those who remained in the cities and worked in hotels, restaurants, and candy shops.

Not knowing the language, customs or the laws of the country, they were the subject of continuous exploitation by the employment agencies, interpreters, and advisers. Long hours, unhygienic living conditions—it has been reported that early immigrants were sleeping as many as 10 in a room—and the eventual development of contract labor (young boys contracted by their parents to work as bootblacks for fixed terms at ridiculously low wages), a practice which, fortunately, was outlawed—accented their daily lives.

While such was the lot of those in the city, the ones working in the mines had to contend with the excesses of the mining companies' private police, as the record testifies at Trinidad and Ludlow, Colorado even as late as 1913.

Soon after World War I, and by 1922, the major portion of the Greek industrial workers drifted to town and city, their greatest number entering the small business field—restaurants, flower shops, delicatessens, fruit stores, groceries, etc.—in which many of their kinsmen were established after their early apprenticeships.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

By the end of the First World War Greek immigrants were established in every major city or town of the United States, from New York to San Francisco, and from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico. New York and Chicago were vying with each other as to which had the most numerous Greek inhabitants. The communities built churches and they practically doubled by division into Venizelists and Royalists, duplicating the home pattern following the revolution of 1916. Over the years, beginning with the turn of the century, the busboys became waiters, restaurateurs, and owners of hotels. Theater ushers became motion-picture exhibitors, and then producers. Laborers skilled in the art of cigarette rolling by hand in Egypt or Greece became cigarette manufacturers. One may truthfully say that there isn't a single known occupation in the United States which did not become a host to the Greek immigrant. A supreme president of the Ahepa, on tour during World War II (1943), was surprised to find the secretary of an Ahepa chapter in Arizona to be a junk dealer, an occupation traditionally preempted by Jews.

The immigrant who, until the end of World War I, came to the United States with the intention to remain long enough to earn money to marry off a sister, or to pay off the mortgage on the paternal property and return home to carry on, following the inexorable law of American development, painfully at first, but steadily afterwards, resolved to make the United States his home.

ORGANIZATIONS

The post-World War I change in thought on the part of the Greek immigrant opened new vistas and pointed to new horizons. These, in turn, brought forth new instrumentalities. Organizations and societies anchored on the old country lost their charm. Thus, the Ahepa came into being (American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association). Its declared objective: To help the immigrant acclimate himself in his new environment and assume his proper place in the civic life of the nation. It is a truly pan-Hellenic organization. (Its auxilliaries: Daughters of Penelope for women, Maids of Athens for girls, and Sons of Pericles for young boys.) There are more than 400 chapters of the Ahepa, divided into 24 districts. Twenty-four district conventions and one national convention are held annually. The last one attracts thousands of persons as visitors in addition to the official delegates.

Since the Ahepa opened new horizons for the Greek immigrant and greatly influenced his development and acclimatization direction and through other organizations that followed its example, a closer look into the organization may prove rewarding.

It was founded on July 26, 1922, in Atlanta, Ga. The founders: Nicholas D. Chotas, supreme president; James Campbell, supreme vice president; S. J. Stamos, supreme secretary (deceased); Harry Angelopoulos, supreme treasurer; George A. Polos, supreme governor; John Angelopoulos, supreme governor; George Campbell, supreme governor; James Vlass, supreme governor (deceased).

Its first constitution, bylaws, and internal direction was influenced by societies with secret rituals, such as the Masons, Elks, Woodmen of the World, and, in certain minor aspects even the KKK.[6] The response of the slogan of "Unity"—practically all Greek Orthodox communities in the United States were rent asunder by the division into Venizelists and Royalists—and Americanism—"America is our home"—hit a most sensitive and appealing chord, and the growth of the fraternity was phenomenal. In harmony with this, the fraternity's ritual was in English, the meetings were conducted in English, and the organization as such did not assume any obligation to foster or promote the Greek Orthodox religion, but was—and still is—truly an interdenominational one.[7]

Chapters mushroomed all over the country, and multiplied faster than they could be absorbed into a unified whole—a fact which plagued the organization in subsequent years.

A reaction was not long in coming. Greek newspapers, a number of clergymen, and well-known Greek personages of the day—generally alluded to as "professional Greeks"—registered decided opposition upon being unable to either change it, restrict its growth, or channel its activities. The opposition traveled two paths. One resolved upon working from within, and the other upon the founding of a rival organization.[8]

Footnotes at end of speech.

That the Ahepa is a truly pan-Hellenic organization is borne out by an examination of the birthplaces or places of origin of its supreme presidents since the day of its founding up to the present time: 1922, Nich. olas D. Chotas, Greece; 1923, George Demeter, Greece (Arcadia); 1924–26, V. I. Chebithes, Greece (Island of Icaria); 1927–28, Dean Alfange, Turkey (Constantinople); 1929–30, George E. Phillies, Greece (Corinthia); 1931–33, Harris J. Booras, Greece (Arcadia); 1934, Achilles Catsonis, Turkey (Island of Lemnos); 1935–39, V. I. Chebithes, Greece (Island of Icaria); 1940–41, Van A. Nomikos (deceased), Greece (Island of Amorgos); 1942–44, George C. Vournas, Greece (Messinia); 1945–46, Harris J. Booras, Greece (Arcadia); 1947–48, William G. Helis (deceased), Greece (Arcadia); 1949–50, John G. Thevos, United States; 1951–52, Peter L. Bell, United States; 1953, Leo J. Lamberson, United States; 1954–55, Stephen S. Scopas, Greece (Messinia); 1956, John L. Manta, Greece (Island of Icaria); 1957–59, C. P. Verinis, United States; 1960, George E. Loucas, Asia Minor Turkey (elected August 1959).

As the years passed, the attention of the organization, heretofore centered on Greece and Greek problems—developed a broader outlook.[9]

It was but natural for the Ahepa to play a leading role in the United States during the years beginning with the attack of Mussolini on Greece until the final collapse of Japan. It is an incontestible fact that the success of the Greek War Relief Association in both its aspects—fund raising and actual administration of aid to Greece—is due to a major extent to the Order of Ahepa. Practically overnight Greek war relief societies were organized by the Ahepa chapters and its auxiliaries all over the nation, drawing into the activity the best element of their respective communities. The United States of America, thanks to the bravery of the Greek armies and to the dissemination of information regarding their heroic deeds, became Greek conscious. The crisis hammered the transition of the Ahepa to a truly national American organization.

The emergence of this mature outlook was not lost either on the public or public officials. Notice of it was taken by official Washington and the molders of public opinion. The President of the United States issued a memorable statement committing the Government of the United States to the liberation and restitution of Greek territorial integrity on the occasion of a call at the White House of the supreme lodge of the Ahepa on April 25, 1941.

"The heroic struggle of the Hellenic people to defend their liberties and their homes against the aggression of Germany after they had so signally defeated the Italian attempt at invasion has stirred the hearts and aroused the sympathy of the whole American people.

"During the Hellenic war of independence more than a century ago, our young nation, prizing its own lately won independence, expressed its ardent sympathy for the Greeks and hoped for Hellenic victory. That victory was achieved.

"Today, at a far more perilous period in the history of Hellas, we intend to give full effect to our settled policy of extending all available material aid to free peoples defending themselves against aggression. Such aid has been and will continue to be extended to Greece.

"Whatever may be the temporary outcome of the present phase of the war in Greece, I believe that the Greek people will once more ultimately achieve their victory and regain their political independence and the territorial integrity of their country. In that high objective, the people of Greece can count on the help and support of the Government and the people of the United States."

The Ahepa, in addition, was honored with the distinction of being authorized to issue war bonds, series E, under the signature of its supreme lodge and seal.[10]

To better discharge this trust and more effectively support the war effort, the supreme lodge established the Ahepa War Service Units as a distinct agency. (The objectives of the Ahepa War Service Units: war-bond selling, Greek War Relief Association, raising funds for the American Red Cross, visitation to hospitals caring for service personnel.)

The acceptance of a bust of himself (executed by Sculptor Walter Russell) on the part of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt was an act of further expression of good will toward the Ahepa. The bronze bust, of heroic size, is now adorning the front of the Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, New York.

The Ahepa was further honored by being named a consulting organization to the American delegation at the San Francisco organizational conference of the United Nations in 1945.[11]

GREEK PRESS

It appears that the first newspaper printed in the Greek language in the United States was the New World, first appearing in 1892 in Boston, Mass. It was short lived. After that, many have been the newspapers that have been published in many sections of the United States—some living weeks; others, months; and others for years. The major portion of them were weekly newspapers. The best known newspaper is the Alantis, which first saw the light in New York on March 3, 1884, as a weekly, then biweekly, and a daily subsequent to 1905. Its founder was Solon I. Vlastos. He edited and directed its policies to the end of his days.

Another newspaper is the National Herald, founded as a daily by Peter Tatanis on April 2, 1915. It is still published in New York, the present editor and publisher being Babis J. Marketos.

Chicago, in the early days, had many weekly newspapers, the best known ones being the Greek Star, the Greek Press, and Salonika. Many weekly, biweekly, or monthly magazines have appeared here and there from time to time in Chicago, New York, Detroit, Boston, and San Francisco. Only the weeklies Greek Star and Greek Press survive in Chicago, the New California in San Francisco, edited by Mr. N. S. Dallas, and the Campana of New York City, edited and published by N. J. Stellakis for the past 40 years.

Writers who have left their mark: Adamandios Polyzoides, editor of the Alantis for years and now editor of the Los Angeles Times for Far Eastern affairs. Dr. Demetrios Callimachos, editor of the National Herald for a number of years, and Demetrios Christoforides, who edited the National Herald for a time and then became the editor of the Greek-American Tribune, a leftwing workers' weekly.

The one writer, however, who best reflected and interpreted the Greek immigrant was the editor and publisher of the satyrical weekly, Satyros, 1911–54—the late Constantine Zambounis. He was a gifted writer of both verse and prose; a moralist and a philosopher, to boot. His newspaper was written in verse, prose, and in a wholly new dialect under the caption: "Letters of Marigoula Farfalia." His lines reflected the American environment as truly as those of "Romios" of George Souris reflected Athens. In addition, Mr. Zambounis authorized more serious works.[12] His devastating satire—in verse, prose, and through cartoons[13]—was directed mercilessly against all pretense and exploitation. No one was feared or favored, and no one was exempt—be it a church dignitary, Government official, or private individual. The Greek of America and his welfare claimed his undivided loyalty, and woe to the person who would do him harm or seek to exploit him. Yet, beneath it and through it all, he never ceased to be a "Greek"—and of the heroic variety, at that[14]—to the end of his days. When, on April 6, 1954, the heart of Constantine Zambounis ceased to beat, Americans of Greek ancestry lost their most effective shield and wisest counsellor, and the Greek race one who added his bit to our Hellenic inheritance.

CHURCHES

There are 355 Greek Orthodox Churches in the United States, and the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese collected the sum of $585,608 from 58,000 recorded members in 1958. (The membership must be multiplied at least by 3, as the annual $10 fee to the archdiocese is paid usually by the head of families. Each church has now its Philoptochos Society, operated by women members, and the Goya Society for young girls and boys.) In the early days the churches were staffed by clergymen either from the Church of Greece or from the Greek Orthodox Patriarchates, principally that of Constantinople and Alexandria. Since the official establishment of the archdiocese, or to be more exact, since the pacification of the Greek Orthodox communities in the United States, brought about in 1930 through the dispatch of the late archbishop of Athens, Damaskinos, as exarch and the designation of the present patriarch of Constantinople as archbishop of North and South America, the churches are generally staffed by graduates of a theological seminary established and maintained by the archdiocese in Pomfret, Conn. This seminary has thus far graduated 218 persons, most of whom has been ordained priests and assigned to parishes.

In the case of churches, again New York and Chicago vie with each other. There are 11 Greek Orthodox Churches in Chicago, Ill., supported by an equal number of communities. A similar number serves the New York area. Most other cities, such as Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington, have two each.

After World War II a number of new church edifices have been erected, the total cost running into millions of dollars. Particular mention may be made of the church in Los Angeles, erected under the driving force of the late Charles P. Skouras (Constantine P. Skouras). Into this building were incorporated many features of the motion picture industry—accoustically, visually, and in lighting. Also, the church services have been keyed to advanced standards and the split-minute timing of the theater.[15] As a result, this temple of worship attracts people of all faiths, and denominations, and is a great tourist attraction.

GREEK SCHOOLS

Many have been the attempts to establish and operate schools in the United States with the Greek language as the principal medium of learning. A Greek educational institute was organized in New York City about 40 years ago, supported by the local community at first, and then laying claim to support by all Greeks in the United States.

Other Greek schools were organized privately, with a decidedly limited capacity either for boarders or day students. All, or nearly all, succumbed to the inexorable economic law. Very few families were financially able to send their children to be educated at the Greek schools, which were no wise equal academically to public schools, and the limitations in accommodations were such that even if more were financially able, no facilities were available.

Footnotes at end of speech.

The problem of Greek education—or rather, of the teaching of the modern Greek—is now in the hands of the church. Because all children are required by law to attend school up to a certain age, and children of Greek parentage do attend public schools in their respective cities and neighborhoods, the various Greek communities have organized afternoon classes in their church buildings devoted to the teaching of modern Greek and religion. This noble endeavor cannot be termed a "success." Only a small percentage of the children attend, and of that percentage, very few stick it out during the years. The result is that the "graduates" of the afternoon schools learn just enough Greek to barely converse with their aged grandmothers and to follow the high points of church liturgies. The reasons, of course, are not too elusive. First, there is the question of capacity; then, time. A young creature that reports to his regular school at 9 a.m. is not overenthusiastic to attend another school at the expense of his hours of play or preparation of his assigned homework. In addition, no child is being won over by being closeted in the basement of the church to listen to random "pedagogues"—in most instances, either the choir leader (psaltis) or the priest—extolling the virtues of the Greek language and religion, when his public school friends play baseball. The contrast in the physical environment—public school versus the church basement—is so marked that not infrequently the children are either embarrassed or out-and-out ashamed to admit attendance.

Many public-spirited persons have pointed out the error of the solution to the problem, but in vain. Improvements have been instituted from time to time, such as the division of the children into classes—all classes in most instances being taught by the same teacher. One can readily imagine what happens when children of ages from 8 to 16 are assembled either in one room or in an imperfectly subdivided room, to reluctantly imbibe knowledge.

It is not strange, therefore, that the results of this noble effort have fallen far short of both expectation and toil. In fact, there are many who maintain that the afternoon classes project, plus its Sunday School appendage, accomplishes the very opposite of their objective: Instead of instilling love and affection for the Greek language or the Greek Orthodox religion, it provokes antagonism. Such being the facts, it is sad but not unreasonable to expect that with the passing of time, Greek Orthodox Churches and communities in the United States, with the exception of a few centers—New York, Chicago, Boston, and San Francisco—will suffer an eclipse.

DEMOGRAPHIC ASPECTS

Practically all Greek immigrants to the United States are now permanently established. All who could qualify for American citizenship—and this includes practically everybody with the exception of the recent arrivals who have not resided in the country long enough to comply with the requirements of the naturalization law—are citizens of the United States. They are participating—like all other Americans—in the civic affairs of their communities, and some of them have been rewarded with positions of leadership both in their respective fields and some through election to political office. The mayor of San Francisco—a major city in the United States—is an American of Greek ancestry (born in Leonidion, Arcadia, Greece), and brought to the United States at a tender age. Then there are others in small towns here and there, who have been elected mayors, city councilors or members of their State legislative—both house and senate.

The first person of Greek ancestry to serve in the U.S. Congress was Miltiades Lucas Miller. He was born in Levadia, Greece, on September 15, 1824, and brought to the United States as an adopted child by Col. Jonathan P. Miller. He was educated in Montpelier, Vt., and subsequently moved to the State of Wisconsin. From there he was elected to the 52d Congress (March 4, 1891, to March 3, 1893).

The second, in terms of Greek ancestry, but the first really coming within the purview of this examination, is the Honorable JOHN BRADEMAS, from South Bend, Ind.—the son of a Greek immigrant from Messinia. He was elected to the 86th Congress (1959–60) and is currently serving. A Rhodes scholar, professor of political science, with a distinguished service in the U.S. Navy during the last war, he can hold his head high in any company.

Americans of Hellenic ancestry are well represented in appointive positions in all branches: Federal, State, and municipal governments, as well as in the Armed Forces of the Nation.

FAMILY AND EDUCATION

The early immigrants were young men in search of fortune, and traveled alone. Only a few women appear to have made the trip to the United States up to the Balkan wars. Thereafter, the number of women increased considerably. While there are no statistics available as to the percentage of Greek immigrants who married within their own racial or religious group, an inquiry conducted on the occasion of the first Ahepa national banquet in 1930 indicated that about 40 percent of all married Greek immigrants were married outside their own racial or church group. It is believed that the same percentage holds true today.

Unlike the early settlers in the United States—particularly those from Sweden and Ireland—Greek families have not been noted for many children—the average number being about three. Again, unlike the early Italian, Polish, German, and Jewish immigrants, and the "Little Italies" or "Little Polands" they created by congregating in fixed neighborhoods, Greek families are spread in residential neighborhoods according to their economic and social status.

EDUCATION

The Greek thirst for knowledge has had an open field in the United States. It is doubtful whether any other racial group of the many that make up the United States as a nation, could match the educational record of the Greek immigrant and his descendants. They are literally everywhere—in every educational institution in the country and in the arts—as students, teachers, professors, artists.

They started as soon as they set foot in their new environment and they are at it to this day. Many are the men who worked their way through colleges and Universities who occupy positions of trust and responsibility in their chosen professions today.

While a few years ago the names of Raphael Demos, assistant professor of philosophy at Harvard, Dr. Michael Dorizas*, of the University of Pennsylvania, Nicholas Kaltchas,* of Sarah Lawrence College, Dr. George Papanicolaou, of Cornell University and Dr. George E. Mylonas, of Washington University at St. Louis, Mo.—to mention the better known—were bywords and referred to with pride, today a comprehensive list would run into many pages.

A few figures pertaining to lawyers. According to Lamberson's directory there were 673 lawyers of Greek descent in the U.S. in 1958. Chicago led with 104. While the figure appears impressive, it is nowhere nearly complete. The figure given for Washington, D.C. (15) is manifestly erroneous. In addition, there are a number of persons, graduates of law, in the service of the Federal Government. A law degree is practically a requirement in the Patent Office,[16] Department of Justice, Bureau of Internal Revenue, Federal Bureau of Investigation, to mention a few, and persons of Greek descent are to be found in all these departments.

The profession of Hippocrates attracted the next greatest number to that of the law. Then engineering, accountancy, chemistry and the teaching profession. No accurate statistics are possible because of the change of names,[17] a practice quite common until World War II when the exploits of the Greek armies in Albania reaccented the inherent racial pride in all—the Greek from Greece, Diaspora and even in the American-born.

ECONOMIC STATUS

Americans of Greek ancestry are everywhere—in all businesses and professions. Although no statistics are available to pinpoint their position in the great U.S. economic strata, they are generally referred to as being a part of the small business group. This view, however, has little more to support it than general conjecture. The only reliable figures are those provided by the relief rolls of cities, municipalities and charitable organizations. It has been noted that very few persons giving Greece as their birthplace appear on these rolls. No statistical breakdown is available for American-born.

Unlike other industrially less-developed nations where the role of the individual is more pronounced, the economic life of the United States rests on corporate activity. There are corporate giants in every field—American Telephone & Telegraph Co. (communications), General Motors, Ford and Chrysler (automobile manufacturers), Dupont de Nemours Co. (chemical products), General Electric and Westinghouse (electrical companies), etc. These companies have millions of shares of stock outstanding, and hundreds of thousands (if not millions) of stockholders. Out of 1,605,046 holders of American Telephone & Telegraph Co. stock—total shares issued and outstanding, 213 million; assets more than $20 billion—not a single person owns more than one-half of 1 percent. While this is an extreme case, it is a fact of life that corporate ownership rests with the people. The board of directors of large corporations usually own a small percentage of the stock of those companies.[18] Since the expense of communicating with the many stockholders outside the channels of management is quite inordinate and not readily risked by individuals, the board of directors of large corporations have become a self-perpetuating managerial class.

Investment in stocks of large corporations, heretofore reserved only for the rich, is widespread in the United States among persons with middle-class incomes, a group that claims most Americans of Greek ancestry.

Today there are no Greek names associated with wealth,[19] and none is likely to be in the future, owing to the heavy U.S. taxation—both Federal and State.[20]

It is estimated that the national economy of Greece benefited to the extent of $25 million per year from immigrant remittance alone for the past 40 years.

Many of the early Greek immigrants—particularly those who had their eyes fixed on their eventual return to Greece—deposited their savings in the National Bank of Greece, with catastrophic results. Thrice in a lifetime these unfortunate people who had

Footnotes at end of speech.

boundless faith in the financial institutions of their birthplace, were defrauded out of their savings through the forced conversion of their dollar deposits into drachmas—in 1923, 1935, and, of course, during the last world war.

This unsavory historic occurrence could very well have gone unmentioned were it not for the fact that due to this bitter experience, very few indeed are the Americans of Greek ancestry who are inclined to invest in Greek enterprises today.

FUTURE PROSPECTS

"Oversea Greeks" were a very important asset to mother Greece throughout the ages. The outlying Greek communities constituted a source of wealth for the mother country. In ancient times Athens was looked upon as the Alma Mater of all educated Greeks, whether they were born in Ionia or as far west as Magna Gracia. After the fall of Constantinople the "oversea Greeks" were succeeded by Greeks in Diaspora. Most Greek communities, however, which were established in Western Europe came to an end by assimilation. Only in countries where the religious division was sharp and distinct—that is to say, in countries where Mohammedanism was the official religion—did the Greek communities survive.

The immigration to the United States is now two generations old. What are the prospects? Will the Greek communities in the United States keep their identities and withstand assimilation? What is the outlook in view of the special conditions prevailing in the United States?

The United States of America is not just a state, as some European writers have maliciously alluded from time to time. It is a nation. Each war that has been fought over a century and a half, plus the public schools, plus the political parties, plus freedom, have acted as catalytic agents for nationhood. Why should a person be an Irishman, German, or Greek when his personal interest, the road to distinction, riches, and the pursuit of happiness lies through his unqualified loyalty to the American Constitution, law, and tradition—what, at times, is slightingly referred to as "100 percent Americanism"?

There are no minorities nourishing racial wounds or grievances in the United States because no minority is suppressed. Freedom of speech, of thought, and of worship have provided an effective shield against occasional demagogues and purveyors of hate. (The United States has no state religion and no religious instruction is permited in public schools.)

Equality before the law is not a dead letter nor equality of opportunity. The American way of life, a product of education, and Government institutions based on Greek patterns, is such that Greek immigrants and their descendants could and do cheerfully claim as their own and are anxious to defend it with their lives, as they effectively demonstrated it during the two world wars.

The church, which as an institution has a stake in the Greek language, fights a rearguard action against the inevitable eclipse of Greek consciousness. The Greek church, however, is itself losing the battle of survival. Unlike U.S. catholicism, which is progress incarnate compared to the Catholic Church of Spain, the Greek Orthodox Church in the United States is the same as in Greece[21] or Istanbul, and its rites and rituals take as much time as in the days of St. John Chrysostom.[22]

It has been observed that many turn away from the Greek church, joining other Christian denominations, because in addition to all other factors, the question of the Greek language enters the picture. Then again, in many isolated communities, the nearest Greek Orthodox Church is 50 or 100 miles away, a factor that dictates contacts with local Christian churches. Prof. Raphael Demos is a Protestant. So is Congressman BRADEMAS (Methodist). With each year the number of persons who were born in the Greek Orthodox Church joining other churches is growing greater. The Greek Orthodox Church has always addressed its appeal to the old folks and the old mentality and not the 20th century Christian. As a result, it is not an exaggeration to say that it is a question of time when the recently built Greek Orthodox temples—like those built in other countries in earlier times—will become museums or yield to other institutions better suited to serve man in the atomic age.

---

*Deceased.

[1] A Washington audience of a visiting Greek theatrical group, composed entirely of Americans, juridically speaking, either native-born or naturalized, were addressed by a well-known playwright who accompanied the troupe as "Xenitemena Adelphia".

[2] The late Mr. Cimon Diamantopoulos, Ambassador of Greece to the United States during World War II clashed with the Ahepa on this very question. He had failed to comprehend that the Ahepans were Americans and not Greeks.

[3] "Christopher Columbus, a Greek Nobleman", published in New York, N.Y. in 1936.

[4] "The Greeks of America, 1528-1948", by Mpampi Malafouris, New York, 1948.

[5] Malafouris, ibid., p. 57.

[6] The early constitutional provision on separation of church and state and the preservation of the American public schools free of all religious influences, is traced to the influence of the KKK.

[7] A number of distinguished Americans of non-Greek ancestry have joined the Order of Ahepa as dues-paying members. Former Senator William H. King, of Utah, a well-known Philhellene, was among the first to join. So was former President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who joined while Governor of the State of New York, paying dues to the day he died. There are scores of others.

[8] GAPA (Greek-American Progressive Association).

[9] See appendix.

[10] More than $500,000,000 war bonds, series E, were sold in a 5-year period.

[11] See appendix.

[12] "Moments of Melancholy" and "When I Died," written both in verse, are classics in their field. He also wrote short stories and four volumes of essays, entitled "On the Wings of Thought."

[13] Published when the present Patriarch of Constantinople, then Archbishop of North and South America, treated a National Convention of the Greek Orthodox Churches of the United States as if it were a gathering of Boy Scout clubs.

[14] See his ode "To the Greeks" of May 20, 1941.

[15] Early liturgy: 9 a.m. to 10:15 a.m. (sermon delivered in Greek). Sunday school classes: 10:15 to 15:45 a.m. Memorial services: 10:45 a.m. to 11 a.m. Second liturgy: 11 a.m. to 12:15 p.m. (sermon delivered in English).

[16] The Board of Appeals, the highest tribunal within the Patent Office, has as one of its regular members today a former Greek immigrant who graduated from Yale University (engineering) and Georgetown University (law).

[17] How could one determine, statistically, that a Mr. Collins is a former Kallymenopoulos; a Mr. Taylor is a Mr. Tavoularis; a Mr. Bell is a former Belloyanis, etc.?

[18] The case of Spyros P. Skouras, president of 20th Century Fox Corp., might be taken to illustrate the point. Of 2,293,186 shares issued and outstanding in the hands of the public, Mr. Skouras is the owner of but 22,800 shares.

[19] It was commonly accepted that the late William G. Helis, of New Orleans, La. (oil producer) was in the millionaire class. Also, the late Constantino and Stephen Stephano, of Philadelphia, Pa. (cigarettes). Present Greek names in the millionaire class are restricted to the ship-owning group who are not subjected to the steep U.S. income and other Federal and State taxes.

[20] Federal income and inheritance taxes follow a graduating scale. Income taxes start at 4 percent and go as high as 91 percent. Inheritance taxes start at 3 percent and go as high as 77 percent. An unmarried person earning $10,000 annually is subject to a Federal income tax of $2,096. In addition, there is a 3 percent or 4 percent State tax, depending upon the State in which he lives. An unmarried person earning $100,000 would pay $65,928 in Federal taxes alone. A $600 exemption is allowed for each child under 18 years old and $2,000 marital deduction. For a person earning half a million dollars, the tax would be $428,364.

[21] The younger generation, which has been taught at public school and college to venerate the age and the names of the classical era who contributed so much to the wealth of human knowledge and civilization in general, were shocked at the recent edict of the Holy Synod of Greece prohibiting the naming of Orthodox children at baptismals with classical Greek names.

[22] While Sunday services in all churches of other denominations are limited to 50 minutes, Greek Orthodox services (with the exception of the church in Los Angeles) are eternity itself. Services lasting from 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. or even 2 p.m. are not uncommon.

APPENDIX

(a) The Order of Ahepa has contributed to many worthy causes during its 37 years of existence, on a national and international level. These contributions do not take into account the various local activities of the 400 chapters within their respective communities. These include:

1. Relief of Florida hurricane victims.
2. Relief of Mississippi flood victims.
3. Relief of earthquake victims of Corinth, Greece.
4. War orphans of Hellas.
5. Fatherless children from Asia Minor through the Near East Relief.
6. Earthquake victims of the Dodecanese.
7. Hellenic Museum.
8. National scholarships to students.
9. Theological seminary (Pomfret and Brookline).
10. Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial at Hyde Park, N.Y.
11. Memorials to Demetrios Ypsilanti (presented to the city of Ypsilanti, Mich.) and George Dilboy (a Congressional Medal of Honor, posthumous, awarded to the city of Haverhill, Mass., from which he was conscripted into the U.S. Army).
12. Philhellenes Memorial in Missolonghi, Greece, by the Sons of Pericles to the memory of American Philhellenes of 1821.
13. Earthquake victims in Turkey.
14. Patriarchate of Jerusalem.
15. Ecuadorian relief.
16. Kansas City flood relief.
17. Greek war relief during and after World War II.
18. Ahepa hospitals and health clinics in Greece.
19. Agricultural college in Greece.
20. Ahepa Tuberculosis Sanatorium in Albuquerque, N. Mex.

21. Ionian Islands earthquake relief.
22. Ahepa Preventorium in Volos.
23. Shelter home in Athens, by the Daughters of Penelope.
24. Ahepa Hall for Boys at St. Basil's Academy, Garrison, N.Y.
25. Ahepa school for boys and girls at St. Basil's Academy (now under construction).

(b) Ahepa resolution unanimously adopted by the New Orleans (La.) convention in August 1938 in re persecution of the Jews:

"Whereas it is a matter of common knowledge that the Hebrew race and religion, which contributed so much in philosophical, cultural, religious, and scientific thought to the world is, and has been, subject to merciless persecution by certain dictatorial governments of Europe, and

"Whereas there are millions of co-citizens of ours of the Hebrew race residing in every part of the United States who constitute a loyal, law-abiding and valuable element in the political, economic, cultural, and scientific fields of the Nation; and

"Whereas the members of the Order of Ahepa and American citizens of Greek descent in general are bound to their co-citizens of the Hebrew faith with manifold ties; and

"Whereas the American Government has officially participated in a world conference aiming to alleviate the condition of Hebrew refugees in many countries who have been unjustly and cruelly persecuted: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, by the delegates of the Order of Ahepa assembled at the 15th National Convention that the Order of Ahepa goes on record as condemning the unhuman and cruel persecution of a race and faith, which has given so much to the world;

Resolved further, That the American Government be congratulated for the humanitarian stand it has taken in the matter; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Honorable Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, in Washington, the press, and Hebrew organizations and all the chapters of the Ahepa for their information.

"Done in the City of New Orleans, this 29th day of August 1938."

(Above resolution introduced by George C. Vournas on behalf of Chapter 236 of Washington, D.C.)

(C) Ahepa position expounded on January 23, 1941 by George C. Vournas, supreme vice president, on behalf of the Ahepa Supreme Lodge, Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D.C., regarding the twin objectives—protection of Americans of Italian descent and support of the Greek War Relief.

"While it is customary on occasions such as this to restrict messages to either congratulations or greetings, I feel that the times justify departure, for, as the old typewriter slogan goes: 'Now is the time for all good men to come to the aid of — Democracy.'

"An examination of events leading up to the present war will convince one that the struggle now being waged on the battlefields of Europe and Asia does not follow the old patterns of racial or national lines. It is not a war between Germany and England or Italy, and Greece or Japan and China. It is a death struggle between ideas and attitudes. It is civilization retrogressed to the days of the Dark Ages against the Bill of Rights.

"Fascism, and later nazism, and their dynamism first did violence to the progressive and democratic spirit of their own nations and races before entering the world arena. The first victims of fascism were, and still are, the Italians. The same holds true of nazism. Its barbarous exhibitions were first practiced upon the flower of the German race before the Czechs, the Poles, the Dutch, the Belgians, the French, and the Norwegians felt their sting. The Italian people not being the masters of their fate, the invasion of Greece constitutes solely a dastardly act of Fascist aggression. And this mental abberation known as fiascism claims adherents not only among Italians, but among persons of all races.

"Lovers of liberty and democracy everywhere rejoice at the bravery and heroism of the Greek soldiers and Evzones defending their motherland and this rejoicing is shared by all persons of free thought and democratic ideals everywhere. It is not restricted to the Greeks and their allies. It transcends national boundaries and races and is shared by the best elements of the Italian and German races who have contributed so much in enriching human knowledge. This is in keeping with the spirit of democracy everywhere, and more particularly with what has come to be known as the 'American' spirit—the product of every race and creed.

"The justifiable rejoicing, however, must not be permitted to go out of bounds and offend the sensibilities of the Italian race, to which civilization is so greatly indebted. The Ahepa, as an organization dedicated to good citizenship, must be on the alert not only to exert its influence to curb excesses but also to render positive assistance to Americans of Italian descent. The principle of racial interdependence, proclaimed by the national convention in New Orleans when the voice of the Ahepa was raised in protest against the persecution of the Jewish race and faith, applies with equal force to the Italian race.

"In every city of the United States one finds Italians and Greeks—I am using the term in its racial content and without political connotations—and their descendants living side by side maintaining close commercial and social contacts in their daily pursuits. There are thousands of intermarriages and out of those unions we have thousands of American children. Good citizenship, as well as good political sense in the common struggle against fascism and nazism, demands that the relationship of Americans of Greek descent with their fellow Americans of Italian descent remain close and cordial. The true American spirit can best be displayed by Americans of Greek descent by extending a helping hand to their fellow Americans of Italian descent against prejudices that may flow from Mussolini's action. One of the immediate tasks of the Ahepa should be the unmasking of the ways of fascism and nazism which seek to divide and destroy. Those who endeavor to turn the American of Greek descent against the American of Italian descent and divide America into antagonistic racial groups instead of a unified whole must be exposed.

"Another task of the hour is the marshaling of all forces in the Greek War Relief drive. Every member must not only enroll himself but must create the channels through which his friends, business associates, and every resident in the land will be given the opportunity to contribute. The need is so great as to be indescribable. We must help now."

(D) Protest against British excesses in the city of Athens, Greece, following its liberation from German occupation, in the form of a public advertisement published in the Washington Post on December 9, 1944: "Made by Americans—paid for by Americans."

TIME FOR REEXAMINATION OF LEND-LEASE

"No responsible person can for a moment entertain any consideration which would weaken the grand alliance against Hitler. But larger horizons are opening and must be considered.

"Every informed person knows that the Atlantic Charter has given way to power politics. London has not even dignified it with decent burial. Henceforth, states Foreign Minister Eden, Great Britain reserves the right to interfere with European governments.

"This means—for the chain is very direct—that U.S. lend-lease materials are to be used to hold peoples in subjection. Is this the postwar world we are fighting for? Is this the promise that the peoples of Europe were told, under sacred oath, they could rely upon? Is this the sacred covenant for which hundreds of thousands laid down their lives?

"The crisis is here—and it is an even larger one than Versailles. The Belgian deputies were covered by British tanks—the Italian free choice of Count Sforza was vetoed by London—and on direct orders of the Prime Minister—Greek patriots—the very men who fought Hitler for 4 years—not Communists—hailed for years as glorious allies and so addressed only a month ago—are being shot down daily by British colonial troops in the city of Athens. Brussels, Rome, and Addis Ababa all have been shown the hilt of Britain's imperialistic sword.

"The guns which are pointed at civilian populations in Europe by the British may bear the trademark—Made in U.S.A.

"But the policy for which they are used was not made here. That was made by a few reactionary men—contrary to the Atlantic Charter, contrary to sacred promises extended—and we believe—contrary to the will of the British people.

"What harm can there be in open truth? What honest man fears the light?

"Let Congress inquire now into lend-lease and its postwar purposes. Unless it is being used for democracy, it is only preparing the next war.

"Lend-lease constituted the implementation of the Atlantic Charter. If we must accede to the burial of the Atlantic Charter, must lend-lease continue?

"GEORGE C. VOURNAS,
"Supreme President, Order of Ahepa."

Coosa-Alabama River Story Told

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, in the slim chance that there may be some Member who is not completely familiar with the Coosa-Alabama River, one of the Nation's greatest undeveloped waterways, I wish to include in the RECORD today a series of newspaper stories.

These articles were written by Jim Lowrey, a staff writer for the Anniston (Ala.) Star. They present a comprehensive picture of this tremendous river, its potentialities, and the struggle for its development.

The articles referred to follow:

SOME BASIC FACTS REVEALED ABOUT COOSA-ALABAMA PLAN

(By Jim Lowrey)

If you live in Alabama, you have for years been hearing a great furor raised for the development of the Coosa-Alabama River.

But just what is the talk all about? Why all the shouting?

And why should the river be developed anyway? What difference would it make

to residents of the area if the Coosa-Alabama were developed?

Research reveals some startling answers to these questions.

Item: The Coosa-Alabama river system is one of the 10 great river systems in the entire country, according to a report by the Truman Water Resources Commission.

Item: The Alabama-Coosa River is the second largest and longest in the whole Southeast.

Item: While not particularly impressive appearing at first glance, the river carries an amazing amount of water. The minimum daily flow at Montgomery, far above the mouth of the river at Mobile, is almost equal to the over four billion gallons of the Tennessee River at Guntersville. And the average annual discharge of the Alabama is almost 27 million acre-feet, enough to cover all of Alabama with some 8 inches of water.

Item: The Corps of Engineers has for many years urged the development of the river for navigation, flood control power and other purposes.

Item: Development of the river has been certified by the Corps of Engineers as being economically justified.

Item: Alabama and Georgia delegations to Congress have for years urged the development of the Coosa-Alabama system.

Item: The 79th Congress in 1945 authorized the initial and ultimate development of the Alabama-Coosa River.

Item: The Alabama Power Company in 1954 agreed to develop the Coosa River with private capital, making provision in all their dams for navigational locks to be operated later by the Government. This agreement relieved the Government of much of the expense of developing this portion of the river system.

Item: This tremendous river, stretching across the State from the northeast to the southwest, would bolster the economy of virtually all of Alabama. The tributary basin comprises 26,000 square miles in the States of Alabama and Georgia, and has a population in excess of one and one-half million persons. Three additional large cities, with a combined population of one and one-quarter million persons are located within 35 to 60 miles of the river.

Item: President Eisenhower, in his State of the Union message to the 84th Congress in 1955, described the river as complying with the administration's "partnership policy" with private industry, and added: "Now, of course, the Federal Government must shoulder its own partnership obligations by undertaking projects of such complexity and size that their success requires Federal development."

Item: Despite repeated urging to do so, the Federal Government has refused to "shoulder its own partnership obligations," and development of the Coosa-Alabama for navigation has come to a complete halt.

This is indeed a surprising turn of affairs in the handling of this great river. The Coosa-Alabama appears to have everything in its favor, everyone is for its development—but it isn't being developed.

In the next story in this series, a few of the reasons why this development should take place will be examined and just what it can mean to residents of this area when this project gets underway will be discussed.

[From the Anniston Star, Nov. 9, 1959]

EXTENSIVE RESOURCES READY—MANY BENEFITS ARE SLATED IN COOSA DEVELOPMENT

(By Jim Lowrey)

In a previous story, a curious lack of governmental action in the development of the Coosa-Alabama River was explored. Today, some of the reason offered why this river should be fully developed and just who would be affected by such development will be examined.

A complete tabulation of the advantages of developing this great river would require more space than is available but even a partial list should certainly include the following:

Many mineral and nonmetallic resources abound in commercial quantities in the river basin. Many are being produced, others will be when the Coosa-Alabama River is more navigable.

There is already much industry along this river. Rome is a manufacturing and commercial center for northwestern Georgia.

GADSDEN, ANNISTON BUSY

Gadsden and Anniston have heavy industry, much of it producing commodities which seek economical barge transportation.

In Talladega County one of the largest deposits of marble in the world produces hundreds of thousands of tons of marble annually. Here also is a giant newsprint mill, its capacity doubled in 1958 by the installation of the largest newsprint machine in the world.

This plant alone uses more than a million tons of finished product.

Furthr down the river, Montgomery manufactures fertilizers in 10 large plants, receiving hundreds of thousands of tons of chemicals and other ingredients for these blending plants.

Montgomery is also a center of the lumber and milling industry, and has glass, furniture, chemical, and numerous other manufacturing industries. It is also an important distribution center for a large area.

Much of the same thing applies to every town and city along the entire route of the Coosa-Alabama River. This is a great area, already rapidly developing. The 22,800 square miles in the river basin make up one of the greatest river systems yet to be developed in America.

Its possibilities rival those of the Tennessee River which has made an industrial, agricultural, forest and recreation wonderland of that valley in northern Alabama.

And who will be affected by this development?

You will.

ALL WILL BENEFIT

No matter who you are, or where you live, you will benefit from the development of this rich valley.

Anything which improves the economic well-being of America helps every American. And anything which helps Alabama aids every resident of the State.

But it can be made much more specific than that.

If you are a farmer, you will benefit from better flood control. Irrigation will improve the productivity of your land. As the valley develops, the value of your property will increase. Many acres will be purchased for industrial sites. Increased industrial development and more payrolls mean a better market for your products.

If you are a manufacturer, you will benefit from economical river transportation, which will bring raw materials in and carry finished products out. You will benefit from a low power rate. As the valley develops, your markets, too, will expand.

If you are a businessman, you will benefit from a greater demand for the materials you sell. Increased industrial development will mean more customers, and increased standards of living will mean more purchases from your firm. Reduced transportation costs will mean better prices and more profits. As the valley grows, your firm will grow with it.

MORE FACTORIES SEEN

If you are an employee working for any of the above, you, too, will benefit. More factories mean more jobs and better wages. More stores mean more competition and better prices.

More demand for land and housing means an increase in the value of your house and your lot. And more people mean more income for the cities, counties, and the State, with resulting better schools for your children, better roads for your cars, and better fire and police protection for you and your family.

The entire State will enjoy the recreational wonderland that this development will create.

And the entire State will benefit from something else too—perhaps the most important thing of all.

Its young people will remain in Alabama. No longer will they be compelled to seek greener pastures elsewhere. They will be able to find the jobs they need and make their homes right here in their native State.

Next, what has been done and what still remains to be accomplished to bring this development into reality will be discussed briefly.

[From the Anniston Star, Nov. 10, 1959]

MUCH STILL TO BE DONE—RIVER WORK EYED FOR MANY YEARS

(By Jim Lowrey)

In previous articles the many advantages to be gained by the development of the Coosa-Alabama River were discussed. Today it will be pointed out what has been done so far and what still remains to be done to bring this development into being.

The development of this river has been under study by the Corps of Engineers for at least 80 years. Appropriations have been made heretofore for planning of the initial projects in the amount of approximately $1,261,985.

The 79th Congress in 1945 authorized the development of the river system. This was modified in 1955 when the Alabama Power Co was granted a license to develop the Coosa River for electric power, with the provision that they make provision in their dams for navigational locks, to be installed and operated later by the Federal Government.

SOME DAMS COMPLETED

Some of these dams have already been completed, and the power company has begun construction on others which will ultimately create a series of lakes extending for 275 miles from Wetumpka to Rome, Ga.

These lakes will assure a 9-foot navigation channel for this entire distance along the Coosa River.

But two essential things remain to be done before the full advantages of this river can be utilized. And both of these by law and for economic reasons, must be done by the Federal Government.

Before the lakes created by the Alabama Power Co. dams can be opened to navigation, the essential locks must be installed in the dam structures by the Corps of Engineers which must also operate the locks.

And three dams must be constructed on the Alabama River, below Montgomery. While these three dams will produce a certain amount of power, the output will not be sufficient to justify development by private capital. The primary purpose of these dams will be navigation.

HUGE LAKE IS SEEN

The Millers Ferry lock and dam, to be located near Camden in Wilcox County, will create a 22,000-acre lake and make the river navigable for barge tows for more than 100 miles to Jones Bluff.

The dam will contain modern locks, probably 600 by 100 feet in size, and will also have installed generating capacity of 57,000 kilowatts—to produce some 350 million kilowatt hours of energy per year.

Two additional dams will complete the development, opening the river all the way to the port of Mobile. These will be a smaller dam located at Claiborne and a power and navigation structure at Jones Mill.

As mentioned before, the power output will not be sufficient to justify the construction of the latter three dams by Alabama Power Co. or a like concern. Nor can the State or a private company develop the river as a waterway, charging a toll to users.

WATERS PUBLIC PROPERTY

Not only are navigable waters deemed public property of the United States, which reserves to itself the power to regulate and improve navigation, but a specific law enacted by Congress in 1828 (U.S.C. 33:8) declared that the Coosa River (along with other named rivers in the State of Alabama) "shall be forever free from toll for all property belonging to the United States, and for all persons within their service, and for all citizens of the United States, except as to such tolls as may be allowed by act of Congress."

But in spite of the urging of the Corps of Engineers and the Alabama and Georgia delegations in Congress, in spite of President Eisenhower's endorsement of the project in 1955 as a prime example of Government and private industry working together, and in spite of the fact that the project was authorized by Congress some 14 years ago, the Coosa-Alabama is not being developed.

In the next, and final, article in this series, the failure of Congress to provide the needed funds for this project and the manner in which the public can help will be examined.

[From the Anniston Star, Nov. 11, 1959]

HAS EXCELLENT CHANCE—ACTIVE SUPPORT NEEDED ON RIVER

(By Jim Lowrey)

In this final article on the development of the Coosa-Alabama River the Government's unwillingness to carry its share in the development of this great river and the manner in which an individual can assist in the campaign will be examined.

In previous articles it was pointed out that the development of the Coosa-Alabama had been proven economically practical in exhaustive studies conducted by the Corps of Engineers.

It was also pointed out that President Eisenhower in his state of the Union message in 1955 had singled out this project as an excellent example of Government and private industry working side-by-side.

It was noted that this project had obtained the approval of Congress 14 years ago. But there is a catch in this congressional approval.

NO FUNDS PROVIDED

Congress, in authorizing the project, did not make available the necessary funds to carry the development through.

In a letter to Congressman KENNETH ROBERTS of the Fourth District of Alabama, Brig. Gen. J. L. Persons, Assistant Chief of Engineers for civil works, stated that some $249,000 have been appropriated to date for preconstruction planning on the key Millers Ferrys project.

Planning is about 38 percent complete, General Persons reported, and an additional $401,000 will be required to permit the Corps of Engineers to complete preconstruction planning of the dam.

Congressman ROBERTS took the matter up with the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Public Works last May 7, but his appeal was turned down.

APPEAL WAS REJECTED

An appeal to President Eisenhower by ROBERTS and other members of the Alabama delegation reminding the President of his "partnership" statement, was also rejected by the Chief Executive who said he doubted that there is a "direct relationship" between the dams on the Coosa and those downstream on the Alabama River.

A second letter to the President pointing out the "direct relationship" is being prepared at present.

And on November 2 the Alabama Legislature unanimously passed and sent to the President a resolution prepared by the Coosa-Alabama River Improvement Association urging early action on the Government's share of this undertaking.

Congressman ROBERTS has also pledged to renew the fight for the needed funds when the Congress reconvenes for the January session.

That is what others are doing. What can you do? Perhaps more than you realize.

ACTION IS URGED

You can very possibly be the deciding factor in this program. You can sit down right now and write your Representatives in Congress expressing your support of the program.

You can write the President urging the Government to "shoulder their share of the burden" as promised. You can write other Members of the Congress, urging their support of this development.

Such letters, in quantity, have a great deal of influence.

PUSHING COOSA PROJECT

Appearing recently in our news columns was a series of stories outlining the history of the Coosa-Alabama River development, and mentioning a few of the advantages which will accrue to this area when the river is fully developed.

However, the series also pointed out that, in the opinion of close students of this great undertaking, enthusiastic public support must be demonstrated to bring the development into being.

This support can take many forms, but perhaps the most effective and certainly the most direct would be for interested persons to write personal letters to Members of the Alabama and Georgia delegations in Congress. Additional letters to the President and to congressional delegates from other sections of the country also might prove helpful.

On a more local level, persons desiring to aid the development of this river could urge their civic clubs, as well as city, county, and State officials, to adopt resolutions or otherwise express their support, and to work toward securing from Congress the funds necesary to carry the project through.

The full development of the Coosa-Alabama can aid immensely in the economic growth of this rich valley. Those who think the project is worthwhile should make themselves heard.

The Late Honorable Alvin R. Bush

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 6, 1960

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, permit me to take this means of paying a sincere tribute to the memory of our late colleague ALVIN R. BUSH of the 17th District of Pennsylvania who passed away last November 5 during adjournment of the Congress.

I was shocked and saddened to learn of his untimely passing.

For many months ALVIN BUSH and I had offices practically adjoining and I learned to know and love him greatly. He was a remarkable man in many ways—one of fine ability and dedication to his district, State, and Nation. He lived a rich and full life of unselfish service to his family, friends, constituents and country and will be sorely missed by all.

To Mrs. Bush and members of his family I extend an expression of genuine sympathy in their bereavement.

Wilderness Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK WESTLAND

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, as the representative of the people from the Second District of Washington State, I am concerned about any legislation concerning the management of our forest resources.

Other people and organizations are concerned, too. The Washington State Forestry Conference, as an example, at its 38th annual conference adopted a number of resolutions which clearly defines its concern. Under leave to extend my remarks I include in the RECORD a letter containing these resolutions.

Mr. Speaker, I hope Congress, before it acts on any wilderness legislation will wait until the National Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission can make its report.

The letter follows:

WASHINGTON STATE FORESTRY CONFERENCE,
Seattle, Wash., December 30, 1959.

Hon. JACK WESTLAND,
House of Representatives
House Office Building
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: It is my honor as secretary to transmit to you the following resolutions regarding multiple use of Federal forest land, and the wilderness proposals which were adopted by this organization at its 38th annual conference:

"Resolved, That the U.S. Forest Service be highly commended for its unswerving application of the multiple-use concept to national forest lands as dictated by technically sound forest management principles; be it

"Resolved, That the Washington State Forestry Conference reaffirm its opposition to national wilderness legislation similar to S. 1123 or any legislation which would place areas that are under the administration of different Federal agencies together in a national wilderness preservation system. The conference notes that such legislation would jeopardize the forest land base supporting our State economy, restrict the ability of forest land managers to protect and manage forest resources for the greatest good of all the people, and would invite the establishment of another Federal agency to administer such a wilderness system;

"Resolved, That the Washington State Forestry Conference compliment the U.S. For-

est Service on soundness of establishing a wilderness area in the Glacier Peak country as a part of the multiple-use plan for the area, but urge that only those lands primarily valuable as wilderness be included; be it

"*Resolved*, That the Washington State Forestry Conference favors the continued management of the Glacier Peak area of the Northern Cascades as national forest land under the multiple-use principle of forest land management by the U.S. Forest Service, and opposes its establishment as a national park. The conference notes that over 1¼ million acres in Washington are now devoted to single use as national parks and feels that this acreage should be better developed for public use before need for additional national parks can be demonstrated."

The conference is seriously concerned with the steady reduction of this State's forest land base by nonforest influences, such as public works, urbanization, and other necessary single-use requirements of our expanding population. Each of these withdrawals must be balanced against the job-producing potential of the land if our forest-based economy is to expand with the population demands.

A panel of public works administrators and public and private foresters explored this subject in detail at our conference, and we will forward a copy of the proceedings immediately on publication.

Suffice it to say at this point, sir, that these reductions plus the single-use demands of the wilderness recreationists and national park proponents can be projected to show a definite restraining influence on the job potential of the forest lands in our State.

Yours very truly,

WILLIAM H. LARSON,
Secretary-Treasurer.

Farm Subsidy Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, one of the matters of vital concern to all of us is the matter of farm subsidies, particularly as to the question whether or not they should be continued. Perhaps those most qualified to speak on this subject are the members of the farming communities who are most affected by the actions of our Government instituting more controls or less controls on their daily activities.

Feeling as I do that our free enterprise system belongs not only in business and industry but on the farm, as well, it was most refreshing to receive the following statement from a member of the farming community in my congressional district.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit herewith a statement by Mr. Hart Dunham, from Lakeside, Calif., a city in San Diego County. Mr. Dunham is chairman of the board of the San Diego Cooperative Poultry Association. This statement was made before the Interim Committee on Agriculture of the Assembly of the State of California on December 2, 1959, in San Diego, Calif.:

My name is Hart Dunham. I am chairman of the board of directors of the San Diego Cooperative Poultry Association and have been delegated by my board to appear before your committee.

The San Diego Cooperative Poultry Association was founded in 1916 by a small group of poultrymen interested in securing a better price on feed by volume buying. As the years have gone by, other needs have developed in the industry. To meet these needs we have moved into the distribution of eggs, processing poultry, operation of a service station and the maintenance of a farm supply store. These services are provided for more than 1,300 members. Our gross business is more than $11 million and we employ about 100 people. Our contribution to the economy of San Diego County is sizable and I am sure that the directors, members, and employees are interested in maintaining the position of this business.

The current year has brought some hard times to the industry with the result that all operators have been hurt. But as is always true in such situations, some have been hurt worse than others. The tendency to panic in the face of adversity has brought about a great deal of pressure for somebody to do something. I know that the members of your committee are aware of this pressure. But a quick review of the farming process will show that this is merely a regular cycle in the process of food production. Many programs have been originated to alter the law of supply and demand, but not one has been found that has changed the situation for more than a short period. The national farm subsidy program has been in effect more than 20 years, with the net result of staggering surpluses and back breaking costs to the taxpayer. The excuse of political expediency would be the only justification for extending this program into other areas. The greatest help that could be extended to poultrymen today, would be the return of feed grains to a free market.

The present growth of vertical integration is neither new nor alarming. Good profits draw investors capital to any industry. The lack of profits will as quickly remove that competition. The surplus of eggs in San Diego County is not the result of integration. Every producer in the area has been a contributing factor. Before we crusade to destroy bigness we should be sure that we are not part of that bigness.

Our producer's cooperative was developed to enable farmers to band together to solve their problems. As a member of this cooperative, I believe we can still solve the situation ourselves. In the interest of economy, we should be given enough time to try. Our program can be flexible enough to amend as we see fit. Government programs become solid, sacred, unwieldy, and perpetual. To catapult the poultry industry into a regulated program, on the current evidence would not be wise in my opinion.

Any operation which is to continue in business will have to employ good management, careful attention to detail, aggressive selling, and the production of a good product at a reasonable price. The application of these principles to any business, large or small, will achieve about the same result.

It is an old axiom of agriculture "that you find your money where you lose it." The poultry industry needed aid in 1916. Fortunately the men who originated San Diego Cooperative Poultry Association were not aware that they were to raise chickens at Government expense. The personnel of our board has changed many times in the passing years, but I am sure I speak for the present directors when I say that we want to work out our salvation.

H.R. 9378—Requiring a Fair Return on Veterans' Life Insurance Trust Funds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on the opening day of the session I introduced H.R. 9378. This bill was introduced to make changes in the procedure for investing the national service life insurance trust fund and the U.S. Government life insurance trust fund.

The national service life insurance trust fund exceeds $5,625,000,000 and this fund is invested in special issues of the Treasury, with 5-year maturity periods, bearing 3 percent interest. The U.S. Government life insurance trust fund exceeds $1,120,000,000. This fund is invested in special issues of the Treasury, with 1-year maturity, and bearing interest rates of 3.5 percent. It is the responsibility of the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs and the Secretary of the Treasury to supervise investment of these funds. In my opinion, these officials have failed to discharge their obligation and are investing the veterans' life insurance trust funds at interest rates below the current market.

The investment policies of the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs and the Secretary of the Treasury have been reasonably satisfactory until recently, but the administration's hard-money policy has changed the situation. As a result of calculated policies of the administration, interest rates have risen steadily for the past few years. During 1959 the Treasury issued obligations for sale to the public throughout the year with maturities varying from 1 year to 21 years at interest rates varying from 3¼ percent to 5 percent. On June 30, 1959, $1,111,000,000 of the U.S. Government life insurance trust fund was invested by the Secretary of the Treasury in 1-year certificates at 3½ percent. On the same date, $2,689,000,000 of the national service life insurance trust fund was invested in 5-year certificates at 3 percent. About this same time the Treasury was offering securities to the public for sale at considerably higher interest rates. In May 1959, issues with 1-year maturity and interest rate of 4 percent were offered. In July 1959 the Treasury offered securities to the public with 4-year 10-month maturity at 4¾ percent. In October an issue with a 4-year 10-month maturity was offered at 5 percent.

Despite the fact that the interest rates have been rising steadily, the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs and the Secretary of the Treasury have shown no disposition to secure for the veterans' trust funds interest yields commensurate with the current market. Despite the lack of initiative demonstrated by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs and the administration to secure for veteran

policyholders a fair return on their trust funds, the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs and the administration have been very aggressive in urging legislation to lift interest-rate ceilings on home loans for veterans. During the last session of Congress, when the Committee on Veterans' Affairs was considering legislation to raise interest rates on veterans' home loans, the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs insisted that the interest-rate ceiling on veterans' home loans be lifted because, according to the Administrator, such action "was urgently needed to insure an active and fully effective loan guaranty program. In other words, the administration has been keenly aware of the rising interest rates and has shown no hesitation in demanding high interest rates in instances where the veteran pays; however, the administration has shown a marked lack of interest in securing better interest returns where the veteran is on the receiving end.

In passing, Mr. Speaker, I must observe that this situation is not confined to veterans' programs. Comparatively speaking, the veterans' life insurance trust funds have faired better than some of the other similar trust funds. On November 30, 1959, the civil service retirement fund had $8,813,974,000 invested in special issues of the Treasury at an average interest rate of 2.58 percent; the Federal old-age and survivors insurance trust fund had $15,891,845,000 invested in special issues of the Treasury at an average interest rate of 2.56 percent; and the Railroad Retirement Fund had invested $3,428,174,000 at an average interest rate of 3 percent. In my opinion, there is cause for concern about the low interest yields being paid to these funds. It seems to me, Mr. Speaker, that the administration has shown a great determination in its program to lift the 4¼-percent ceiling on Government bonds, while on the other hand shows a considerable apathy for this side of the interest-rate picture.

It appears the administration is perfectly happy to see the bankers and private investment institutions of America receive high interest returns on their investments, but have little interest in securing equitable treatment for the trust funds which back up our social security program, Federal civil service retirement program, the veterans' life insurance program, and other similar retirement plans, which affect millions of ordinary Americans.

We all know that from time to time there has been considerable concern expressed for the actuarial soundness of the civil service retirement fund and the Federal old-age and survivors insurance fund. From time to time the administration has taken a negative position on proposed changes to these programs on the basis the changes would endanger the actuarial soundness of the funds. One of the best ways to improve the actuarial soundness of these funds, or any trust fund for that matter, is to see they are properly invested at the highest yield available.

As I pointed out, the Treasury is paying 3½ percent on the U.S. Government life insurance trust fund and 3 percent on the national service life insurance trust fund. At the same time, the Veterans' Administration is loaning money to veteran policyholders at 4 percent. This practice demonstrates the unfairness of the Administration's policy. In other words, if a veteran borrows his own money back from the Veterans' Administration, using his life insurance policy as security, he must pay 4 percent, yet the Secretary of the Treasury has the use of the bulk of these funds at a 3-percent interest rate.

Mr. Speaker, these trust funds which I have been describing are in the nature of captive funds. In the case of the veterans' insurance trust funds, these matters are left entirely to the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury. There is no need for a change in legislation to insure the veterans' life insurance trust funds receiving fair treatment. Legislation has become necessary because the Administrator of Veterans Affairs and the Secretary of the Treasury have failed to act. It is for this reason I have introduced H.R. 9378. I have notified the Veterans' Administration and the Treasury I expect to begin hearings on this legislation on February 2.

The Chief of Army Engineers' Proposed Report on the Middle Snake River

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a press release I issued today criticizing the proposed report of the Chief of Army Engineers on the projects for the middle Snake River.

There being no objection, the press release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MORSE CALLS ENGINEERS' REVIEW REPORT ON MIDDLE SNAKE RIVER MASTERPIECE OF DOUBLETALK

In commenting on the Chief of Engineers' proposed report on a review of the Columbia River and tributaries, Senator MORSE today stated:

"The Corps' recommendations for the middle Snake River in the proposed review report constitute masterpieces of doubletalk. The proposed report is merely a timid expedient. It does not take a firm stand in the interest of engineering findings.

"Once again, the Corps almost grudgingly concedes the vast superiority of Nez Perce for the development of the Middle Snake and Salmon Rivers, at a lower cost and with a higher benefit-cost ratio than even the new streamlined alternative High Mountain Sheep-Lower Canyon combination. The logical approach, the Corps indicates, would be to defer the choice between these alternatives until a satisfactory solution has been found to the fish passage problem.

"This same logic has prompted me to join with the other Pacific Northwest Democratic Senators to sponsor Senate Concurrent Resolution 35, which would leave the river clear of dams until an accelerated fish study would give us the answers to the problem of combining maximum uses of water resources with respect to power, flood control, navigation and fisheries. The Corps thinks we should have a sustained fishery research program but the Chief of Engineers does not recommend an accelerated fish study program. This is doubletalk.

"The Corps proceeds to reject that which it terms the logical approach of deferring a choice of dams and concludes that a decision must be reached now as to the development of the High Mountain Sheep-Nez Perce reach of the Middle Snake River. This decision is based on a number of political assumptions and conclusions which the Corps should leave to the Congress and not arrogate to itself.

"The timidity of the report is further illustrated by its statements even as to Mountain Sheep. The Engineers recommend the authorization by the Congress for Federal construction of a list of projects including High Mountain Sheep; but the report hints at the Corps' willingness to sit by and let the Federal Power Commission license the construction of High Mountain Sheep by the Pacific Northwest Power Co.

"Apparently, the Corps is willing to turn itself into a private engineering consulting service for the private utilities of the Pacific Northwest—at the taxpayers' expense.

"My position on development of the Middle Snake has not changed. I support construction of the Nez Perce project provided it can be built without endangering the fish runs that constitute a vital element of the economies of Oregon and of the region.

"Once again, as in 1948 and again in 1952, the Corps has admitted the superiority of Nez Perce project; the Federal Power Commission in 1958 rejected the Pacific Northwest Power Co.'s application to construct minimum projects in the Middle Snake because it found that optimum development required the inclusion of Nez Perce in any combination of projects.

"I cannot countenance this jettisoning of one of the most favorable economic projects in the Columbia Basin by the Engineers for nonengineering reasons. The first step must be to save the Middle Snake by the enactment of Senate Concurrent Resolution 35."

MORSE expressed satisfaction over the inclusion of Strube Reregulating Reservoir, Gate Creek, Fern Ridge, and Cascadia projects as additions to the Willamette Basin plan. "These projects are essential and, when completed, will add highly essential features to the river system of the Willamette Basin," the Oregon Senator stated.

Hon. Sam Rayburn

SPEECH
OF
HON. LEONARD G. WOLF
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1960

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, on this, your birthday, here in this Chamber a great many words are being spoken, by Members of both parties, in your honor and in praise of your long period of distinguished service in the House of Representatives. It is only natural that we

who have been fortunate enough to serve in the Congress, under your leadership, and who have benefited and profited by your help, guidance, and assistance, should love you and respect you.

Our Speaker, however, wins hearts wherever he goes. On December 12 we were highly honored when you paid us a visit in Cedar Rapids, Iowa. I would like to insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a "letter to the editor" which appeared in the Cedar Rapids Gazette on December 19. This letter was written by one of the people who attended the banquet at which you spoke. I think this letter mirrors a noble character—the kind of man our beloved Speaker is.

The letter follows:

[From the Cedar Rapids (Iowa) Gazette, December 19, 1959]

SAM RAYBURN TALKED PRINCIPLES

To the EDITOR: On December 12 Linn County and the city of Cedar Rapids were highly honored by the presence of one of the greatest living statesmen of these United States—the Honorable SAM RAYBURN, Speaker of the House of Representatives. Mr. RAYBURN has served the United States in Congress for 46 years. In Cedar Rapids he was the principal speaker at a fund-raising dinner for the Democratic Party. His speech was very broad and full of American principles—to anyone who is broadminded and has principles. He told how hard our forefathers worked, with far-reaching vision, to write the Constitution that has stood the tests of time, and serves the country today just as it did the Thirteen Colonies. Through all these years with their many changes, the Constitution has needed only 19 amendments, one of which has been repealed.

He talked about the youth of America and how they must be trained to take over and carry on and uphold the American heritage after we are gone.

He talked about an America so unified, brotherly, and happy that there would be no North and South or East and West.

He spoke about the ups and downs he has seen in this Nation since he first went to Washington, blaming the Republican administration for some of them and quoting statistics to support his viewpoint.

He reminded his fellow citizens that where there is need, there is opportunity; and where there is privilege, there is duty.

He told how the senior Congressmen help the Members who are newly elected to Congress. He told how so many Congressmen's wives help their husbands through thick and thin, and what a wonderful institution marriage is when its obligations are fulfilled.

On the whole, Mr. RAYBURN'S speech was almost nonpolitical; it was a speech of American principles and morals. With very little revision the same speech could very appropriately be delivered to a gathering of Masons, Knights of Columbus, parent-teacher association, chamber of commerce, or any other organization.

I am very glad that I attended the banquet and heard Mr. RAYBURN'S speech and saw him deliver it. I am very proud to be able to say I shook hands with Mr. RAYBURN.

Every citizen owes a debt of gratitude to Mr. RAYBURN or any other statesman who has served this Nation so many years. Let us be respectful to our senior statesmen, whether they are of this political party or that. This United States of America, in order to uphold democracy, must have more than one political party. Let's give credit where credit is due.

E. A. COULTAS.

MOUNT VERNON.

Citizens Natural Resources Association of Wisconsin Commends Congress and Secretary Flemming

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the Citizens Natural Resources Association of Wisconsin, through its president, Mrs. Max J. Schmitt, has forwarded to me copies of a communication and resolution on herbicides and insecticides which I submit for the RECORD as a matter of interest to all Members of Congress.

The association commends the Congress and Secretary Flemming of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for having acted to control the use of chemical insecticides and herbicides, and its resolution urges Congress to conduct comprehensive investigations of the use of such chemicals so that human and animal life may be protected.

The association's letter and resolution are as follows:

CITIZENS NATURAL RESOURCES ASSOCIATION OF WISCONSIN,
Wauwatosa, Wis., December 1, 1959.

ARTHUR S. FLEMMING,
Secretary, Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SECRETARY FLEMMING: Your action in regard to contaminated cranberries deserves the commendation and support of the people, not only of the United States, but of other countries as well. Human health and life is at stake. People must become aware that they, as individuals, have a stake in your enforcement of this and other laws which protect them against promiscuous use of poisonous substances.

The Citizens Natural Resources Association has made an extensive study on the effects of insecticides and herbicides. We are enclosing copies of our report, and those of qualified agencies, with this letter and resolution.

We find it difficult to understand the lack of responsibility on the part of many newspapers as shown in their reporting of your enforcement of the protective legislation provided by Congress. Many of them completely ignored the action taken in 1958 by your Department and the cranberry association. They chose to sympathize with a forewarned industry over a monetary loss, instead of expressing concern for human life. One wonders just how human life stacks up against the dollar in the minds of these reporters. They seem to forget that they, and their families, are the potential victims; especially if one of them happens to be hypersensitive to aminotriazole.

We wish to congratulate you and Congress, for making your action possible, and we offer encouragement in any further action you may take on this and other herbicides and insecticides.

Sincerely,

Mrs. MAX J. SCHMITT,
President.

RESOLUTION ON HERBICIDES AND INSECTICIDES

Whereas the highly poisonous effects on human life of the so-called wonder chemicals in cranberry and other food production have alarmed Federal and other officials, and alerted our citizens to their potential danger; and

Whereas the use of chemical herbicides and insecticides have become so common in their widespread use in food production; and

Whereas the secondary effects on human as well as animal life are so poorly understood because the time element has not been sufficient to determine their potential effect; and

Whereas the entire population is literally being bombarded with poisons, in the air they breath (mosquito and tree sprays), the food they eat, and the water they drink, without their consent and in spite of their protests; and

Whereas the individual has no recourse for his own protection; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Citizens Natural Resources Association of Wisconsin, That the Agriculture Committees of both Houses of Congress immediately begin a widespread public investigation of the present uses of chemical herbicides and insecticides. The purpose of this investigattion would be to endeavor to determine the direct and side effects of these chemicals on human and animal life with the object of enacting legislation control of the use of such chemicals. The end result of this investigation is hoped to be that human and animal life shall be protected, not alone from individual chemicals, but from the cumulative effects of many chemical residues on all the different foods consumed by each single individual; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare; to each Member of Congress representing the people of Wisconsin, to the Committee on Insecticides and Herbicides of Wisconsin, to the newspapers, to the Director of the Wisconsin Conservation Department, and to Governor Nelson.

Address by Hon. Albert Conway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the address by Hon. Albert Conway, chief judge of the Court of Appeals of New York, delivered at the Brooklyn-Manhattan Trial Counsel Association dinner held at the Waldorf-Astoria on October 1, 1959. The dinner was in honor of the chief judge and Associate Justices James T. Hallinan and Henry G. Wenzel, Jr., of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, second department, who retired on December 31, 1959, under the constitutional requirement. The dinner is an annual affair.

The address follows:

Mr. Chairman, Governor Wilson, and Excellencies the distinguished representatives of great and free nations, lady and gentlemen, the annual dinners of this association have always afforded me a triple source of pleasure—the pleasure of anticipation, the pleasure of attendance and, more lastingly, the pleasure of recollection of a delightful evening in pleasant company.

Our meeting tonight has a special significance. The lawyers of the greatest city in the world are meeting, breaking bread with a representative of the executive branch of our own State government, my friend Malcom Wilson, and with the representa-

tives of Greece and Turkey, stanch bastions of the free world, our great friends and allies. All here subscribe to a single doctrine—the rule of law reflecting the will of the Creator of us all.

As we meet, bound by ties of friendship and understanding, it is well to remember that there are forces abroad in the world which seek to destroy us and the institutions we revere and cherish. These forces seek to substitute for the rule of law the rule of man; they strive to replace constitutional government with that of personal, fluctuating whim.

Our single real defense in this ideological conflict is a reaffirmation of our belief, our trust in our own institutions, in our adherence to the rule of law. To the extent that we depart from that credo, we undermine the very structure we seek to preserve.

Lawyers have always been in the forefront of the struggle to preserve fundamental rights and freedoms. We should not abdicate that position, nor permit it to be usurped by others.

The history of this group is ample proof that, in the struggle that portends, you will be militant and alert in preserving the freedoms we hold so dear.

On behalf of Associate Justice Hallinan and Associate Justice Wenzel I wish to thank you all for the honor you have done us tonight. I merely state our unanimous sentiment when I say to you we are grateful and appreciative, not only for this wonderful evening, but for all the years of friendship, understanding and cooperation you have given to us without stint.

Ladies and gentlemen, our sincere thanks.

Memorial Sermon for Congressman Steven A. Carter, Late a Member From the Fourth Iowa District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM J. RANDALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the text of the sermon delivered by Dr. Roy A. Cheville, professor of theology, Graceland College, Lamoni, Iowa, and a minister in the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-day Saints.

The late STEVE CARTER was a member of the Latter-day Saints Church, whose world headquarters is at Independence, in the Fourth Missouri District. Some of the members of Mr. CARTER'S family live in Independence, Mo.

When I heard this sermon delivered I was so impressed I then concluded that the thoughts expressed should be preserved in the RECORD.

The text of the sermon follows:

MOUNTAINS OF FAITH

Jesus talked to His followers about faith that would move mountains. In His own daily life He lived by ascending mountains. He never waved a wand to remove some obstructing hill in order to make life easy. He faced life honestly and seriously and recognized there were mountains before Him and at times around him. He climbed and from such vantage points saw in eternal perspective what could not have been seen so clearly in the valley. He surveyed life from the summits of mountains of faith. This day, we are reflecting on the life of a friend who faced the blockading effects of life's crags and peaks and climbed them to experience larger vision.

ON A MOUNTAIN

A few years ago a friend and I set out to climb Mount Tamalpais in California. At the foothills the fog hung low and mists seemed to enshroud us. We met a hiker coming who had turned around when halfway up the mountain. "It's wet and you can't see anything," was his warning. We pushed on and at the top, the sun broke through and we saw in glorious perspective the plains and hills. Beyond was the ocean, symbolical of the great unknown. The sun lightened the scene with cheerful warmth. We stood in silence for a while. There is little to say in the greatness of earth's wonders. There were only two of us. We do not take large companies when we climb up mountains of faith. Often we have to go alone. Many times we have to go in faith that the sun will break through.

Once I went with a company of youth to climb Mount Manitou in Colorado. The hurrying crowd called out, "Who'll get there first?" They scampered away without looking to the right or to the left. On reaching the top they called out, "Who'll get down first?" How little they saw. How much they missed. Some of us walked a while and then looked out over the valley. Then at the top the glorious picture stretched out before us. We have to get up high enough to see life in its totality and in its relationships. Close up to Notre Dame we may see only a gargoyle staring at us. At a distance we see the total historic cathedral in proportion and balance.

THE MOUNTAIN VIEW OF MOSES

In the sunset years of Moses' life, he climbed Mount Pisgah and saw the promised land. He had given his life to a people who did not understand him. He had dedicated himself to taking his people toward the country that he would never enter. A man of smaller spiritual stature might have complained and given up. Not Moses. He saw with God. This is the simple story.

"And Moses went up from the plains of Moab, unto the mountains of Nebo, to the top of Pisgah, * * *

"And the Lord showed him all the land of Gilead, unto Dan * * *.

"And the Lord said unto him, 'this is the land which I sware unto Abraham, and unto Jacob. * * *

"I have caused thee to see it with thine eyes, out thou shalt not go thither.'"

Here was faith of the first order. Moses saw his place in an outgoing purpose that was to last beyond his day. A measure of a man is in that to which he devotes his life, for which he gives all he has. Little souls want comforts and awards at the immediate moment. Great souls give themselves to things that may not be realized in their life-time. They believe the worthful will come to pass. They are happy in moving forward toward the goodly land.

The letter to the Hebrews refers to the roster of the faithful. It speaks of those who gave because they saw the distant scene that wold never be their homeland.

"These all died in the faith, not having received the promises but having seen them afar off, and were persuaded of them." (Hebrews 11:13.)

THE PISGAH VIEW

Once Sir John Adams used a term in a class on comparative education that has enriched my life. He spoke of "the Pisgah view." He urged us all to look at things from the mountain view. From this loftier height we would be able to see these ways:

(1) In relative importance. Sometimes we are too close to see relative worths. Life becomes as an archbishop of Cantebury told students of Oxford like a store window in which a prankster came in over night and changed the price tags. We get our values confused. With clearer perspective some things fade into insignificance.

(2) In long-time perspective. We see things so often in a 5-minute outlook. Reinhold Neibuhr, when accused of being pessimistic, told his friend that he would have a passimism about the decades but a faith in the aeons.

(3) With the procession of explorers. From Mount Pisgah we see with prophetic spirits who have seen with God. Up here we sense with Flaubert that "the principle thing in this world is to keep one's soul aloft."

BEYOND TIME MEASUREMENT

On the mountains of faith there are no timeclocks, no calendars. The eternal process and purpose move on. We see it moving on and on. We get into it and go forward. Recently I visited with a professional architect who had lost his eyesight. Day and night meant nothing to him. He was touching reality without these limitations. Still he was dreaming big things. He was climbing the mountains of faith. I say to such as he:

We live in deeds, not years,
In feelings, not in figures on the dial;
We count time by heartthrobs,
He lives most who thinks most,
Feels the noblest, acts the best.

Today I am not concerned about how long my friend lived in calendar years. I am not interested in recording mileage. Rather am I interested in what he saw when he climbed his Mount Pisgah.

LIVES THAT IMPEL US

Lives of courageous faith stir us to climb. Recently I read the story of Rick Fox, who went from Colorado to Baylor University. He was to study medicine. He was the top man of his class the first year. In his second year recurrent pains in his stomach sent him to the doctor. The man of medicine was honest. "Rick, I've got to give it to you straight. You have terminal cancer and you can't live." Rick's reply, "Let me have 30 minutes alone with God." He came back ready for the future. "Use me as a laboratory specimen. I will memo my reactions." To his classmates came this injunction, "Be a good doctor." He wanted to go home to his loved ones in the mountains. Sixty students lined the way to the airport as he was wheeled to the plane. The silver plane was lost in the clouds. Two days later he was gone. These medical students could never forget his word from his mountain of faith, "Be a good doctor."

THESE EXPRESSIONS OF HOPE AND FAITH

Today I hold to the fore these expressions of hope and faith that showed up in the mountains of faith of Steven Carter:

(1) The intent to achieve education and professional life. He was not born in wealth and served on silver platters. There were no rich relatives to put his forward in school. There was dogged determination to make his own way. And this he did.

(2) The facing of reality. He knew quite well his health hazard. He did not indulge in neurotic escapism. He did not moan, "Why did this have to happen to me?" He did not turn to complaining. He saw things squarely and honestly. With him I associate these lines of Longfellow:

"Fear not in a world like this
And thou shalt know ere long,
Know how sublime a thing it is
To suffer and be strong."

(3) The last mountain of faith. In the closing days when departing came nearer, the serenity of faith stood out. There was

concern about what matters most in the family, in the political arena, in the personal commitment to God.

AFTER GRADUATION

Out of my educational background I have come to think of death as a graduation day when we move on into the University of Eternity. Only those have right to eternity who find life so full, so short, so that an eternity is needed. For others eternity would be a monstrous boredom with nothing to do. Steven Carter just got well started in the business of living. With his questing spirit he should find the University of Eternity appealing. From Mount Pisgah he sees the great stretches of the promised land yet to be explored.

It has been said that those fear death who have lived poorly here and that those who wish death are those who have weakened here. The healthy man neither fears death nor desires death. He lives meaningfully each day and wants more time, but when the trumpet sounds that his present mountain-climbing is over, he stands confidently on Mount Pisgah, with God at his side and says, "It is well."

THESE WORDS FROM THE MOUNTAIN

Today, let us climb our own mountains of faith. Here let us find release from the pressure of things of passing worth. Here let us see the wholeness of life. Here let us meet the God of Life, as Moses did, and be assured of his concern for us. Here let us dedicate ourselves to things that go beyond our time. We look ahead in hope that something we have done and are doing will be carrying our people on toward the land of promise.

In the quiet we hear what Moses said to Joshua. I hear Steven Carter saying it to his sons:

"The Lord thy God will go before thee."

"Fear not, neither be discouraged."

And we hear what Moses said to his people:

"The eternal God is thy refuge, and underneath on the everlasting arms."

"As thy days, so shall thy strength be."

This day from the mountain of faith we hear God pointing us to the land to be, to the life we shall make come to pass, through our common endeavor with God's guidance. We hear Moses' watchword from Joshua as the heritage of Steven Carter to us, "Be strong and of good courage."

Hon. Stephen V. Carter

SPEECH
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1960

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, along with others who have previously spoken, I want to add my word of tribute to the late STEPHEN V. CARTER, who, in the brief time he served in the House of Representatives, did so much to make his mark in this body and to cause us to remember him for many years to come.

It was my good fortune to have our late colleague assigned to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs as one of the newly elected Members of the 86th Congress. I named him to the Subcomittees on Administration and Insurance, and, also, he was a member of a special subcommittee, headed by the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. MITCHELL], which was appointed to specifically consider three important administrative proposals. Of the three proposals, House bill 6319 became Public Law 86-146 and established new safeguards relative to the acumulation and disposition of certain funds of incompetent veterans. This proposal will result in the saving of large amounts of money to the Federal Government, while, at the same time, protect the rights of all of those unfortunate veterans who have been declared incompetent.

The second proposal upon which the gentleman from Iowa worked was House bill 7106, which was enacted as Public Law 86-222, and which repealed the forfeiture procedure applicable to veterans' benefits and, in effect, ended the double penalty which has been applicable to veterans who made misstatements or gave false information concerning a claim before the Veterans' Administration.

The enactment of both of these proposals was aided by the advice and counsel of the Honorable STEPHEN V. CARTER, and we were looking forward to his same calm, judicial approach to the other matter pending before this subcommittee; namely, judicial review for veterans' claims.

Our colleague was held in the highest esteem, respect, and admiration by all of those who served with him on the committee and this was true regardless of party. His kind manner and his willingness to cooperate in any endeavor to which he was assigned will be cherished by all of us who knew him while he was a member of our committee. To his wife and children I extend my heartfelt sympathy and know that the ability and integrity of this servant of the people is a great source of comfort to his family in their hour of loss.

Tariff Commission Investigates Unfair Importation of Foreign Textiles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, last August I joined other members of the Alabama congressional delegation in urging the Secretary of Agriculture to use that section of the Agricultural Adjustment Act which provides for relief against imports whenever they interfere with domestic industry.

The action we requested was in conjunction with the increasingly unfair situation in which the domestic textile industry finds itself.

We were therefore heartened in November when the President, acting on advice of the Secretary of Agriculture, directed the U.S. Tariff Commission to determine whether the Government should impose an equalization fee, in addition to existing duties, on imported cotton textile products.

An editorial on this subject was written for the Avondale (Ala.) Sun by J. Craig Smith, president of Avondale Mills, and I wish to conclude my remarks with this editorial.

The editorial referred to follows:

AN ENCOURAGING FIRST STEP

President Eisenhower has asked the Tariff Commission to make an investigation to determine whether or not the 8-cent export subsidy now in effect on American cotton is causing the importation of foreign textiles in an amount sufficient to interfere with, or threaten to interfere with, the Government's raw cotton price support program. It seems apparent to us in the textile industry that the answer to the question is yes before any further formal investigation is made. Nevertheless, the fact that the President has asked for this investigation is an important first step toward getting relief from our critical import problem.

Last June, the National Cotton Council, an organization representing the growers, ginners, warehousemen, merchants, seed crushers, and cotton mills, filed a petition with the Secretary of Agriculture. The mechanics of the law under which the council sought relief require that the Secretary of Agriculture must first inform the President that imports of cotton textiles are interfering, or threaten to interfere, with the Government's cotton price support program. The next step is for the President to ask the Tariff Commission to make an investigation. If the investigation bears out the facts in the petition, the Government then must take appropriate action to remedy the situation.

In his communication to the Tariff Commission, the President dealt only with the effect of the 8-cent subsidy on raw cotton. I am hopeful that the Tariff Commission will find that foreign textiles are entering this market in sufficient volume to interfere with the Government's cotton price support program, and that a limit should be placed on these imports regardless of whether they are caused by the 8-cent cotton subsidy or whether they are caused by coolie Asian wages. There would be ample precedent for making a broad rather than a limited finding of fact. At the present time, there are rigid quotas on how much foreign flour can enter the United States similar to the quotas we have on raw cotton and raw wheat. The quota on flour is enforced without regard to the difference in price between American wheat and foreign wheat. There is a quota on upland cotton of 29,000 bales, less than 1 day's supply for American mills. This quota, like the quota on wheat, is without reference to the difference in price between cotton here and cotton in Mexico, Brazil, or some other foreign country. The theory is that if this foreign cotton enters the United States in excess of 29,000 bales, for whatever reason, it will interfere with the Government's present cotton price support program.

Foreign textiles made from foreign cotton (and 70 percent of all foreign textiles imported into this country made from foreign cotton) entering the United States have exactly the same effect on the price support program as would entry of the cotton itself. The only difference is that in addition to displacing this American cotton, they also displace the jobs of those Americans in the textile industry.

The fact that the President has given any recognition to our problem at all is encouraging. We have high hopes that after the Tariff Commission has looked into it, the President will decide that a remedy will be applied which will effect a permanent and complete cure. It won't do too much good to bind up a wound in our hand and leave open a gash in our throat.

The Three Score Years and Ten Plateau

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Dr. Frank G. Dickinson of the National Bureau of Economic Research at the annual meeting of the Conference of Actuaries in Public Practice held at the Drake Hotel, Chicago, Ill., on October 12 and 13, 1959:

THE THREE SCORE YEARS AND TEN PLATEAU

(Address by Frank G. Dickinson)

Will average lifetime, which increased so rapidly in the first half of this century in the United States, continue to lengthen? Apparently the census of population of 1960 coupled with the deaths of 1959–61 will indicate clearly that we have come to the end of a glorious period of rapid increase in the average length of life. The forthcoming statistics will likely show that expectation of life at birth in the United States in 1960 was about 70, possibly 70.2 years, an increase of only 1.8 or 2 years above the level of 1950. In previous half century the gain was 21 years, better than 4 years a decade.

If the 1950's had been devoid of medical progress, this gain of only 2 years during the decade might not seem so indicative. But during the present decade we have had remarkable improvements in medical care, particularly in surgery and diagnosis. Also the development of the Salk vaccine has saved millions of children from the rigors of polio.

The forthcoming statistics on length of life will also probably indicate that if we could miraculously have no deaths in the United States among persons under 45 years of age, the expectation of life at birth would accordingly be increased by only 4 years. We have truly come to the end of an era and future prospects need to be examined with great care. We shall exclude atomic warfare implications because they are presently beyond measurement. Perhaps there is no better way to look at this future than to think of the biblical 3 score years and 10 as a gently rising plateau of length of life.

One already reads disturbing reports of slight increases in infant mortality. In the last 2 years the rate has risen slightly from 2.6 to 2.7 percent. The reduction of infant mortality rates from over 15 percent to about 2½ percent is one of the great triumphs of the 20th century and the cornerstone of the 21-year increase in length of life. The problem seems to be to keep it at that level and to prevent it from rising. It is perhaps reasonable to expect that the rate will be lowered irregularly to 2 percent; and in the distant future to 1½ percent. Maternal mortality is apparently stabilized at the very low level of four one-hundredths of 1 percent. Certainly there is little hope for increasing the average length of life by reducing mortality among infants. The curve of the expectation of life at birth is flattening out as it approaches 70 years.

BETTER, NOT MORE YEARS

We who enjoy much longer life than did our forebearers are likely to take future gains for granted without realizing how great the gains have been in this century. If social progress for the billions of men over the centuries means more and better years in which to grow and develop with more and better things, it is not too much to claim that we have had more social progress since 1900 than was attained in the previous 19 centuries of the Christian era. Social progress from now on will stress better years rather than more years, and growing and developing with more and better things. On the new plateau of 3 score years and 10, the focus of our insatiable demand for improvement will shift from living longer to living better—deepening our understanding that we belong to an infinite scheme of life, increasing our understanding of one another and, in general, lifting the human spirit.

SEVEN YEARS VERSUS TWENTY-ONE

The record itself is emphatic:

[In years]

	Expectation of life at birth	Increase
1900	47.3	
1910	50.0	2.7
1920	54.1	4.1
1930	59.7	5.6
1940	62.9	3.2
1950	68.2	[1] 5.3
Total		20.9
1960	[2] 70.2	[2] 2.0

[1] This great gain was largely due to the antibiotics and warrants calling the 1940's the decade of the antibiotics. This development interrupted the trend toward smaller decade gains in the length of life. T. N. E. Greville gives a mean estimate of 74.3 years for the year 2000 in his population projections ("Actuarial Study No. 46," Social Security Administration)—in the best study.
[2] Estimated.

This is a gain of 20.9 years in half a century and is unquestionably the most definitive description of the progress attained. It does not seem unreasonable to expect that the gain during the 1960's will also be under 2 years, with the total gain for the second half of the century probably not more than seven years—to 75 years, certainly well under four score years. For some nations, notably Norway, the figure is already well above 70 years. Considerable improvement in mortality can yet be attained in the United States among the nonwhite population who comprise about one-tenth of the total population. Moreover, the present six-year advantage of females may be lessened by future reductions in mortality among males. But considering all of these factors together, it would seem that unless there is a major breakthrough in the understanding of cancer and heart diseases and their causes and cures, we can expect a gain of about seven years for the second half of our century as compared with the gain of 21 years in length of life during the first half of our century. This prospective second-half gain of 7 years, since each year's gain will be harder and harder, will be more than one-third as important as the 21 year gain. Indeed, history might regard these 7 years as almost on a par with the 21 years.

Extrapolated straight line trends, excluding and including my estimate for 1960, for the year 2000 are 88.9 years and 87.4 years respectively. Since the first half of the 20th century was unique, these two straight line trends are too high. A more reasonable estimate of the probable expectation of life at birth for the calendar year 2000 would be 75 years instead of 88.9 or 87.4 years.

Why has this great measure of medical and social progress come almost to a standstill? After decades of substantial increases (except for the sharp decline during the influenza epidemic of World War I) why should this measure seem to waver as it approaches 70 years? Why shouldn't the former pace of rapid increase be continued? What would be necessary to maintain that pace?

EXPECTATION OF LIFE, AN AVERAGE

Before attempting to answer these questions, it is necessary to state precisely what is meant by the term expectation of life at birth. It is an average. In 1900, 1,000 babies selected at random from those born in the United States were expected to live a grand total of 47,300 years, an average of 47.3 years. In contrast, 1,000 babies selected at random among those born in 1960 will be expected to live a total of approximately 70,000 years (possibly 70,200 years), an average of 70.0 years; about 25 will die during the first year; some will live on to 80 and 90 and even 100 years of age. In order to achieve an average of 70 years, a considerable number of these babies must live at least 100 years. The word expectation in the term implies that these averages will be achieved provided the mortality rate at every age in the calendar year of their birth remains unchanged throughout their entire lifetimes. In other words, the term expectation of life assumes that the 1,000 babies chosen at randum will climb the mortality curve prevailing in the year of their birth. Of course, there have been improvements in mortality at all ages. The actual number of years the 1,000 babies born in 1900 will have lived—computed after the last survivor dies sometimes in the next century—should certainly exceed 47.3 years by a dozen years or more. We have no way of measuring accurately how long those born in a particular calendar year actually do live because of the prolonged record-keeping task. Such actual averages, if published sometime during the 21st century, would have slight historical significance. On the other hand, those born in 1960 will not actually exceed their expectation of life by very much because mortality rates at all ages generally throughout the balances of the 20th and well into the next century, cannot be expected to decline as rapidly as they have in the past.

Confusing the span of life with the expectation of life at birth obscures the plateau of three score years and ten. The term "the span of life" apparently refers to the longest life ever lived by a human being; the name, sex, age at death, country, and century, of this unique person are not known. He or she may have lived 150 years or more. But even if all the facts were known, the span of life would not afford a gage for measuring the steady progress of the people of a nation toward longer life. That this one unique person lived 150 years, does not promise that average length of life will reach 150 years. It is far better to use an average than a maximum in measuring this improvement.

Most of the great increase in length of life in this century has been due to the reductions in mortality among the young, especially among infants. Moreover, the saving of a life of an infant actually has more to do with the lengthening of average life than does the saving of a life of a person in middle age. The arithmetic here is a little tedious, but it must be stressed that the gains of recent decades cannot now be repeated from the same sources for the basic reason that infant mortality has already fallen to the extremely low level of 2½ percent. Much the same situation exists for preschool age children and young persons. Clearly, now in our attempts to increase the length of life, our frontier lies above the age of, say, 45.

LONG CLIMB TO THE PLATEAU

The extreme rapidity of the increase in the expectation of life at birth in earlier decades of this century may not become generally appreciated until long after the curve has flattened out on the three-score-years-and-ten plateau. In the heyday of the Roman Empire, the upper class Romans might have lived about a quarter of a century, on the average, despite the high percentage of deaths during infancy. A person of that era who lived a third of a century died old by the mortality standards of the times, though doubtless every large community in ancient times had a few men of three score years

and ten. Apparently little progress was made during the Middle Ages. It was not until around 1700 that some evidence appeared that the average length of life was approaching a third of a century in favored sections of Western Europe—a gain of something like 8 years in more than 1,700 years. During the 18th and 19th centuries, there were slow improvements in mortality, with the expectation of life at birth in the United States rising to an estimated 47.3 years in 1900. Then came great improvements in the prevention of contagious diseases, better food, better sanitation, better housing, and better medical care, producing this tremendous upward swing in the curve with a gain of 21 years in just half a century. This increase apparently equalled the gain of an untold number of previous centuries.

EVER MORE YEARS WANTED

Although the privilege of dying old is probably the greatest accomplishment of the 20th century, this accomplishment may not give much comfort to those of us who have been fortunate to attain 50, 60, 70, or 80 years of age. A normal person is never ready for the start of his last illness or the occurrence of his final accident, although his desire to live may diminish as the end approaches. If normal man ever got enough of life, we could, figuratively speaking, rest on our laurels and be satisfied with the remarkable and unpredecented progress toward lower mortality and longer life achieved thus far in the 20th century. Consider the fact that 92 percent of the babies born in the United States today should survive to age 45. Why shouldn't 92 percent survive to age 50, 60, or 70?

So the quest for longer life will continue, and the pressure on physicians and allied scientists to postpone death a little longer and still a little longer will continue. The great accomplishments in reducing mortality in this century will be accepted as fact, but whatever gratitude that might be expected may fade into resentment against the slowness of mortality improvements in the second half of this century. The possible effects of slowing down the upward surge in this measure of average length of life, and in the mortality situation which it reflects, are numerous. Persons at different ages will have different views on the subject. Many will resent the slowing down; for example, there may be public outcries against the baneful shortage of physicians and in favor of vast public spending to flood the country with many more physicians and research programs. The fact that the gain of only 2 years during the decade of the 1950's took place during a decade of substantial medical progress will be forgotten.

We have become so accustomed to progress that it is difficult for us to realize that we are not approaching an age of Methuselahs. Surely this is not the time for scientific leaders to tantalize thoughtful laymen with the promise of a continuation of the upward trend at the rapid pace attained during recent decades. Rather the reasonable prospect is for very small gains with great difficulty in holding those already attained.

CONQUEST OF THE OLDER CAUSES?

The challenge is to reduce mortality from diseases of the heart and cancer, thereby increasing the expectation of life at age 45 above the present level of 29 years. This task will be patently more difficult, if for no other reason than the fact that the efforts of physicians and fellow scientists to reduce mortality above age 45 will be concentrated on older bodies, aged 50, 60, 70, and 80. The prospects of small reductions in mortality are very bright. But reductions of the magnitude necessary to jump the expectation of life at birth from 70 to 80 years before the century ends are presently beyond the realm of reasonable speculation. Too many of our standard group of 1,000 babies would have to be scheduled to live more than 100 years.

During the past decades the great success in reducing infant mortality to the low level of 2½ percent as pointed out above, added greatly to the number of years in the grand total of years to be lived upon which these averages are based. Now, if we were, for examplie, to find a significant and important development in the field of cancer therapy, we would have to think of it as a means of extending life beyond 64 years, the present average age of death from cancer. The lives saved from cancer mortality, by some great and much-to-be-hoped-for discovery, would not continue a great many more years. Certainly, they would not live anything like as many additional years as those babies whose lives were saved by successive improvements in infant care during previous decades. If life is to remain finite, the gains that can come from the conquest of a disease where the average age at death is already high are very modest, if we know anything at all about human life. It is much more likely that these people saved from dying of cancer would live a few additional years, and add a few years to the totals from which expectation of life at birth is computed.

In the much larger field of diseases of the heart we face substantially the same prospects. There have been a number of minor breakthroughs during the 1950's but they have lengthened life very little. Persons in the remainder of this century who are saved from death through improvements in prevention, diagnosis, and treatment of heart diseases can be expected to live a few additional years on the average. All this is based upon a consideration of the modest hopes of research people who are working with these two great causes of death.

A MAJOR BREAKTHROUGH?

But what would be the magnitude of a breakthrough and what would be its effect upon expectation of life at birth if we could find complete cures for most of the diseases of the heart and of cancer? Such a breakthrough defies the imagination. Such complete cures would leave no important older cause of death except ill-defined senility. Man would pass from being a finite being, as we have thought of him over the centuries and in all recorded history, and become some new kind of a being.

But we know and hope that the quest for longer life will continue. We must expect more and more effort, and more and more funds to be spent on research work in the fields of cancer and heart disease. As individuals, we can only hope that the research will be successful. Nevertheless, a prudent man today must look to three score years and ten, the Biblical age of man, as a plateau above which length of life will not increase very much during the coming decades, unless some miraculous breakthrough is found which permits people to literally live on and on and on. When the accomplishments of this century in learning how to die old instead of dying young become more generally appreciated, it is likely that there will be more satisfaction with what has already been accomplished, and less resentment at the slow upward movement in the curve of life during the coming decades. We should be patient with the future slow progrees of scientific efforts to conquer the older causes of death, especially as that progress is reflected in small increases in the expected length of life of a new-born baby. We should realize the magnitude of the task that lies ahead.

Strange as it may seem, in the absence of a major breakthrough in the field of cancer and heart diseases we may, if the present high birth rate continues, approach a balanced age distribution of our population in a few decades. The present indications are that the proportion of adults 50 years of age and over will decline throughout the 1970's. If the high birth rate continues for another 10 years, this decline should also continue into the 1990's. Finally, while our national effort is concentrated on better years rather than more years, atomic discoveries could mean both more and better years; or, God forbid, fewer years.

Perhaps these conclusions should be related to the preceding paper this morning on the world population explosion. The coming explosion predicted for the United States (and for other nations on or approaching the three score years and ten plateau) would fare greater if the gain in expectation of life at birth during the second half of the century should be 21 years instead of (my) 7 years.

But They Don't Call It Payola

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. MEYER
OF VERMONT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. MEYER. Mr. Speaker, the leadership of the distinguished gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. KOWALSKI] has been outstanding in an effort to promote efficiency in the Armed Forces. As a retired officer of long and distinguished service, he knowns what he is talking about when it comes to reducing waste and correcting injustices. FRANK KOWALSKI is my friend, but it is admiration rather than friendship which prompts me to say that here is a man who places patriotism and service to country far above old school ties. At the risk of being misunderstood by former associates, FRANK KOWALSKI has consistently spoken out to promote the proper defense of our country while at the same time seeking to correct abuses in the use of manpower and funds.

As further evidence of his continuing activity and foresight, I include in my extension of remarks a column written by Hy Gardner which appeared in the January 7, 1960, issue of the New York Herald Tribune:

BUT THEY DON'T CALL IT PAYOLA
(By Hy Gardner)

FRANK KOWALSKI, a retired West Point colonel and currently a Member of Congress from Connecticut, recently shocked the Nation with an expose in the January issue of Reader's Digest entitled "Let's Stop the Outrageous Use of GI's as Servants." We discussed the article on our television program the other Sunday and expressed incredulity that any one in the Armed Forces would dare to put on paper some of the material Representative KOWALSKI quoted. To prove how wrong we were, the Congressman sent us a copy of Air Force manual JP62450–S, printed at the taxpayers' expense by the U.S. Government Printing Office, and stating, in the foreword, that the purpose of the 130-page manual was to provide a guide for supervised training on-the-job for Air Force personnel, especially airman aides.

Studying the brazen contents of the 8 by 10 blue-covered booklet, some hard, cold facts make your eyes pop out. "As an airman aide," the introduction states, "you have a job of great responsibility and sensitivity.

* * * Your contribution to the overall mission of the Air Force can be even more important than that of an air crew member, a mechanic, or any other individual airman. * * * As an enlisted aide you will work for a general officer. Your duties will be those of a specific nature. These will include cooking, personal services and chauffeuring, and so forth."

Quoting out of context, since our space, unlike the manual, is limited, we find these instructions issued to those men Representative KOWALSKI describes as performing the duties of domestics and servants. "At times you will be called upon to prepare beverages such as cocktails and mixed drinks for the personnel of the household and their guests. * * * There are a wide variety of drinks, but generally it is only necessary for you to know how to mix a few of the most popular ones.

"There are several types of champagne glasses but the most popular one is the coup. It has a very shallow bowl on a tall stem flared at the foot and is often called a saucer glass. * * * Check with your hostess and obtain her views on serving procedures and her desires. Often people have individual whims on serving procedures that they will wish you to carry out. * * *

"Garbage cans should be washed and sterilized after each daily pickup. * * * Sofas and overstuffed chairs should be so arranged that occupants may sit and view each other comfortably without turning in the chair. * * *

"Window washing is best accomplished with cold water. * * * Cotton mattress should be turned daily. * * * Keep lawn free from dandelions and other weeds that may smother out grass. * * * Occasionally pets require baths. The best way to accomplish this is by using soap, water, and plenty of 'elbow grease.' The fingers are better than any mechanical device for applying soap. Rinse animal thoroughly by pouring water over him, then keep him warm until he is dry if the weather is cold or damp. * * *

"To prevent colds, a good way is to wash the pet at night and keep him in until the next morning. He will be dry by then. Exercise is a must for all pets, if they are to stay healthy. Dogs kept indoors should be exercised by walking or retrieving an object. Many good books pertaining to the health, care, and training of pets are available at your base library. Take advantage of this source of information.

"Answer telephone as promptly as possible. Try to answer before second ring. * * * Identify yourself as 'General Blank's quarters, Airman ——— ——— speaking.' * * * Answer the door promptly and invite the guests in. * * * Take any hats or wraps. * * * Don't be egotistical or a braggart about your job. * * * Included in your normal duties are such housekeeping tasks as sweeping, mopping, waxing and dusting."

Any questions? Then write to your Congressman and ask why, as FRANK KOWALSKI points out, we countenance three divisions of servicemen acting as servants.

Significant Events in Fourth Alabama District Journalism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, I am very proud that in the Fourth Alabama District which I serve there are three fine daily newspapers, the Star, in Anniston; the Daily Home, in Talladega; and the Times-Journal, in Selma.

Each of these publications is a credit to the city and area it serves.

Evidence of the community-mindedness and aggressiveness of these newspapers is found in an editorial which appeared several weeks ago in the Selma Times-Journal.

Editor Edward B. Field points out that the editorial voices of these independent newspapers may sometimes disagree, but that each holds the unqualified respect of the others.

This is a healthy condition, Mr. Speaker, in any State's newspapers and I am delighted that it exists in the Fourth Congressional District of Alabama.

I wish to insert into the RECORD the editorial to which I have referred, which appeared in the Times-Journal:

OF JOURNALISTIC SIGNIFICANCE

Two events of high significance to Alabama journalism occurred during the first part of November.

One was celebration by the Talladega Daily Home of its golden anniversary, and the other was occupation by the Anniston Star of a new, million-dollar building, which reflects high confidence on the part of Publisher H. M. Ayers in the future of the State and his home city.

Both of these newspapers are outstanding stalwarts in the ranks of Alabama dailies still remaining free and independent, and both reflect credit upon the State and the fourth estate.

Although it is something of a coincidence that both of these newspapers are in the same congressional district as the Times-Journal, they represent people whose thinking often differs with that of ours, and we do not always see eye-to-eye with either of them.

Nevertheless, both of these newspapers hold unqualified respect of the Times-Journal, and we are confident that anything good which happens to them is good for the people of Alabama.

Challenges and Problems Facing the United States in the Sixties

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH W. BARR
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. BARR. Mr. Speaker, in the past few days I have been attempting to define some of the issues facing the United States in the next decade—the sixties. Frankly, I am not certain what the answers will or should be. But certainly the first step is to define the problem.

Representing the 11th Congressional District of Indiana is not easy. We have one of the largest, richest, and most intelligent districts in the country. I have found that one very helpful way to represent this great district and to work through a problem is to ask for advice from my own people in Marion County, Ind.

Listed below are two challenges and 10 problems that concern me. I am inserting this statement in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD with the hope that my voters will study it and then give me their advice on these issues.

CHALLENGES AND PROBLEMS FACING THE UNITED STATES IN THE SIXTIES—DOMESTIC

I believe that our domestic challenge is roughly this: "Can we establish an economic climate that will provide job opportunities and a chance for every worker to earn his fair share of his productive contribution to this Nation?"

Under the challenge I see these specific problems:

First. What can we do about an agricultural policy that is clearly a failure from the standpoint of the farmer, the taxpayer, and the consumer?

Second. What can we do to encourage the savings that must finance the approaching technical and population explosion? Both demand exorbitant amounts of new capital. A stable population and a technology that is not changing require very little savings or capital.

Third. What should we, or can we, do to soften the blows of industrial strife—management-labor conflicts?

Fourth. Is our tax structure just and equitable? Does it provide a reliable source of national revenue? Does it dampen out, or does it exaggerate the swing of the business cycle?

Fifth. Can we afford to react to foreign competition by crawling back into a high-tariff box?

Sixth. Are we getting our money's worth from the $45 billion a year defense expenditure? Is interservice rivalry getting out of hand and hampering our defense efforts?

INTERNATIONAL

In my opinion the international challenge is basically, "How can we achieve peace in the world without surrender in our right and our dignity as freemen?"

The problems underlying the challenge seem to be:

First. Can the United States encourage the NATO nations to shoulder a more realistic share of the military burden?

Second. Can we shift to the World Bank, the Monetary Fund, the Inter-American Bank, and the International Development Association the burden of assisting the underdeveloped nations of the world attain a measure of economic sufficiency?

Third. Can this Nation somehow get its agricultural surpluses out of expensive storage and to the starving peoples of the world?

Fourth. In spite of a shortage of exportable dollars can this Nation step up its assistance in technical, agricultural, and medical counseling to the underprivileged peoples of the Middle East, Africa, and Asia?

CONCLUSION

These are the areas of policy that concern me. I know that there are probably other problems in which my constituents are also interested. Their opinion on these and other issues will be welcome.

Mr. Seapower: Rear Adm. John S. McCain, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARK W. THOMPSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, in recent years the growth of our Federal establishment has reached gigantic proportions and growing with it has been an ever-increasing demand by our constituency for more and better service from their Government. To help us with this job the Congress has increasingly turned to the liaison officer of the various Federal departments and agencies. Their valuable and unselfish service is often overlooked, and, therefore, it was with deep pleasure that I read in the January 1960 edition of Navy, the magazine of seapower, a "Portrait of Rear Adm. John S. McCain, Jr.," a distinguished naval officer and presently Chief of Legislative Affairs in the Office of the Secretary of the Navy.

The article follows:

PORTRAITS: REAR ADM. JOHN S. MCCAIN, JR.

(By James C. Elliott)

If anyone ever handed out the title "Mr. Sea Power," Rear Adm. John S. McCain, Jr., certainly would be among the top candidates.

The short, dynamic admiral currently holds the imposing and challenging job of chief of legislative liaison for the Navy. But he has, since 1955, become recognized throughout the Nation as one of the leading spokesmen for sea power. He is, for example, the father of the sea power presentations which have been accepted so enthusiastically by the public and have become part and parcel of Navy League meetings everywhere.

Because of his dedication in bringing the Navy's story before the public he is often referred to as the chief apostle of sea power.

He, of course, modestly belittles his own efforts in the crusade. But friends and associates who have watched his untiring efforts believe he already has earned that title: "Mr. Sea Power."

"He lives and sleeps sea power 24 hours a day," one of his friends explained.

McCain began thinking about the need for a wider understanding of the Navy's position shortly after World War II. At the time, there was considerable talk that the Navy's role was diminishing what with atomic bombs and modern warfare and all; that its importance was on the decline.

This kind of talk bothered the fiery McCain, to say the least. The son of an admiral himself, pride alone—if nothing else—dictated some personal action on his part.

"The impact of the atomic bomb," he says, "in fact emphasized the need for true mobility, and the seas were becoming more important."

But the general public—impressed by Hiroshima, Nagasaki, and Bikini and satisfied with the concept of all-out nuclear exchange by air—was not fully aware of that increasing importance. It was not until 1955, however, that McCain really had an opportunity to launch his crusade. At that time, he was serving in the Pentagon in the progress analysis group.

His first significant seapower presentation was made before the House Appropriations Committee. And the presentation, outlining the Navy's mobility and calling for a balance to fight both small and large wars, won considerable attention, both inside and outside the Navy. One of the outstanding points of these McCain presentations was the incomplete objectivity. Although he is a submariner himself, he sang not only the song of the submarines but the tune of the surface men and a melody of the airdales. And it was sweet music, too.

McCain could speak objectively, however. From a variety of assignments, he could call on a vast reservoir of knowledge. And he knew the other side of the Navy through his father, the late Adm. John S. McCain, who had been an aviator.

The father had led the powerful Task Force 38 under Fleet Adm. William F. Halsey in the Pacific. The elder McCain witnessed the surrender of the Japanese aboard the *Missouri* only to die tragically of a heart attack 3 days later, just 1 day after he had arrived home from the memorable sea battles of World War II.

McCain and his father were very close, and the association generated so much admiration that the son's pride in his father, more than anything else, caused him to decide on a naval career. "Junior" admits today, however, that for a time both he and his father wondered whether or not the choice was proper. The younger McCain was only 16 years old when he entered the Naval Academy.

"And that's too damned young," he now scowls in reminiscence.

He weighed a mere 106 pounds, too, a fact that would hardly contribute to any athletic caliber. And by his own admission, he was in some sort of trouble most of the time.

"I just always seemed to be at odds with higher authority on matters of discipline," he laughed. "I was lucky to graduate I suppose."

As it was, he wound up near the bottom of the lower half of his class in 1931, and his father had reached the point where he was just darn happy to see me graduate at all.

Like everyone else in those days, McCain began his seagoing experience in battleships, where he remained for 2 years. He then went to submarine school and stayed in submarines until 1938, when, ironically, he went back to the Naval Academy as an instructor in physics.

In 1940, McCain went back to submarines and soon took command of his own sub. As skipper of the U.S.S. *Gunnel*, he led her into the waters off Morocco prior to the D-day bombardment to photograph the proposed beachhead and make general reconnaissance of the area. Later, during the actual North African landings, his sub served as the beacon ship for the ships taking the troops ashore.

Later, he took the *Gunnel* to the Pacific, where she sank considerable shipping, including one destroyer. During this period, McCain almost was sunk himself. Making an approach on a convoy, he fired his torpedoes, but they were faulty, as were many of those early in the war, and the enemy worked his sub over for 36 hours before they finally gave up.

After a tour in Washington, the admiral took command of the first submarine division to have guided-missile submarines—the *Carbanero* and *Cusk*. Later, in Korea, he served as executive officer aboard the cruiser *St. Paul*. He returned to Washington for duties as director of the Undersea Warfare Research and Development Branch of the Office of the Assistant Chief of Naval Operations. In 1953, he assumed command of Submarine Squadron 6 at Norfolk, and from that post, he became skipper of the attack transport *Monrovia*.

After duty with the Progress Analysis Group, he took command of the *Albany* and later came to the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations. He took over his present duties in June 1958.

The legislative liaison post is one designed for people with McCain's energy. His office, for instance, receives approximately 15,000 letters a year. Phone calls run about 130,000 a year. And the activity is growing all the time.

If energy is any criterion, however, McCain has his job in the bag. He is a picture of perpetual motion, virtually bubbling over with energy. He has so much of it, in fact, that he still walks to work even as an admiral. And from his home in Washington to the Pentagon is 4 miles.

But he likes the challenge that faces him. He likes people, and he finds people interesting. And people like Jack McCain. They are always bouncing in and out of his office to seek advice, talk over a problem or just visit. Yet, McCain is a man of action, and one who gets things done.

He is well-informed and has one of the best libraries in Washington, some say.

Although he can speak with emphasis and often calls upon some choice words to underscore the meaning, he is an extremely considerate person, both with his family and with his associates.

His wife, Roberta, is a bundle of energy herself. She has found interest in a wide variety of activities and currently takes in most of the congressional hearings as a spectator so she can keep up with her husband's work. They have three children: a daughter, married to a submariner; John S. III, a 1958 and third generation graduate of the Naval Academy who is finishing up flight training at Corpus Christi, and a younger son, 17.

In legislative liaison, Admiral McCain continues as a disciple of sea power. And upon that rock, the gospel is sure to spread.

Down on the Farm

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT A. EVERETT
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Ed Jones, of Yorkville, Tenn., is one of the best informed men on agriculture in the Nation. He is agricultural agent for the Illinois Central Railroad in my district. I commend this article to the membership of the Congress and put it in the RECORD so that they might have the benefit of his column, "Down on the Farm":

[From the Lake County Banner, Tiptonville, Tenn., Dec. 31, 1959]

DOWN ON THE FARM

(By Ed Jones)

The efficiency and productivity of our farmers are basic to our Nation's progress and to our high standard of living. To this group, all Americans owe a special debt of gratitude.

I can think of no better time to be aware of such things than this season of the year. Our crops have almost all been harvested and our warehouses and storage facilities are running over with food and fiber.

Agriculturally, we are a Nation of plenty and as a whole are well fed. We are also providing much food and fiber to needy peoples elsewhere in order that their needs may be met and that our relations may be improved.

Our farmers have reached another milestone in their ability to exceed farmers of other nations in the production of food and fiber. Each farmworker in this country in 1959 has been able to produce, on the average, enough food and fiber for about 25 persons.

In contrast, a farmworker in the Soviet Union produces for only six or seven persons. Never have so few produced so much for so many as our farmers are now doing. The productive ability of our farmers has not only supplied abundant quantities of food and fiber and raw materials to industry; it has also released manpower for the needs of the total economy, which has given us the highest standard of living in all history.

This season of the year also makes an appropriate time to cause public attention to be focused on the debt of gratitude which all Americans owe to their neighbors on farms of this country.

The profession of agriculture and the American farmer is due a great debt of gratitude from all citizens who are recipients of their productivity and nothing could be more encouraging than to have many show a willingness by making an expression of appreciation visible.

In Steel, a Choice Between Two Evils

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BYRON G. ROGERS
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Denver Post of January 5, 1960:

IN STEEL, A CHOICE BETWEEN TWO EVILS

During 6 long months of bitter industrial warfare in steel, this Nation has been face to face with two equally destructive alternatives.

The first was a settlement that would feed the fires of inflation in the American economy.

The second was a prolongation of a devastating strike that would cripple American production.

In the settlement in Washington this week, the die has now been cast for the first alternative.

Vice President NIXON, Secretary of Labor Mitchell, and others encouraged an agreement on terms that are almost certain to lead to increases in the price of steel later in the year.

But they decided that the inflationary risk was less damaging than the risk of economic disasters and labor-management chaos inherent in a resumption of the strike.

The settlement of the dispute is a victory for the union and a defeat for the industry. There is no other way it can be construed.

Ever since last spring, steel men have insisted that they would not accept any settlement that could not be paid for by improvements in productivity.

But the cost of the new package is substantially higher than their productivity estimates.

And many observers are agreed that the industry could have had a settlement far less costly, if it had come to terms with the union before the strike began or any time last fall.

Secretary of Labor Mitchell has said that the new package will not require an increase in steel prices "immediately," but the handwriting is already on the wall.

Those observers, in and out of the industry, who regard an increase as inevitable have these factors to go on:

First, the industry has always passed on its wage and benefit costs in the form of higher prices sooner or later, even when it seemed to be in a position to absorb those costs.

Second, the smaller firms in the industry are probably not in a position to absorb the new costs at this time, even though some of the larger firms probably are.

The immediate cost increases—about 6 to 9 cents in fringe benefits—may not cause the price breakthrough.

But a wage increase of about 7 cents an hour—due December 1, 1 month after the election—may do the trick.

In any case, the Nation has traded a measure of industrial peace for a pronounced threat of inflation.

We hope the industry will make every effort to absorb the increase, but we see little chance that it will do so.

Whatever happens, at least one thing will be clear to a good many Americans as the $6 billion steel dispute comes to an end.

In the months ahead, the institution of free collective bargaining in the United States will be receiving its most serious test.

Unless labor and management in the railroad industry and in other potential trouble spots in 1960 can make collective bargaining work more swiftly and effectively than it did in steel, the freedom of unions and employers to settle their own affairs may have to be seriously abridged.

This sort of bargaining still seems to us the best and most effective way to deal with labor-management differences in a free society.

But it cannot endure, unless labor and management can make it succeed in the months ahead. It failed in steel. It cannot afford many failures more.

A Real Advance in Public Law 480

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, in the 1st session of the 86th Congress, we extended and expanded Public Law 480, the Agricultural Trade and Development Act of 1954.

As time passes, we are beginning to realize the importance of this law in gaining friends in our battle with communism. Nothing satisfies a hungry person so much as a decent meal. Hunger is the problem of hundreds of millions of people all over the world.

Public Law 480 is the first comprehensive step taken by this country to help other nations solve their food problem. It has more possibilities for peaceful use than anything designed yet by this Government.

We are spending billions all over the world on arms, and all of this is necessary in helping to keep the peace. However, as we all know, these are negative steps. The positive step now which this country can make in influencing people everywhere is to implement and use this law to its fullest capacity.

As the attached article from the Soybean Digest of October 1959, by George M. Strayer so well puts it, feeding hungry people through our great capacity to produce agricultural goods is a "weapon far greater than moon rockets or space weapons. We must use that weapon—food supplies—wisely."

A REAL ADVANCE IN PUBLIC LAW 480
(By Geo. M. Strayer)

The Public Law 480 bill passed by Congress in the closing days of the recent session, and now signed by the President, contains several provisions that are new and meaningful. The set-aside of funds for market development work is particularly significant, for it makes available for a 3-year period a specified percentage of all funds accrued from the sale of surplus agricultural commodities.

The new bill also gives some small recognition to the proper usage of U.S. stocks of food and fiber as a means of implementing our programs designed to assure world peace. If it is true that "communism is hunger articulate," then the United States has a weapon far greater than moon rockets or space weapons. We must use that weapon—food supplies—wisely.

Our Defense and State Departments have not yet recognized the potential value of the weapon which is characterized by our terminology of surpluses. They refuse to regard food as a weapon to be used in winning the battle for peace. Even Khrushchev recognized it in some of his speeches here in the United States, as he boasted about Russia's determination to surpass us in production of farm products.

The new Public Law 480 law, which becomes effective January 1, 1960, offers vast possibilities for furthering peace. And it also offers vast possibilities of developing markets for the products of American agriculture in countries where no markets have previously existed. As those markets become dollar markets—as the countries themselves become able to buy for dollars, as already happened in several countries—we see the vindication of Public Law 480. The funds set aside for market development work must be used in those countries which offer potential dollar sales.

Equal Economic and Political Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to point out at this time that House Joint Resolution 28, introduced in the 1st session of the 86th Congress by myself, still awaits action by the Congress.

I would therefore like to call the attention of this House to the following resolution passed by the National Association of Women Lawyers at their recent convention held in Miami Beach, Fla., on August 23, 1959.

RESOLUTION BY NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF WOMEN LAWYERS

The convention body of the National Association of Women Lawyers meeting in

Miami Beach, Fla., on August 23, 1959, adopted by unanimous vote of its delegates from all States of the Union, the following resolutions:

"Believing that the Federal Congress should no longer blockade the States of the Union from having the opportunity to consider and to reach a decision whether equal economic and political rights should be the uniform and unequivocal law throughout the Nation by means of a constitutional amendment;

"*Resolved*, That the women lawyers from all States, speaking through their National Association of Women Lawyers in convention assembled, call upon the Members of Congress to forthwith vote for pending Resolutions (H.J. Res. 28 introduced by KATHERINE ST. GEORGE and S.J. Res. 69 introduced by Senator Langer) thus permitting submission of the question to the several States."

Together with the further and separate resolution:

"That copies of the resolution be transmitted to all Members of the 86th Congress and to the chairman of the Democratic and Republican Parties, and to the President of the United States who has declared himself in favor thereof; and that the resolution be printed in the Women Lawyers Journal and that copies be sent to the presidents and magazine editors of other national women's organizations."

Mr. Speaker, it is an interesting fact that at this time when we hear so much talk on civil rights, the Congress of the United States does not see fit to give women equal rights under the constitution.

A Possible Solution of the Farm Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACKSON E. BETTS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, one of the most highly publicized issues facing this session of Congress is the ever present farm problem. Constant reference is made to the mounting surplus of grain and the tremendous cost to the taxpayers of the subsidies involved. Since none of the past or present programs have solved the problem, I have introduced a bill which I hope will be given consideration as a possible solution. Briefly it provides for living off the surplus rather than increasing it. It applies only to wheat, is purely voluntary, and would replace the present cash subsidies. Any farmer desiring to enter the program would agree to take out of wheat production a number of acres equal to the average number of acres planted to wheat by the producer for 1958, 1959, and 1960. In return he would receive a certificate entitling him to 50 percent of his average annual production of wheat during the years 1958, 1959, and 1960. He could accept the wheat, or he could endorse the certificate and deliver it to the Commodity Credit Corporation. The endorsement would authorize the Corporation to sell the wheat to which he is entitled at the market price and remit the proceeds to the farmer.

I have limited the provisions of the bill to wheat and for a period of 2 years, simply as an experiment to see if it works. It has a twofold purpose of reducing the surplus and relieving the taxpayers of the present burdensome subsidy. I have discussed it with some farmers in the district I represent and they believe it has some merit.

It is not intended to be the perfect answer or a cure-all. However, it has the virtue of being new and different and I hope it may serve as a contribution to the solution of the farm problem.

No Wing Clipping

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, each year, the issue of the Military Air Transport Service is subject to criticism. Some of it is self-serving, on the part of those who stand to gain if this military service is discontinued. Some of it is a genuine alarm at the uses to which a defense arm has been put. These charges and countercharges have been examined and are under continuing review in Congress.

One of the best statements I have seen recently concerning the MATS services appeared in the form of an editorial in the Hartford Courant recently. I should like to offer this editorial for the RECORD, so that its arguments may be given full consideration by Members of this body.

DON'T LET THEM CLIP THE WINGS OF MATS

Another effort will be made during the coming Congress by certain airlines to cripple our Military Air Transport Service, one of the vital arms of our worldwide defense system. These commercial interests will deny they want to cripple MATS. But if they have their way, this will almost certainly be the result.

MATS has the mission of moving troops, missiles, conventional weapons, and supplies to all parts of the world where we have military installations. It must keep its organization intact during the cold war, to have it ready for critical needs in event of a shooting war. And that includes even so limited an operation as the trouble in tiny Lebanon a year and a half ago.

The danger to MATS is posed by what many experts consider a shortsighted, selfish attitude on the part of a small but powerful group of airlines. They want to take over all the business of moving troops and military cargo themselves. Their barrage against MATS is based on the claim that they can do it better. There is evidence, however, that sometimes they can't even do it at all. During the Lebanon crisis MATS went looking for commercial airline support. But it was the tourist season for the airlines, and MATS couldn't place a bid. During airlines strike MATS had to do all its work with its own planes. The company that had already been awarded some MATS cargo and passenger business couldn't get off the ground.

MATS cannot be put in mothballs, and called up to operate only when an emergency arises. Its pilots must be kept flying, its global air routes and air bases maintained, its ground crews trained and alert. If it has to fly its planes empty to be ready for its wartime mission, our defense costs will rise. Meanwhile our commerical airlines have done well with the aid of Government subsidies, the adaptation of military aircraft, and their own initiative. But they cannot be expected to fulfill the wartime mission of MATS and they should cease interfering with it. And instead of paring MATS down, Congress might well take the long overdue step of modernizing it by replacing its obsolete piston engine planes with jets.

Federal Aid for School Construction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH GREEN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, today I have had the pleasure of introducing a bill to establish an emergency 2-year program for Federal aid to the States and localities for school construction. This bill, it is no secret, is a companion measure to the bill which has been reported to the other body by that body's Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

The fight for Federal aid to education is an old one, Mr. Speaker. As in so many other legislative areas, the friends of the schools have marched up many a hill, only to fall a vote or two short of the summit. In assessing causes for the defeat of previous school legislation, I believe no single factor can be given greater weight than the constant and well-publicized wilingness of the administration to give courageous and unstinting support to any school aid bill—any bill, that is, except the specific bill that happens to be before the House at any given moment. In past sessions, the House, having failed to pass a generous school aid bill sponsored by Democratic Members, has turned its efforts to inadequate bills offered by the administration. In most, if not all cases, the administration's ardor, even for its own "teeny-weeny" bills, suddenly cooled.

In this 2d session of the 86th Congress, in this closing year of the Eisenhower era, I hope the Congress will be able to enact some kind of legislation to assist our public elementary and high schools meet the desperate challenge which this age has thrust upon them.

There are those of us who believe that education is a sufficiently important and proper sphere of governmental activity to be federally supported in its own right. But there are many who will point, with some justice, to the titanic struggle for existence in which the free world is engaged, and suggest that all our energies should go into this struggle. In a sense I agree. All of our energies, developed to their highest degree, should go into the fight to maintain the future of freedom. I would differ completely with those sincere Members of this House who feel that only our military energies, or

only our military and propaganda, or even only our military, propaganda, and scientific energies ought to be put into the balance against the challenge and the threat that is communism. I say that unless we develop our full intellectual armory, our weapons stockpiles will be useless. Unless we utilize our resources, including our financial resources, to help men learn what it means to be free, what it means to be educated, what it means to be fully alive, then we have little left to defend. If our schools fail to meet the challenge which has been thrust upon them—and it is a different challenge than the challenge Soviet schools are meeting with success—unless they meet this challenge, then the free way of life is doomed. I believe this with all my heart. I hope and trust that my colleagues in the Congress agree. I trust that we will not let the "budget firsters" again frighten us away from our plain and inescapable duty to the future of the Nation.

In this context, I ask unanimous consent that a penetrating editorial recently printed in the Pendleton East Oregonian, be printed at the end of my remarks.

This editorial does not mince words or dodge issues. It points to the Federal control bugaboo as the phony issue it is. The editorial refutes this argument in telling and persuasive terms. It is a good text from which to begin this year's debate on Federal aid for education—the most important legislation before this Congress.

[From the Pendleton East-Oregonian, Dec. 8, 1959]

OF NATIONAL CONCERN

Whenever somebody tells us that Federal aid to education is as dangerous as the bubonic plague we suggest that he take a look at Hermiston High School, talk to teachers and administrators at Hermiston High School. That school received substantial Federal aid while McNary Dam was under construction and a lesser amount thereafter. There isn't a speck of evidence that anybody in Washington, D.C. has ever attempted to dictate to Hermiston High School.

The Oregon State Board of Education revealed this week that 31 of Oregon's 36 counties are getting Federal aid under the National Defense Education Act. In the current year, $711,000 will be spent in 133 Oregon school districts to improve teaching of science, mathematics and foreign languages. The act also offers Federal aid to districts that want to improve their counseling service to students, and several districts are accepting that aid.

We doubt that any school district that is particiapting in the National Defense Education Act program has had any unpleasant experiences with it. We doubt that any has lost control of its educational processes.

Education is a matter of national concern. If a school district is doing less than an adequate job the entire Nation suffers. If a school district is doing an above-average job the entire Nation benefits. It is as important to you that a boy in Mississippi who has a high IQ is properly prepared to go to college as it is to his school district in Mississippi.

The fight against Federal aid to education is phony. The opponents place their emotions ahead of good sense.

The Spirit of Camp David

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to place in the Appendix of the RECORD Ambassador Lodge's masterly reply to the Soviet representative, made before the General Assembly of the United Nations on the question of Hungary.

This brief statement was made on November 23, 1959, and in its restrained and succinct appraisal of the situation seems worthy of the attention of all Members of the House of Representatives.

THE SPIRIT OF CAMP DAVID

(Your attention is invited to the statement below by Henry Cabot Lodge, U.S. Representative to the General Assembly of the United Nations, during debate on the question of Hungary, November 23, 1959.—THRUSTON B. MORTON, chairman of the Republican National Committee)

Mr. Chairman, before we adjourn this meeting there are certain fallacies which have been expressed here which I should like briefly to rectify. I took some notes during Mr. (V. V.) Kuznetsov's (Soviet representative) speech, and noted some of these phrases: "dirty work," "sordid assignment," "mouthpiece for slander," "puppet," "slanderous assertions and concoctions" in my letter.

Now, I am not fortunate enough to be familiar with the Russian language, and maybe these are ordinary, routine phrases in Russian. But I have some familiarity with English and with French, and I can say that in those two languages these are extremely violent words. If Mr. Kuznetsov is really interested in lessening the cold war, he could very easily prove that fact by using parliamentary language in a parliamentary assembly. I say that to him in as bland a tone as I can use.

Then he also referred in his speech to the conversations between Chairman Khrushchev and President Eisenhower which were held at Camp David and which in a press release the other day the Soviet delegation characterized as the "spirit of Camp David."

Now, Mr. Chairman, we prize—we in the United States prize—what was achieved at Camp David, and none are more opposed than we to doing anything which would destroy it. One way to live up to that spirit is to conform with United Nations resolutions.

I feel that perhaps I have some right to talk about Camp David for the simple reason that I was there. In fact, I was present at all the meetings which took place. These meetings were adequately summed up in the communique, which is well known, and I can assert that there is nothing in that communique or in what happened at Camp David to justify the declaration that the very modest action on Hungary which we are discussing today is against the spirit of Camp David.

What is against the spirit of Camp David, Mr. Chairman, is the subversion of small countries.

What is against the spirit of Camp David are acts which turn a brave little country into a moaning colonialist slum.

What is against the spirit of Camp David is any behavior which makes a veritable mockery of peaceful coexistence.

Mr. Chairman, nothing happened at Camp David which requires us to condone evil.

Nothing happened at Camp David which requires us to pass by in silence on the other side of the street when a brutality is being committed.

Nothing happened at Camp David to prevent us from acting like human beings made in the image of God when cruelty is being practiced.

The spirit of Camp David was not intended to be a soporific to peoples in the democracies, to put them to sleep in the belief that this dangerous world, which we all hope may someday be safe, has actually been made safe.

No one looks more eagerly than I do for the day when the United States and the Soviet Union can work regularly together for the peace of the world. This is an end devoutly to be wished, and I shall always work for it.

But we work against such a day when we distort the spirit of Camp David into something which was never meant at all and which no one present thought that it meant.

I realize that there may be colleagues of mine here in this room who think that in speaking as I am now doing I am striking a false note. But I do not agree.

We can only build a peaceful world on truth, and the spirit of Camp David never told us to close our eyes to the truth.

We can only build a peaceful world on deeds—deeds of justice—and the spirit of Camp David never told us not to do such deeds.

Instead of criticizing this proposal, why don't you do something to show that you really believe in the true spirit of Camp David? Why don't you take down the barbed wire and the observation towers which now divide the poor Hungarians from Austria and the free world and which have turned Hungary into a vast human cage? Why don't you chain up the savage dogs which roam along the border to catch the miserable human beings who are seeking freedom?

It is by deeds such as these that we can best live up to the spirit of Camp David.

Let me say in conclusion that the Camp David communique states that "all outstanding international questions should be settled not by the application of force but by peaceful means through negotiation." If therefore, we are really to live up to the spirit of Camp David, Sir Leslie Munro ought to be admitted into Hungary, the United Nations resolutions adopted by overwhelming votes should be carried out in Hungary, and the Soviet Union, instead of working against the United Nations, should work with the United Nations. That would be really carrying out the spirit of Camp David.

Indian Industry Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial which appeared in the July 16, 1959, issue of the Farmington (N. Mex.) Daily Times, on

my bill entitled "Operation Bootstrap—Reservation Style."

The editorial is as follows:

INDIAN INDUSTRY BILL

The Four Corners country, as the homeland of the biggest Indian tribe in the Nation, should take more than a little interest in a bill introduced in Congress within recent days by Representative E. Y. BERRY, of South Dakota.

BERRY's bill is designed to induce private industry to establish manufacturing plants on Indian reservations. It would permit tribal groups to enter into contracts to build plants for lease or sale, to be financed by funds borrowed from commercial institutions or Indian revolving funds.

Industries moving to reservations would be exempt from Federal taxes for 10 years. On-the-job training programs for Indian workers are contemplated.

Provisions of the Berry bill indicate it is intended to expedite the comparatively new industrial development program of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which was explained earlier this summer to Farmington and Gallup civic leaders. In any event, the South Dakota Congressman is striving for a quick and sensible solution to the Indian unemployment problem. Since that problem is growing every day, it's to be hoped that the Berry proposal gets a fast and favorable reception in the House Interior Committee.

The Late Charles A. Boyle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, I did not have an opportunity to take part in the eulogy of the late Charles A. Boyle on the floor of this House on January 6 only because I was called away in mid-afternoon.

Because Congressman Boyle and I became close personal friends during the years we served together in Congress, I feel deeply bound to offer these remarks on his passing.

Shortly before the 1st session of the 86th Congress adjourned, I played golf with Charlie and later joined him at his home as I had done previously. It was always a great pleasure for me to be with the late Congressman Boyle's family for it was truly a fine, typically American family. I shall never forget the pleasures of our association, socially and professionally. My late colleague from Illinois was one of the hardest working gentlemen I have known in my life; he was as direct and forthright in his approach to controversial issues as any man. I have never known him to lose sight of his basic objectives nor turn his back upon anyone who needed assistance. Nothing I can say at this time can add to what has already been said by so many others who knew and respected him as a person and a statesman. His untimely death was indeed a shock to all of us and his passing a loss to so many.

His achievements are a monument to his public service and his wonderful family, a reflection of his love for the Christian way of life that is the cornerstone of this great Nation.

Ike's Last Year in the White House

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article by Jay G. Hayden, veteran Washington news correspondent, which appeared in the December 27, 1959, issue of the Detroit News. Mr. Hayden covered his first presidential conventions in 1912 and has had the longest continuous Capital service with a single newspaper. From this background, Mr. Hayden presents an interesting analysis of President Eisenhower's last year in the White House.

The article follows:

IKE'S LAST YEAR IN THE WHITE HOUSE

(By Jay G. Hayden)

WASHINGTON, December 26.—Strangely contrary to past precedent, Dwight D. Eisenhower is close to beginning his last year as President definitely more popular and probably more influential, both at home and abroad, than at any time since he entered the White House in 1953.

It is not too much to say even that Mr. Eisenhower's personal prestige at this moment stands higher, is more all-embracing and vested with greater opportunities for benefit to mankind than that of any other American at any time.

Events in this year 1959 have inspired hope that history is approaching an epochal turning; that a world plagued ever since 1914 with wars and threats of wars, intensified by violent revolutions, including Russia and China, is beginning at least to yearn for change in direction toward peace.

And the crowning reason for that hope was the meeting at Camp David last September of President Eisenhower and Premier Khrushchev of Russia.

That event has produced no signed and sealed agreement between governments creative of the peaceful coexistence that those two called for. Rather, the symptoms so far are mainly of new internal bedlams in both camps. Quite definitely mainland China is greatly embarrassing Khrushchev, by both voluble disparagement of his peaceful professions and threatening war against India and other neighboring non-Communist nations. And the merest hint of decline in Russian belligerency was enough to set the NATO Western Powers each and all pulling and hauling for selfish advantage.

LESSENING OF TENSION SPARKS CRY FOR DEFENSE CUTS

President Eisenhower, in Paris last week, may have temporarily appeased the latter trend but it will be heard of much more, including hot debate in Congress over need for continuance of the now back-breaking burden of military defense in light of softening international outlook.

It is true, however, that up to this point both President Eisenhower and Premier Khrushchev are standing firm in support of their Camp David objective, and each in his own way has visibly worked for its realization.

Khrushchev, for example, hastened directly from the United States to Peiping to announce to his Chinese comrades the peaceful intent of his American visit. And despite a severe Chinese cold shoulder ever since, the Russian premier has praised President Eisenhower repeatedly. He did so in Hungary at a time when the U.S. delegation at the United Nations was exhorting in favor of a new condemnation of Russia's 1956 violent suppression of revolution in that country.

The jamming of American and other western broadcasts to Russia nearly all has been removed and there has been a marked step-up in cultural and sports exchanges over what is becoming less and less an impregnable Iron Curtain.

For President Eisenhower, the most important Camp David aftermath was his unparalleled tour through three continents, Asia, Africa, and Europe, preaching at every opportunity his doctrine of peaceful coexistence. Never before has any public figure been cheered by so many and such diverse people. This visitation in itself had built up a body of world opinion in favor of peace that must profoundly influence future events, possibly even in China.

True, times and the fortunes of men change suddenly and unpredictably.

WILSON'S PEACE CRUSADE MUCH LIKE EISENHOWER'S

Woodrow Wilson, another American President close to the end of two-term tenure, barnstormed through France, Great Britain, Italy, and Belgium during the first weeks of the World War I Peace Conference (1918–19) to popular acclaim relatively as great as was accorded President Eisenhower this month.

With his 14 points, including self-determination for all people and implication that the United States was ready to dig into its wealth to provide worldwide freedom from want, Wilson equally was a peace messiah.

But 5 months later President Wilson was close to being the most unpopular man in all of the countries he visited. Fellow members of the "Big Four" of that time—Lloyd George of Britain, Clemenceau of France, and Orlando of Italy—had ganged up, and so had the press of those countries, against Wilson, with their claim mainly that he was more interested in saving enemies than friends.

And beginning a speaking tour to sell to American voters "the treaty that nobody fully liked," Mr. Wilson suddenly was stricken with paralysis. He watched dimly as the Republican Senate rejected not only his League of Nations, but the whole Versailles Peace Treaty. It was 2 years later, under President Harding, before a separate peace between the United States and Germany was accomplished.

Formal peace agreement between the United States and Russia in time to precipitate a like struggle by President Eisenhower for ratification in the now heavily Democratic Senate appears unlikely.

But it could happen.

There is real hope, for example, that United States, British, and Russian representatives meeting at Geneva, before long will agree to permanent prohibition of atomic testing, at least above ground or sea. And if a treaty to that effect is signed, Mr. Eisenhower almost certainly would press for ratification by the 1960 Senate, even to the point of holding that body in session while the presidential campaign is in progress.

It needs no seer to prophesy that, in that event, the atomic treaty would provide an issue greatly affecting the election result.

Presidents Eisenhower and Wilson in another way are alike, namely in severe illnesses that affected their administrations.

On that score, however, Mr. Eisenhower has passed through shadow into light.

Where a little more than a year ago almost all newspapers abroad and at home were picturing him as an old man, physically weakened and mentally stagnant, today he is the picture of health and self-confident official energy.

Such reversal nowhere is better reflected than by the professional pollsters of political opinion. In November, 1958, just after the Democratic congressional landslide, one poll on the way Eisenhower is handling his job as President, sank to an all-time low of 52 percent that he was doing all right, to 48 percent either against or noncommital.

Last November 14, shortly before he started his world tour, the same poll found 66 percent approving his work, 19 percent disapproving and 15 percent no opinion.

IKE'S POPULARITY HELPS GOP OUTLOOK FOR 1960

The latter showing was Eisenhower's best since early 1957, close after his second presidential inauguration. And it is a fair guess that a comparable poll collected today, on the heels of his international go-around, would give him a still higher score.

More significant, perhaps, all recent straw votes have shown prospecive Republican nominees for President next year running substantially ahead of the leading Democratic aspirants whereas up till last summer Democratic possibilities were on top.

Up till a year ago there was widespread suggestion that the 22d constitutional amendment, restricting President Eisenhower and all of his White House successors to no more than eight-year tenure, would emasculate their influence in last months. In one of his press conferences Mr. Eisenhower seemed to agree with that prognosis.

But in actual fact, the President, approaching his last year, appears to be sitting completely topside, both internationally and at home.

All of which raises the question why Mr. Eisenhower could sink so low and then bound back just when most people thought he was all washed up.

Correctly or not, almost everybody felt that Mr. Eisenhower, following an operation for ileitis in mid-1956 and a mild cerebral occlusion in December 1957, lost something of both physical and mental vigor. His first speeches after the latter illness disclosed slight errors of pronunciation, some thought because he was nervously trying too hard.

CRITICS SWING HARD ON HIS GOLF GAME

Political opponents at home throughout 1958 constantly jibed that Mr. Eisenhower's supreme obsession was playing golf and that the Government was being run by subordinates, chiefly the domestic chief of staff, Sherman Adams, and Secretary of State Dulles. That theme was taken up by foreign newspapers to the extent of suggestion that the United States virtually had passed out as a factor in world affairs and would remain so until a new President took over.

The Goldfine scandal involving Adams accentuated those contentions with undoubted effect of contributing to the Democratic election sweep in 1958, even though Adams had passed from the scene.

Early in 1959 came the disclosure of Dulles' cancer, from which he died last May after giving way to Christian A. Herter as Secretary of State.

Why the great change in Mr. Eisenhower? One of his White House assistants first observed it at a White House conference in July 1958, called by the President to inform congressional leaders that U.S. Marines already had landed in Lebanon to ward off spread of the Iraq revolution.

As this functionary described it at the time:

"I think Ike has taken counsel from the sign Jim Hagerty (White House press secretary) has on his desk, reading: 'It isn't what you eat that gives you ulcers; it's what eats you.'"

Opening the meeting, Mr. Eisenhower spoke with grave reserve, but within 2 minutes everybody in the room knew that he regarded this as a major crisis and one which he, and he alone, faced with a harrowing decision, bordering between war and peace.

The crux of his statement was that the upheaval in Iraq was likely to lead to holocaust involving all of the Arab-Israeli Near East unless somebody moved to impose a dike.

With Great Britain sending troops into Jordan shortly after the United States entered friendly Lebanon, the whole area quickly quieted down.

Khrushchev first demanded that the United States and Britain both be hauled onto the United Nations mat for unwarranted aggression, but backed away swiftly when the Angle-Saxons said they would welcome a showdown.

It was shortly after that event that Sherman Adams resigned and was replaced as chief aide to the President for domestic affairs by Gen. Wilton B. Persons. A few weeks later came the first signs of Dulles' fatal illness.

All members of the White House staff agree that the idea that Mr. Eisenhower ever relinquished his constitutional functions to anybody is a complete myth. There never was a time, these attachés say, when any one of them did not feel fully free to go direct to Mr. Eisenhower with any problem they were charged with handling.

It is acknowledged on the other hand, however, that in months close after Mr. Eisenhower's several illnesses there was a tendency by all hands to spare him from work whenever possible.

On the home side, lesser White House functionaries tended to go first to Adams, who also acted as go-between on most telephone calls to the President.

Thus grew up the impression that Adams largely was running the presidential show.

Dulles' relationship always was different. True, he managed the State Department with an iron hand. Nobody from that branch dared to seek audience with the President personally without Dulles' consent.

But Dulles was meticulous in seeking the President's approval before acting on any issue that might seriously affect American foreign relations.

ONLY IKE'S ILLNESS GAVE DULLES WIDER POWERS

It is said, for example, that during Mr. Eisenhower's long hospitalization in 1955, during which virtually no one from the Government was allowed to see him, Dulles of all was the one most disturbed because he on occasion was compelled to act decisively without the President's explicit approval.

And very often Mr. Eisenhower overrode Dulles' advice. A notable instance in that line was the President's refusal in 1954 to consent to U.S. naval and air intervention to relieve the beleaguered French fortress of Dienbienphu, although Dulles and three out of four members of the military Joint Chiefs of Staff recommended that action.

The next tussle for Mr. Eisenhower, of course, will be with the Democratic Congress, assembling in the first week of the new year. But with that regard also, the President starts stronger than at any of the six previous congressional openings of his administration.

The time when the President's prospects looked darkest in that respect was last January following overwhelming Democratic victory in the 1958 congressional election.

Reading that return, nearly all commentators agreed that the Nation was in for a radical upsurge comparable with that which occurred during the first years of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. They felt that as a hopeless "lame duck" and reputed physically and mentally on the decline, Mr. Eisenhower could at most use his veto to ameliorate this trend.

TWO OPPOSITION SENATORS HELPED NIP THE REVOLT

That calculation was wrong two ways.

First, a pair of Democratic leaders from Texas, Speaker RAYBURN and Senator JOHNSON, put such stern brakes on the radical legislative cart as to render it immobile almost before it got started.

Second, the President's constitutional checkrein proved surprisingly successful. Of his vetoes, including housing, farm price fixing, rural electrification, only one, relating to public works, was overridden. And even the latter was approved only after being altered to approach some appeasement of the President.

Another bill authorizing expansion by the Tennessee Valley Authority into private enterprise was called back and revised to fit the President's specification after he had threatened a veto.

From a partisan standpoint, the most significant single event of the session was passage of the Landrum-Griffin labor union control bill, named respectively after a Democratic Representative from Georgia and a Republican Representative from Michigan and modeled to fit the President's request. Democratic leaders of both Houses were out of step with that development.

Next to the influence he will exercise in foreign affairs during his last year, the most talked-of question concerning Mr. Eisenhower is the part he and his policies will play in the presidential election.

He already has announced neutrality toward Republican contenders. But it remains to be seen whether that abstention will hold, should any of them take positions materially at odds with Eisenhower policies and actions, either past or future.

One thing on which all agree at this moment is that the President's international actions, especially the exchange of visits with Russia and his just completed 22,000-mile foreign tour, has given Republican prospects a big boost.

More important, perhaps, Mr. Eisenhower's high personal popularity is making it increasingly difficult for any candidate, Democrat or Republican, to come out against policies which he has already or soon will lay down.

The surest thing of all is that the President has gotten his second wind and he is going to sprint with all his might as he approaches the home stretch.

Senator Case of New Jersey Demands Highway Safety

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of a subcommittee charged with investigations and recommendations in the field of highway traffic safety, I was pleased to read the following news story and editorial from the Atlanta (Ga.) Journal.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include these articles:

HIGHWAY SAFETY ACTION DEMANDED

WASHINGTON, October 18.—Senator CLIFFORD P. CASE, aroused by the deaths of nine coeds and a college professor in a flaming truck-bus collision, urged Congress today to make highway safety one of its first items of business next session.

The New Jersey Republican called the bus-truck accident a frightful reminder of a situation which demands urgent attention. He said Congress must do everything possible to help States develop minimum standards both for drivers and vehicles.

Case made clear that he favored, among other things, a nationwide clearinghouse which would enable State authorities to exchange information on drivers who repeatedly run afoul of the traffic laws and constitute a threat to other drivers.

SAFETY PRESSURE ON CONGRESS

The chances are growing that Congress, when it reconvenes, will have to take a hand in highway safety, partially because the States have failed to exercise the degree of responsibility that's demanded in this field.

A New Jersey Senator feels that the problem of highway deaths and injuries should constitute one of the first items of business of the next Congress.

It's understandable that Senator CASE should be aroused on this subject, because it was in his State than nine coeds and a college professor died recently in a flaming truck-bus collision.

But the situation isn't much different elsewhere in the country. Multiple deaths are occurring too frequently on highways everywhere and weekend tolls have become especially heavy.

Specifically Senator CASE recommends that the Federal Government set up a nationwide clearing house that would enable States to exchange information on drivers that repeatedly run afoul of the law.

This idea has been advanced before, but apparently it's getting to the stage of serious talk.

Perhaps if Congress would give strong indications of leadership on this critical problem, the States themselves would be more inclined to stop dragging their feet.

Resolutions of Young Democratic Clubs of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NEAL SMITH
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, sometimes we in America take democracy too much for granted and tend not to appreciate the great amount of training and thinking necessary to properly develop a young man or woman for participation in our Government either as an official, party worker, or voting citizen. The Young Democratic and Young Republican Clubs are of course designed to provide an apprenticeship for young people to work toward participation in Government through the party of their choice.

As chairman of the recent national convention of the Young Democratic Clubs of America, at Toledo, Ohio, November 17 through 20, I again witnessed this apprenticeship process at work when the 200 delegates settled down to working on resolutions and summarizing majority opinion among the delegates.

Among the resolutions reported and agreed upon by the convention were those dealing with education, taxation, human rights, and other matters. So that others may know the thinking of the younger generation of adults in the Democratic Party in this important national election year, I include the following resolutions on these subjects in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

NATIONAL CHAIRMAN

Whereas the Young Democratic Clubs of America are greatly indebted to our national chairman, Paul M. Butler, for his aid and encouragement to the cause of young America, and do recognize his outstanding ability in ably serving the interests of Democrats across the Nation; and

Whereas Chairman Butler has articulated effectively the desires of the voters of America to broaden essential Democratic proposals on housing, civil rights, education, highways, labor and welfare benefits; and

Whereas his devotion to the party and his dedication to the continued expansion and liberalization of the platform of the Democratic Party deserves the highest commendations from Democrats throughout the Nation;

Now, therefore, we commend Chairman Paul M. Butler for his outstanding leadership and his loyal service to the cause of the Democratic Party, and we strongly urge the delegates to the Democratic National Convention in 1960 to elect Paul M. Butler permanent chairman of the convention in commendation of his loyal and outstanding service to the Democratic Party.

PARTY RESPONSIBILITY

In past presidential election years, certain officials of the Democratic Party have failed or refused to actively support and/or vote for the Democratic Party nominee. These officials have sometimes demonstrated their disenchantment with the Democratic nominees by using their positions of leadership and influence within the Democratic Party to aid in the election of members of other political parties in local, State, and national elections.

The Young Democratic Clubs of America strongly urge that officials of the Democratic Party who abuse the prestige of their offices by supporting nominees of the Republican Party or a third party be removed from office by the Democratic voters in their respective areas and replaced with responsible and enthusiastic officials to perform those duties leading toward a complete Democratic victory in 1960. We further urge that any Democratic Congressmen or U.S. Senators who fail to support the presidential nominees of the national Democratic Party or who participate in or aid in the formation of a third party in 1960 be relieved of any committee chairmanships and accumulated congressional committee seniority in the Congress.

GEN. GEORGE C. MARSHALL

Whereas Gen. George C. Marshall served his country with deep loyalty and dedication; and

Whereas this great soldier was one of the principal organizers in the allied victory in World War II; and

Whereas this beloved American was likewise the principal architect of the peace policy following World War II; and

Whereas America and the free world owe to his memory a debt which can never be fully paid: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the YDCA go on record in favor of a national memorial to be erected in Washington and dedicated to the end that Gen. George C. Marshall shall be forever remembered in the hearts of America.

HOME RULE FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Whereas the residents of the District of Columbia are denied both a voice in their own local governmental affairs; and in the choice of a national government; and

Whereas this works an unfair denial of the basic rights of the citizenship to these residents and, furthermore, places an unfair burden on the whole United States by requiring an already burdened Congress to devote time to purely local legislation; and now: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Young Democratic Clubs of America favor the granting of self-government and of voting in national elections to the residents of the District of Columbia; and be it further

Resolved, That the Young Democratic Clubs of America specifically urge the 86th Congress of the United States to enact in substance, the Multer bill (H.R. 4630) and companion bills introduced in the House of Representatives as the fulfillment of the first step in the full grant of the voting franchise to District of Columbia residents, though we prefer the Senate version of the bill; and be it further

Resolved, That the Young Democratic Clubs of America call upon each Democratic Representative to sign the discharge petition which would remove consideration of this bill from committee to the floor of the House of Representatives.

SUNDAY VOTING

Voter turnout in the United States is poor compared with other democratic countries. We should strive to give people the opportunity to vote. We urge the consideration by various States of Sunday voting laws in order to encourage more participation in election.

HUMAN RIGHTS

The fulfillment of man's free exercise of human rights requires civil order. This order depends upon respect for and obedience of laws, which to be just must treat all witout regard to race, color, creed, or national origin and without bias, prejudice, or partiality.

We believe, as is articulated in the Declaration of Independence, that "Man is endowed by his Creator with certain inalienable rights, among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. To secure these rights, governments are instituted by men." We believe that the Federal Government has the duty to take affirmative action to guarantee the free exercise of all persons' human rights.

Commission on Civil Rights: We urge that the Congress enact legislation providing that the Commission on Civil Rights shall be a permanent Commission and that in accord with the Douglas-Javits-Celler bill the Attorney General shall have the duty and power to seek judicial protection for any person who is being denied the equal protection of the laws.

Voting rights: Recognizing our resolute conviction that the right to free exercise of suffrage is the true basis for a free society, and concurring in the findings of the Commission on Civil Rights that this right is now being denied some individuals because of racial reasons, we urge that Congress enact legislation requiring the preservation of all State and Federal voting records for a reasonable period; proscribing any action or inaction by individuals whereby persons may be deprived of their right to register and

vote freely in any election held solely or partly for the election of any preson to a national office; proscribing any levy, collection, or payment of any poll tax as a condition for voting or registering to vote in any such election; and providing for the appointment by the President (upon a finding that certain persons are being denied their rights to vote because of their race, color, religion, or national origin) of a local Federal employee as a registrar, in accordance with the recommendations of the Commission on Civil Rights, which registrar shall administer the relevant election laws without prejudice, partiality, or discrimination.

Education: We believe that all persons should willingly demonstrate their agreement with the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court education segregation decisions. We realize that these decisions have resulted in social problems on the local level, but with good will and timely effort these racial barriers will be removed. We propose that all Federal grants and aid be withheld from any school when that school refuses on racial grounds to admit students otherwise qualified for admission.

Housing: We urge Congress and the President to provide for the immediate cancellation of all Federal loans, loan insurance, or mortgage guarantees granted to any contractor, if the agency granting such loan, insurance, or guarantee makes a reasonable finding that the contractor is violating any ordinance or State or Federal law prohibiting discrimination based on race, color, religion, or national origin.

Congress should enact legislation that would require as a condition of every contract for Federal aid in the housing program, either private or public, that the property involved shall not be restricted against any person, on the grounds of race, color, religion, or national origin, with regard to sale, resale, lease, or occupancy.

Wiretapping: We urge State and Federal enactment of legislation proscribing the use or installation of surreptitious sound surveillance devices by any private persons or public officials and proscribing the admissibility of any evidence derived thereby in any criminal action.

Mallory rule: We believe that Congress should defeat all legislative attempts to make admissible as evidence in criminal proceedings any confessions elicited from an accused during periods of unnecessary delay following arrest of the accused and prior to his arraignment.

Antilynching law: Congress should manifest its concern for the racial minorities and their individual personal security by requiring immediate Federal investigation of every alleged lynching, and making it unlawful for any public official, of any local or State government, to participate in a lynching, to fail to protect persons in danger of being lynched, or to fail to prosecute persons guilty of lynching.

Fair Employment Practices Act: Racial, religious, and national origin discrimination in employment remains as a serious problem and requires the enactment by Congress of legislation prohibiting any such discrimination in employment practices by any employer in commerce or denial of admission to membership in any labor organization in commerce.

McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act: We again renew our desire that the McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act be amended to eliminate the discriminatory national origins quota system. This would enable the United States to resume its position as the haven for victims of persecution in its many forms.

Un-American Activities Committee: We believe that the necessary criterion for a valid legislative investigative committee is that it shall have a valid legislative purpose and shall not exist for the purpose of exposure of persons or their ideas or beliefs. By its irresponsibility, attacks on free speech, free thought, and free association, the Committee on Un-American Activities should either define its purposes and restrict its investigations to specific legislative proposals, or be dissolved.

Presidential responsibility on desegregation: We call upon the President of the United States to initiate affirmative proposals and concrete programs which shall have as their object the greater guarantee of the equal protection of the laws and the effective implementation of the desegregation decisions.

Governmental security program: We call upon Congress to recognize the immediate need for a program by which the Government can secure the employment of persons whose loyalty cannot reasonably be questioned. Such a program must include protection of the individual's rights of free speech and association, the procedural due process necessary in proving alleged disloyalty toward the Government, including the right to each such individual to demand a full and unbiased hearing, based upon reasonable notice of specific charges and complete confrontation of all adverse witnesses.

TAXATION

The Young Democratic Clubs of America demand the correction of abuses and special privileges in our taxing system, and we recommend the following:

1. Complete revision of the Internal Revenue Code with the goal of eliminating inequities, simplifying procedures and curtailing special interest advantages.

2. Elimination of favoritism to corporations and big business by—

(a) Restricting the use of accelerated or rapid depreciation schedules for capital investment;

(b) Repeal special tax depletion allowances for the oil, gas and allied industries, replacing present schedules with standard depreciation requirements; and

(c) Curtailment of deductible business expenses which permit unlimited charges for entertainment, travel and related expenses.

3. Complete overhauling of the wartime excise and luxury taxes with special attention to the elimination of taxes on automobiles and cosmetics.

4. Oppose with every means at our disposal any campaign to force the passage of regressive national sales taxes which have their impact upon our already overburdened small income families.

5. Increase the potential spending power of small income families and thereby the general national prosperity, by adjusting the personal tax exemption from $600 to $800 per person.

6. Oppose the channeling of gasoline excise taxes from road construction and maintenance programs to the general fund, and favor the use of all such taxes for the extension and improvement of our outdated and inadequate road system, both intrastate and interstate.

EDUCATION

Preamble: The Democratic Party has been committed continuously to the principle that every citizen, child, and adult, should be educated to the extent of his capacity. Only in this way can we guarantee that every individual can know and understand the values of freedom and learn to participate effectively in a democracy. Only in this way can an individual learn to make a decent living for himself and his family, to become a good parent, to be happy in his work and leisure, to become a creative person with all of the attendant satisfactions, to keep personally healthy, and to contribute to the health of others.

National Defense Education Act: Recipients of funds under the National Defense Education Act of 1958 are required to file a non-Communist affidavit. This affidavit requirement has been severely criticized by the American Association of University Professors, college presidents, and a growing number of outstanding universities and colleges. The affidavit requirement induces nonparticipation. The Young Democratic Clubs of America believe this requirement is tantamount to signing away a student's right to freedom of thought; and we, therefore, urge the deletion of the oath requirement in accordance with the proposals introduced in the U.S. Congress by Senators KENNEDY and CLARK.

Academic freedom: The Democratic Party must be ever vigilant in its defense against those who would subvert academic freedom. We must guarantee freedom of expression for both teachers and students. We must encourage students to make critical judgments.

We remind the public that teachers in their professional and personal lives have the same rights as other citizens in the community.

Federal aid: It is the inherent right of every child to have a complete opportunity for an adequate education through grade 12 at public expense and in modern schools staffed by competent and well-paid teachers. We recommend Federal aid to supplement local and State funds to carry out such programs in all parts of the Nation which follow the law of the land.

Scholarships: We recommend Federal and State scholarship programs based on ability and need without regard to race, religion, or place of residence, and applicable in any college or university, public or private.

Minimum safty standards: For the protection of all school children, we urge the Federal Government to establish a code of minimum health and safety standards for the building of school facilities wherever Federal funds are involved.

Foreign Service Academy: In order to provide the Nation with the means of training the specialized personnel needed in the foreign service, we recommend the establishment of a Foreign Service Academy.

Special education: The early discovery and treatment of mentally retarded children is necessary if many of these children are to lead useful lives and not be a burden on the community. Experience has also proven that crippled children may also be educated to be productive members of society. We, therefore, strongly urge that the Federal Government expand its program in this area so that potentially productive individuals will have the opportunity to contribute to the general welfare of the Nation.

Migratory workers: The children of migratory workers seldom receive even a basic primary education simply because of the necessity for their parents to follow the harvests. As these workers may criss-cross the entire Nation, a Federal program to provide educational opportunities for these children must be fully developed. We urge that no child be denied his right to an adequate education because of his parents' occupation, and that prompt Federal action be taken.

Research grants: The future progress of the Nation's social and economic growth is tied to expanding human knowledge in science and in other areas of research, including the humanities. We urge that appropriate institutions be supported financially so that the faculty and students will be able to explore the new frontiers of knowledge. Possibilities of specializations at different universities should be further encouraged.

Tax deduction: We recommend that a full tax deduction be granted to teachers, students, or parents of students, for the expenses of higher and continuing education.

GI bill: Numerous capable young people have been denied an opportunity to advance their academic status by the needless elimination of the educational provisions contained in the GI bill. We therefore urge that the educational policy of the GI bill be reinstated.

Educational TV: Existing national TV networks have failed to meet the demand for programing of a nature to induce creative thinking in the arts and sciences. Existing educational TV is not available in many communities and, in any case, such communities do not have the facilities for creating programs dealing with the classics and with the basic sciences. Therefore, we urge the Congress to study the feasibility of creating a publicly financed television network to make available programs of the arts and sciences, and where existing educational TV is available, such a network should cooperate with and supplement such local stations.

Cultural dissemination: An understanding throughout the world of the culture and philosophy of the United States with its consequent appreciation and acceptance can only be based on the knowledge of what we have established in our own land and an awareness of what we, as a people, now are. The means to disseminate the flavor of our culture has been provided the Administration by the International Cultural Exchange and Trade Fair Participation Act (the Humphrey-Thompson Act). We urge the Republican administration to utilize the power they have been given not only to send throughout the world our large artistic groups and universally accepted artists whose appeal is primarily to the sophisticated audiences of the world's caiptals, but also the groups with fine artistic merit who would represent our local creativity and to include in the exchange program, as was intended by the sponsors of this legislation, young artists of great merit (such as Van Cliburn who went to Moscow on private funds) so the world can come to understand our vitality and versatility. This program should be a true exchange program similar to the Fulbright, and all present programs should be administered by one agency.

Historic sites: The building of roads and housing need not deprive us of buildings of artistic and historic worth. The irresponsible despoliation by the Administration of historic sites and buildings must be halted. Legislation to preserve them must be passed. Of equal importance is the aspect of our Nation's Capital as representative of our national life. To this end we strongly urge support of a National Cultural Center in Washington, D.C., and the establishment of a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts so that our nation's capital will be a cultural mecca for ourselves and those who visit us.

Behind Khrushchev's Smile?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BYRON G. ROGERS

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Keith A. Mitchell, a student at Adams State College, Alamosa, Colo., took first place at a five-State oratory contest. The prizewinning oration is as follows:

BEHIND KHRUSHCHEV'S SMILE?

(By Keith A. Mitchell)

The world's No. 1 Communist recently came to America in a blaze of nightmare portents, stained with blood, promising peace and shooting rockets toward the moon. As the nebulous personality was observed by many in our cities and relayed to others by newsmen, the American people complacently dismissed the most crucial question of our day: "What is behind Khrushchev's smile?"

We can interpret this spectral smile only by holding fast to the knowledge that world politics is serious and history is real. Our widespread dozing to the alarm of world communism may someday cause us to cry in the night of world domination that: "history is a nightmare from which I am trying to awake."

Most of us have failed to look beyond the smiles and promises of the taskmaster who holds one-half of the world's population in pharaohic bondage. We cannot see, behind the cavities of deceit, the monstrous subversive machinery being built in the United States with our own straw of ignorance, indifference and extreme optimism. The smiling countenance and beguiling words of Mr. Khrushchev have caused our people to place more faith in him than they would in his past record and his present motives. This, our national blind faith in the world's No. 1 Communist, was made verbal recently by a Denver housewife when she said: "The world situation did look bad," then continuing, she affirmed with utmost faith, "but Khrushchev is ready for peaceful coexistence now."

Mrs. America, if you alone had become a believer in Khrushchev's gospel of peaceful coexistence, there would be no problem. But you, Ma'am, speak for multiplied millions of loyal, yet blinded Americans.

To all Americans, men, women, and young alike, I warn you that the superficial good news of Khrushchev's coexistence gospel is not made sublime with a soon-approaching earthly paradise. The paradise Khrushchev desires is one in which 50, previously free and United States, are walled by curtains of ruby red.

It is high time that we, as Americans take a new and closer look at Nikita Khrushchev. But, as we look again, let us ponder with all gravity the most challenging and important question of our day: "What is behind Mr. Khrushchev's smile?"

Behind Khrushchev's disarming smirk, look to Marx and Engles who stated the objectives of the Communist movement: "The theory of communism may be summed up in a single phrase: Abolition of private property."

Now hear Lenin when he was the Pharaoh of world communism: "It is necessary to agree to any and every sacrifice, and even if need be, to resort to all sorts of strategisms, maneuvers and illegal methods, to evasion, and subterfuge." Lenin added further: "As long as capitalism remains we cannot live in peace. In the end one or the other will triumph—a funeral requiem will be sung over the Soviet Republic or over world capitalism."

The long-range design of international communism was put to blueprints 30 years ago in the Lenin School of Political Warfar in Moscow. But the most startling fact of today is the edification of a Communist world in every detail on those dusty blueprints. Dimitri Manuilsky, a professor at the school, taught his students that a war between communism and capitalism is inevitable. According to his prophecy, now is the time for the strongest surprise attack that the world has ever known. First the bourgeois would have to be put to sleep. Then the element of surprise would be a part of the most spectacular peace movement on record. There were to be electrifying overtures and unheard-of concessions. The capitalistic countries, stupid and decadent would cooperate in their own destruction. They would leap at another chance to be friends with the Soviets. As soon as their guard was down, the Communists would smash them with armored fists.

Especially today when the cold war appears to be thawing a bit with new strategy, we cannot afford to place confidence in a man representing the satanic diplomatic record of the Soviet Union. Yes; look behind Khrushchev's smile to March 1945 and June 1958, dates that can never be torn from the calendar of memory.

In March 1945, 16 top leaders of the Polish Government were invited to Moscow to participate in the conduct of negotiations. They were promised on the word of honor of the Soviet Government that they would be afforded safe conduct. All 16 were arrested and then vanished. Nothing further was heard of any of them until 10 years later when the wife of Gen. Leopold Okulicki was notified of his death 9 years before in a Soviet prison.

On June 17, 1958, when the Soviet news agency, Tass, announced the executions of former Hungarian Premier Imre Nagy, Gen. Pal Maleter, and the two other leaders of the anti-Communist rebellion of 1956, western leaders expressed shock and dismay. General Maleter, the hero of the rebellion had been seized by the Soviets when he met with them under a flag of truce to negotiate the withdrawal of the Red Army from Budapest. Nagy and his associates were executed, although they had received in advance a written guaranty of safe conduct when they left their asylum in the Yugoslav Embassy. Ever since the Katyn Forest Massacre, which came to light in 1943, it has been obvious that coexistence with communism is a contradiction in terms. International communism is a femme fatale, and this is she standing naked before the eyes of the world.

Our own internal security against communism has been weakened most by a lackadaisical attitude on the part of the public. It is unfortunately true that all too few people really understand what communism is. The greatest asset that the Communists have at present is not the hydrogen bomb, certainly not Soviet satellites, but world ignorance of Soviet tactics, strategy, and objectives.

We can no more save our Republic from communism merely by saying we are against communism, than parents can save their children from polio merely by saying they are against polio. To conquer any disease requires intelligent study to isolate the germ and discover the vaccine. As the No. 1 killer in the world today, communism is a disease which merits our urgent study.

We have looked beyond Khrushchev's smile. We have turned our vision back to Marx, Engles and Lenin. We have seen how their formulative way of life is at direct variance with everything we hold to be inalienable rights of every man under God: Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The objectives and goals of international communism are the same today as when they were penned by Karl Marx. The change is not in its ideology, only in its strategy used to proselytize. And the most effective method now is the abundant use of smiling promises. This new strategy is resulting in our biggest national problem, our apathetic attitude and the weakening of our resistance to communism. The only solution is to look beyond Krushchev's smile, both backward and forward. Do not accept my answer alone for the sinister motives behind Khrushchev's disarming smirk. Let the words of the No. 1 Communist himself offer the revealing answer as he did to an American television audience September 17, 1955:

"If anyone thinks that our smiles means the abandonment of the teachings of Marx, Engles, and Lenin, he is deceiving himself cruelly. Those who expect this to happen just as well wait for a shrimp to learn how to whistle."

Address of Gov. Robert B. Meyner, of New Jersey, 12th National Young Democratic Convention

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NEAL SMITH
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, the Young Democratic Clubs of America held their national convention in Toledo, Ohio, last November 17 through the 20th. Among the several great leaders in our country addressing the 200 delegates in attendance was the Honorable Robert B. Meyner, Governor of New Jersey. His speech was on a most timely and important subject matter, especially in view of the many walks of life now affected by the fourth branch of government, the administrative agencies and commissions. So that those who were not in attendance may have an opportunity to study these remarks, under unanimous consent I include excerpts of his speech in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The excerpts are as follows:

REMARKS OF GOV. ROBERT B. MEYNER OF NEW JERSEY, 12TH NATIONAL YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION, TOLEDO, OHIO, NOVEMBER 20, 1959

Governor diSalle, Mrs. Louchheim, ladies and gentlemen, fellow Democrats, as a former member of this organization—I suppose you might call me a Young Democrat emeritus—I am proud and happy to appear before you for more than one reason. It gives me a chance to renew acquaintance with Young Democrats throughout the country—men and women who are not only potential leaders in the days to come, but men and women who already have attained positions of power and responsibility in the party and in public office.

Our party has young Governors, young U.S. Senators, young Members of Congress, young officials of every type who are serving the public with vigor, imagination, and that special kind of dedicated idealism that is the hallmark of the Democratic Party. In my own State of New Jersey since I took over as Governor in January, 1954, we have had a decided accent on youth in the filling of appointments. Many of my most valued aides are persons under 40, and they have brought to State government qualities of intelligence, energy, and unremitting zeal.

I am glad to be here, too, because you in this audience will play a vital part in the nominating convention of 1960 and in the ensuing election and—gathered here together—you personify the mighty force that will be set in motion next year to provide America with the kind of national leadership that it must have in the coming 4 years—the kind of national leadership that it is not getting now. Since 1953, we have had what might be called a passive custodian in the White House who takes action only when problems reach crisis proportions—but the times demand a far more positive, a more dynamic kind of action. Fortunately, our party is richly equipped with men who can furnish that kind of performance.

I do not know how many candidates the other party will have as the spring of 1960 warms into summer. At present, there is only one certain candidate, and one possible one. That adds up to two with a question mark. The question mark is my esteemed fellow-Governor, Nelson Rockefeller of New York, who is looked upon with a jaundiced eye by the old guard. He has the misfortune to belong to a party that has a weakness for monopoly—monopoly in politics as well as in business. It does not enjoy invoking the antitrust laws, but prefers to keep its eggs all carefully wrapped up in one basket. While the old guard pays frequent lipservice to the doctrine of free enterprise, it is often horrified when anyone seriously proposes to practice it. So it is possible there will be only one GOP candidate when spring rolls round again next year.

As for our side, it would be dangerous to throw a rock at this meeting for fear of hitting the next President. I do not know how many candidates the Democratic Party has and, if you count favorite sons, the number, let us say, is ample. Here is an example of free political enterprise, yes, and individual initiative, that would have delighted the heart of Adam Smith.

What it means is a strong confidence that the Democratic Party is going to win in 1960; and it means that the party is able to produce men of experience and stature who are highly qualified for the tasks that lie ahead. I notice some of the busy pollsters have not so sanguine a view as to our party's chances—but let me point out that these are the same gentlemen who figured in the election of 1948—when, in one of the most remarkable campaigns of all time—the Republican candidate succeeded in snatching defeat out of the jaws of victory.

Finally, I am glad to be here because I have a few things to say about a scandal of nationwide importance—a scandal that reaches into every home in America, and a scandal that involves the highest echelons of the national administration. I refer, of course, to the pollution and perversion of television while official Washington sat by dumb, stupid, and indifferent. Few things in recent years have shocked the American public as deeply. Thanks to a congressional hearing and following the strange suppression of a grand jury presentment in New York, the whole sordid story is coming to light. The closet door has been opened and the skeleton is plainly revealed. The Nation's airwaves, a great natural resource belonging to all the people, have been used to perpetrate a monstrous hoax, with the entire country as its victim. To paraphrase John Randolph, of Roanoke, we may say of TV today: "It is a thing of splendid abilities, but utterly corrupt. It shines and stinks like a rotten mackerel by moonlight."

But I am going to do more than to talk about the TV scandals. I am going to show that they represent but one phase of a clear pattern among the Big Six regulatory agencies that has afflicted our country since the present administration took over. In other words, the TV disclosures are merely symptomatic of a far more widespread disease. By the Big Six, I mean the Federal Communications Commission, Federal Aviation Agency, Federal Power Commission, Federal Trade Commission, Securities and Exchange Commission, and Interstate Commerce Commission.

These commissions were set up to exercise vast powers over some of the most significant aspects of the economic system. The FCC controls radio and television, as well as telephone and telegraph service; the FAA and ICC regulate all forms of transportation by air and land; the FPC regulates interstate gas and electric companies; the FTC, competitive and fair-trade practices throughout the economy; the SEC, the marketing and sale of securities. All of these commissions operate in fields of intimate concern to every citizen.

To put it another way, the business regulated by the big six constitute the very lifeblood of the economic system. The wheels of commerce, the power which enables it to function, the communications which constitute its nervous system, the financial markets which furnish necessary capital, the practices by which the products of commerce are distributed and sold—all these and many more are subject to the plenary power of the big six commissions. The decisions of these agencies may be of more immediate concern to the people than most decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court.

The big six are vested with prodigious regulatory powers. To them is delegated the authority to prescribe generally what shall or shall not be done in a given situation (just as legislatures do); to determine whether the law has been violated in particular cases and to proceed against the violators (just as courts do); to admit people and corporations (such as TV licensees) to privileges not otherwise open to members of the public (as the English crown once could do); and to render what amounts to money judgments. The right to grant or withhold a TV license amounts to the power of life and death over the industry.

Now, why have these big six commissions been created and vested with their awesome regulatory authority? There is no doubt the primary purpose behind the creation of all of them is the protection of the consuming public. The areas in which Congress has sought to regulate have had two principal characteristics. First, the businesses concerned tend to have monopolistic character or tendencies; second, the services provided by them are essential to the consuming public.

It is these two factors which have made regulation necessary. In its absence, monopolistic tactics lead to abuses before which the public is helpless. The lack of effective competition makes it a mere illusion to depend on the normal working of a free market. So Congress has given the big six their powers because this is the only way to correct the imbalance between these businesses and the consuming public—the only way the Government could deal with the enormous growth of corporations affected with a vital public interest. The challenge of big business—particularly business which has the potential of monopoly—inevitably called forth the response of big government.

Right here let me impress upon this audience of Young Democrats that it was the Democratic Party which established all of the agencies here mentioned. It did so over the bitter opposition of the Republican Party. The ICC came into being under President Cleveland; the FTC and FPC under Woodrow Wilson; and the remaining three under Franklin D. Roosevelt. Is it not highly significant that it was our party that acted in these important fields to protect the people? Sometimes I hear the silly remark that our two major parties are cut from the same cloth. Some people say they do not know the difference between them. Well, the creation of the regulatory agencies is an eloquent statement of the difference. It is not a historical accident that the Democrats acted to protect the consumer; it grows out of the very nature and the basic philosophy of our party.

Let's look now at the other side of the coin. It is not surprising that, under the present administration, the primary purpose of regulation has been all but relegated to bureaucratic limbo. All these agencies exist to restrict and police private enterprise, an endeavor hardly to the taste of a political party committed to the interests of big business. When the GOP took over in 1953, it was soon apparent it had little stomach for the job. Let me illustrate:

As head of the Federal Power Commission, a former power company lawyer—Jerome Kuykendall—was chosen. His task, among

other things, was to regulate interstate gas companies. At White House request, he drafted a bill in 1956 to exempt gas companies from FPC regulation. His philosophy: "I believe there should be a minimum of control."

George McConnaughey, a former telephone company lawyer, was picked to head the FCC. He, too, believed in "as few controls of business as possible." And he proved that he meant it. After he became chairman, FCC stopped an inquiry begun in 1948 of A.T. & T. charges for TV broadcast transmission—and this in face of the fact that the staff informed the Commission that it was ready and able to go to formal hearing.

Of course, you recall the appointment of Richard Mack to the FCC. The choice was incredible. He admitted to a congressional committee that he had no educational or professional qualifications to sit on that body. He left the post under a cloud. And it was shown that earlier he had used his position on a quasijudicial Florida commission to feather the nests of both himself and his sponsor.

The man chosen to head the Federal Trade Commission was an attorney who represented a company which had on a number of occasions been charged with antitrust practices. Men selected to head the FAA and SEC were from state commissions who were regarded as friendly to the very businesses they were supposed to regulate.

Effective regulatory power has been all but abrogated by the Federal Power Commission. You recall the notorious Hells Canyon case, where it discriminated against the public interest instead of acting in the public interest. The FPC adopted a tax amortization program resulting in windfalls of many millions to power companies under an accounting procedure contrary to that recommended by the National Association of Railroad and Utility Commissioners. The FPC permitted power companies to obtain what amounts to extensions of licenses far beyond the maximum 50-year period allowed by Congress. You recall the malodorous Dixon-Yates transaction of still another body, the Atomic Energy Commission. That case was so rotten that the administration was forced by facts and public opinion to abrogate the contract.

Such are some of the outlines of the dismal picture that has been unfolding since 1953. I could keep you here all afternoon giving you chapter and verse on all of the big six commissions, to show you that congressional purposes in their creation have been honored more in the breach than in the observance. The bumbling, inept, myopic John C. Doerfer, Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, who let TV come to a pretty pass in the TV quiz cases, is no accident. He fits the pattern of other bix six appointments, which have been mediocre or worse. So does his behavior. The prevailing attitude of the big six is not to regulate, but laissez-faire, which, freely translated, means "let 'er rip."

Now we are told that no crime was actually committed—no, there has been no actual burglary, larceny, assault, or other such felony. Nothing is said by the responsible bureaucrats of the immense moral wrong done to the American public. We are told we need a law. Actually, we have had a comprehensive law in the field of broadcasting since Congress passed the Communications Act of 1934. Under it, no man can operate a TV channel without a license. To obtain a license, he must show that he will operate the channel in the public interest. He must show that the programing will serve more than his own pocketbook. He must promise to allocate time among different programs—so much for news, for public service, for local programs, and so on. Under the law, TV licenses are granted for only 3 years, and when the time comes for renewal, the FCC has ample chance to find out if the station has lived up to its promises.

A commission vigilant in its duties would have nipped in the bud the rigging of quiz shows. As far back as 1952—7 years ago—the FCC received a complaint of skulduggery on a major quiz program, from a contestant who said he had been coached. Do you know what the Commission did? It said the informant's "views were appreciated" and that the complaint would be "associated with the appropriate files" and that ended the matter. In other words, the informant was stymied by bureaucratic gobbledegook. The complaint of Stempler, who lost to Van Doren on "Twenty-One" and who finally broke the case open, was first made 2 years ago. He got in touch with the district attorney and sent his charges to the FCC. Presumably, his letter reposes in some never never land that has been the FCS wastebasket for other complaints.

It is hard to imagine where the FCC monitors and investigators have been all these years while TV sank lower and lower in its own welter of hucksterism, vapid entertainment, questionable advertising, canned laughter, rigged quizzes, phony commercials, under-the-counter purchase of TV plugs (known to the trade as the payola) and tear-soaked emotion put on tape today and shown tomorrow. It took a congressional committee to pry information out of the New York grand jury files, to bring the culprits to Washington, to wring the truth out of them, and to stir the FCC and FTC out of their torpor into belated—very belated—action. In the meantime, never a nudge from the Chief Executive, never a suggestion to FCC that direct action was in order. All we did get was an after-the-fact press conference, where the President finally gave voice to a pious hope that something should be done.

And may I remind you in passing that the congressional committee that acted is the same committee that unmasked Bernard Goldfine and that unhorsed the Great Stone Face of New Hampshire, Sherman Adams.

What is obviously needed in Washington is active and continuing direction from the top, an insistence that the departments of government carry out their appointed tasks, and that the regulatory commissions do just what Congress created them to do—protect and promote the public interest. There should be a renewed dedication to the tasks at hand, a large measure of initiative and imagination and renewed zeal, an unrelenting but fair carrying out of the letter and spirit of the statutes and regulations already on the books.

The pressure and inspiration must come from the very summit. As Governor, I know that the public expects me to be on top of every play, every day and every hour of the day. If commuter needs are pressing, I soon hear of it. If health standards are not maintained, there is a sudden volume of critical mail. If poultry and egg prices slide, farmers knock on my door. And so on. I am sure Governor DiSalle and other State executives know exactly what I mean. The public looks to the head man, and what is true of the governorship should be true of the Presidency. If the present policy of the regulatory commissions is minimum control of business and industry first, and the public interest second, then responsibility must be placed right at the door of the Republican administration.

Now, a glance at the future. Immense damage has been done to our Big Six administrative structure in the past few years, culminating with the TV explosion. But there is never such a thing in a democracy as a point of no return, for we have in our mechanism the cure for all evils. I refer to the massive power of an aroused public opinion, which can exorcise itself from evil men and evil policies. I have seen public opinion move mountains and perform seeming miracles. In the present instances, we have a guiding policy—the public interest, always. We have all the laws we need to produce not only legal but moral behavior among the great businesses subject to regulation.

What we need is superior leadership; the appointment of men of real merit and high principles to the Big Six commissions; a program of direct and zealous action that will breathe new life and vitality into existing law and administration. Perhaps I should say more explicitly that we need the kind of positive action which, under democratic auspices, created these agencies in the first place. If situations like Dixon-Yates and Hells Canyon, the Richard Mack case, the Adams-Goldfine mess, the gas industry exposé, the TV scandal are significant—they mean there must be a return to first principles and to simple copybook truths, an end to administrative hardening of the arteries, a new awareness of just what proper regulation of business and industry entails.

Mr. Justice Holmes—that great American—once said what we need is education in the obvious. Well, we have had that education in full measure in the last few years. What we need now is the courage and the will to act. As I look over this great audience, I know these qualities are here in high abundance.

Congressional Action Urged by Small Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a letter from C. W. Harder, president of the National Federation of Independent Business, which was sent to the following individuals: Hon. Dwight D. Eisenhower, Hon. Lyndon Johnson, Hon. Everett Dirksen, Hon. John McCormack, and Hon. Charles Halleck.

Full text of Mr. Harder's message is as follows:

Independent businessmen nationwide are counting on you for leadership and support during this 2d session of the 86th Congress to make good fully on your 1956 platform promises.

We of the federation, the largest business organization in our country whose policies are set by direct vote of individual members, say you have a right to be proud of the progress made in the past three years in enactments that have, among other things: made Small Business Administration permanent, provided new sources of equity capital, $260 million in first-step tax revisions, legislated greater fairness into our labor laws, tightened up on antitrust supervision of chainstore giants, and provided speedier enforcement of orders assuring fairer competition, as well as provided progress payments on Federal contracts. Truly, you have helped do a big job, but there's unfinished business. Independents fur-

ther need action this year to provide, among other things:

1. Tax equality that will allow the Nation's more than 3 million self-employed businessmen to finance their private retirement programs on the same basis as their corporate brethren, and that will require cooperatives and their members to pay their taxes each year the same as their profit-making competitors are compelled to do.

2. Stronger antimerger laws by requiring big business to make advance disclosure of their merger intentions.

3. Further tax revisions that will provide allowances for increases in inventories and accounts receivable, and that will permit independents to finance estate tax payments through tax-free insurance policies or anticipation certificates.

4. Buying price equality for those forced to compete directly with factory-owned stores operated by their manufacturer-suppliers.

5. Further reduction in Government competition and Federal redtape reporting burdens.

All this can be done in the next 6 months before Congress closes for the conventions. One thing you can be sure. This Nation's 4 million small and independent enterprisers, their employees, families and friends will be watching all developments closely, and will use performance as a rule by which to measure the value of pledges that will be made in Los Angeles and Chicago this summer.

In short, you've helped to do a good job on the 1956 convention platform promises. Don't fumble the ball in the final quarter.

Education at the Collegiate Level

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. GEORGE P. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, in order to meet the coeducational needs of its booming growth, the State of California found it necessary to establish two new State colleges, granting baccalaureate degrees, during the past year. One of these is the State College for Alameda County to be located in Hayward, Calif., in the heart of the Eighth Congressional District.

Dr. Fred F. Harcleroad, a distinguished scholar long identified with the San Jose State College, was called to the presidency of the new institution.

Dr. Harcleroad has a fine appreciation of what Congress has done in order to further stimulate education on the collegiate level under the National Defense Education Act and has so expressed himself in a letter to me that I take pleasure in making available to all of you through this medium:

STATE COLLEGE FOR ALAMEDA COUNTY,
Hayward, Calif., January 7, 1960.

Hon. GEORGE P. MILLER,
Congressman, Eighth District Alameda County, Calif., House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MILLER: This past September 1959, the doors of the State College for Alameda County opened for the first time. As a tribute to the foresight of those who assisted in planning this new college, we had been granted the equivalent of $4,480 in funds under the terms of the National Defense Education Act.

As you may know, our college's primary mission in this inaugural year is the education of elementary school teachers. The terms of the National Defense Education Act student loan program are therefore peculiarly suited toward the needs of students in our elementary education curriculum.

During this first quarter the entire amount of our loan fund has been awarded to deserving students who intend to pursue a career in teaching. I want to take this opportunity to express to you and to your colleagues in Congress the appreciation of our college, students and faculty alike, for these readily available funds with which earnest young men and women may ease the financial burden of achieving the educational requirements for their careers in teaching. May I also add that I sincerely hope you will encourage your colleagues to continue their support of this most worthy Federal program.

Sincerely yours,
FRED F. HARCLEROAD,
President.

Nixon Weakness—A Democratic Thesis Examined

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I append herewith a most interesting and thoughtful article by Roscoe Drummond, one of the outstanding independent political analysts on the American scene.

I cannot remember a writer who has better marshalled his facts and analyzed past results of Mr. NIXON as well as has Mr. Drummond in this article. These are not generalities, but facts and to the point. It bears reading by every person in America who is interested in the political situation in 1960.

NIXON WEAKNESS?—A DEMOCRATIC THESIS EXAMINED

(By Roscoe Drummond)

It is a good rule in political discussion to question everything. This means, I fear, that I am inviting you to question what I write in this column. But politics is not an exact science and everybody can be his own expert.

What I propose to do is to question the Democratic thesis that RICHARD M. NIXON is absolutely made to order for them to defeat next November, that he is the Republican nominee whom they can most easily measure and inter at the polls.

I am not predicting Mr. NIXON's election. I am simply questioning the Democratic fixation that the Republicans are going to do them a great favor by nominating Mr. NIXON, the man they can so assuredly bury.

The Democratic theories are:

That NIXON is the "darling" of the right wing of the Republican Party and will, therefore, be unable to attract the liberals in either party.

That no Republican can win the presidency without a large number of Democratic votes and since NIXON among Democrats is the "most hated" Republican, he can't get a large number of Democratic votes.

That since the Vice President played a sharp, hard-hitting partisan role in the 1954 and 1956 elections, when he was the administration's leading campaigner, he will have great difficulty making any effective appeal to the nonparty, floating vote.

There, as many Democratic professionals see it, you have it all wrapped up for the Democratic nominee whether he be Stevenson, SYMINGTON, or KENNEDY.

But is it all wrapped up with such tidy certainty? There are some Democratic leaders who see this kind of talk as wishful thinking. Here are the factors which caused them to see NIXON as a candidate hard to beat:

NIXON is no conservative in the right-wing sense. When he took up politics in 1946, he joined up with Harold Stassen, then the focus of many Republican progressives. He has always been nearer the middle of the party than on the right and his major service as a Member of the House was to help lay the foundation, through his service on the Herter committee, for the Marshall plan.

Does NIXON have a special talent for alienating Democrats? The record does not bear out the cliche. In 1948 NIXON won both the Democratic and the Republican nominations for Congressman in his district. In winning the Senate Republican nomination in California in 1950, he got so many Democratic votes that he nearly took the Democratic nomination away from Helen Douglas, whom he subsequently defeated in the election. Further, all the public opinion polls show NIXON taking some 20 percent of the Democratic votes in trial heats against different Democratic candidates; he gets a far higher percentage of the Democratic votes than the Democrats are able to attract from the Republicans.

Does NIXON repel the independent, nonparty voter? There is considerable evidence that he attracts them. All the signs point to the fact that he is stronger than his party—which he would have to be to win. In the latest trial heat in which NIXON leads Stevenson 56 to 44 percent, NIXON polls 60 percent of the independent vote to Stevenson's 40 percent. In leading KENNEDY 53 to 47 percent, NIXON wins the independent vote over KENNEDY in the same proportion.

I am not concluding that NIXON can win the Presidency easily or that he can win at all. Nobody knows. Even if the polls, which show NIXON leading both Stevenson and KENNEDY, are an accurate reflection of today's voter opinion, the state of voter opinion may well change by next fall—either way.

There is one further question which can be fairly raised. It is true that most Democrats say that NIXON is their favorite to defeat, but possibly they don't believe it. I suspect they count him a powerful and difficult opponent.

Alabama Legislature Supports Development of Coosa-Alabama River System on Partnership Basis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, last fall the Legislature of the State of Alabama adopted the following resolution, urging Federal participation in development of the Coosa-Alabama River, one of the Nation's great undeveloped waterways.

In accordance with Corps of Engineers plans, navigational development must begin at Miller's Ferry on the Alabama River, and it is for planning funds at this point that the State legislature urges.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the resolution to which I have referred:

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 75

Whereas for many years much has been said and written about the proposed development of the Alabama-Coosa River System in the States of Alabama and Georgia, and it has been the intent and purpose of the people of our State for a long period of time that the complete development of this great waterway would increase the economy of the river basin of approximately 26,000 square miles, the southeastern region, and the Nation; and

Whereas the Corps of Engineers, U.S. Army, has over the years conducted studies and surveys and has found the development of the Alabama-Coosa River System for navagation and other purposes to be economically justified, and did recommend the initial and ultimate comprehensive plan of development for this great waterway to the Congress of the United States; and

Whereas the 79th Congress by enactment of Public Law 14, approved March 2, 1945, did authorize the development of the Alabama-Coosa River System for navigation, flood control, power, and other purposes, including the initial plan of development of the river system consisting of one navigation and two multiple-purpose dams to be constructed on the Alabama River and one hydroelectric power dam on the Coosa River; and

Whereas the development of the Coosa River for the generation of hydroelectric power has suspended by enactment of Public Law 436 by the 84th Congress to permit a private utility, under certain conditions and requirements of a license later issued by the Federal Power Commission, to develop the Coosa River for hydroelectric power; and

Whereas the President of the United States did on January 6, 1955, in the address of the state of the Union delivered by him to the 84th Congress, specifically mention the Coosa River as complying with the administration's partnership policy, and did state in the address, quote: "Now, of course, the Federal Government must shoulder its own partnership obligations by undertaking projects of such complexity and size that their success requires Federal development"; and

Whereas the authorized projects on the Alabama River section of the waterway are of such size and complexity that in order to maintain the economic feasibility, the development must be accomplished by the Federal Government; and

Whereas during recent years there have been certain restrictions placed on the Corps of Engineers by the executive department of the Federal Government that have apparently prevented the Engineers from allocating funds to resume advanced planning of the Millers Ferry multiple-purpose dam, this being scheduled by the Corps of Engineers as the first of three dams to be constructed on the Alabama River; and

Whereas, a further postponement of the development of the river involves a continuing loss in the economic advancement of the States of Alabama and Georgia and the Nation, and further will continue to delay the Federal Government's responsibility in assuming its initial partnership obligations in the ultimate development of the Alabama-Coosa River system from the mouth of the Alabama River to Montgomery, Ala., then to Gadsden, Ala., and eventually to Rome, Ga.: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of Alabama (the senate concurring), That the executive department, Bureau of the Budget, remove any restrictions on the Corps of Engineers, U.S. Army, in the allocation of funds for development of the authorized projects on the Alabama River; and further, that the Congress of the United States is hereby requested to make available at the 2d session of the 86th Congress an appropriation for the resumption of advanced planning of the Millers Ferry multiple-purpose dam, Alabama River; and further, that the Corps of Engineers allocate funds to be included in the fiscal year 1961 budget for plans on the initial project in the ultimate development of the Alabama-Coosa River system; and further that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to each member of the Alabama Congressional Delegation, and that they be urged to exert their every effort to expedite the complete development of the river system, and that they do concentrate their efforts in securing an appropriation from the present Congress during the second session that convenes in January 1960; and further, that a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States, to the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, and to the Chief of Engineers, Corps of Engineers, U.S. Army.

Adopted by the house of representatives, October 13, 1959.

Concurred in and adopted by the senate, October 30, 1959.

Approved by the Governor, November 2, 1959.

National Council of the Churches of Christ Condemns Right-To-Work Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of the Congress the recent action by the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America in supporting the principles of collective bargaining between management and labor, and condemning so-called right-to-work laws which seek to subvert these democratic processes.

The general board of this great church group made its majof policy pronouncement on December 2, 1959, declaring that the decision on the question of union security in labor-management contracts "should be left to agreement by management and labor through the processes of collective bargaining."

It is this tried and proved provision of our Federal labor-management law that the misnamed right-to-work proposal seeks to destroy, in ruthless disregard of the rights and wishes of 97.1 percent of our Nation's wage earners.

I believe it is pertinent to note that the National Council of the Churches of Christ is the voice of 35,500,000 members of 30 Protestant communions.

I am convinced that the position taken on the right-to-work issue by this eminent church body represents the best interests and welfare of all our citizens.

The National Council of Churches merits the commendation of Congress for its forthright and unequivocal stand against a type of punitive legislation that already has done great harm to working people and labor-management harmony in several States in which it has been enacted.

It is such fearless action as that taken by the National Council of the Churches of Christ, and a similar pronouncement last summer by the 171st general assembly of the United Presbyterian Church, which should help lift this oppressive law from the shoulders of working people, and prevent its imposition on States still free of its shackles.

I have that portion of the text of the policy pronouncement of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America, as adopted by the general board, December 2, 1959, which deals with the right of management and labor to agree to union security through the democratic processes of collective bargaining.

Church policy on this important issue is enunciated in sections 4, 5, and 6 of the pronouncement by its general board. These sections follow:

A PRONOUNCEMENT: A STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Ethical issues in industrial relations of concern to Christians, adopted by the general board, December 2, 1959

(4) Freedom to bargain on issues of mutual concern: We believe that collective bargaining can be and has proved to be a social instrument of great worth in preserving vital freedoms in our economy. To the extent to which labor and management act with a high degree of social responsibility in the process of bargaining they should be given freedom to deal with issues of mutual interest. One such issue involving this freedom which has come to the forefront of public attention is the right of the two parties to include in a bargaining contract the element of union security, as represented by membership as a basis of continued employment. On this point it is the opinion of the general board of the National Council of Churches that union membership as a basis of continuing employment should be neither required nor forbidden by law: the decision should be left to agreement by management and labor through the processes of collective bargaining. Union membership as a condition of continued employment is not supported by this statement as a subject of collective bargaining unless the union concerned is recognized by established processes as representative of all employees in the bargaining unit.

(5) Democratic safeguards for employees: The following additional safeguards should also be required under any circumstances where union membership is established as one of the conditions of employment:

(a) That there should be a periodic review by the parties to the agreement of the provision requiring union membership as a condition of continued employment.

(b) That individual members should be protected against abuses by the union through provisions in union constitutions. If such constitutions are adopted the provisions should be made enforceable in the courts. Such protection should include such elements as:

1. Open membership without excessive initiatiton fees and dues, and freedom from discrimination of race, creed, color, national origin, and sex.

2. Free and regular elections of union officials with ample provision for free and secret expression of opinion on nominations, elections, and policy issues.

3. Adequate protection against arbitrary or discriminatory treatment of those who hold a minority opinion on union policy and practices.

4. Adequate protection for those individuals who, for reasons of religious belief, cannot participate in all conditions of membership.

5. The means whereby members may appeal the decisions of unions, of officers of unions, especially in those instances involving expulsion. Union provisions should be exhausted before turning to the courts.

(6) Moral responsibility and management power: In the above section we note some of the particular issues affecting organized labor, including the concentration of power. The changing position of management in the structure of industrial society has posed a similar problem of increasing importance. Formerly management and ownership were in the same individual or partnership; the interests and power of the one were identical with those of the other. But more and more management today does not coincide with ownership. Power without ownership and frequently not under the direct control of ownership carries the possibility that such power may be used apart from the welfare of the owners as well as of others in society affected by it. Collective bargaining should be recognized as one check on such power. The ethical dimensions of the problem posed by the power of management in this regard should be a growing concern of Christian people.

CONCLUSION

As Christians we recognize the vast temptations of pride and self-will in the wealth and power that have come to mankind in this technological age. Therefore, we beseech Gods' grace that we may have the humility and the sensitivity to use the gift of economic power for the glory of God and the welfare of all mankind. 73 for, 16 against, 12 abstentions.

Price Tags, No Values

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, the American people have been disappointed in recent months by the evidence uncovered by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce regarding the way in which producers of national television programs have cynically distorted the values in preparing entertainment programs.

The committee, under the distinguished chairman from Arkansas, has examined this question partly in the light of how well the Federal Communications and Federal Trade Commission have carried out their mandate to protect the American people. When the Congress established these regulatory commissions, it was intended that they should uphold those interests—not the interests of the industry they were empowered to regulate.

The record is clear, I believe, that vigorous regulation has not been attempted. It may be that further legislation will be necessary in this session to clean up this mess. The American people do not trust the cynicism and commercial self-seeking that has influenced the matter which is carried on the airwaves that ought to be kept clean of pollution. As an outstanding expression of this distrust, and the feeling that trade practices have gone to nauseous lengths, I offer for the record a column written by Thomas E. Murphy, a nationally known commentator of the Hartford Courant, which highlights some of the ridiculous claims put forth on television—claims that are discoloring, to say the least, our manners and morals:

So far in the discussions about TV rigging hardly anybody has said anything about the day-by-day erosion of our manners and morals that is being brought about by this medium of so-called entertainment and enlightenment. I am not talking about the rigged quiz shows. I never watched them anyway because I get no particular pleasure out of that kind of so-called entertainment. Even worse are those panels where people guess prices. To me that is symbolic of the whole thing—price tags but no values.

I am referring to the debauchery of the language, of the health, and of the morals of the country. TV is working hard in all three categories. In the first we are treated to a continuing sequence of yups and nopes by illiterate actors playing cowboys while Madison Avenue consciously distorts the language so that it will fit snugly into a commercial. It may taste good like a cigarette should, but to me it sounds like hell.

In the area of hypochondria TV is doing its swellest job. It is making the American housewife and her family more conscious of their internal workings than ever before. People have sick headaches, nagging backaches, sinus drip, and hacking coughs. There are pills that open gaskets in your stomach and there are others with three-way action. Night after night you can watch stomach acid eating cloth, or listen to the rival claims as to which cigarette is less carcinogenous than the other. Or if you wish you can be bemused by the five New York doctors whose identity I have been trying to learn for years. The trade says it would be unprofessional to reveal their names. Gad, what high ethics.

Currently my favorite is the dissertation on fat globules, which are regularly made to pass through the opening in a glass flask, by a pitchman who meanwhile tells you how the fat globules are made smaller. Fat globules from a fat slobule, I say. I have had fun in the past checking on some of these claims. Hospital-tested, I found, meant that an outpatient clinic in a New York hospital had once tried the stuff, but it had not been reported in a medical journal. A cigarette company, of which I inquired about the medical authority who said there was no damage to nose and throat, did not answer. Instead they tried to bring pressure to bear on me through a New York advertising agency.

In the wonderland of TV people don't get relief, they get fast relief or blessed relief. Sometimes it is both fast and blessed. You look better fast and you feel better fast, too. But believe me, Bud, if you keep listening to these patent-medicine pitchmen, you'll have nagging aches and pains from head to toe, your sinuses will drip, your hair will be unruly, people will say you look like you got the gray sickness or perhaps tired blood. Thus does TV help to sell us the idea of our own poor health.

The third area of debauchery is that of morals. TV has taught us that all human problems can be solved by gun, knife, or noose. It has taught us the humor of watching a human being go plummeting through a window to the street below, as the hero washes his hands and says, "Happy Landing." No man is wholly immune to the forces that shape his environment. If one does not react violently to TV's continued suggestion of sadism and violence, as the weak-minded and psychopathic do, there is still a blunting of sensitivity, because of the repetitive hangings, shootings, garrotings, and defenestrations.

And by the way, have you odor proofed your body today, or renewed your acquaintance with the miracle of liver bile?

Address by Hon. G. Mennen Williams

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NEAL SMITH
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, one of the young Governors in the United States is the oldest in point of service. He is the Governor of Michigan, Hon. G. Mennen Williams, now serving his sixth term. He was one of the principal speakers at the national convention of the Young Democratic Clubs of America and as chairman of the convention, I noted the enthusiasm with which his speech was delivered and received. So that those who were not among the 2,000 delegates in attendance may benefit from this address, under unanimous consent I include it in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The excerpts from the address on November 20, 1959, at Toledo, Ohio, are as follows:

EXCERPTS FROM AN ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE G. MENNEN WILLIAMS, GOVERNOR OF MICHIGAN, DELIVERED AT THE 11TH BIENNIAL CONVENTION OF THE YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF AMERICA, CIVIC AUDITORIUM, TOLEDO, OHIO, NOVEMBER 20, 1959

Young people of the Democratic Party unite; if you don't, you have nothing to lose but your futures.

Today I come to you, not to praise you, but to challenge you. This meeting may well be the most important political meeting of 1959.

Why do I issue this challenge to you? Why do I say that a meeting of the Young Democrats may well be more important than all the meetings of seasoned and more influential veterans?

Because today's new problems and opportunities require a new vision and a new faith. You have the courage and the will of a new generation.

You can take the best of the New and Fair Deal programs and build. Naturally, I am proud that I had a part in shaping New Deal Washington, a small part, but a part, nonetheless. I was an attorney in the Social Security Board.

But we alumni of the New Deal are apt to forget we don't have all the answers. Sure, America needs to update its New Deal programs—increase social security coverage and the rest. Of course, we have to take the principles of the New Deal and apply them to new problems as they come up. For instance, we should consider applying the

social security concept to a national health insurance plan.

But these programs, necessary as they are, are not the ultimate answer to the new challenges before us.

There is an old Indian adage which says the secret of success is to copy someone else's original ideas, omitting only the mistakes. Well, that's not good enough for the Democratic Party. You must provide new perspectives—not just a patchwork job on the old policies.

Sputniks go up only after a myriad of unsuccessful experiments. We must keep experimenting—socially as well as scientifically. Experience limits mistakes, but it also limits the inclination to take chances. That is the great price of experience.

Well, the Democratic Party has plenty of solid experience. You can make this experience the launching pad for a glorious future. You can begin to shape the political ideas of the sixties—and they must be adventurous ideas, experimental ideas, taking-a-chance ideas.

The difference between the Democratic and the Republican Parties is that the Republican ideology really comes down to nothing more than a rationalization for the policies of the past. They even forget that, in the beginning, those policies were usually Democratic innovations—the Republicans don't realize their worth until they are out of date.

The Democratic Party, on the other hand, has always tried to provide the people with a sense of direction for the years ahead—a national purpose. The New Deal provided this direction, this sense of public values. Harry Truman's memorable civil rights report, "To Secure These Rights," provided this sense of direction. A national direction is part of the national tradition. It dates back to the proclamation in the Declaration of Independence of certain inalienable rights—for all time.

It was in the tradition of our belief in a manifest destiny—a belief which was current when we had what seemed like a perpetual frontier.

The Republicans would have us believe that we have come to a dead end; that, therefore, we should be happy with what we have, and enjoy it while we can.

We have not come to a dead end. We are on the frontier of a new era of possibilities. But the picture of this era has not yet crystallized. Instead of trying to capture this vision, the Republicans mope around like beatniks in Brooks Bros. suits. They have given up, but they try to camouflage their despair in Madison Avenue respectability.

Well, the job of the Democratic Party, when it wins in 1960, will be to provide this new vision, and to give this sense of national purpose, for which the people are so eager.

And you young Democrats must be pioneers of the new frontier. You can make the Democratic Party the party of the sixties by thinking and talking now of a platform for the sixties.

And when you do so, you can rest assured that you are not turning your backs on the alumni association; Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman would be the first to remind us of the Biblical injunction to put new wine into new skins, for the pulsating life of tomorrow will not be contained in the programs of yesteryear.

As only one example of the new kind of problems you can push, I cite the newly recognized issue of economic growth. The Republicans are content to have our economy creep along at 2 percent or thereabouts.

They dismiss the need for new housing, schools, hospitals, highways, aid to depressed areas—they dismiss all of these in their own weary way, talk of financial irresponsibility, and call us visionaries.

This kind of defeatist and irresponsible talk, when are are on the threshold of an age of abundance, amounts, virtually, to the embezzlement of our future.

You must help identify the Democratic Party of the sixties as the party of economic growth. Responsible economists such as Kenneth Galbraith, Leon Keyserling, and many others, assure us that we can double our annual growth rate. But we need an administration with a negative program for explaining economic sloth.

A more rapidly growing economy is not growth for growth's sake.

It is growth for the sake of elevating our whole educational process. We must not sit by while 150,000 to 200,000 of the top quarter of our high school graduating classes don't go on to college.

The Republicans' answer to the need for growth is merely to wave the inflation flag. And the Republican answer to the inflation threat is to drive prices up with a tight-money policy which yields bankers better than 4 percent for school loans.

This shows a value chaos. It shows a lack of understanding of our economy. It shows an inability to look ahead. It shows a social myopia. In other words, it shows us that nobody except the bankers can afford 4 more years of republicanism.

When I was first elected, I was the third youngest Governor in the United States. Now, six terms later, I am the senior Governor in the United States. Thus I feel that, after many years of being advised, I must now shoulder the burden of doing some advising.

We have moved beyond the New Deal instruments of pump priming. Now we need new pumps, indeed, vastly conceived power projects. You must think in these new and challenging terms.

You must draft a program for the Democratic Party which grapples with the issues and problems of the future. And you must do so not with an eye to political stratagems; you must do so with an eye to the public hunger for a party with a sense of purpose—a truly liberal party, fearlessly fighting for a better future.

Where Is the First Mrs. Khrushchev?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by David E. Green and Henry Jordan which appeared in the October 4, 1959, issue of the American Weekly concerning the fate of the first Mrs. Khrushchev:

WHERE IS THE FIRST MRS. KHRUSHCHEV?—DEAD—OR IN A SOVIET SLAVE CAMP?

(By David E. Green and Henry Jordan)

Recent reports from Moscow ask us to believe that Nikita Khrushchev's former wife departed this world in 1938.

It is a lie that she died then. Her fate at this moment is uncertain. Only Khrushchev and his intimates know what has become of her. He had her doomed in the first place.

In lieu of a divorce, he engineered her arrest and deportation to slave camps. Over the years, prisoners since freed have met her and shared her misery. Two years ago she was still around—a tragic figure vegetating in filth and despair.

In America, Khrushchev worked hard to lull the public into complacency. Among his tricks was the fiction of being a devoted family man. The truth behind that reassuring facade has never been told. Here, for the first time, is the story, as drawn from many sources here and abroad.

The facts take us back to 1937, the year Stalin sent Khrushchev to the Ukraine as his special purger. Nikita roared into Kiev, the capital, aboard an armored train belonging to the railroad secret police. Khrushchev even then liked to stress his domestic side. Accompanying him on the trip were his first wife and their four small children.

On arrival, Stalin's special envoy cried, "I will root out the enemies of bolshevism and kill them off like roaches." Before long, 400,000 men and women had been murdered outright and several million sentenced to the slow death of the slave camps.

To relax from the day's work, Nikita often would join his comrades in dusk-to-dawn carousals. The climax would be a visit to the women's ward of a political prison. There the "devoted family man" would pick the prettiest girl from a lineup of prisoners.

Then came the night he first laid eyes on the woman who one day would join him on his trip to America. She was Nina, a singer and piano player, close to 30, blackeyed, darkhaired, overweight, and not much of a performer. Being the daughter of a former Czarist officer, she displayed a certain amount of breeding and education—and class was what Khrushchev hankered after at this point.

Finally, he talked her into marriage, although he still was a married man. A divorce would have been risky for political reasons. He owed much to his wife of 18 years. It was she who had taught him to read and write, had prodded him on, guided his steps.

Rejected, she might turn on him with the fury of a jilted woman.

Obliging pals from the railroad secret police provided a substitute plan. Framed on charges of harboring religious feelings and sympathizing with purge victims, Mrs. K. was arrested and sent off on the dead-weary rounds which are the lot of the Soviet slaves, a nightmare shuffle from camp to camp.

Among those who got to know her was an American, John Noble, himself a prisoner for nine and a half years. Noble's integrity is evidenced by the fact that Billy Graham wrote the introduction to his latest book, "I Found God in Soviet Russia." published by St. Martin's Press. He met Mrs. Khrushchev at Potma, a camp cluster some 300 miles southeast of Moscow. Among slaves who arrived from another camp one day was Mrs. Gorskaya, a haggard aged woman dressed in filth-stiffened rags. Within a few days, word had spread through the camp that Mrs. Gorskaya was the ex-Mrs. Khrushchev, known now by an assumed name.

This was toward the end of 1953, when Khrushchev was scrambling for the top spot. The cautious camp guards played it both ways, or as John Noble tells us, "Without seeming to, they were easier on her than on the other prisoners and she was very much in their eyes."

When Noble tried to talk to her about her life with Khrushchev, she just clamped her gray flabby lips together and stayed silent. However, once she did mention that she had been imprisoned on trumped-up charges.

The other Americans who met the ex-Mrs. Khrushchev at Camp Potma were U.S. Army privates Marchuk and Verdine, both grabbed by the Reds in Berlin. Still another cammpmate, somewhat later, was Miklos Kahllay, son of a former Hungarian foreign minister.

For years, people within reach of Soviet violence have known better than to bring up the subject of the vanished Mrs. Khrushchev. One mention of her led to a prompt,

almost ludicrous reaction. This happened when Dr. Bela Fabian, former judge and member of the Hungarian Parliament, picketed a New York reception which was attended by Soviet Ambassador Mikhail Menshikov.

Dr. Fabian's group displayed signs reading, "Relieve Mrs. Khrushchev from the Potma Concentration Camp."

When a newsman asked about the signs Menshikov screamed, "This whole thing is a damned lie!"

Khrushchev, by then struggling for respectability, appears to have been upset by the ghost come to haunt him. Within a couple of days, he had Mrs. Khrushchev parading up and down the promenade at Karlovy Vary, the renowned spa in Czechoslovakia.

But, as Dr. Fabian laughingly points out, "She was a later Mrs. Khrushchev and everyone knew it!"

The recent drumbeatings in Moscow informing the public of Mrs. Khrushchev's death in 1938 have a sinister ring. They sound very much like taps for Mrs. Gorskaya, the dictator's early helpmeet, who taught her the three R's and never protested a purge—even her own.

Antistrike Powers Are Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, it should be apparent to all of us that the settlement of the steel dispute, no matter how welcome, has actually only postponed the urgency with which Congress should consider the continuing threat to our economic strength posed by nationwide strikes. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial from the Christian Science Monitor of January 6, 1960:

ANTISTRIKE POWERS ARE NEEDED

If the steel strike had been resumed instead of a settlement being reached, there is no question but that Congress would have been in an uproar to get something done. There would have been speeches on the inadequacy of laws which permit disputes between capital and labor to tie up nationwide industries against the public interest and safety.

The fact that one threat has passed—though not until after a 116-day strike by 500,000 men—does not alter the companion fact that a similar shutdown of employment, production, and services, with damage to the consumer and the general welfare, could take place almost any year in any of several industries: coal, automobiles, rubber, oil, aluminum, ocean shipping, truck transport, airlines, telephone service, and others.

Actually, the United States faces a serious prospect of a nationwide tieup of its most basic transportation, the railroads, within the year if deep-lying major differences between unions and management over working rules or "featherbedding" cannot be resolved by negotiation.

Any Government conciliation or mediation efforts in that contest will be governed not by the Taft-Hartley Act, under which an 80-day injunction was obtained in the steel strike, but by the Railway Labor Act of 1926. Should not the appropriate committees of the Senate and the House of Representatives inquire now whether the provisions of that law are equal to the tests ahead?

And should the stark lesson of the breakdown of the national emergency provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act be forgotten simply because two gentlemen in Washington have shaken hands over a contract that will cost the steel companies reportedly a billion dollars and the consumers of steel probably a great deal more?

Under the Taft-Hartley Act (passed in 1947) the President of the United States cannot intervene until a dispute, in his judgment, imperils the national health and safety. He then appoints a board of inquiry to determine the position of the parties, but the board is powerless under the law to announce recommendations for a settlement of the dispute on the basis of its findings.

Senator Taft, principal sponsor of the act, came to the conclusion only 2 years after its passage that boards of inquiry should have this authority to make recommendations. This was one of a number of amendments he proposed. Such a report by a presidential factfinding board might not end a dispute but it would have great effect by helping the public to form a judgment.

It is just as well that Congress will not be pressed to go to the extent of imposing compulsory arbitration on business and labor. But the lesson of the steel strike should be remembered to the extent of amending the Taft-Hartley Act so that a President could intervene earlier in a major dispute and could appoint a board with power to propose an outline of settlement.

Farm Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit for inclusion in the RECORD the fourth of a series of five articles on the farm subsidy and surplus problem which appeared in the Los Angeles Mirror News during November 1959:

CITY TAXPAYERS FOOT HUGE BILLS—FARM SUBSIDY SYSTEM ENRICHES RICH

(By Jack Tobin, Mirror News staff writer)

When the first light of day spread over the rich San Joaquin Valley this morning, 35 mechanical monsters growled their cotton-picking way through 5,700 acres belonging to E. C. (Clarence) Salyer, near Corcoran.

Each one of these mechanical pickers cost Salyer more than two Cadillacs. But they indicate Salyer is, indeed, one of the big men in California agriculture.

By sundown today, each one of Salyer's doubleheaders (two-row pickers) will put an average of 10 bales of cotton in Salyer's own $300,000 gin for processing.

By sundown today, Salyer will have picked about $50,000 worth of cotton.

And by the time the entire harvest is in, he may have picked $2,700,000 worth of cotton. And by the time the production costs are counted, Salyer may wind up with from $275,000 to $300,000 net profit.

Clarence Salyer is worth studying because, in many ways, he epitomizes the big independent and even bigger corporate California farmer who can't lose for winning under the price support program.

CALLED COUNTY'S UNCROWNED KING

Some of the folks up the valley call Salyer the uncrowned king of Kings County. Some say he's a land-grabbing tyrant. All will say they believe Salyer has made a fortune from farming.

He won't deny it.

"I started in this valley working for wages," he said. "Now I'm farming 30,000 acres.

"Only, hell, we got more than that. We got grazing land, range land, but we're still small fry, believe me."

As you drive down the road from Hanford, towering grain elevators—Salyer's monuments—are visible for miles. But there isn't a sign on them to indicate ownership. You don't know you're on Salyer property until you're three-quarters of a mile south and an airport is off to the east.

Then you see it, a sign across the hangar: Salyer Farms Airport.

North and east is a grove of trees. Within this beautifully landscaped buffer is the ranch-style home of E. C. Salyer. It's commodious but not palatial. To the rear is a large swimming pool.

It's not until you go back to the grain elevators that you really learn of the Salyer empire. Emblazoned in gold letters on a glass door are the names of his companies: Salyer Grain & Milling Co., Salyer Farms, Salyer Land Co., Salyer Farms Airport, Salyer Water District, Lone Oak Canal Co., New Deal Ditch Co.

These are all part and parcel of Clarence Salyer, the man who rides herd over his domain in a radio-equipped, air-conditioned Cadillac or in his own personal airplane.

Clarence Salyer is a round-faced, bald-headed man, tanned by the wind and sun. His belly rolls over his western belt in a comfortable fashion.

He wears a worn plaid shirt, one pocket torn slightly from his bulging notes. Army-type suntans are his work-a-day pants. He wears a 10-gallon strawhat, frayed in front from his constant tug.

Clarence Salyer is sort of a Wallace Beery type—hard-nosed, gruff, yet gentle. One eye squints, the result of an accident during his muleskinner days as a youth.

I met him one hot, humid, dusty afternoon. We shook hands in front of a water-cooler in his outer office. Above it hung a framed certificate:

"The Boy Scouts of America awards this certificate to Salyer Farms as a guardian of scouting."

"Start talking, boy," Salyer growled. "What'cha want?"

I told him the Mirror News wants to dig out the story of the price support program.

MODEST OFFICE

"Come on, let's go upstairs where we can really chew on this," he said.

His office is small and modest. A steel desk and three chairs. A bank calendar and map of San Joaquin Valley. The desk top was clean, except for a telephone.

Salyer tilted back in his chair, took off his straw hat, pulled out a red bandanna and wiped his brow.

"Sure, I've used price support loans," he said. "Name me an independent farmer who doesn't.

"But I've paid 'em back. All of 'em. The Federal Government has never failed to make money off me yet."

BARLEY FORFEITED

Federal accounting records don't back Salyer up.

They show in 1956 that Salyer Land Co. forfeited 505,085 bushels of barley under loans totaling $968,312.

They show in 1957 the same Salyer Land Co. forfeited its entire barley loan of 1,452,716 bushels valued at $1,554,828. The same thing again in 1958 for 311,320 bushels of barley under $637,724 loan.

They also show that Salyer—among others—also catches them coming from the other direction. Federal records show the Salyer Grain & Milling Co. was paid storage fees for Government-owned grain totaling $604,517 in fiscal 1959. Total grain storage payments to Californians in fiscal 1959 were $8,144,000.

OTHERS DO IT

But Salyer doesn't stand alone in forfeiture of Government price support loans. Plenty of other big farm operators followed the same path.

In 1957, Giffen, Inc., of Huron, owned by Russel Giffen, forfeited barley valued at $1,393,764. Westlake Farms at Stratford turned back to Uncle Sam 1,183,475 bushels of barley worth $1,215,978 in 1957.

In 1958, Vista Del Llano Farms in Firebaugh, a division of the nationwide Anderson-Clayton Co. operation, forfeited barley worth $122,942 and wheat worth $190,111.

SMALL FARMER, TOO

These are the big boys. What about the smaller farmers?

H. D. (Dave) Bateman operates 200 acres near Kerman. He's an alternate member of the price support committee in his area.

"I feel we should have some price support loan in under us to make for even marketing," Bateman said.

"What we should avoid in support is the forced sale to people who can afford to hold the crop until after the glut of harvest, then sell it off and make big money."

Bateman is well aware of the voracious appetite of the big farmers for the little ones, the gobbling up of the marginal operator.

RIPS BIG OPERATOR

"I don't think those big operators who eat up little farmers are really United States," he said. "They want people to work for little, give them poor housing and bury them."

Dick Markarian operates a 600-acre spread near Fresno, where he attended Fresno State for 2 years.

"The farmer has had his acreage restricted, has had to sell at an artificial price to a market that is not based on supply and demand. Consequently, his economy is not equal to others."

But most farmers, big or small, readily concede the subsidies cost the taxpayer a tremendous amount of money. Many of them recognize there's a growing revolt from city folks, from the common taxpayer, against this continuing subsidy.

Amount of stored farm commodities

[Major items stored in the Federal surplus stockpile of farm-price supported commodities as of June 30, 1959, included]

Item	Quantity	Cost value
Wheat.....bushels	1,146,576,168	$2,924,384,356
Corn.....do	1,043,670,022	1,861,305,774
Grain sorghum hundredweight	280,657,941	692,605,178
Cotton, Upland.....bales	1,019,597	150,641,813
Soybeans.....bushels	54,851,874	120,323,449
Barley.....do	99,343,434	116,148,180
Rice.....hundredweight	8,330,355	61,841,043
Butter.....pounds	72,000,588	42,269,879
Oats.....bushels	46,837,930	34,307,085
Flaxseed.....do	6,898,296	21,348,757
Dried milk.....pounds	136,061,533	20,408,483
Rosin.....do	224,411,139	17,878,798

Uncle's Credit Card Spree

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAMER H. BUDGE
OF IDAHO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. BUDGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, there follows an article appearing in the New York World Telegram and Sun on December 7, 1959, and which speaks for itself.

Every American should heed the warning which it contains. That includes the Members of this Congress who are charged under the Constitution with preserving the financial integrity of the Nation.

UNCLE'S CREDIT CARD SPREE—UNITED STATES ALREADY $750 BILLION IN HOCK

(The following article, putting the Nation's financial troubles into clear and startling terms, is excerpted from a recent address by Maurice H. Stans, U.S. Budget Director, at the annual dinner of the Tax Foundation.)

(By Maurice H. Stans)

In many ways the Federal budget today is saddled with yesterday's priorities instead of anticipating tomorrow's. This situation has come about because of our proclivity to legislate benefits, services, and subsidies up to the hilt of our fiscal capacity—and then to hang on to them.

We spend great sums on interest charges on our national debt, but we do not reduce the principal.

We carry on massive Federal programs which State and local governments could do better.

We devote large amounts of money to farm price supports to reduce surpluses, with the opposite results.

We lend money to benefit special groups at rates below those which the Government must pay to its own creditors, when private sources could do the job.

We perpetuate Federal programs which have long since met the objectives for which they were created.

Whatever may be the merits of ancestor worship, I hardly think that the place to practice it is in the budget of the U.S. Government.

We are taxing current earnings to pay for many benefits and services legislated in past years, while we go on legislating new benefits and services without considering how we will pay for them when they come due.

Let me tell you something about the shape we're in.

Fact No. 1 is that the Federal Government is piling up c.o.d.'s for the future at an astounding pace. I'll mention just a few.

It will cost between $25 billion and $35 billion to complete the Interstate Highway System after this fiscal year. Federal civil public works projects already started will require expenditures of about $8 billion before they are completed. The Federal Government is committed to contribute $6 billion in the future for public housing. Merchant marine subsidies and ship replacement constitute a Federal liability of $4.4 billion.

These and a variety of other obligations, when added to huge unexpended balances in the defense program, total $98 billion of commitments for future Federal spending.

Fact No. 2 is this: Even if the next session of the Congress doesn't add any new programs, the level of Federal spending is going to go up. The reason is that there are built-in increases in existing programs such as outer space, civil aviation, merchant shipping, urban renewal, science education, medical research, public assistance, loans to underdeveloped countries, and veterans' pensions. Interest on the public debt will run higher, and the farm program will cost more and more until we get realistic legislation. Defense technology is putting increasing pressure on expenditures.

Now, for 1961 alone, these built-in increases amount to between $2 billion and $2.5 billion. Of course there are practically no built-in decreases, because Government programs are almost invulnerable to reduction or elimination. A year ago, in his budget message, the President nominated 18 programs as being due for revision in order to accomplish future downward adjustments in spending. Only three received attention by Congress, and that with the net result of increasing future expenditures rather than decreasing them.

Fact No. 3 is that our present national debt of $290 billion doesn't include present Federal liabilities for past services in even greater amounts. Our already accrued liability for military retirement is about $30 billion. Our unfunded present accrual for retirement benefits for civilian Government employees is $27.5 billion. On top of that, future pensions and compensation to veterans will cost about $300 billion. Now, the $290 billion of current public debt, plus $350 billion of future obligations for past services, plus $98 billion of c.o.d.'s add to the almost incredible total of $750 billion.

That is the Federal Government's mortgage on America's future, beyond the regular annual costs of defense, welfare, and commerce.

Fact No. 4 is that the pressures for new spending programs are increasing in intensity. If you are troubled by an $80 billion budget, I can tell you that unless we hold the line now the day is not too distant when the budget will rise to the $90 billion or $100 billion range.

In the absence of a genuine thaw in the cold war which could lead to a major reduction in military costs, the only way to cut back the level of the budget is to look to the Congress to modify laws that are already on the books.

The job is really up to you. The President will continue to put his full weight behind the goal of a balanced budget and a surplus which can be applied initially to reduce our enormous and costly debt. What happens to that goal will depend upon opinion and its ability to communicate with the Congress.

Are we ready to face up to the fact that Government has to stop living on credit cards and must pay its way?

The Late Richard M. Simpson

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN TABER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, this morning RICHARD SIMPSON, Representative

from the 18th District of Pennsylvania, passed away.

He had been a Member of this House for 23 years and had great ability. He was the ranking Republican member of the Ways and Means Committee, and was one of its ablest and most active members.

He stood for the things that he believed in and was one of the most courageous men in the House. He was always courteous. He was one of the best debaters we had on the floor of the House. He was always prepared on the bills that he had to deal with, and his thoughts on them were always forcefully expressed.

It seems too bad that one only 60 years of age should be taken away, yet we must be thankful that we had the benefit of his talents and his character and his devotion to his work for so long a time.

I wish to extend to his widow and his children my sincerest and deepest sympathy.

The Shrine of the Immaculate Conception—Award-Winning Essay by Barbara Brusate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, during the recent recess a very memorable event was gloriously inscribed on the pages of U.S. history. On the 20th of November 1959 the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception was dedicated here in the Nation's Capital.

As we look back on 1959 America—on all the good and bad, great and little moments of the year just passed—we must surely mark the dedication of this magnificent structure as one of the truly big events of the year. This is the seventh largest religious edifice in the world. It is the second largest in this country. What is perhaps more impressive, it is the first national shrine ever erected by the Catholics in America. That is, it is the first Catholic edifice in this country to which people all over the Nation contributed.

In honor of this dedication the archdiocese of Detroit held an essay contest for over 3,000 schoolchildren in some 86 archdiocesan high schools. The young lady who was chosen winner of this contest is a resident of my district. She is Miss Barbara Brusate, a 15-year-old student of St. Ambrose High School in Grosse Pointe Park, Mich. The pastor of the Ambrose parish is Rev. Francis F. Van Antwerp, a friend of mine since boyhood days. Her essay on the national shrine was wonderfully done and touched upon the significance of the dedication. The good Adrian Dominican nuns, under whom she is studying, may well be proud of her accomplishment. Incidentally, the male winner is a young man from Deerfield, who also studies under Adrian Dominican Sisters at Catholic Central High School. The good Sisters have certainly done themselves proud in this competition.

The happy winners were rewarded for their splendid work in fine fashion. His Excellency John F. Dearden, archbishop of Detroit, extended his congratulations in person to the winning pair and presented each with a large-sized portrait of Pope John XXIII. In addition, the two young essayists were also rewarded with an all-expense plane trip to Washington accompanied by their mothers to be present at the dedication ceremony.

The winning composition which Barbara Brusate submitted is a deeply thoughtful and inspiring piece on the true meaning of the recently dedicated shrine. I found it so impressive and meaningful that I am happy to have her winning essay reprinted in the RECORD; as follows:

Mary, under the title of the Immaculate Conception, is patroness and protector of the people of the United States. It is for this reason that our people have constructed a national shrine in her honor.

The Shrine of the Immaculate Conception resembles in some aspects the Statue of Liberty. To the American people this figure in the New York Harbor is a symbol of security, freedom, and love. In times of hardships and war, the Americans turn to her image for hope and strength. Her shining torch blazes on a land of freeborn and freedom-seeking men. This statue is a monument to a democratic government.

In the same manner, the Shrine of the Immaculate Conception is a symbol of the American Catholic's love and faith in Mary. They, too, in time of trials and despair will turn to the Shrine of Mary for guidance and love. This shrine is a monument to a pure and holy woman whom God chose to be His spotless Mother.

When we honor the memory of Washington, we also give glory to the principles for which he stood. When we honor Mary, we give glory to her virtue and to the God who made her.

Under the title of the Immaculate Conception, Mary is glorified because she was freed from the stain of sin at birth and throughout her life. As the Mother of God, she was never tainted by sin. The Shrine of the Immaculate Conception will show the world that America is not purely materialistic; it will tell others that we are a God-loving and God-fearing people. To Mary, under the title of the Immaculate Conception, the American people dedicate this shrine with love and trust in her and her Son.

Young and Old Fogeys

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NEAL SMITH
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, senior Senator of Minnesota, was one of the principal speakers at the national convention of the Young Democratic Clubs of America in Toledo, Ohio, November 17 to 20, 1959. He addressed the convention on the subject of "Young and Old Fogeys." As chairman of the convention, I had an opportunity to witness the great enthusiasm with which his speech was received and given and so that those who were not among the 2,000 delegates at the convention may read his remarks, I under unanimous consent, include excerpts from his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD:

YOUNG AND OLD FOGIES

(By Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, of Minnesota)

I take particular pleasure in addressing this national convention of Young Democrats, for as far as I'm concerned, what America needs most today is to regain its youth.

America is showing distressing signs of middle age.

And there's a very simple reason for it: The Republican administration in Washington today is made up of old men.

As a matter of fact, some of us have been thinking of rechristening the Cabinet the "Ten Old Men."

Now when I say "old" I don't necessarily mean old in years. I mean old in spirit. All of us know men who are old at 30—and we also know lots of men who are still young at 75.

A great former President we all love has more youth in him at 75 than this whole administration put together—yes, I mean our own special young Democrat, Harry S. Truman.

When I say that America and this Republican administration are showing signs of middle age, this is what I have in mind:

It's a sign of middle age when the obstacles loom larger than the challenge of overcoming them.

It's a sign of middle age when you can think only of reasons for not doing things, instead of discovering ways to do them.

But that, unhappily, is the spirit of '59 in Washington today. And when that is the spirit in Washington—in the White House, if you will—it spreads through the country like an epidemic.

I find it sad to think of America, the richest Nation in the world, making excuses to the world and to her own people that she can't afford to help other nations build their economies and can't afford to build proper schools for her children or proper houses for her slum dwellers.

Incidentally, you may have heard a lot of talk about the anti-intellectual atmosphere in Washington. But you shouldn't believe everything you hear. It's no longer considered subversive to have an idea in Washington—so long as it doesn't cost any money.

I am ashamed when I think of the millions of people throughout the world, barely staving off starvation, while America complains of the burden and cost of storing huge surpluses of wheat and corn and cotton.

I am embarrassed to think that America, the Nation that led the technological revolution, the Nation that produced the atomic bomb in a brief 5 years, has been surpassed not just once but many times by a nation that 40 years ago had no science, had no technology, and had virtually no industry.

What has happened to America? What has happened to our muscle? What has happened to our will to achieve, to create, to progress?

What has happened, I ask, to the America of the 1930's—an America beset with problems that make today's difficulties pale by comparison?

Today Washington worries about a balanced budget. Twenty-five years ago Washington worried about an entire national economy out of balance, about 10 to 13 million people without jobs, about dust bowls and breadlines.

That was a time that cried out for leadership—and the leadership was there in the person of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

That was a time that cried out for new ideas—answers to problems new and old. And the answers were found.

And why? Because there was a will to find them, a will to sweep aside obstacles and move on to get the job done.

Do you remember the CCC—the Civilian Conservation Corps? In the 1930's America needed the CCC and America got it, and thousands of young men went into our forests and parks and went to work conserving some of our greatest natural resources.

Well, America needs another CCC—and that's one of the things I have worked to get passed this year. But what does this Republican administration say to that? They say it costs too much. They say it will unbalance the budget.

Of course, this administration doesn't seem to mind giving billions to bankers by raising interest rates. That sort of spending it can afford. But it can't afford to spend a few million dollars to build human and natural resources through a Youth Conservation Corps.

The era of the 1930's, the era of the New Deal, was an era of youthfulness for America. We were challenged, and we rose to meet the challenge.

Today again we are challenged, but the youthfulness of our response is gone. This Republican administration is so beset by worries about bankrupting the country that it cannot even make the prudent investments that will add to the Nation's wealth. It is so beset by its concern over subversion at home—a leftover from the McCarthy days—that it throws a cloak of conformity over America and discourages new ideas.

The Republican Party has always been known as a party of old fogies.

But this, we are told, is the era of modern Republicanism. The Madison Avenue boys would like us to believe that the old guard is on the wane and that the young Turks are in the saddle.

Of course, all they're really saying is that the old fogies have been replaced by young fogies.

And there are some Republicans who are sounding these days more like Democrats than anything else. But let's not be taken in. It is still the party of the fogies, and if the GOP bosses pick someone who looks liberal, because they know it will take a liberal to win, they're not fooling anyone. You'll still have an administration of Republican fogies—the Republican Party will see to that.

My friends, we are not going to send rockets to the moon as long as we are led by a bunch of fogies—old or young.

And we're not going to close the science gap or the space gap or the missile gap with the Russians as long as we're led by fogies—young or old.

I have met with Mr. Khrushchev face to face, and I can tell you that whatever else he may be, he is young in spirit. No challenge is too great for him—whether it be the challenge of the free world or the challenge of his colleagues in the Kremlin for supremacy in the Soviet Union.

I shudder at the ruthlessness of the methods he uses to meet those challenges, and I do not propose for a moment that we imitate them.

I merely ask that we recognize that we are up against an adversary who is bound and determined to meet challenges and surmount obstacles and solve problems.

We can't meet Khrushchev's youthful spirit with America's middle age.

America had better begin thinking less about how we can't do this and can't afford that, and begin thinking more about how we can use our full powers and energy using the methods of free people, in the cause of freedom.

So I think America's hope lies in its young people. And I think the Democratic Party's hope lies in its young people, too— in every one of you young Democrats at this convention.

You know, a party can suffer from middle age, just as a nation can. And I sometimes wonder if our party hasn't lost some of the scrap and youthfulness that once characterized it.

Now I am not one to pick a fight solely for partisan advantage. No one gains from such a fight. The country suffers; our party suffers.

But I deeply believe that the Democratic Party has not only a right but a duty to draw issues. Our party is one of youth and controversy. Out of both we draw the vigor and the issues to go to the people and win elections.

Our job in the Democratic Party is to fight bad public policy wherever we see it, no matter how popular the man behind the policy; to fight for good public policy—for the people if you will—whenever we have a chance to do so; and to write a record, a Democratic record, that every voter in the country can recognize that has the stamp "Made by the Democratic Party" clearly written on it, for all to see.

For only on the basis of such a clear-cut record can we give the voters a clear-cut choice next year—a chance to express themselves so clearly that neither the next President of the United States, nor the 1961 Congress of the United States, can mistake the mandate.

Ike's Trip Abroad Best Way of Promoting Our Good Will

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, one of the leading newspapers in my congressional district, the Pontiac Press, ran a very interesting and informative analysis about our President's trip abroad. I believe it is well for all of my colleagues to take heed of the words in this editorial and to realize the magnificent victories which were achieved by this voyage to many lands.

The editorial follows:

[From the Pontiac Press, Dec. 19, 1959]

IKE'S TRIP ABROAD BEST WAY OF PROMOTING OUR GOOD WILL

President Dwight D. Eisenhower has done this country a magnificent service in his trip abroad.

It has been a "triumphal tour" and any lesser designation is inaccurate. The President has comported himself in the very best traditions of his country. That friendly smile was always on display. In spite of the exhausive schedule, he conducted himself just as 180 million Americans wanted.

He was a real star.

The man was terrific.

This Nation is fortunate to possess a titular ambassador that can spread good will so effectively. We have too much unjustified ill will. The world is filled with people that don't believe it is unwise to "bite the hand that feeds you."

Whenever he spoke, the President said the right things. He was never arrogant or pompous. And yet he never forgot that he was the head of the greatest nation on earth. A proper balance between these two is not always easy, but Eisenhower handled himself perfectly.

On a trip such as this, there are always many places where advance plans cannot cover unexpected situations. All the diplomats in the world can't foresee the incidents that arise spontaneously.

These separate the men from the boys.

And Eisenhower never failed.

Furthermore, the press accounts provided by the Associated Press, United Press International and Reuters are truthful and accurate. When Khrushchev traveled in the United States he received mixed receptions. Always the crowds were friendly and respectful, but at times they were notably lacking in great enthusiasm; and on occasions they were small. These facts were duly reported here.

But it was different in Russia. The government-controlled newspapers announced anew each day that their leader was "greeted by the greatest crowds in the history of the city." Always "enthusiasm was at white heat" and always ole Khrushy was "cheered to the echo."

We report the truth here.

The Government has no control.

When Richard Nixon was in Central and South America, the crowds in some countries were enthusiastic, some lukewarm, some quietly hostile and some actually bestial. The A.P. and U.P.I. reported precisely that. In a few instances natives actually spat on Nixon and this was immediately printed. That's one of the basic differences between capitalism and communism. Under our system, the people hear the truth. Under communism, they learn what the Communist leaders decide.

Eisenhower may well be the most popular man in the world. His receptions have been uniformly magnificent. Nation after nation has actually "gone wild" over Ike.

He's a great representative.

Our cause has been greatly advanced.

The Gang-Up Against Williams

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I am inserting into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial appearing in the New Republic of November 16, 1959, by a member of the editorial staff entitled "The Gang-Up Against Williams."

The editorial follows:

THE GANG-UP AGAINST WILLIAMS

(By T. R. B., from Washington)

The gang up against Mennen Williams in Michigan deserves to be studied. It is a classic example of political assassination by malapportionment.

By any normal standard, Williams should now be a leading Democratic Presidential contender. He has been elected Governor six times in a formerly Republican bailiwick. But he is on hardly anybody's Presidential list because a rotten borough State Senate—in which Republicans from malapportioned rural counties act like a petty House of Lords—have smeared him as a "New Deal spendthrift."

Why is he called spendthrift? Because the big State is near bankruptcy. It is near bankruptcy, all right, but this is because the same Republican-packed senate refuses to vote appropriate taxes.

Malapportionment is the rule in the State legislatures all over America. The target is the cities; the cities are the suckers. Michigan rural legislators have gleefully used the weapon to knock off a Presidential candidacy. Study Michigan and see how it works.

In Michigan, Democratic Wayne County (Detroit) has two-fifths of the State population; only one-fifth of the State senators. Other Michigan cities are massively short changed in the same way. The veto-wielding Republican senate is packed by conservative farm counties. The cows outvote the people. Michigan has plenty of money. It is the sixth wealthiest State. It ranked fourth in tax revenues in the 1959 fiscal year. In Williams' 10 years, expenditures have risen 88 percent—46th among 48 States. Only Maine and Illinois have risen less percentagewise. This is an impressive record. Yet Michigan chronically faces financial disaster. Why? When Williams took office, he found the rural-minded Republicans had cozily arranged to sluice five-sixths of the State's sales taxes back, by law, to local units of government. This aided farm counties, but threatened disaster to the State. The State had to have more funds. Michigan had no personal income tax and light corporate taxes (even today its citizens pay less taxes than 30 other States). Williams proposed fiscal reforms, including graduated State income and new corporate taxes. The rotten borough GOP senate yelled "Socialist" and "Spendthrift" and fought him every step of the way.

You must understand that you can have a Democratic landslide in Michigan and hardly touch the rigged senate. Republicans have controlled the senate with one exception since 1919. (New Jersey has a rotten borough senate, too, and Illinois, and State after State over the country, all wielding veto power and laughing at the big cities.) Finally, the Michigan Senate agreed to a so-called compromise. The constitution forbids raising the sales tax above 3 percent, but the Upper Peninsula House of Lords graciously proposed salvaging the near-bankrupt State by pushing through a use tax. Williams reluctantly went along, warning that the use tax, by whatever name called, was a patent subterfuge to violate the sales-tax 3-percent ceiling, and that the courts might object.

Well, the courts have objected. They have junked the GOP use tax. That is the latest chapter in Michigan. The State is right back to normal again—near bankruptcy. And once more over the country conservative editorial writers are clucking their tongues sanctimoniously at New Deal spender "Soapy" Williams and his inflationary finances. Ho-hum, maybe the people are suckers after all. Or maybe—just maybe—the Michigan Republicans have gone a step too far this time and given Governor Williams a boost upwards.

People Helping People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. BATES
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, Navy Chief Murray E. Chase, of Haverhill, Mass., was a man dedicated to the service of his country, and inspired by an ardent love for children and a strong desire to create greater friendship for the United States abroad.

Chief Murray passed on at Christmas time but his memory and that of the generous crew of the U.S.S. *Aucilla* will long live in the history of Barcelona, Spain, as the men who gave the Spanish children their first Christmas party.

Back in 1955, Chase got an idea and then passed it on the men abroad his ship. In no time, the servicemen had chipped in 70,000 pesetas to provide a Christmas party, toys, schoolbooks, and complete outfit of clothing for over 100 underprivileged children of the poor quarter of Barcelona. A dedicated man, Chase embarked on a more ambitious project—to raise funds for a new and badly needed school. His goal was $20,000 and only death halted his drive.

On December 30, 1959, the Haverhill Gazette published the following appropriate editorial and under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include this article:

FOREIGN AID

Navy Chief Murray E. Chase believed in the kind of "foreign aid" that brought people together, working for one another in a common bond of interests.

His story is familiar to most people of Greater Haverhill. A a Navy man in Spain several years ago, he became interested in the plight of the children in a poor section of Barcelona. With his shipmates from the U.S.S. *Aucilla*, he set about raising money to build a new school.

As time passed and the school became a reality, the effort that had begun as just another charitable program became a personal crusade to the man from Haverhill.

The Spanish school was named the Stella Maris (Star of the Sea) and Chief Chase went on working in the children's behalf long after his original commitment was discharged. He literally devoted years to raising funds for the children and their school, carrying this endeavor all the way to Greater Haverhill.

Only last July, after his discharge from the Navy as one of the country's oldest chiefs, he returned to Barcelona at his own expense to turn over another $1,000 to the school. And when he died suddenly last week, at 64, he was planning still another trip to Spain.

Chief Chase's dedication to a project conceived to improve the lot of a group of children in a foreign land earned for him a tribute read into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by Congressman WILLIAM H. BATES.

And for all the rest of us, what he did, should stand as a rare example of people helping people, in a way all men can understand.

Forty-first Anniversary of the Independence of Latvia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert herewith in the RECORD a statement issued by the Latvian Association in Detroit in commemoration of the 41st anniversary of the Independence of Latvia:

STATEMENT

The Latvian-Americans of Metropolitan Detroit, assembled at the Veterans' Memorial Building on 15th day of November 1959 to commemorate the 41st anniversary of independence of the Republic of Latvia unanimously agreed to issue the following statement:

"1. We wish to call to the attention of American people the continuance of the pattern of Communist obliteration of nations within the Soviet Union. Under the direction of Nikita Khrushchev special efforts are being made to liquidate the smaller nationalities. This is being done through a program of fiscal deportations, religious persecution, economic exploitation, and other forms of nondemocratic actions. This program of annihilation of the Latvians, Estonians, and Lithuanians was highlighted in the report of the House Committee on Un-American activities issued recently.

"2. In view of the continued official recognition of the Baltic States by the American people, the Latvian-Americans of Detroit vehemently urge the United States immediately to protest the continuance of this Communist policy of national liquidation.

"3. Regardless whether or not it is the intention of the American people to support or condone these Soviet actions, the Latvians and other subjugated people behind the Iron Curtain see in the increased Soviet and American cultural, economical and political exchanges a weakening of the American resolve to resist further infiltration by the Soviet-controlled Communists. Only a demoralization of the continued resistance of the Latvians and other enslaved people can be expected. Such a demoralization will lead to a strengthening of the Soviet Union as a world power and deprive Americans of a major source of support.

"4. In view of the impending Summit Conference, the Latvian-Americans of Detroit urge the President of the United States to broach the question of each nation of the world determining its own destiny. Permanent peace is possible only when each nation freely selects its own form of government.

"5. The Latvian-Americans know from personal experience that peace at any price, including 'life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness,' is a mirage. It is the permanent enslavement of the human soul.

"6. This statement is the expression of the entire Latvian-American community of Metropolitan Detroit and this assemblage directs that copies of this statement be sent to the President of the United States, Secretary of State, the U.S. delegation to the United Nations, Secretary General of the United Nations, Senators and Congressmen from Michigan, Governor of the State of Michigan, and mayor of the city of Detroit.

"Done in Detroit, Mich., this 15th day of November A.D. 1959."

Governor Harriman Reports on Russia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. SANTANGELO. Mr. Speaker, recently I received from Averell Harriman, former Governor of the State of New York, with whom I worked as a State senator, a complimentary copy of his book entitled "Peace With Russia?"

With quizzical delight, I avidly read this stimulating report of Averell Harriman's observations and reactions of his visit to Russia in the late spring of 1959. I highly recommend this book to my colleagues and readers.

Having returned this December from the Far East, where I visited the Philippines, Singapore, Bangkok, Okinawa, Formosa, and Japan, to study our defense posture and to explore the effect of our Public Law 480 program and the effectiveness of our foreign-aid program, I took keen delight comparing Governor Harriman's observations of Russia with mine of the Far East. I could not help but compare the attitudes toward Communist China with those currently held concerning Russia. In addition, I compared the misery of the awakening Far East, the struggle of the exploding population to obtain its daily bread, and to develop and expand an agrarian economy, sometimes consisting of only a single commodity, with the struggle of the Russian people to achieve agricultural, industrial, technological, scientific, and educational skill as "Scoop" Harriman vividly reported.

Throughout the world there is a growing awareness that in this age of scientific achievement and agricultural plenty, that it is morally wrong for people to starve while bins are overflowing with food. While the Russian people indicated to Governor Harriman that they passionately desired peace and friendship, the policies of the Communist Party and its leaders consider any attempt to preserve freedom and to stop the onward drive of communism toward world domination as an act of aggression.

Mr. Harriman answers many perplexing questions whose answers are vital. In this book "Peace With Russia?" will be found Governor Harriman's answers and analyses of the following questions:

Does Russia want war or peace?

What public works lie beyond the Urals?

How far has Khrushchev swung Communist policy away from Stalin's goals?

Will the Soviets run short of manpower, food, or disciplined citizens?

Has Russia overtaken the United States in the scientific and educational field, and if so, why?

Why does the expansion of the Soviet educational system hold out great promise for us?

Are the Russian people likely to revolt against the Kremlin?

Perhaps no living American knows Russia better than does Averell Harriman. Certainly no one has known Russia over as many years and has talked with its leaders at such crucial moments in the history as has Averell Harriman. He visited Siberia in 1899 with his father. In 1926, while he was winding up a manganese concession in the Caucasus, he talked for 4 hours with Leon Trotsky. In 1941, President Roosevelt sent him to Moscow with Lord Beaverbrook to negotiate the first war-aid agreement with Stalin, and the next year he went back with Winston Churchill for the first of the momentous talks on strategy which led to the final defeat of Hitler's Germany. From 1943 to 1946 he was Ambassador to the Soviet Union, years in which he saw Stalin more often than did any other foreigner.

In the spring of 1959 Governor Harriman traveled for several weeks throughout Russia covering 18,000 miles, seeing parts of Central Asia and Siberia which no American had been allowed to visit previously. He also had a series of long conversations with Nikita Khrushchev, with leading Government officials and with hundreds of Soviet citizens and workers.

Governor Harriman summarizes his observations and reactions after detailing many of them. The following are his words which are illuminating and provocative of serious thought:

The information I gathered and the impressions I gained during my recent travels in the Soviet Union and my conversations with its leaders have, I believe, several implications which may be helpful in the consideration of our future attitude toward the U.S.S.R. Here in brief are some of them.

We can no longer afford to be deluded by myths or have our policies muddled by confusion about what is going on in the Soviet Union. We cannot find comfort in any idea that the Communist regime is going to be overthrown or converted to our own beliefs. For the foreseeable future the leaders in the Kremlin are going to be guided by their firm faith in the triumphal spread of their doctrine across the globe. For a long time to come we are going to face this threat everywhere.

On the other hand, I have never believed and do not believe now that war is inevitable in our struggle to thwart the march of communism. Nor do I think that the present Soviet leaders will bring on war except by miscalculation or mistake.

But we must dismiss as a pleasant daydream any thought of Mr. Khrushchev's peaceful coexistence and apply ourselves to the challenge of all-out competitive coexistence—competition for survival. The Kremlin leaders cannot be diverted from their primary goal of world revolution with a diplomacy of threats and ultimatums. Affirmative action is called for.

Our first and most important job, I believe, is to maintain the vigor and vitality of our own social and economic system. We must speed up our economic growth to make the fullest use of our natural and human resources and to improve American life in all its aspects for all our citizens.

In the second place, we must meet the challenge posed by Soviet advances in science by improving our own system of education and turning out enough qualified scientists and specialists to maintain our leadership in this field, but without for a moment sacrificing our primary aim of developing well-rounded, well-educated individuals.

Until we have reached some agreement on arms limitations with foolproof controls we cannot even consider any relaxation of our effort to maintain our defenses and those of our allies, especially those of the North Atlantic Community.

At the same time we must assert vigorous and imaginative leadership to make the North Atlantic Treaty Organization not only a strong military alliance but also a united and productive Community which combines our resources for the social and economic advancement of its members and the free world.

We must also meet the challenge Khrushchev has posed in the underdeveloped countries by assisting them more effectively and consistently to build their own economies in freedom. And we must also share our political experience and our sociological advances with them so that their political and social development will keep pace with the industrial growth and help them to find solutions to the serious problems which that growth inevitably creates.

We cannot permit our dealings with the Soviet Union itself, any more than our domestic problems or our relations with our allies, to become fixed, rigid, or inactive. The Soviet Union is not a static society. Its Communist leaders are constantly subject to pressure both economic and social.

I believe that they are playing a losing game in their efforts to maintain thought control. Their old dream of creating a new Soviet man thoroughly indoctrinated with Communist ideology has definitely failed. And Khrushchev, I am convinced, is finding it increasingly difficult to maintain thought control without the police control of Stalin which he has abandoned.

I do not believe that radical changes will take place overnight, but I think that the people's justifiable demands for a greater share in the fruits of the Soviet economy will one day substantially modify the emphasis which the Soviet Government has placed on its intense efforts for world Communism, now held to with such fanatical insistence by the present rulers. I also believe that the demand for greater freedom is inherent in all peoples and that it too will make itself felt as the immediate demand for more material needs is met.

These and other pressures will, I think, open up new possibilities for restraining the militancy of the Communist regime. I believe therefore that we should ceaselessly probe every possible avenue of approach to agreements with the Soviet Union rather than reject out of hand every proposal its Government makes.

To increase the pressures on the Kremlin we should encourage the legitimate aspirations of the Soviet people for peace, freedom, and a reasonable living standard, by multiplying our efforts to break down the barriers to communications through exchange both of people and of information. We should not only encourage American tourists to visit the Soviet Union but we should urge Soviet tourists in equal numbers to visit us. We should expand the exchange of students, teachers, scientists, and others and encourage the Soviet Union to participate in continuing international scientific and social research. The contacts established during the International Geophysical Year should not be allowed to die but should be strengthened by continuing association in similar fields, such as worldwide meteorology, oceanography, and the problems of outer space. We should also try to induce the Soviets to become permanent participating members of international organizations in the fields of medicine and education.

Take the case of President Eisenhower's trip to the Soviet Union. It is certain to convince some Russians that it is unthinkable that America would ever start a war. It will lead countless others at least to begin to doubt the accuracy of their government's propaganda against us. This will increase the popular pressure on the Kremlin for a return to the friendly relations which existed with us during the war and which the Russian people crave so deeply.

Though Khrushchev has not abandoned the traditional technique of international communism, he has now made us a new challenge in a realm we know something about. He has said he will overwhelm us by creating an economic and social system so successful that other countries will have to follow it. Here is a field in which Americans have excelled for generations. We can only welcome the challenge and spare none of our native genius in meeting it.

The challenge is not alone in the field of economic growth but in all aspects of our social life. It is in education, public health, and human rights. It is also in the problems of our rapidly growing metropolitan areas—housing, mass transportation, parks and playgrounds, and many others. Many of these tasks require public planning and investment. They are tasks we would accept without the spur of the Soviet Union, but now when they involve our survival in freedom, they demand national action.

For my part I have no doubt that in our free institutions we have a wealth of initiative and creative talent to meet these challenges which no totalitarian society can muster.

Extension of Rural Library Services Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH GREEN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I have today had the pleasure of introducing a bill to extend the Library Services Act of 1956 for a period of 5 years, and to make certain technical amendments which will not change the effect of the act, but which will, rather, simply take cognizance of the admission of the States of Alaska and Hawaii into the Union, and to leave in abeyance until the Congress has before it the results of the 1960 decennial census, certain policy decisions in regard to the communities covered by the act, as extended.

Let me briefly explain the purpose of my bill. The Library Services Act, as passed by this Congress in 1956, provided for a program of grants-in-aid to the States to stimulate and assist in the provision of Library services to the residents of rural communities. Under the original act, $7,500,000 per year was authorized to be appropriated, to be divided among the States wishing to participate on the basis of a formula recognizing the State's share of the rural population of the Nation as the major factor. The original act further provided that no community with a population of more than 10,000 would be eligible for assistance under the act.

Generally speaking, the first 4 years of this act's history have justified the high hopes those of us who originally sponsored it had for its effect upon the spread of library services to rural communities.

Forty-nine of the fifty States are now participating in this act, and these States have all increased their rural library services programs, not only to the degree made possible by the allocation of Federal funds, but out of their own resources, with the Federal funds serving largely as stimuli, and as a symbol of the national interest in this matter.

State activities in aiding public libraries have increased by 54 percent in the 4 years of the life of this act. Thirty million Americans living in rural communities now have library services available to them which were either not available at all, or not to the present degree, as a result of the working of the act. Sixty-five counties and an equal number of New England towns, which formerly had no library service, are now receiving such service. Two hundred new bookmobiles are in service under the Library Services Act. Two hundred and eighty separate projects were included in the State plans for 1959. Over 5 million books and other informational materials have been added to the library resources of rural communities.

This much has been done, Mr. Speaker, under the Library Services Act in its first 4 years of operation. But, it should be pointed out, this is only an indication of what could have been done, if the act had been allowed to operate at its fullest. The Congress has not been reluctant to appropriate funds for this program, but the Budget Bureau has seen fit, here, as in so many other areas, to pursue its standard policy of penny wisdom and dollar folly. In the 4 years of the act's history, a total of $30 million could have been appropriated, under the authorizing legislation. But in no one of those years was the full amount requested or appropriated. In fiscal 1957, $2,050,000 was appropriated; in fiscal 1958, $5 million; and in the last 2 fiscal years, $6 million each. As a result of action taken by the Congress, allocations to States were made on the basis of the full authorization in the last fiscal year, but the growing needs of our rural libraries might well have come much closer to fulfillment, had the full amount been available through the appropriation process each year. It is too soon to tell what funds will be available in the fiscal 1961 budget, which will be the last appropriation under the initial authorization. But so far, only 63 percent of the total funds authorized have actually been appropriated, and even if the full amount is requested and appropriated next year, nearly $11 million of authorized funds will have been denied this important and profitable program.

The amendments contained in the body of my bill, Mr. Speaker, are simple, and do not change the policy of the original act. The first subsection simply extend the life of the act for an additional 5 years. Subsections (b) and (c) make technical amendments reflecting the fact that Hawaii and Alaska have been admitted to the Union and are already subsumed under the term "State." The final subsection, in effect, freezes the present coverage of the act. Under the present act, no assistance can be extended to a community with a population of more than 10,000. The Department, in issuing its regulations has taken the 1950 decennial census as its guide. The extension bill retains the 1950 census as the guide for eligibility. In this way, the communities now being served will continue to be eligible; none will suddenly be excluded from the act by population growth reflected in the 1960 census.

Mr. Speaker, the Rural Library Services Act is not the most extensive or the most costly of the Federal grant-in-aid programs. But this program is surely one of the most rewarding, one of the most encouraging, and one of the most productive of the educational grant programs. The experience we have had in the first 4 years surely augurs well for what can be accomplished in the next half decade, as library doors swing open for more and more of our people.

Flag Presentation Program at Mark Twain School, Lynwood, Los Angeles County, Calif.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I am pleased to present to you and to all my other distinguished colleagues in this great legislative body the contents of a most remarkable and appropriate flag presentation program which was presented in the auditorium of Mark Twain Elementary School, Lynwood, Los Angeles County, Calif. I had the privilege and great pleasure of attending this program.

Mr. Speaker, I felt that the text of the program and its outline could well be of considerable value to many, many similar student bodies in our beloved Nation, and suggested to the school authorities that I would consider it a privilege to ask unanimous consent to place it in the daily CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Mr. Speaker, I know that you and many other colleagues join with me in complimenting the students and their instructors on the production of this original and significant program with its unique presentation of the history of our United States as relates to the history and development of the Stars and Stripes.

The feature of this program which was appraised by me as most attractive and most valuable in the experiences of the dozens of students who participated was the fact that the students themselves actually put together and created the respective replicas of the flags which they presented as part of the derivative history showing the development of the flag of the United States of America as it is today. It was a most magnificent tribute to the creative imagination and ability of these several dozen students, each of which personally brought to the platform his or her flag thus created by their handiwork. The program follows:

FLAG PRESENTATION PROGRAM, MARK TWAIN SCHOOL, LYNWOOD, CALIF., OCTOBER 9, 1959

Entrance of students and audience; records by Lyle Harbaugh.

Call to order and welcome: Linn Kogut, president of student council.

Parade of flags: Presidents of classes.

Pledge of allegiance: Audience, led by Judy Wilson, vice president.

"America": Audience, led by Mrs. Coffman; accompanied by Mrs. Bostrom.

History of the Flag: Sixth grade class.

Presentation of the 49-Star Flag: Congressman DOYLE.

Student acceptance: Mike Caples, assisted by Hillary Barsky, Rodney Henke, and Deborah Cosman.

School and district acceptance: Mrs. Amy Sherlock, principal of Mark Twain School, Dr. Robert McCaughin, superintendent of Lynwood schools.

School song: Audience.

Adjournment: Linn Kogut.

Retirement of audience and students under direction of teachers and safeties.

American history is being made right before our eyes. We need a new star in our flag now, the 49th, to represent the newest—and by far the biggest—of all States in the Union we call the United States of America. Our present flags with only 48 stars can soon be carefully wrapped and put away as precious heirlooms for our children's children.

The history of our country from its earliest times is woven into the pattern of our flag. Each star and every stripe represents a story of bitter struggle and work, of bloodshed, despair and eventual triumph. Yet how many of us know the real history of our flag's origin? What made Congress choose it? Why red, white, and blue? Why stars? Why stripes?

Our flag stands for the hard work and sacrifice of millions of Americans who have helped to make United States great. It stands for the people today who are keeping its honor bright. But our flag did not come into existence overnight. It took many years to develop to the Old Glory we know today. Now the flag is changing to keep pace with new States—Alaska this year—and soon Hawaii, as they add their star to our field of blue.

When the War of Independence began in 1775, several new flags were used. Some of the flags used were the Pine Tree flag of New England. The Snake flag which said "Don't Tread on Me." The flag most generally used however, both on land and sea, was the Cambridge or Grand Union flag. This was the first time that 13 red and white stripes were used. This flag had the Union Jack of England in the upper left corner. This flag was in general use for a year and a half.

The people needed a national flag to symbolize their unity and independence. On June 14, 1777, after deliberation by a committee of which George Washington was a member, the Congress adopted the following resolution: "*Resolved*, That the flag of the United States be 13 stripes, alternate red and white, that the union be 13 stars white in a blue field representing a new constellation. Our first flag was most likely made by Betsy Ross of Philadelphia according to instructions given to her by George Washington. Betsy Ross was responsible for the idea of using a five-pointed star instead of a six-pointed one. However the story about Betsy Ross cannot be proved nor disproved.

The resolution made by Congress did not say how the stars were to be arranged, so our men fought the War of Independence under different flags. The Horse Shoe Flag and the Circle Flag were two of the arrangements.

Another legend is the quote from George Washington's salute to the flag concerning the meaning of the colors used in the flag. He said, "We take the stars and blue union from Heaven, the red from our mother country, separating it by white stripes, thus showing we have separated from her, and the white stripes shall go down to posterity representing liberty." In 1782 the Department of State said the colors have these meanings:

Red stands for hardiness and courage.

White is the symbol of purity and innocence.

Blue is the color of bigilance, perseverance, and justice.

As new States were added to the union, additional stars and stripes were added. This made a 15 stripe and 15 star flag. Soon Congress could see that this would make the flag too large. This was the flag that "Star Spangled Banner"—which Francis Scott Key wrote about at the attack on Fort McHenry in 1814. In 1818, Congress decided that the flag would be 13 stripes to represent the original 13 colonies of the United States, but that as each new State was admitted to the Union, a new and additional star would be added to our field of blue. As each new State entered the Union, the arrangement of the Union was different. Some of these arrangements were the 24 star "Old Glory of 1831," the 29-star flag of 1845 which was carried in the Mexican War. In 1861 at the beginning of the Civil War, the flag contained 36 stars. During this time, the Confederate States had a different flag, and our country was divided. At the close of the war, we knew that our country was "one and inseparable". By 1898 there were 45 stars in our flag. With the admission of Arizona in 1912 the flag contained the 48 stars as we know it now.

Many people assign positions of stars and stripes, according to the date the State entered the union. There is no legal basis for this belief, however, many States like to believe that their own star is on the flag. We will build the flag of 48 stars showing this arrangement.

First the flag has a flagpole or flagstaff.

The main part of the flag is the field, with the union of blue. Our field is composed of 13 alternate red and white stripes representing the Thirteen Original Colonies. Each also has a star.

1. Delaware (red).
2. Pennsylvania (white).
3. New Jersey (red).
4. Georgia (white).
5. Connecticut (red).
6. Massachusetts (white).
7. Maryland (red).
8. South Carolina (white).
9. New Hampshire (red).
10. Virginia (white).
11. New York (red).
12. North Carolina (white).
13. Rhode Island (red).

The other states entered in this order:

14. Vermont—1791
15. Kentucky—1792
16. Tennessee—1796
17. Ohio—1803
18. Louisiana—1812
19. Indiana—1816
20. Mississippi—1817
21. Illinois—1818
22. Alabama—1819
23. Maine—1820
24. Missouri—1821
25. Arkansas—1836
26. Michigan—1837
27. Florida—1845
28. Texas—1845
29. Iowa—1846
30. Wisconsin—1848
31. California—1850
32. Minnesota—1858
33. Oregon—1859
34. Kansas—1861
35. West Virginia—1863
36. Nevada—1864
37. Nebraska—1867
38. Colorado—1876
39. North Dakota—1889
40. South Dakota—1889
41. Montana—1889
42. Washington—1889
43. Idaho—1890
44. Wyoming—1890
45. Utah—1896
46. Oklahoma—1907
47. New Mexico—1912
48. Arizona—1912

This is our flag of our childhood that we are familiar with. Now, Congressman DOYLE, our Congressman, we have traced the past history of our flag. You have had a part in the making of history as our 49th State of Alaska was admitted to the Union. Will you tell us about it and, of course, we are anxious to see the new 49-star flag.

Congressman DOYLE.

Transportation Tax

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, the State of Montana, as well as many other Western States, depend to a very great extent on the airlines, the railroads, and the bus companies to provide fast and dependable transportation between our cities which are separated by great distances. For more than 15 years our citizens have been taxed every time they used these vitally necessary common carrier facilities. At present this transportation tax is 10 percent but by virtue of the passage of Public Law 86–75 in the last session of Congress, beginning July 1, 1960, this tax will be reduced to 5 percent.

I was very pleased with this progress but I sincerely feel that during this session we must abolish the remaining 5 percent. What was the original purpose of this tax? Certainly the raising of wartime revenue was one consideration, but the primary purpose was to discourage nonessential travel during the emergency thereby freeing our facilities for military and defense use.

I feel that it is self-evident that this purpose no longer exists. On the contrary, one of the paramount objectives of our national transportation policy is to foster and encourage travel to strengthen our transportation companies.

Only by increased passenger patronage can the airlines carry out the massive jet conversion that is presently underway and for which over $2¼ billion of capital investment is committed. The Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board has urged the repeal of this tax on the ground that it deters travel and depresses airline revenue.

Similarly, the Interstate Commerce Commission has urged repeal because "the tax on passenger travel tends to discourage the public from using common carriers, it thereby aggravates the ever-mounting passenger deficit."—ICC Docket No. 31954, page 70. We all know the plight of the railroad passenger operation and we all know that the only real answer is more passenger revenue.

The bus situation is no different. The number of inter-city busline companies declined from 2,858 in 1950 to 1,700 in 1957; revenue passengers declined from 815 million to 516 million; and busline employees declined from 66,570 to 52,900

during the same period.—Bureau of Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1958, page 571.

Mr. Speaker, I submit that continuation of a 5 percent excise tax designed to discourage travel is against the national interest and extremely unwise. As the ICC stated in the Railroad Passenger Train Deficit Case:

In strongly urging that the Congress take action to repeal the tax outright, we are not unaware of the efforts which various members of the Congress have made and are presently making in this regard. We are also not unmindful of the revenue needs of the Government. We are, however, convinced that any possible loss of revenue would be more than offset by the public interest in strengthening and preserving a transportation system capable of meeting adequately the country's need for service both in peacetime and during emergencies in conformity with the national transportation policy as declared by the Congress. (p. 70).

I realize that any proposed legislation which would eliminate a source of Federal revenue should be subjected to close scrutiny. However, I am convinced that repeal of the remaining 5 percent tax will not result in any substantial net loss of revenue.

It is widely recognized that the some $110 million gross that the fact that a high proportion of common carriage travel is business in nature and the amount of transportation tax paid is taken as a corporate income tax deduction.

In addition, an offset would result if the tax were removed by virtue of increased taxable income resulting from increased travel once the deterrent tax is removed.

In the airline industry the Federal government pays some $60 million in subsidy per year to make up operating losses of local service and helicopter companies. Yet this tax discourages passengers from traveling on these carriers.

In short, Mr. Speaker, it appears that on the merits no one can justify this tax and everyone agrees it is harmful and outdated. The only question is whether we should sacrifice a revenue source. But even on this score it appears clear that the net yield is not substantial and would probably be more than offset by increased corporate income taxes and by subsidy savings.

The Late Honorable Richard M. Simpson

SPEECH
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I join with the other Members of Congress in expressing the loss that we all feel with the passing of our colleague, Hon. RICHARD M. SIMPSON.

In my brief association with him, I was impressed by his tremendous political courage and the strength of his convictions. His intense loyalty to the Republican Party, his stalwart conservative convictions and his personal desire to give the best possible representation to the people of his district were apparent in all his actions. His leadership will be missed by those of us who looked to him for counsel and inspiration.

I extend to Mrs. Simpson and their family my sincere sympathy.

Twentieth Anniversary of Glen Arden, Md.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD E. LANKFORD
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. LANKFORD. Mr. Speaker, I would like to include in the RECORD a recent address made by a most distinguished Marylander and my constituent, Mr. David Hume.

Mr. Hume delivered his address on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the founding of the town of Glen Arden, Md. In view of the despicable swastica painting and allied desecrations and prejudices plaguing the world today, I feel that his Glen Arden address is particularly timely and appropriate.

The town of Glen Arden has earned for itself the admiration of all of us who have come to know its many fine accomplishments. This Negro community has turned a veritable wilderness into a town of which each resident is justifiably proud. Very little assistance has been accepted by the townspeople, although offers have been numerous.

The speech follows:

ADDRESS BY DAVID HUME, GLEN ARDEN, MD., 20TH ANNIVERSARY

I am grateful for the honor you accord me by your invitation to speak tonight on this 20th birthday of Glen Arden.

In a legal sense, you are short just one year of coming of age—21—but no one in his right mind would contend that as a community you have not already demonstrated wisdom and a maturity far beyond the legal requirements.

I address you tonight more in my capacity as a neighbor than as a politician. And I am not unmindful of what Jonathan Swift once said: And he gave it for his opinion that whoever could make two ears of corn or two blades of grass to grow upon a spot of ground where only one grew before would deserve better of mankind and do more essential service to his country than the whole race of politicians put together.

Anniversaries, you know, and particularly anniversaries following periods of success, are joyous occasions. They are opportunities, too, for looking back and being thankful for the events that have made them possible.

Last Saturday, I had the opportunity to act for Governor Tawes in accepting the John Hanson memorial for the State of Maryland from the Vasa Order, a Swedish-American organization. It came as a surprise to me, in searching the history of John Hanson for the acceptance address I was to make, to learn that this man, who was the first President of the United States in Congress assembled, was of Swedish descent.

And I could not help but feel again the great personal debt I owed to this man and the many others from other lands who had come here and, for the sake of freedom and making a world of their own, had fought so bravely and worked so hard for our independence.

In the course of the ceremony at the John Hanson memorial dedication, there were folk dances by young children dressed in Swedish costumes and there were words of gratitude directed to the Swedish people.

As a result of my attendance at that ceremony, I believe I will always feel grateful whenever Sweden or the Swedish people are mentioned.

But in looking up the history of Hanson, a strange thing happenend—coincidence, if you will—when I turned to the name of Hensen, Matthew, arctic explorer with Peary in the discovery of the North Pole. I recalled that history of this great man, a native of Charles County—born just a few miles from here—and I remembered that Matthew Henson had made his mark in world history just 50 years ago—April 6, 1909, to be exact. The story came back to me and I could visualize Peary and Henson—after 18 years and making their sixth try for the North Pole. In the terrible winds and awful cold which surrounded them, these men, along with four Eskimos, were the first to accomplish what the world still hails as one of the greatest peaks in the history of exploration, reaching the northernmost limit of the earth. They did what men had been unable to do before. And in so doing, they gave to the United States a legal claim to the vast Arctic.

Neither the Russians nor anyone else measured up to these two men, and we were first, in our rightful place.

Though the history of this great act is one we must never forget, what impressed me most was this one fact: neither Peary nor Henson could have done this alone or without each other. They accomplished what men had been unable to accomplish before by combining their strength and their intelligence and their faith and their vision.

And as I said a little prayer of thanks to Hanson of Southern Maryland, a Swede, I now had another prayer of gratitude to Matthew Henson of Southern Maryland, a Negro.

It may be that moralizing on history is a useless pastime, but how refreshing it is in a world which has seen all too much bigotry and hatred to see written indelibly on the pages of history just what happens when men can rise to the spiritual greatness a divine providence intended for them.

It is with the spirit of Henson strong upon me that I congratulate you tonight on conquering the many problems you have had in the development of your community. In the past 20 years of our lives, we have gone through a great world war in which the forces of bigotry and human slavery were beaten back by flesh of our flesh and blood of our blood; we have fought a war in Korea that the great sacrifice might not have been in vain; we have been through the less dramatic but equally demanding ups and downs of a cold war.

We have faced these problems and we have come through them. Now we have other problems, problems that concern us all. I refer to the problems of maintaining peace; of furthering education; of making ends meet in a period of inflation; of making mortgage payments on our homes; of paying for the groceries; of paying for clothes for our families; of meeting payments on the car and television set; of everyday living.

By working together—by working one for the other—by honoring the past and working for the future which promises such greatness to the stout of heart, we can conquer not only these problems but any others which may arise.

This has been our salvation in the past. This must be our lifeline to the future.

The Situation in Hungary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter and the enclosed text of an aide-memoire of the Hungarian Committee to the Secretary General of the United Nations regarding the present situation in Hungary and Sir Leslie Munro's report in that connection:

HUNGARIAN COMMITTEE,
New York, N.Y., November 3, 1959.

Hon. ALVIN M. BENTLEY,
U.S. Representative,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: May I have the honor to enclose an aide-memoire of the Hungarian Committee addressed to the Secretary General of the United Nations, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld.

Sincerely yours,

Msgr. BÉLA VARGA,
Former President of the Hungarian Parliament, Chairman of the Hungarian Committee.

Mr. FERENC NAGY,
Former Prime Minister of Hungary, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee.

THE SITUATION IN HUNGARY

The Hungarian Committee respectfully submits the following aide-memoire to the Secretary of the United Nations:

1. On December 13, 1958, the United Nations General Assembly adopted by a vote of 54 to 10 the 37-power resolution on the situation in Hungary. The resolution included the stipulation that the United Nations "will continue to be seized of the situation in Hungary in view of the fact that the Government of the U.S.S.R. and the present authorities in Hungary are disregarding the resolutions of the General Assembly."

The resolution also appointed Sir Leslie Munro to report on "significant developments relating to the implementations of the resolutions of the General Assembly on Hungary," and requested the Secretary General to provide the "necessary facilities [to assist Sir Leslie Munro in the performance of his duties]."

2. Although this resolution was passed almost a year ago no report from Sir Leslie Munro has been forthcoming. In addition, the item on the situation in Hungary is not included in the present agenda of the 14th session of the United Nations General Assembly.

3. In the meantime terror in Hungary continues. According to reliable informations:

Thirty-six young freedom fighters were tried and executed secretly shortly before the opening of the 14th session of the General Assembly. During the first 10 months of 1959, more than 200 patriots were executed, among them many youngsters. At present more than a hundred political prisoners are in the death cells in the Communist Hungarian prisons, among them young freedom fighters, awaiting execution.

In the first 3 months of 1959, 200,000 independent peasants were forced into kolkhozes against their will. The Communist regime set up special commandoes of party functionaries, workers' militia members, and secret policemen to intimidate the villages; many peasants committed suicide in their despair.

After the abolition of the workers' councils, which represented the true feelings and aspirations of the Hungarian workers, work norms were tightened.

Churches came under full control of the Communist state in 1959. Autonomy of the churches was abolished with brutal interference in their affairs. The present situation is characterized by the total limitation of priest activities, the education of young priests in the seminaries and intolerance in religious freedom.

Literary and artistic life is under strictest supervision. The regime recently introduced its instrumental control through the reorganization of the Hungarian Writers' Federation with complete denial of the freedom of expression.

Remnants of professional freedoms were destroyed by putting ban on private practice of lawyers and physicians.

Discriminatory measures were extended onto the participants in the Revolution and freedom fight in the field of education, social security and old age pension.

4. The Secretary General, at the press conference of the United Nations Correspondents' Association on September 10, 1959, said he thought it a "good constitutional law that the Special Representative [Sir Leslie Munro] would be entitled to introduce a report."

5. The Hungarian Committee has reasons to believe that recent development in Hungary are of sufficient importance to warrant the presentation of Sir Leslie Munro's report to the United Nations General Assembly.

6. The plight of the Hungarian people should not be forgotten. The Hungarian Committee respectfully asks the Secretary General to facilitate the presentation of Sir Leslie Munro's report personally to the General Assembly of the United Nations at the earliest possible time.

NEW YORK, N.Y. *November 3, 1959.*

THE HUNGARIAN COMMITTEE

The Hungarian Committee is an exile political organization embracing the postwar democratic Hungarian political personalities and the representatives of the 1956 revolutionaries and freedom fighters. The purpose of the committee is to work for the independence of Hungary and for the restoration of the freedom of the Hungarian people.

Chairman: Msgr. Béla Varga, President of the Hungarian Parliament, 1946–47.

Vice chairman: Jozsef Kövágo, mayor of Budapest, 1947–47, reelected during the revolution in 1956.

Members: Jozsef Adoján, Member of Parliament, 1945–48; Pál Auer, Hungarian Minister to France, 1946–47; István Barankovics, Member of Parliament, 1947–49, secretary-general, Democratic People's Party; Lajos Hajdu-Németh, Member of Parliament 1945–47, leader, Christian Democratic Union; Pál Jonás, chairman of the Petöfi Circle; Béla Király, major general, Commander of the Hungarian National Guard during the revolution; Sándor Kiss, Member of Parliament, 1945–46, director of the Hungarian Peasant Association; Imre Kovács, writer; Ferenc Nagy, Prime Minister of Hungary, 1946–47; Zoltán Pfeiffer, Member of Parliament 1945–47, Under Secretary of State for Justice 1946–47; Pál Szabo, Member of Parliament 1945–48, Under Secretary of State of Public Welfare 1946–47; László Varga, Member of Parliament 1947–48; Ferenc Váli, professor of international law; Ferenc Vidovics, Governor of the County of Smogy 1945–46, Member of Parliament.

Headquarters and central offices of the Hungarian Committee: 125 East 72d Street, New York, N.Y., U.S.A.

Address by Former President Harry S. Truman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NEAL SMITH
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, the Young Democratic Clubs of America held their national biennial convention in Toledo, Ohio, on November 17 to 20 this year and concluded it with a banquet on the evening of the 20th. Former President Harry S. Truman, showing the interest he always does in young people, accepted an invitation to address the concluding banquet and made another of his forthright speeches. So that those who were not among the 2,000 delegates in attendance may have an opportunity to digest his statements, under unanimous consent, I include it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The address follows:

ADDRESS BY FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES HARRY S. TRUMAN DELIVERED AT THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF AMERICA, TOLEDO, OHIO, ON NOVEMBER 21, 1959

As Democrats I know you won't mind if a former Democratic President begins his talk to you on a personal note. It has been very trying for me during the past years to see what has been going on in Washington.

But I am not going to try your patience by reciting a long list of the things that have been done to divert and reverse the forward march of the general welfare of our people as charted in the New Deal and the Fair Deal. I would rather talk to you about the future—about our future as a party and our future as a Nation. If I do touch on the past from time to time, it is only for the purpose of reminding all of us how critically important it is to have a Democrat again in the White House.

Of course I am a partisan Democrat and naturally prefer a Democrat. But partisanship alone is not a good enough reason for these times.

The man we must find for 1960 must be a man not only with a sense of history, but with a vision of the future. He must be a man with the ability to lead. He must be a man with the capacity to make bold decisions.

We need this kind of a man, because we are living in a world trying to find its way through revolution in science and in government, through the birth of new nations and the search for new freedoms. We need a man who understands the problems and needs of exploding populations. We need a man to explore new ideas and methods to improve the welfare of our own people.

We ought to have no patience with men who are content to let well enough alone. We cannot stand still or slow down for the unimaginative, for the privileged, or for the timid.

We need a vigorous, fighting, genuine liberal, and not a hot-house liberal, who talks the game but doesn't play it. I, for one, have no time for the Johnny-come-lately well-fed liberals, who would like to have a disproportionate voice in the party. I think you know who they are. They never won a fight in a precinct, and they never have been conspicuous for their sacrifices in the cause of the everyday man, the common man like you and me. That's real liberalism.

Ask some of these phony liberals where they were in 1948 when we waged the now historic battle for civil rights, when we waged the battle for the saving of national resources, when we waged the battle for better homes. Where were they?

The only party that has produced real liberals who have made contributions to the welfare of the greatest number of our people has been the Democratic Party. This is why we must put a Democrat in the White House in 1960. And I intend to do my very best to help find him.

We need a President who has a sense of our role in the world today and who is not afraid to act to meet changing conditions. More than 10 years have passed since a Democratic administration introduced a program designed to help nations achieve greater development of their resources. It is called point 4 because it was the fourth point in the inaugural message of 1949. Instead of enlarging this program, the Republican administration did nothing more than mark time with it. What was needed was an even bolder application and development of this idea. While we stood still, the world did not. And unless there is a wiser application and expansion of this program of enlightened assistance, some nations may be tempted to turn to Communist Russia.

We need a man in the White House who gives priority to human needs. Our people enjoy the highest standards of living in the world, but we have a long way to go—in the face of our growing population.

But a great many of our people are not yet getting the full benefits of our national prosperity in many things. These are adequate housing, hospitals and medical care on a basis that the ordinary man can pay. We need more schools and better schools. We need opportunities for university educations for those who deserve it and who cannot afford it. We must also face up to the growing and vital problem of caring for the aged.

We need a man in the White House who knows what our resources are and what our people are capable of producing. He must administer the resources of this Nation, not for the privileged few, but in the interest of all our people.

Here is the first give away. In the administration while I was President an argument started about tidelands oil deposits. Tidelands are those lands covered by high tides and uncovered by low tides. Those tidelands as defined belong to the States bordering on the sea. But the offshore lands at the low tide boundary under the sea belong to the Federal Government.

A proclamation was issued while I was President laying claim to all offshore minerals under the sea and other assets including fisheries to the edge of the continental shelf. In some places that shelf runs as much as 100 miles from the low tide boundary.

It is of very high value in the Pacific, the Gulf of Alaska, the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic seaboard.

There are values involved that are fantastic. At least 100 billion barrels of oil, the Alaska fisheries and the defense of all the east coast depend upon that proclamation.

Let's look at some of the record of this Republican administration:

(1) They gave away 100 billion barrels of oil which belonged to and can be protected only by the Federal Government. No State has a navy to protect its seacoast beyond the tideland limit. There were two Supreme Court decisions and two vetoes of bills, such as became law under this administration. You see, the Congress, as the legislative branch of the Government, can pass laws in conformity with Supreme Court decisions which will upset those decisions, and that's what happened in this case.

(2) This administration gave the greatest potential power source in the Northwest to the private utilities for their promotion and exploitation at public expense. It made every effort to do away with the Tennessee Valley Authority, and had it not been for some patriots in the Congress of the United States, the administration would have succeeded. That's the famous Dixon-Yates program which wanted to destroy public power entirely.

(2–A) This administration is now preparing to give away the atomic energy power for which the taxpayers spent $25 billion.

(3) When it comes to agriculture, the cost of the operation of the Department of Agriculture has increased from $1,100 million in 1951 and 1952 to more than $6 billion in the present budget. And the farmer is always at the bottom of the heap, as far as equality of treatment is concerned, in the operation of the Federal Government. At the time of the 1951–52 expenditure, the farmer was receiving between 80 and 90 percent of parity. Under the present $6 billion program, he receives less than 65 percent of parity.

(4) They turned the control of the finances of the Government over to the bankers, just as it was when Andrew Jackson took over the Presidency, as it was when Wilson became President, as it was when Franklin Roosevelt became President. They have exploited homeowners, farmers and little business generally—to the tune of $16 billion in added interest cost on private loans. There are loans to the tune of more than $800 billion outstanding.

(5) They raised the cost of the service of the national debt from $5,400 million to $9 billion, and it will be more before it is less. The Secretary of the Treasury has just sold Government notes, the top prime paper at 5 percent. The average under previous administration was 1½ percent. Who pays that bill? The taxpayer of course.

(6) The Republicans attack the last Congress by calling the Democratic Members spendocrats, while the Congress cut the President's own spending recommendations by more than a billion dollars. The first session of this Congress made one of the greatest records in the country's history in spite of the President's minority veto program.

The President must be the leader in both domestic and foreign policies, and he cannot perform that leadership from his advertising headquarters on Madison Avenue any more than he can control the finances of the country while the center of that control is in Wall Street. Yet, that is what has happened.

(7) The objecive of this administration has been to put labor in its place. Do you know what that place is? Complete domination by the financial interests of the country—a return to peonage. Yet the labor population voted to receive what it has gotten. So did the farmers.

People have been the same since ancient times. In olden times, the Hebrews had to be reminded every so often how they came out of Egypt with God's help. But they soon forgot. Read the Old Testament.

The French have to be reminded how they overcame the policies of Louis XIV.

And we have to be told and told again what our own Bill of Rights means.

Labor, the farmers, the little businessmen forget and forget, and so we must keep telling them the truth. Hitler and Mussolini used the big lie to fool the people, and we must not let misrepresentations by B.B.D. & O. mislead the good people of this great Republic. If we allow that, then all our 170 years of sweat, blood, and tears have been in vain.

There has been considerable glee among Republicans about the uninterrupted record of vetoes by President Eisenhower which Congress could not override.

This has made it appear that the Congress—with a Democratic majority—has, in fact, sustained President Eisenhower.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

The truth is that a minority in Congress—just barely over one-third of the elected representatives of the people—has managed to thwart over 140 times the will of the American people as expressed by the majority of the Congress. And this one-third—working with a willing Republican in the White House—has managed to impose a minority rule upon the people.

This is the fact, and this is the truth, and this is how the people of the United States are being hoodwinked and defeated by the shameful use and, in fact, shocking abuse of the Presidential veto.

The administration is trying to pin a won't-do tag on Congress, and I am sorry to see some Democrats who ought to know better acquiescing in the acceptance of this label.

This Congress is a far cry from the Republican do-nothing 80th Congress which continually blocked legislation proposed by the President, whereas in this administration very little, if any, legislation has been proposed by the White House, leaving it to the Congress to propose necessary measures.

What we have is not a won't-do Congress, but a won't-do administration which has prevented a Congress, with a majority returned by the people on three occasions, from enacting badly needed domestic legislation.

This won't-do administration, in the domestic field, has been responsible for the mismanagement of the national debt and the worst mishandling of our fiscal and monetary policies in recent times.

In the face of an expanding world economy, and an exploding population, this won't-do administration has vetoed the Nation into a lot of trouble for now and in the future.

We can cure that situation. Nominate a man at the Democratic Convention who understands the welfare of the United States, both foreign and domestic. That's the cure.

The Late Honorable Steven V. Carter

SPEECH

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 6, 1960

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, although I knew the Honorable STEVEN V. CARTER but slightly, he has left with me a memory that cannot be erased. It was on one of the closing days of the first session. The vote was crucial and it was bound to be close. I looked around and saw, a few seats removed, STEVE CARTER, slightly bent forward, his face chalky white, obviously laboring in great pain.

The end was not far away, and he knew it. Yet he was there, at his post of duty, to answer his name when the roll was called. I shall always think of it as one of the sublimest exhibitions of courage, in the challenge of duty, that ever has come to my attention.

My heart goes out to his widow and the members of his family. He left them the inspiration and heritage of a noble life lived nobly, with faith and with courage, to the very last painful moment.

Farm Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit for inclusion in the RECORD the last of a series of five articles on the farm subsidy and surplus problem which appeared in the Los Angeles Mirror News during November 1959.

[From the Los Angeles Mirror News, Nov. 6, 1959]

FARM PROPS CLIP YOU FOUR TIMES

(By Jack Tobin)

(This is the last of five articles showing the city dweller-taxpayer the high cost of the Government's wasteful, outmoded farm price support program. This second most costly facet of the Federal budget is of prime import to the urban taxpayer—the individual carrying the brunt of the load.)

You, the city dweller, the consumer, the taxpayer—every American—pay for our outmoded farm price support program not once, not twice, but four times.

First, you, the taxpayer, put up the money for the original price support loan—an estimated $3.6 billion in 1959.

Second, you, the taxpayer, pay the cost of storing surplus price support commodities in the Federal stockpile—$590.6 million in 1958.

Third, you, the taxpayer, pay the loss sustained in disposal of these surpluses—an estimated $1.5 billion in 1958.

Fourth, you, the taxpayer, due to artificial price setting, pay something extra for your bread, your shirt, your sheets, your shortening.

These excessive costs are a direct result of this wanton, wasteful hodgepodge of a puzzle known as price support.

Every hike in support costs the city dweller, the consumer, the taxpayer—even the farmer—more at the store.

Every segment of America's economy pays. Inflation increases.

The cost of living soars higher.

But, the farm problem is not solved.

TRIED, FAILED

These tremendous costs are the compound of a support program which has tried but failed to establish a fair standard of living for the farmer at the low end of the economic scale.

This group predominates in the soil-poor areas of the deep South in cotton and tobacco land as well as other deficient land of the Farm Belt.

Last year the cotton farmer's share of a cotton shirt retailing for $3.95 was 30 cents, or about 8 percent.

UP IN SMOKE

In 1957 a package of regular cigarettes cost 25.1 cents on the national average. Of that, 3.7 cents or about 15 percent went to the farmer for his tobacco.

It is obvious that an increase of a cent or two in farm support payment would not appreciably increase the standard of living for the small, low-end farmer—the farmer whom the program was designed to benefit.

Dr. A. B. Cox, professor emeritus of the University of Texas, is an international authority on cotton marketing.

RAW COTTON

In a recent study of the cost of cotton price supports to the consumer and taxpayer, Dr. Cox showed the multiplying cost of a slight increase in raw cotton materials.

The cost to the consumer of a 5-cent increase in raw cotton, is 15.67 cents by the time it reaches the store counter.

Dr. Cox made an exhaustive study of the pyramiding costs to the consumer-taxpayer in the seven steps from farmer to the store counter. The study was based on the 1956–57 cotton subsidy program.

It revealed that the grand total to the taxpayer for the 1956–57 cotton program as a result of the seven step pyramid came to $1,698,588,000.

This 1956–57 program amounted to a payment of about $2,000 for every cotton farm in the United States.

The $1,698,588,000:

Is greater than 1956–57 net profit of all U.S. cotton farmers.

Would have purchased enough cotton at loan prices for all domestic needs in this period and left some over for export.

Would have paid for the purchase and permanent retirement of the acreage allotments of cotton farmers unable to earn an American standard of living farming cotton.

Is a tax of about $10 for every man, woman, and child in the United States.

READ AND WEEP

Today, Mr. and Mrs. Taxpayer, your family has an invested interest in surplus products worth $233.33.

Your family owns:

Sixty pounds of cotton.
Fourteen bushels of wheat.
Twenty-one bushels of corn.
Three hundred pounds of grain sorghum.
A fifth of a pound of tobacco.
A peck of soybeans.
Four pounds of rosin.
Nearly five pounds of dairy products.
And 1½ pounds of shelled peanuts.

AND STILL MORE

Since the inception of price supports in 1933 the taxpayers, by Department of Agriculture statistics, have lost $1,067,215,716 on corn and cornmeal; $813,977,104 on wheat and wheat flour; $172,031,170 on peanuts; $478,533,402 on Irish potatoes; $124,802,914 on rice; $189,698,695 on eggs; $1,760,124,929 on milk and butterfat; $241,601,312 on wool; $225,027,570 on grain sorghum; $167,497,424 on flaxseed and linseed oil; $132,181,378 on barley; $117,612,809 on cottonseed and products.

Total losses sustained under all phases of the farm program, according to one USDA statistics table, since 1933 are $8,894,297,976.

A DOUBLE CLIP

One of the ironies of the entire program is that if you measure the success of the subsidies in the amount of food and fiber produced, you then must pay the penalty of having to store and dispose of the surplus.

For instance, it cost the taxpayers $590,600,000 in fiscal 1958 just to store surplus price-support commodities.

In California, $8,144,000 tax dollars went to warehousemen for rice, grain and bean storage costs alone last year. Stockton Elevators was paid $1,214,759 for storing Government-owned grain. Eight other firms or individuals collected more than a quarter million dollars apiece just for storing surplus commodities.

ON WEST COAST

At one time on the west coast, there were 175 mothballed Government-owned ships used for grain storage which reached 40 million bushels. It cost the taxpayers more than $13,300,000 through last August 31.

One of the disturbing—yes, sickening—sights in the Farm Belt is the towering mound of grain dumped on the open ground, simply because there's no place to store it.

This, too, is a symbol of the wasteful price-support program.

Where does the blame rest for this waste?

Is there a solution?

One of the leading farm writers in the Deep South—where supports have long been sacred—reports mounting discontent among farmers over the support program.

"Some southern Congressmen," this writer reveals, "have quietly ask Secretary Benson how they can get off the hook.

"They are ready to renounce some of the ridiculous farm programs they have supported."

SUPPLY, DEMAND

A survey by a leading southern farm magazine shows 87.5 percent of the farmers felt farming should return to free supply and demand system as soon as possible with minimum government control.

The most often advocated solution by farm experts is to gradually eliminate the farmer from government subsidy.

Plenty of agricultural economists will tell you that this is the only sensible solution.

BABY MUST SURVIVE

Jesse Tapp, board chairman of Bank of America and a member of President Eisenhower's Advisory Commission on Agriculture, agrees, but says:

"However, the Government can't just throw out the baby (the farmer) with the wash (price supports)."

He and others insist we must have a firm, national policy dedicated to step-by-step elimination of price supports. You can't just cut them off—bingo—in one fell swoop. Economic chaos might result. But you can do it on an orderly, scheduled basis.

The trouble is, you can't seem to convince the politicians. To them, it borders on treason and heresy to suggest elimination of farm subsidies. Particularly the lawmakers from the deep South.

The lawmakers from the urban, consumer areas don't seem to demonstrate an equal fervor for protecting the taxpayer.

The answer rests, then, on when the taxpayer gets fed up to the point his voice speaks loud and clear on the banks of the Potomac.

GOVERNMENT FIGURES SHOW HOW SUBSIDY DOLLAR GOES

All objectives of the price support program over the years has been directed toward helping the little farmer.

An official U.S. Department of Agriculture chart shows how the price support dollar was paid out in fiscal 1957. The chart is based on size and class of farm.

Farm product sales	Number of farms	Farms	Market	Portion of 1957 price support	
				Total	Amount per farm
		Percent	*Percent*		
$5,000 up	1,200,000	27	79	$2,571,000,000	$1,993
$2,500 to $4,999	811,000	17	12	391,000,000	482
$2,500, less	2,681,000	56	9	293,000,000	109
Total	4,782,000	100	100	3,255,000,000	

Fate of Young Hungarian Freedom Fighters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to include in the RECORD the following exchange of correspondence with the White House regarding the fate of the young Hungarian freedom fighters facing execution by the Communist regime:

DECEMBER 9, 1959.

President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER,
White House, Washington, D.C.:

I have been asked by certain Hungarian friends and constituents of mine to request your personal intervention with respect to the youthful Hungarian freedom fighters who are allegedly facing execution by the Communist regime of that country. I am aware that this subject is presently being debated by the General Assembly of the United Nations but feel that a personal statement expressing your horror at such a report might be helpful in marshaling world public opinion against this barbaric undertaking.

Respectfully yours,

ALVIN M. BENTLEY,
Member of Congress.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
WASHINGTON,
December 14, 1959.

Hon ALVIN M. BENTLEY,
Member of Congress,
Owosso, Mich.

DEAR AL: For the President this will acknowledge and thank you for your December 9 telegram respecting your plea in behalf of the 350 Hungarian freedom fighters.

While the State Department has no information at this time concerning this matter, you can be sure that we will continue to follow the situation in Hungary with close attention. In this connection you may wish to have the enclosed statements by Ambassador Lodge on the question of Hungary.

Kindest regards and best wishes for the holiday season.

Sincerely yours,

JACK Z. ANDERSON,
Administrative Assistant to the President.

STATEMENT BY HENRY CABOT LODGE, U.S. REPRESENTATIVE IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, ON NOVEMBER 25, 1959, ON THE QUESTION OF HUNGARY

Mr. President, the United States supports the recommendation by the General Committee that an item entitled "The Question of Hungary" be included on our agenda.

Last year in Resolution 1312 the General Assembly declared that the United Nations will continue to be seized of the situation in Hungary, in view of the fact that the Government of the U.S.S.R. and the present authorities in Hungary are disregarding earlier resolutions of the General Assembly. By the same resolution, the General Assembly appointed Sir Leslie Munro to represent it for the purpose of reporting on developments relating to the implementation of the Assembly resolutions on Hungary.

Sir Leslie Munro has now requested the General Assembly to consider the Hungarian situation. He reports that there has been no improvement of conditions in Hungary and calls attention to the refusal of the Hungarian authorities to cooperate with the United Nations in any way in this matter. In these circumstances, the United States also requested inscription of this item. I may say in our opinion the request of the Representative of the U.N. on Hungary would have been enough.

Nothing we know today leads us to believe that the States concerned have ceased their defiance of resolutions which were adopted by overwhelming majorities at previous sessions. As recently noted by the United Nations Representative on Hungary, foreign armed forces remain in Hungary and the framework of repression remains unchanged. In the shadow of continued trials and executions of Hungarians whose only crime was their barehanded fight for independence against Soviet tanks in 1956, and in the shadow of the continuing reports of impending executions, it is clear that the end of the reign of terror is not yet in sight. It seems clear to the U.S. delegation, therefore, that we must inscribe this item and that we must consider the Report of the United Nations Representative on Hungary.

As I explained in my statement in the General Committee on November 23, we regret the circumstances that gave rise to the necessity for inscribing this item. Recent events encouraged us to hope that there might be real relaxation of international tensions and improved international cooperation, which are, of course, the goals for which this very international organization was established. We still hold to that hope, Mr. President, but we must set down that to attempt to sweep crimes like these under the rug will not cause these hopes to be fulfilled and will not promote peace. We accordingly urge members to join in supporting the inscription of this vital question.

STATEMENT BY HENRY CABOT LODGE, U.S. REPRESENTATIVE, IN THE GENERAL COMMITTEE ON THE QUESTION OF HUNGARY, NOVEMBER 23, 1959

Mr. Chairman, before we adjourn this meeting there are certain fallacies which have been expressed here which I should like briefly to rectify. I took some notes during Mr. Kuznetsov's speech, and I noted some of these phrases: "Dirty work," "sordid assignment," "mouthpiece for slander," "puppet," "slanderous assertions and concoctions" in my letter.

Now, I am not fortunate enough to be familiar with the Russian language, and maybe these are ordinary, routine phrases in Russian. But I have some familiarity with English and with French, and I can say that in those two languages these are extremely violent words. If Mr. Kuznetsov is really interested in lessening the cold war, he could very easily prove that fact by using parliamentary language in a parliamentary assembly. I say that to him in as bland a tone as I can use.

Then he also referred in his speech to the conversations between Chairman Khrushchev and President Eisenhower which were held at Camp David and which in a press release the other day the Soviet delegation characterized as the spirit of Camp David.

Now, Mr. Chairman, we prize—we in the United States—prize what was achieved at Camp David, and none are more opposed than we to doing anything which would destroy it.

One way to live up to that spirit is to conform with United Nations resolutions.

I feel that perhaps I have some right to talk about Camp David for the simple reason that I was there. In fact I was present at all the meetings which took place. These meetings were adequately summed up in the communique which is well known and I can assert that there is nothing in that communique or in what happened at Camp David to justify the declaration that the very modest action on Hungry which we are discussing today is against the spirit of Camp David.

What is against the spirit of Camp David Mr. Chairman, is the subversion of small countries.

What is against the spirit of Camp David are acts which turn a brave little country into a moaning colonialist slum.

What is against the spirit of Camp David is any behavior which makes a veritable mockery of peaceful coexistence.

Mr. Chairman, nothing happened at Camp David which requires us to condone evil.

Nothing happened at Camp David which requires us to pass by in silence on the other side of the street when a brutality is being committed.

Nothing happened at Camp David to prevent us from acting like human beings made in the image of God when cruelty is being practiced.

The spirit of Camp David was not intended to be a soporific to peoples in the democracies to put them to sleep in the belief that this dangerous world—which we all hope may some day be safe—has actually been made safe.

No one looks more eagerly than I do for the day when the United States and the Soviet Union can work regularly together for the peace of the world. This is an end devoutly to be wished and I shall always work for it.

But we work against such a day when we distort the spirit of Camp David into something which was never meant at all and which no one present thought that it meant.

I realize that there may be colleagues of mine here in this room who think that in speaking as I am now doing I am striking a false note. But I do not agree.

We can only build a peaceful world on truth—and the spirit of Camp David never told us to close our eyes to the truth.

We can only build a peaceful world on deeds—deeds of justice—and the spirit of Camp David never told us not to do such deeds.

Instead of criticizing this proposal, why don't you do something to show that you really believe in the true spirit of Camp David? Why don't you take down the barbed wire and the observation towers which now divide the poor Hungarians from Austria and the free world and which have turned Hungary into a vast human cage? Why don't you chain up the savage dogs which roam along the border to catch the miserable human beings who are seeking freedom?

It is by deeds such as these that we can best live up to the spirit of Camp David.

Let me say in conclusion that the Camp David communique states "that all outstanding international questions should be

settled not by the application of force but by peaceful means through negotiation." If, therefore, we are really to live up to the spirit of Camp David, Sir Leslie Munro ought to be admitted into Hungary, the United Nations resolutions adopted by overwhelming votes should be carried out in Hungary, and the Soviet Union, instead of working against the United Nations, should work with the United Nations. That would be really carrying out the spirit of Camp David.

The United States supports the request of the United Nations Representative on Hungary that an item of an important and urgent character entitled "The Question of Hungary" be inscribed in the agenda of the 14th General Assembly. The United States as a member of the General Committee has itself also requested the inscription of the item.

This request, Mr. President, was necessitated by the resolution on Hungary adopted by the 13th General Assembly and the continued defiance by the present Hungarian regime and the Soviet Union of the General Assembly resolutions on Hungary.

Resolution 1312 declared "that the United Nations will continue to be seized of the situation in Hungary in view of the fact that the Government of the U.S.S.R. and the present authorities in Hungary are disregarding the above-mentioned resolutions of the General Assembly." By the same resolution the General Assembly decided "to appoint Sir Leslie Munro to represent the United Nations for the purpose of reporting to member states or to the General Assembly on significant developments relating to the implementation of the Assembly's resolutions on Hungary."

On July 9, 1959, the United Nations Representative on Hungary in a public statement revealed that his patient and quiet efforts to gain admission to Hungary in order to obtain firsthand information concerning the implementation of the Assembly's resolutions had been rebuffed by Soviet and Hungarian authorities. Sir Leslie Munro announced his intention of submitting a full report on his activities to the 14th General Assembly.

In the explanatory memorandum attached to his request for inscription, the United Nations Representative on Hungary has stated that foreign armed forces remain in Hungary and that the framework of repression remains unchanged. In spite of public assurances of the representative of the present Hungarian regime that reprisals against Hungarian patriots who fought in the 1956 uprising have ceased, the explanatory memorandum records the harsh fact that trials and executions of Hungarian freedom fighters have taken place since the last General Assembly. Apparently, the end of the reign of terror is not yet in sight, for there are disturbing rumors that more executions are pending.

The United States supports the initiative of the United Nations Representative on Hungary. We deplore the circumstances that gave rise to the necessity for this important and urgent request. All members should hear what Sir Leslie Munro has to report and consider appropriate further steps to achieve the objectives of the United Nations.

The Late Honorable William Langer

SPEECH
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1960

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, it was with profound sorrow that I learned of the passing of the late senior Senator from North Dakota, the Honorable WILLIAM LANGER. He was my close personal friend for many years. In courageous dedication to what he believed to be right, and in the championing of little people whom to defend was to invite the vengeful wrath of publicized respectability, he was matchless. I hope that the story of his life, with its lessons of devotion to duty regardless of the cost or consequence, and its inspiration to faith and courage in the doing of good deeds, will not be lost to succeeding generations. In the life and career of one of the most colorful statesmen in American history, and one of the giant champions of the oppressed in an era now closing, there is rich material for the biographer.

The Nation and all mankind is the loser with the close of an era when after every election the word came over the wires from North Dakota: "Again the people have rallied behind BILL LANGER and Usher Burdick."

To the family of this noble man and of his fine wife, his inspiration and coworker, and by whose side he now rests in a cemetery in North Dakota, goes my deep sympathy.

Modern Myth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, I continue to find the "Letters to the Editor" columns of our Nation's newpapers a fertile field for thought. In these days when all of us are so concerned about the educational processes of our Nation, it occurred to me that the following letter to the editor of the Wall Street Journal from Marian C. Lane, of Walton, N.Y., as published in the Journal on January 7, 1960, might be of interest to my colleagues. The letter follows:

EDITOR, THE WALL STREET JOURNAL:

I have just finished reading my daughter's seventh grade social studies textbook and could find no mention whatever of your gloomy observations on widespread bureaucracy, confiscatory taxes, abuses in labor unions, and irregularities in welfare, though all of these subjects are covered at great length.

This book informs me that big government is necessary for a highly civilized society such as ours. It says over and over that the Government is taking care of you every minute of every day of every month of every year, awake, asleep, at work, at home, and en route. Your editorials show scant appreciation indeed for all this attention.

Your remarks concerning labor union abuses and racketeers are apparently mistaken, to say the least. The book informs me that labor is the party that has been abused all these years. Employers are ogres against whom employees need all kinds of legislative protection. Fortunately, the Government is making great progress in this connection for which we all should be duly grateful instead of critical.

According to the book, it is no longer considered shameful to accept financial help from the Government as it once was in less enlightened times. Needy people should expect to be taken care of in their homes and not be banished to a cheerless institution. Again the Government, through extensive social legislation, is making it possible for everyone to have freedom from want. Presumably, even cynical editors are included in this magnanimous concept.

Merely a quick perusal of this book will show you how great, wise, and benevolent the Government is. Who but a few old cranks sees anything wrong in this modern fairy tale?

MARIAN C. LANE.

WALTON, N.Y.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

REPRESENTATIVES WITH RESIDENCES IN WASHINGTON

OFFICE ADDRESS: House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

[Streets northwest unless otherwise stated]

Speaker, Sam Rayburn

Abbitt, Watkins M., *Va.*
Abernethy, Thomas G., *Miss.* 6278 29th St.
Adair, E. Ross, *Ind.* 4000 Mass. Ave.
Addonizio, Hugh J., *N. J.*
Albert, Carl, *Okla.* 5115 Allen Terrace
Alexander, Hugh Q., *N. C.*
Alford, Dale, *Ark.*
Alger, Bruce, *Tex.*
Allen, Leo E., *Ill.* University Club
Andersen, H. Carl, *Minn.* 4000 Mass. Ave.
Anderson, LeRoy H., *Mont.* 911 Beverly Dr., Alexandria, Va.
Andrews, George W., *Ala.* 3108 Cathedral Ave.
Anfuso, Victor L., *N. Y.*
Arends, Leslie C., *Ill.* 4815 Dexter St.
Ashley, Thomas L., *Ohio*
Ashmore, Robert T., *S. C.*
Aspinall, Wayne N., *Colo.* Arlington Towers, Arlington, Va.
Auchincloss, James C., *N. J.* 113 S. Lee St., Alexandria, Va.
Avery, William H., *Kans.*
Ayres, William H., *Ohio*
Bailey, Cleveland M., *W. Va.*
Baker, Howard H., *Tenn.*
Baldwin, John F., Jr., *Calif.*
Barden, Graham A., *N. C.* 2601 Woodley Pl.
Baring, Walter S., *Nev.*
Barr, Joseph W., *Ind.* Tulip Lane and Glen Mill Rd., Rockville Md.
Barrett, William A., *Pa.*
Barry, Robert R., *N. Y.* 3019 Normanstone Drive
Bass, Perkins, *N. H.*
Bass, Ross, *Tenn.*
Bates, William H., *Mass.*
Baumhart, A. D., Jr., *Ohio*
Becker, Frank J., *N. Y.*
Beckworth, Lindley, *Tex.*
Belcher, Page, *Okla.*
Bennett, Charles E., *Fla.* 1530 38th St. SE.
Bennett, John B., *Mich.* 3718 Cardiff Rd., Chevy Chase, Md.
Bentley, Alvin M., *Mich.*
Berry, E. Y., *S. Dak.* 118 Schotts Court NE.
Betts, Jackson E., *Ohio*
Blatnik, John A., *Minn.*
Blitch, Iris Faircloth, (Mrs.), *Ga.*
Boggs, Hale, *La.*
Boland, Edward P., *Mass.*
Bolling, Richard, *Mo.* 3409 Lowell St.
Bolton, Frances P. (Mrs.), *Ohio.* 2301 Wyo. Ave.
Bonner, Herbert C., *N. C.* Calvert-Woodley
Bosch, Albert H., *N. Y.*
Bow, Frank T., *Ohio.* 4301 Mass. Ave.
Bowles, Chester, *Conn.*
Boykin, Frank W., *Ala.* The Washington
Brademas, John, *Ind.*
Bray, William G., *Ind.*
Breeding, J. Floyd, *Kans.*
Brewster, Daniel B., *Md.*
Brock, Lawrence, *Nebr.*
Brooks, Jack, *Tex.*
Brooks, Overton, *La.* 4413 46th St.
Broomfield, William S., *Mich.*
Brown, Charles H., *Mo.* 3723 N. Oakland St., Arlington, Va.
Brown, Clarence J., *Ohio.* Alban Towers
Brown, Paul, *Ga.* Boston House
Broyhill, Joel T., *Va.*
Buckley, Charles A., *N. Y.*
Budge, Hamer H., *Idaho*
Burdick, Quentin, *N. Dak.*
Burke, Frank W., *Ky.*
Burke, James A., *Mass.*
Burleson, Omar, *Tex.* 2737 Devonshire Pl.
Byrne, James A., *Pa.*
Byrnes, John W., *Wis.* 1215 25th St. So., Arlington, Va.
Cahill, William T., *N. J.*
Canfield, Gordon, *N. J.*
Cannon, Clarence, *Mo.*
Carnahan, A. S. J., *Mo.*
Casey, Bob, *Tex.*
Cederberg, Elford A., *Mich.*
Celler, Emanuel, *N. Y.* The Mayflower
Chamberlain, Charles E., *Mich.*
Chelf, Frank, *Ky.*
Chenoweth, J. Edgar, *Colo.*
Chiperfield, Robert B., *Ill.* 1713 House Office Building
Church, Marguerite Stitt (Mrs.), *Ill.* 2122 Mass. Ave.
Clark, Frank M., *Pa.* 3735 Gunston Rd., Alexandria, Va.
Coad, Merwin, *Iowa.*
Coffin, Frank M., *Maine*
Cohelan, Jeffery, *Calif.* 5708 Nevada Ave.
Collier, Harold R., *Ill.*
Colmer, William M., *Miss.*
Conte, Silvio O., *Mass.*
Cook, Robert E., *Ohio*
Cooley, Harold D., *N. C.* 2480 16th St.
Corbett, Robert J., *Pa.*
Cramer, William C., *Fla.* 6714 Joallen Dr., Falls Church, Va.
Cunningham, Glenn, *Nebr.* 4920 Yorktown Blvd., Arlington Va.
Curtin, Willard S., *Pa.*
Curtis, Laurence, *Mass.* 3314 O St.
Curtis, Thomas B., *Mo.*
Daddario, Emilio Q., *Conn.*
Dague, Paul B., *Pa.*
Daniels, Dominick V., *N. J.*
Davis, Clifford, *Tenn.* 4611 Butterworth Pl.
Davis, James C., *Ga.*
Dawson, William L., *Ill.*
Delaney, James J., *N. Y.*
Dent, John H., *Pa.*
Denton, Winfield K., *Ind.*
Derounian, Steven B., *N. Y.*
Derwinski, Edward J., *Ill.*
Devine, Samuel L., *Ohio*
Diggs, Charles C., Jr., *Mich.*
Dingell, John D., *Mich.*
Dixon, Henry Aldous, *Utah.* 1817 N. Quinn St., Arlington, Va.
Donohue, Harold D., *Mass.*
Dooley, Edwin B., *N. Y.*
Dorn, Francis E., *N. Y.*
Dorn, W. J. Bryan, *S. C.*
Dowdy, John, *Tex.*
Downing, Thomas N., *Va.*
Doyle, Clyde, *Calif.* 3877 30th St. N., Arlington, Va.
Dulski, Thaddeus J., *N. Y.*
Durham, Carl T., *N. C.* The Lee House
Dwyer, Florence P. (Mrs.), *N. J.*
Edmondson, Ed, *Okla.*
Elliott, Carl, *Ala.*
Everett, Robert A., *Tenn.*
Evins, Joe L., *Tenn.* 5044 Klingle St.
Fallon, George H., *Md.*
Farbstein, Leonard, *N. Y.*
Fascell, Dante B., *Fla.*
Feighan, Michael A., *Ohio*
Fenton, Ivor D., *Pa.* 3725 Macomb St.
Fino, Paul A., *N. Y.*
Fisher, O. C., *Tex.* Calvert-Woodley
Flood, Daniel J., *Pa.* The Congressional
Flynn, Gerald T., *Wis.*
Flynt, John J., Jr., *Ga.*
Fogarty, John E., *R. I.* 1133 House Office Building
Foley, John R., *Md.*
Forand, Aime J., *R. I.* 4108 Dresden St., Kensington, Md.
Ford, Gerald R., Jr., *Mich.* 514 Crown View Dr., Alexandria, Va.
Forrester, E. L., *Ga.*
Fountain, L. H., *N. C.* The Westchester
Frazier, James B., Jr., *Tenn.* Fairfax Hotel
Frelinghuysen, Peter, Jr., *N. J.* 3014 N St.
Friedel, Samuel N., *Md.*
Fulton, James G., *Pa.*
Gallagher, Cornelius E., *N. J.*
Garmatz, Edward A., *Md.*
Gary, J. Vaughan, *Va.*
Gathings, E. C., *Ark.* 6377 31st Pl.
Gavin, Leon H., *Pa.*
George, Newell A., *Kans.*
Giaimo, Robert N., *Conn.*
Glenn, Milton W., *N. J.* Arlington Towers, Arlington, Va.
Goodell, Charles E., *N. Y.*
Granahan, Kathryn E. (Mrs.), *Pa.*
Grant, George M., *Ala.* 4801 Conn. Ave.
Gray, Kenneth J., *Ill.*
Green, Edith (Mrs.), *Oreg.*
Green, William J., Jr., *Pa.*
Griffin, Robert P., *Mich.*
Griffiths, Martha W. (Mrs.), *Mich.*
Gross, H. R., *Iowa.*
Gubser, Charles S., *Calif.*
Hagen, Harlan, *Calif.*
Haley, James A., *Fla.*
Hall, David M., *N. C.*
Halleck, Charles A., *Ind.* 4926 Upton St.
Halpern, Seymour, *N. Y.*
Hardy, Porter, Jr., *Va.*
Hargis, Denver D., *Kans.*
Harmon, Randall S., *Ind.*
Harris, Oren, *Ark.* 1627 Myrtle St.
Harrison, Burr P., *Va.*
Hays, Wayne L., *Ohio.* 1323 Barger Drive, Falls Church, Va.
Healey, James C., *N. Y.*
Hébert, F. Edward, *La.* 26 Cockrell St., Alexandria, Va.
Hechler, Ken, *W. Va.*
Hemphill, Robert W., *S. C.*
Henderson, John E., *Ohio*
Herlong, A. S., Jr., *Fla.*
Hess, William E., *Ohio*
Hiestand, Edgar W., *Calif.*
Hoeven, Charles B., *Iowa.* 100 Maryland Ave. NE.
Hoffman, Clare E., *Mich.* 100 Maryland Ave. NE.
Hoffman, Elmer J., *Ill.*
Hogan, Earl, *Ind.* 5211 Flanders Ave., Garrett Pk., Kensington, Md.
Holifield, Chet, *Calif.*
Holland, Elmer J., *Pa.*
Holt, Joe, *Calif.*
Holtzman, Lester, *N. Y.*
Horan, Walt, *Wash.*
Hosmer, Craig, *Calif.*
Huddleston, George, Jr., *Ala.*
Hull, W. R., Jr., *Mo.*
Ikard, Frank, *Tex.*
Inouye, Daniel K., *Hawaii*
Irwin, Donald J., *Conn.* The Coronet
Jackson, Donald L., *Calif.*
Jarman, John, *Okla.*
Jennings, W. Pat, *Va.*
Jensen, Ben F., *Iowa.* 2120 16th St.
Johansen, August E., *Mich.*
Johnson, Byron L., *Colo.*
Johnson, Harold T., *Calif.*
Johnson, Lester R., *Wis.*
Johnson, Thomas F., *Md.*
Jonas, Charles Raper, *N. C.*
Jones, Paul C., *Mo.* 1111 Army Navy Dr., Arlington, Va.
Jones, Robert E., *Ala.*
Judd, Walter H., *Minn.* 3083 Ordway St.
Karsten, Frank M., *Mo.*
Karth, Joseph E., *Minn.*
Kasem, George A., *Calif.*
Kastenmeier, Robert W., *Wis.*
Kearns, Carroll D., *Pa.*
Kee, Elizabeth (Mrs.), *W. Va.* Albemarle House, 4501 Conn. Ave.
Keith, Hastings, *Mass.*
Kelly, Edna F. (Mrs.), *N. Y.*
Keogh, Eugene J., *N. Y.* The Mayflower
Kilburn, Clarence E., *N. Y.*
Kilday, Paul J., *Tex.* 3507 Albemarle St.
Kilgore, Joe M., *Tex.* 4848 Upton St.
King, Cecil R., *Calif.*
King, David S., *Utah*
Kirwan, Michael J., *Ohio*
Kitchin, A. Paul, *N. C.*
Kluczynski, John C., *Ill.*
Knox, Victor A., *Mich.*
Kowalski, Frank, *Conn.*
Kyl, John, *Iowa.*
Lafore, John A., Jr., *Pa.*
Laird, Melvin R., *Wis.*
Landrum, Phil M., *Ga.*

Appendix

Remarks by Commandant of the Marine Corps to Staff

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RICHARD E. LANKFORD

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. LANKFORD. Mr. Speaker, for some years now the Commandant of the Marine Corps at the beginning of each new year has addressed his staff on the goals and problems which face the corps in the year to come.

On January 4, in keeping with this tradition, Gen. David M. Shoup, the newly appointed 22d Commandant of this old and distinguished fighting corps, spoke to his assembled staff for the first time as commandant.

His remarks deal in part with matters principally of interest to marines. Other portions of his talk contain advice and instructions which could well be followed to the country's great advantage by all our services.

All of his address, however, constitutes a precept for forthright adherence to the stern dictates of duty performed with honor. It is a statement which all Americans can read with pride and satisfaction. It leaves no doubt that the Marine Corps is in the hands of a leader who is determined that his corps will stick to the fundamentals of its missions, devote its every energy to that effort and nothing more.

General Shoup's message is a call for rededication to the principles of constant readiness, selfless service, and combat effectiveness which have marked the Marine Corps throughout its history. Forthright, hard hitting, perceptive, and fair it deserves the attention of every Member. Under unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, I include General Shoup's remarks to his staff in the Appendix of the RECORD.

His remarks follow:

REMARKS BY COMMANDANT OF THE MARINE CORPS TO STAFF, JANUARY 4, 1960

INTRODUCTION

To all marines, naval personnel, and civilians who comprise our operating organization: Good morning. Although I speak only to this small representative group personally, provision has been made whereby these remarks will be either read or heard by the majority of marines of all ranks at all posts and stations.

A few days ago, by taking the oath of office, I accepted the challenge inherent in the title of "22d Commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps." I personally assume every responsibility connected therewith. I am mindful of this great burden and I know that I cannot properly discharge these responsibilities alone. I am indeed grateful for the highly professional character of our Marine Corps. It is upon this staff and my field commanders that I shall lean most heavily in the future to insure that the policies of my administration are intelligently implemented, effectively executed, and consistently maintained in force.

It is fitting, then, that I personally acquaint you with my views, designs, and policies.

I shall not adopt the massive new broomation policy. I hope that divine guidance and your help will provide me the wisdom to perceive the things that should not be changed and the courage to change those that should be.

Every individual leaves his own distinctive fingerprints. Thus each person makes a different impression on everything that he handles. So it is with this job that I am undertaking—my way of doing things is bound to be different, and the officer who succeeds me will have his own particular way. But while the impressions which we make are peculiar to each individual, we all have one thing in common: to insure that our corps is always ready, willing, and able to carry out efficiently any mission that we may be assigned, and by so doing to continue to merit the trust and confidence of our people.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

1. Since my return from Okinawa and my arrival in Washington one of the most heartening things I have learned is that all services intend to maintain some forces ready to fight now. This is good for the United States. Let's encourage it. There will never be enough ready forces to deal with all the little brushfires and maintain the degree of readiness necessary to meet the big conflagration which we hope will never happen.

2. It has seemed to me that the Marine Corps has within recent years operated too much within the philosophy of a minority group. The corps came of age many years ago. Let us unshackle our minds from the stifling psychology inherent in the slogan "They're sniping at us." This has hampered and hamstrung our thinking too long.

3. Let us not be reluctant, as members of joint boards and staffs, to express our views on the overall problems of our Nation and its Armed Forces. Let us not limit our thoughts and our utterances to those in defense against emasculatory remarks about our corps made by irresponsible persons.

4. Through an even greater understanding and perfection of our relationships and training requirements with the Navy and a deeper appreciation of our position among the Armed Forces of the United States, let us rid ourselves of any fear of occupying any inferior status in the National Defense Establishment.

5. Let us make it impossible for anyone to doubt our complete readiness. Let us sell our own product, but without belittling or degrading the other services by thought or speech or deed. Let us have an explicit faith that those responsible for selecting the combat forces to do each particular job will call upon those most likely to succeed. Thus, I am sure that in the years ahead the American public will continue to extol our corps.

6. I will make a continuous and determined effort to insure that we have but one Marine Corps and that we all serve in that one with equal opportunity in all matters. In furtherance of this policy the last vestige of our 1916 special staff should bow out. Marine Corps supply functions and financial management extend beyond the scope of duties of the officers who are designated for supply duty only. Responsibility for such functions is not limited to these officers but extends to unrestricted and limited duty officers. It follows that there is no justification for the continuation of some 357 officers in this category, and that their designations should be revoked so they will be subject to the laws applicable to unrestricted officers. Legislation will be requested to accomplish this.

7. We shall have a closer integration of staff functions within this headquarters. We have made great progress in this area over the past years. For example, during my first tour here we had seven distinct personnel departments and a few fuzzy ones. Today I conclude we have somewhere between 1½ to 2½. Soon I expect to have but one. Other areas of possible closer integration including that of ground and air staffs, are being studied. The exact course of action has not been determined. But under no circumstances shall such action in any way reduce the careful coordination required between Marine Corps Aviation and the Bureau of Naval Weapons and other Navy agencies.

8. Over the years there seems to have been a remodeling of our yardstick for the measurement of satisfaction in doing duty as an officer. There has also been, I think, some change in the sense of values of many of our marines. Before World War II we meant it when we said the corps came first. Today I fear some are just paying lipservice to that expression. Let us return to the old philosophy of selfless service among all ranks.

9. Marines are expeditionary creatures by their very nature. We are expected to be able to pack and move out on a few hours' notice. Exuding unhappiness in the absence of 4 to 6 months advance notice of change of station is unhealthy. Even with this much warning commanders and individuals have been known to use this advance slate only as a basis for negotiation for changes. Let us help the director of personnel, not hinder him.

10. I am greatly disturbed by negotiations of another nature. Of late, there has been flagrant and self-seeking disregard of a time-honored regulation. I refer, of course, to article 1258 of Navy Regulations which expressly prohibits soliciting for gifts for superiors or members of their families. The regulation is equally clear in prohibiting seniors from accepting gifts. There is no objection, however, to giving or accepting a memento of little intrinsic value. In my view, anyone who solicits money for a gift is merely apple polishing to gain points for himself. A commander who accepts a gift impeaches his own honor. Both violate regulations. This practice must cease.

11. While I am on the subject of personal honor and judgment, I want to emphasize the danger inherent in acceptance of social invitations extended by defense contractors, and other businessmen. With the best of motives, officers can unwittingly place themselves in a position where their conduct in such matters is open to serious misinterpretation. You must exercise the best of good judgment in your relationships with people doing business with the Government.

12. Many bureaus and offices in the Navy Department, and other services habitually

communicate with this headquarters or directly with field commands to advise that they plan to detail a certain officer to fill a certain billet and that they hope such assignment is acceptable. Of course such a communication requires a reply. I hope to save many exchanges of messages and correspondence by requesting that they desist from this practice. I have, and I expect you to have the necessary faith and confidence in those responsible for the selection of officers for assignment to the Marine Corps that they will select the ones best fitted to fill the billets. We can always let it be known if the one who arrives can't "cut the mustard." This will be most unusual, I'm sure. Further, I don't plan to send communications over the world asking various commanders whether or not a certain marine officer is acceptable for assignment to their staffs. I hope these commanders will show toward me the same trust and confidence in my detailing of an officer qualified to do the job. I want them to let me know when any marine officer doesn't meet the standards.

13. After 15 months with the Fleet Marine Force, 7th Fleet, I continue to be firmly convinced that our Fleet Marine Force units in the Western Pacific are properly there, and properly without dependents. I am even more firmly convinced that a tour of 15 months is too long. I am going to take every action open to me to reduce the length of this tour and still maintain our posture of determined readiness.

14. The mission of the Marine Corps and our position within the Department of the Navy is so well defined by law and order as to need no embellishment by me.

Nevertheless, I feel that increased emphasis must be placed on discharging the responsibilities with which we have been entrusted in the field of doctrine and development related to landing force operations. We must be aggressive, visionary, persistent, and timely.

15. The Marine Corps has consistently supported any proposed changes in defense organization which we believe would, in fact, promote the efficiency of operations and administration and at the same time enhance the combat readiness and effectiveness of the services. This we shall continue to do. With this in mind, I plan no change in the Marine Corps position on the questions of merger, one service, a single chief of staff, or a national general staff.

PERSONNEL AND MANPOWER MATTERS

My immediate predecessor stood here 4 years ago aware of the important missions and responsibilities of the Marine Corps. They haven't changed materially.

The military-civilian team of the Marine Corps today however, has some 28,500 less personnel with which to fulfill its responsibilities.

Our budget estimate for 1961 is for funds to support a 175,000-man Marine Corps. The percentage of our three division-wing teams that may simultaneously be committed to combat and the location, intensity, and duration of the conflict could be such as to properly require a ready Marine Corps of 200,000, 215,000, 235,000, or even more.

Nevertheless our most important job is always to think and work hard to get as much fight from our plight as we possibly can.

We will make every effort to relate promotions at all levels to the Marine Corps requirement in the various skills and specialties. We must be more concerned with evaluating a man's potential for promotion by how he actually performs. Written tests are valuable but not to the exclusion of performance on the job.

There are, what has appeared to me to be, inconsistencies in this so-called field of personnel management. For example, an officer must take a physical examination every year. But the backbone of our corps, the noncommissioned officer, need take only one physical during his entire enlistment, which often in the more senior ranks is only once in every 6 years. Again, an officer can be promoted from second lieutenant to general without encountering an examination related to his professional qualifications for promotion. Yet we seem to be forever examining noncommissioned officers professionally for promotion. In fact noncommissioned officers are required to take both general qualification tests and technical tests for promotion to every grade from E–3 to E–7, inclusive.

Another worm which I think has gotten into our apple is the approach some have taken in this business of career management. I first became aware of this when in command of the basic school in 1951. Some of the young lieutenants spent endless hours scheming and planning their future promotion progress. It was always based on the absolute necessity of getting a succession of certain jobs under the command of certain officers, and of getting assignments where the chances of career-killing mistakes are few. I still believe the best career management pattern for all ranks to follow, both officer and enlisted, is to carry out your boss's orders just as fast as you can and as well as you can, and make an extended effort to do the job assigned better than the man who assigned it to you thought it could be done. If you're scheming right now how to get to Paris for your next tour, it's time to retire.

Aided by your requests for assignments on your fitness reports and the recommendations of your commanders, we will, at this headquarters, make every conscientious effort to assign you to jobs commensurate with your demonstrated potential for future assumption of greater responsibilities.

Personnel departments coping with the problems of duty assignments are always overtaxed. Ours is no exception. I propose to help them in the area of assignments to field commands. Insofar as possible we will assign the ranks and skills to every command in numbers and qualifications in accordance with the approved billets. The commander will take the personnel assigned and run his command. If he can't do it, then one of two things is certain. The personnel he received should not continue to hold their rank and get superb fitness reports, or we need a new commander. The field commander can take care of the former.

Further help to the Personnel Department is envisaged by the abolishing of the personal letter approach by field commanders regarding personnel assignments by name. It is hereby abolished. Last week, I saw more than 15 personal letters from field commanders to the director of personnel beseeching and competing for the assignment of specific individuals to their commands. If there is a situation which warrants action by this headquarters, I shall expect you to use official channels. However, I will not object to a personal letter to me where in an exceptional case a commander believes this to be the best way to handle a peculiar or extraordinary personnel problem.

During my administration I do not expect to see the situation exist where a considerable number of personnel on the official and personal staffs of general officers go with them from post to post and endure the same duty assignments year after year without regard to what may be best for the Corps or the individual.

To me the term "general officer" denotes a certain definite thing. That is, that such an officer should be of such a degree of capacity, ability, and personal character that he need not be restricted to one class or field of duty assignment. Naval aviation and supply general officers are surely qualified to command a wider variety of our posts, depots, and stations and to hold a wider variety of staff jobs. It shall come to pass. Further I don't expect officers in the rank of lieutenant general to make a career in this rank. When the time comes to assign them to new jobs in a lower rank it will be done with the best interests of the Corps in mind.

Also I believe the grade distribution within our present general officer rank will be sufficiently responsive to our needs. However, I think some up and some down grading of certain billets is in order. As an example, in due course I propose to make the top billets at Barstow and Albany major generals' billets.

The stringent economies of manpower and resources require that every individual be assigned to an appropriate duty and required to produce commensurate with his potential and capabilities. We can afford no loss of productivity through willful misassignment, improper evaluation of capabilities, or selfish concealment of potential.

It appears to me that through our strict application of criteria for assignment of personnel to certain billets we have created a condition where some types of organizations are almost completely purged of personnel with the intelligence and capabilities peculiar to the upper 25 percent or so of our overall manpower. I intend to mix them up a bit—to have all types of units, where at all possible, operate with the "average Marine."

Our Fleet Marine Force is our main reason for existence. An outfit is only as good as the men in it. Therefore, we must insure the ability of the Fleet Marine Force to skillfully and professionally meet its requirements by sending a proper cross section of Marines to it.

Reports to me indicate that, during the past year, commanders are drifting away from one of the basic concepts of command—training within the command. There have been too many requisitions and requests for already trained personnel by commands whose primary peacetime tasks included development of the selfsame skills. These requests have been made in the face of certain knowledge that such personnel could come only from another identical command, or from commands whose training capabilities in the areas of specialization desired were patently less than the requesting command.

Every commander, at whatever level of command, must understand that training of personnel assigned to his command is a basic part of his mission, that other commands have similar problems and cannot also solve his problems. Matters of effectiveness of training and economy of manpower and money require that each commander exert every effort to fulfill his own training requirements for individuals. Presently, appropriate staff sections are preparing plans to encourage and assist in this program.

I intend to pursue a policy of raising individual performance standards and improving stability in our units and individual billets. However, with the small corps that we have I am firmly convinced that we must keep only the worthwhile individuals. Let us all help to insure this.

For the purpose of advancing the missions assigned the Marine Corps by higher authority and by law, the Marine Corps intends to provide and maintain, or to participate in the provision and maintenance of adequate, safe, and suitable housing for Marine Corps personnel, on or near our installations. Such housing provisions shall include those civilian employees whose duties require their presence on the base or station.

By skillful planning and handling of our personnel resources I am certain that considerable additional stability of organizations of all types can be gained by meaningful action of field commanders. Don't wait for a handyman's book of do-it-yourself programs to be presented to you.

The continued inflation of fitness report markings is a serious matter. So serious is it, that by the increasing lack of differences

we have no accurate comparative measure of individual capacity or capability. Effective use of existing instructions and positive action by reviewing authorities will help.

We must continue to increase the efficiency of our Women Marines. This will provide us with the important mobilization-base requirement.

TRAINING

When I consider that in the Marine Corps today we probably have the greatest concentration of combatwise talent in history, there should be little I need to say on the subject of training. There are, though, a few of my views I wish to make known.

The end purpose of all our training is to place a combat-ready Marine on the battlefield imbued with the will to fight. As a means to this end there exists the continuing requirement to perfect our doctrine of vertical assault. In doing this we must remember to fit our helicopter techniques into those of the still necessary and complementing surface assault forces.

I am convinced that the training of the individual grows increasingly more important as we advance into the modern atomic age. The abilities of our units to mount out or load into any type of transportation quickly and properly must not be slighted. Nevertheless, I would like to be certain that in alloting time and effort to training in these matters, you don't overlook the fact that no battle was ever won by Marines in a boat, amphibian tractor, helicopter, ship or transport aircraft. Battles are won by Marines with their feet on the ground.

Next to the individual, the action of the small unit of which he is a part is the vital factor on the battlefield. We must emphasize our small unit training. Today, more than ever, we must have hard-hitting teams superbly led and efficiently supported.

In future warfare we will need to use, more and more, the best camouflage to be had. It is provided every 24 hours by nature. Emphasize night training.

Field training and exercises of all magnitudes are extremely costly. It is mandatory they be planned and executed with a view to accomplishing definite training missions.

Too much emphasis cannot be placed upon the fact that our units, whose function it is to destroy the enemy, we fail miserably if emphasis in training is neglected in other areas, particularly communications, intelligence, and supply. If you are going to command, you must control. This is done by communications. To lack intelligence is to be in the ring blindfolded. And the right items of supply for the combat man must be in the right place at the right time and in the proper amount. All these, or we lose.

Our school's courses must be kept constantly under review. Are they too long? Are they responsive to the times ahead? Sometimes I fear that perhaps certain of our military schools are more responsive or sensitive to the schedules of dependents' schools than to the requirements of Marines and the Marine Corps. We need to take a good look here.

FISCAL MATTERS

If we are to keep our proper perspective during the budget process, and receive from our field commanders necessary and timely information, they must be kept informed. This we will do.

The general staff status of our comptrollers must continue to be emphasized.

There will never be enough dollars to pay for all things we could use, and do, to insure 100 percent readiness to execute our mission. Financial planning is a direct challenge to all of us.

In our selection of the areas which must go short of the funding we would like, let us ever be mindful that the Marine Corps is doing business for the people of the United States. They are all stockholders. They deserve a high return on their investment. This high return is generated by wise and careful use of the funds which they have invested in their Marine Corps.

The present trend is for less appropriateed dollars for maintenance. The replacement value of Marine Corps property, classes I and II is estimated to be in excess of $900 million. Surely it is mandatory that we get a full dollar's worth of upkeep out of every maintenance dollar. This huge public investment must be protected from avoidable deterioration. It is our responsibility.

ORGANIZATION

The proper composition, equipping, and organization of our training base, security, and Fleet Marine forces is something which cannot be permanently determined at a certain point in time. To become static in this important matter is to wake up, but too late to find that we are not responsive to the demands of the years ahead.

We are in a world of changes. Let us try, at least, to keep up with them in the matters of proper organization and equipment related to intelligent readiness to execute our missions of today and the future. I have directed priority action toward this end.

Recommendations from field commanders are solicited on a continuing basis. In the formulation of your recommendations, I encourage you to listen to the young, both officer and enlisted. Their minds are not likely to be fixed by the 1930's, 1940's, and 1950's; but instead be fired by the technology of the 1960's, 1970's, and 1980's.

With the ever decreasing amount of maintenance and operation funds available, you must be constantly vigilant to recommend the elimination of unnecessary functions at our posts and stations. Be alert to recognize organizations which can be eliminated or in which we can reduce the dollar costs by reducing unnecessary operations and training requirements.

UNIFORMS AND EQUIPMENT

Noncombat type uniform changes now being processed will be the last such changes considered for some time unless directed by higher authority. Anything relating to the uniform of the marine which better meets his needs in combat will be given high priority action.

In general I feel that a clean, neat, well fitted uniform with the Marine Corps emblem is tops. There is no need for gimmicks and gadgets.

With respect to equipment we should emphasize simplicity, ruggedness, and ease of maintenance. And in design and gadgetry the characteristics we demand should be a pattern of the necessary rather than the ideal. We shall continue to strive to obtain in a timely manner the best possible combat equipment.

There is one item of equipment about which I have a definite opinion. It is the swagger stick. It shall remain an optional item of interference. If you feel the need of it, carry it.

INSPECTION

Any military organization is only as good as its inspection system. Be sure you have a good one at all levels of command and within staffs.

I am certain we can devise a better way to have an index of the readiness of our Fleet Marine Force units. Commanders must spend more time more often on inspections of the present "inspector general type." The inspector general will devote less time to these matters and more on ascertaining whether individuals and units are ready to play their roles in combat.

Station and detachment commanders will be assisted by information on the important areas for inspections, and the important discrepancies that all must seek out and correct.

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

The magnitude and importance of the development programs required to effect the doctrine of vertical envelopment and the requirement for dispersion dwarf all past developmental efforts of the Marine Corps in the fields of equipment, organization, tactics, and techniques. It is of paramount importance that we have the proper organization, procedures, goals, plans and programs to pursue this task effectively.

INFORMATIONAL SERVICES

Next to perfection in combat readiness I believe mutual good will among the Marine Corps, other armed services and the public to be our most important objective.

I want to make known to you my position with respect to our external and internal informational services programs.

I wish to keep the public fully informed of our plans, policies, programs, and developments, insofar as security measures permit.

In addition, I desire that our internal informational services program insure that all marines are kept fully informed of our activities, consistent with proper security, and particularly in those matters which directly affect the morale of the individual marine.

I believe General Lejeune, our 13th commandant, once said in substance, that if, in all matters in battle and out, you made certain all privates knew what it was you were trying to accomplish, success was assured. General Lejeune was a man of wisdom.

Finally, although public relations as such is a command responsibility, it is not enough that the commander alone, assisted by his informational services officer, work at it. It is an "all hands" job. Every commander, every officer, every marine has a stake in good public and community relations for the corps, and a responsibility to do his share in maintaining such relations.

SPECIAL SERVICES

I believe that we now have the best special services program in the history of the Marine Corps. It is a most economical one. Only by exercising command responsibility and alertness can our success continue.

Still there seems to be an inconsistency here also. It has been difficult for me to reconcile the fact that we may at some posts and stations spend several thousand dollars on a few men for a big time athletic team, with questionable spectator interest, and at the same station there are few places where a man can write a letter or read without leaving his home barracks or squadroom. He should not have to sit on the edge of his bunk with improper lighting. Let's all take a resounding whack at improving this inadequacy.

MARINE CORPS RESERVE

The readiness of the Marine Corps Reserve is at an all time high. Never before has our dependence upon the Reserve been so great and never before has our Reserve been more worthy of that dependence. The facilities available to us in which to train our Reserve units are more adequate than ever before and improvement continues.

Practically all members of the Reserve have served on active duty or have performed at least 6 months of active duty training. Attendance at drills and annual field training has never been higher.

We must in the years ahead nurture and maintain these valuable assets to the strength and security of our Nation.

STAFF, HEADQUARTERS, U.S. MARINE CORPS

Our staff manual is a good guide for your functions and duties. If there is question or doubt on your part, make an early appointment with me.

Let there be no mistake; this is my staff. I shall lean heavily on my Assistant Com-

mandant, and my Chief of Staff for whom you will directly perform your labors in order that the necessary staff coordination may be effected.

I shall always strive to have a staff that I believe in and strive to let them work without the constant interference which is so distracting to the best of staffs. Either I believe or I relieve. I have no reliefs in mind.

As it must be with a staff, I expect you to be honor-bound to set forth your views boldly and without reservation until a decision is made. Thereafter your task is to support that decision with all-out energy and make it work.

I believe it most important in your staff actions that everyone having a legitimate interest in a problem under consideration should be given an opportunity to have his say.

Keep me informed. Don't try to keep bad news away from me.

I don't want staff visits by persons from this headquarters to be a burden on our field commanders. I expect all field travel by headquarters staff officers to be so coordinated as to prevent a continuing avalanche of visitors at our posts and stations and Fleet Marine Force units. Further keep routine staff trips to a bare minimum and let one officer take care of many things. He'll be busier and look better at the place he visits. If a field commander receives instructions prepared here and which, after an exchange of letters, he sincerely believes is not practicable because of lack of understanding on the part of my staff, he can request a staff officer visit his command.

I want to make sure that there is well defined staff cognizance over all functions. Decentralize operations to our field commanders, and as much as possible leave them alone to do their jobs. I want to retain policy making here supported by properly administered and effective controls.

I want this headquarters to operate in a happy, relaxed, busy, efficient atmosphere. I will try to keep you informed and oriented on a timely basis. I want you at all times to know my desires and my viewpoints in problem areas in which you must work.

I plan to be aboard most of the time, and I will not be too busy to see you.

ENDING

It is good to feel the grips of the plow in my hands. I have every confidence that with both the regular establishment and the Reserve forces in direct support, the furrow will be straight and true and the years ahead for the Marine Corps will be ones of progress and accomplishment.

Hon. Richard M. Simpson

SPEECH

OF

HON. ALEXANDER PIRNIE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. PIRNIE. Mr. Speaker, the passing of RICHARD M. SIMPSON is a great loss to the Congress and the country.

As a public servant he will long be remembered for his strength of character and unassailable integrity. His sound judgment and keen intellect prompted his elevation to many positions of high responsibility in the House and within his party. These duties he discharged with such quiet efficiency that more and more demands were made upon his time and energy. Until his death he was fulfilling major assignments in a way which commanded the respect and confidence of all with whom he was associated.

He will be remembered for his sympathetic and wise counsel which he generously shared. In all respects he was faithful to his trust.

RICHARD SIMPSON was truly an American patriot, whose services are gratefully recalled and whose spirited devotion to his firm convictions will remain an inspiration.

To Mrs. Simpson and the family, I extend the sincere sympathy of the 34th New York District, trusting that they will be comforted by the enduring blessing of his life so nobly lived.

Awards for Merit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include an editorial appearing in the New York Times of October 10, 1959, entitled "Awards for Merit." The two special awards were presented to Senator LISTER HILL, of Alabama, and Representative JOHN E. FOGARTY, of Rhode Island, for "extraordinary public service" at the annual Albert Lasker Awards luncheon of the American Public Health Association held the early part of October 1959.

As the editorial well said:

The Lasker Awards are rarely given to nonprofessional persons.

In referring to the outstanding work done by Senator HILL and Congressman FOGARTY in the field of Federal health legislation, the editorial well says:

Senator HILL and Representative FOGARTY can hardly be called nonprofessional workers for education, science, medicine, and public health. Both have played a key role in all of our Federal health legislation in recent years.

Both these distinguished gentlemen and Members of Congress have been leaders throughout the years, in proper action on the part of the Federal Government in connection with medical research, and to the activities of a health nature, as a result of which marked contributions have been made to the welfare of all Americans. Too much credit cannot be given to these distinguished legislators in the outstanding work they have rendered for not only the people of the United States, but mankind in general.

The editorial follows:

AWARDS FOR MERIT

At the annual Albert Lasker Awards luncheon of the American Public Health Association this week two special awards were announced. They were presented to Senator LISTER HILL, of Alabama, and Representative JOHN E. FOGARTY, of Rhode Island, for extraordinary public service.

The Lasker Awards are rarely given to nonprofessional persons. But Senator HILL and Representative FOGARTY, can hardly be called nonprofessional workers for education, science, medicine, and public health. Both have played a key role in all of our Federal health legislation in recent years. That role has been a personal, dedicated, persistent, and effective role based on the belief that Federal investments in medical research and services pay off in both lives and dollars.

Senator HILL and Representative FOGARTY well merit the honors bestowed upon them. An even more important tribute to their effectiveness is that their colleagues in the Congress and the American people now share with them their belief in the importance of Federal activities in health as a vital part of our national life.

Both Major Political Parties Should Be Kept Apprised of Negotiations and Deliberations Now Being Carried on by the President and the Secretary of State

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I take this time to give notice of a recent recommendation that I have made to the President.

The year of 1960 will be a presidential year and it is entirely possible that 1961 will see a Democratic administration, including a Democratic President and a Democratic Secretary of State.

Unfortunately, however, the international problems of the United States are not bounded by the calendar or by the limitations of our political party organizations and these problems will be just as complicated and difficult of solution in 1961 as they have been in the past. In fact, in delicacy and complexity in many ways they will exceed those of the past.

For this reason, it is more important than ever that both major political parties be kept apprised in detail of the negotiations and deliberations which are presently being carried on by the President and the Secretary of State. If there should be a shift of administration in 1961, the times are too fraught with peril to permit a period of inaction while a new administration is learning the details of the negotiations which are now being carried on. And, the inability to make a prompt, well-informed decision at this time might well have disastrous results for the United States.

The President is now involved in negotiations on a summit meeting and discussions relating to future talks with Premier Khrushchev in Russia. The effects of these talks will last far beyond the end of this year, and I have stated to President Eisenhower my opinion that the welfare of the country would be served by the Presidential appointment of a member of the Democratic Party as a participant in these discussions. By such an appointment, the Democratic Party could be kept informed of the details of negotiations and would be much better able to act in the event that Demo-

cratic candidates are successful at the polls in November.

I realize that Senator DODD recently made a somewhat similar suggestion when he recommended that President Eisenhower take a prominent Democrat on his recent trip to Europe and Asia. In that connection, however, I could also see certain practical objections to the proposal. In this instance, however, there would be no possible partisan objection and only benefit could result.

As James Reston so well indicated in the New York Times of January 3, 1960, the President has already on other occasions taken Democrats into his confidence in various foreign policy matters and in this way has set a precedent.

I would make no particular recommendation as to a person who might be appointed but I will content myself with saying that the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee or the chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee would be the type of key person who might well be considered in this connection. There are, of course, numerous other prominent Democrats who have had widespread experience in international affairs who could serve with distinction.

This suggestion is not made with the intent to embarrass, nor is it submitted with the idea of gaining political advantage. It is a proposal for a practical solution to a substantial problem which is inevitably presented by the periodic termination of the term of our national administrations.

I sincerely hope that the President will give every possible consideration to this proposal because I believe that he will be acting in the best interests of the country if he takes such a step.

Representative Alvin R. Bush

SPEECH
OF
HON. GEORGE MEADER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1960

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Speaker, unfortunately, it is a human tendency to go along from day to day performing our routine tasks and experiencing intervals of pleasant enjoyment until abruptly we are confronted with the realities of life and death. Such was the shock I experienced upon the sad news of the passing of my good friend, my colleague and office neighbor, AL BUSH.

AL BUSH was a good citizen. In this body of 437 men and women, which we like to think of as the outstanding institution for self-government by the people of all time, AL BUSH, in his quiet way made a most significant contribution. He was not the flashily articulate exponent of popular causes nor one to engage in the repartee and clash of congressional debate. But, with his friendly smile and a devotion to his country and the principles which he deeply believed would further her best interests, he diligently ministered to the needs of his constituency. Both in his participation in the work of his committees, and in the deliberations of the House itself he cast his votes and made his decisions for the benefit of all Americans.

It would be impossible to dislike AL BUSH. He genuinely liked others, and all of his colleagues, whatever their political views or their personal natures, could not help but return the genuine friendliness of this man.

Mr. Speaker, this House needs orators, it needs pioneers, it needs strategists, but it also needs friendly, right-thinking men and women. That is why we all will miss AL BUSH.

The Reds Are After Our Panama Canal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following speech by Evangelist Billy James Hargis, president, and Julian E. Williams, research director, of the Christian Crusade:

THE REDS ARE AFTER OUR PANAMA CANAL

(By Evangelist Billy James Hargis, president, and Julian E. Williams, research director, of the Christian Crusade)

During recent months there have been increasing rumblings of serious trouble for the American people in the strategic Panama Canal Zone. There have been demonstrations by highly organized student groups, and increasing demands by the Panama Government which is under strong pressure from the agitating forces. The Panama Government has demanded one-half of the revenue from the canal, and has declared an extension of Panama's territorial waters from the internationally recognized 3-mile limit to a 12-mile limit.

Let us remember that the Panama Canal belongs to the United States. Our Nation dug it, paid for it, and by terms of a treaty with the Government of Panama in 1903 has all rights in the area. Article 24 of the Panama Canal Convention of 1903 states "no change either in the Government or in the laws and treaties of the Republic of Panama shall, without the consent of the United States affect any right of the United States under the present convention, or under any treaty, stipulation between the two countries that now exists or may hereafter exist touching the subject matter of this convention." Our Government pays the Government of Panama an annual rental of $1,930,000 for the Canal Zone. The original rent established in the 1903 treaty was $250,000 but it has been raised twice since that time by new treaties.

The Panama Canal has been of great assistance to the Republic of Panama. The Encyclopedia Britannica describes it as "the greatest single economic asset of Panama." The Panama Canal brings to Panama the largest tonnage of shipping of any country in Latin America, and its ports rival the great ports of the world. In other words, the Panama Canal has practically made this little country what it is today.

Our Government recognized the importance of building the Panama Canal, and the Soviet leaders of international communism recognize the importance of it now. They are determined to get it, and some years ago their man, Alger Hiss, was operating toward that end in the U.S. State Department.

While he was Director of the State Department's Office of Special Political Affairs he got hold of the annual report of the Governor of the Panama Canal Zone, and decided that it should be turned over to the United Nations. He argued that the United States was required to turn this Canal Zone report over to the U.N., and cited article 73(e) of the United Nations Charter as his authority. Article 73(e) provides that member nations having responsibilities for the administration of territories that have not attained a full measure of self-government shall transmit to the U.N., "statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social, and educational conditions in the territories." Through this move, Hiss implied that the Canal Zone was a territory of the United States and that the people of the zone were on their way to self-government. If accepted by the Governments of the United States and Panama this would place us in a perilous spot as far as the canal is concerned.

Actually, the Panama Canal Zone is not a territory in the traditional sense of the word and the people of the zone are not supposed to have self-government according to the terms of the treaty. The only persons who may live in the Canal Zone are officials, employees, military personnel on duty and their families. No one can live in the zone unless they are occupied in work relating directly to the Canal.

At this time Spruille Braden was Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American affairs. Two of his assistants learned about the Hiss plan. They complained. Mr. Braden complained to Under Secretary of State Dean Acheson, but Acheson did not even give him a chance to state his case, according to Braden. During the controversy, Spruille Braden checked with the Pentagon to find out just how important our military bases in Panama really were. He was told that the bases were vitally necessary for the security of the Panama Canal—therefore, of the United States. Regardless of this, Alger Hiss won out just as he always did with Dean Acheson and the report was submitted to the U.N. Braden later found out that Hiss identified the Canal Zone as an occupied territory.

As long as he was Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Spruille Braden managed for America to keep the vitally important military bases in Panama. However, in the fall of 1947 he read that our Nation had to give up those important bases—134 of them. Alger Hill marched on. No less important than the surrender of our military bases was the dangerous diplomatic precedent which Acheson and Hiss had established. The submission of the Canal Zone's report, and classification of the zone as a territory opened the doors to some dangerous future meddling by the United Nations.

Moscow has had its evil eye upon the Panama Canal should be internationalized. ties of Alger Hiss showed, but during the Suez crisis in 1956 the Kremlin conspirators came out in the open and suggested that the Panama Canal should be internationalized. Top Polish Communist leaders were told by the Soviet commander of the Polish armed forces, "Although the Panama Canal route is longer by some 1,000 miles than the southern sea route through Suez, it has considerable advantages for the Soviet Union—which have been studied in detail by numerous Soviet vessels. Moreover, the Panama Canal has an

outstanding position in communications with South American states and is one of the hubs of the imperialistic policy of the United States in the Pacific and the Far East." The Soviet speaker was Marshal Rokossovsky.

That energetic little product of the Pendergast political machine, Harry Truman, was not going to let the Kremlin get ahead of him. After the Soviets announced their plot to internationalize the Panama Canal, Mr. Truman grabbed the nearest newspaperman and informed him that this was not a Soviet idea at all because he (Truman) had proposed it at the Potsdam Conference in 1945. That is one of the many astonishing examples of America's current political climate in which it is not smart to consider the interests of the American people. This foolish internationalist outlook has been predominant in America's leadership for years. Meanwhile, the American people are kept in a deep sleep by welfare state handouts, and the promise of the beautiful welfare state utopia which is impossible. The welfare state can lead only to the enslavement of the American people.

During a spy trial in Paris in March of 1935, a young American couple from East Orange, N.J., testified. The man, Robert G. Switz, remarked to the court that his missions for the Communist conspiracy network included work in the Panama Canal Zone. Edward Hunter covered this trial for International News Service. Paris had informed the U.S. Embassy, and so Hunter went to the Embassy to find out what was being done about the matter. They informed him that the tip had been cabled to Washington. But Hunter said in National Review magazine of March 14, 1959, that he never found out what interest our Government had shown in the tip. He said that another astonishing thing was the way this important news was slurred over in the American press. Time magazine gave it a couple of paragraphs and made it sound like a joke.

This is a typical example of how vitally important matters have been handled and are being handled by supposedly reputable Government officials, newspapers, and magazines. Important facts—facts which are vital to America's defense—are slurred over, ignored, or ridiculed, but never answered straightforward, and seldom is effective action taken. How grossly misinformed our people are. Good has been made to look evil and evil to look good in the eyes and minds of millions of deceived American citizens.

Back in 1948, the Communist People's Party had a candidate in Panama's presidential race. Panama has had its share of the usual student revolts which break out when Communist agents do their jobs behind the scenes. In 1947, the U.S. Ambassador and a Panama Foreign Minister signed an agreement to renew the World War II agreement by which the United States operated 13 airbases outside the Canal Zone. The next day a student riot erupted in the streets, and there were more than 30 casualties. There were cries of "Down with Yankee imperialism." As a result not one deputy in the Panama Parliament dared to vote for the agreement. This weakened U.S. military strength in Central America and deprived Panama of badly needed employment and money that U.S. expenditures on the airbases would have provided.

Panama student groups have demonstrated for a 50–50 split on the Panama Canal tolls, ignoring U.S. expenditures in operating the canal and building it originally. They have agitated for a monopoly of canal jobs by Spanish-speaking peoples, and for the return of the canal through nationalization. Last May the streets of the Panamanian capital bristled with troops as rebellious students and the Government remained deadlocked for days. Panama was under a state of siege and appeared to be on a war footing, according to news accounts of the struggle. A Government spokesman charged that Communists were involved in the rioting that took 11 lives, and said that the well-known Communist leader Bolivar Davalos was with the students barricaded in the university.

A self-avowed Marxist, Diogenes de la Rosa, is the Panamanian President's economic adviser. He is director of the National Economic Council. He said that Panamanians are so unsympathetic to Americans that they might help the enemy in case of war. This means the enemy of Panama also, as the only enemy on the scene is international communism. This dangerous attitude has been created in a small country which we built and put on the map in turn for rights to the canal which we also built and financed. It took almost miraculous measures of sanitation to make the land habitable.

During 1958 the Panama Government found a number of arms deposits in and near the capital city, and announced discovery of a plot to plunge the country into revolution. During 1959, a small landing force of revolutionists tried to establish a foothold in Panama. Even though only a few men landed, the mission was to build up gradually an insurrection army out of Panamanians. A lecturer at the Moscow Political Academy described the recent events in Panama as a "continuation of the general struggle for the liberation of the peoples of Central America from the U.S. colonialist yoke." The invasion of Panama by a small revolutionary force was the same pattern as the Cuban pro-Communist revolution showed at the start.

Representative DANIEL J. FLOOD, of Pennsylvania tried to alert the U.S. House of Representatives to the perilous situation in Panama after the Panama Government declared an extension of the Republic's 3-mile water limit to a 12-mile limit. In his speech exposing the peril he said, "Also, I desire to emphasize that as regards the Republic of Panama and its people, I hold both in the highest esteem, and count many Panamanian citizens as valued friends of many years standing." For his efforts in behalf of the security of Panama and the United States, Representative DANIEL FLOOD was voted "public enemy No. 1" by the Panama Assembly.

Let us remember the strategic importance to America of the Panama Canal. Will American Government officials follow the same policy in relation to the Communist threat to this lifeline of America as they have to the Communist operations in Cuba and other important Latin American nations? Will the answer be to ignore obvious Communist subversion and propaganda on this continent while lulling the American people deeper and deeper into a sleep of national death through increased foreign aid as the only way to oppose communism? What a hoax. The foreign aid war against communism is as phony as a $7 bill. The strongest proof that it is a hoax is the fact that a large portion of the aid goes to Communist and Communist sympathizing governments—governments that will turn on the American people with a vengeance in the final showdown—governments that are already open in their opposition to America.

Include in your prayers those innocent people in Panama who are being deceived by the clever agents of international communism. Demand of the Congress, the President, and the State Department that we do not allow Communist subversion to continue in the vital Panama Canal Zone area. Demand a realistic approach to the Communist peril in every area of its operation.

Nineteen Hundred and Sixty Will Be Historical Year for Bethlehem Slovaks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Bethlehem Bulletin of Friday, September 4, 1959:

NINETEEN HUNDRED AND SIXTY WILL BE HISTORICAL YEAR FOR BETHLEHEM SLOVAKS

(By John C. Sciranka)

Nineteen hundred and sixty will be a historical year for the Bethlehem Americans of Slovak origin and descent. It will be 80 years on January 18 that the first Slovak pioneers arrived in Bethlehem, Pa.

Recently the writer had an opportunity to discuss this with John J. Bartos, of Bethlehem, who in 1921 compiled an extensive collection on the life of the first settlers.

When it takes now but a few hours to make a trip to Europe or vice versa the first pioneers traveled 28 days until they reached Philadelphia, where they were held for some unknown reasons for several days. Stephen Balshay, George Tomko, Stephen Tomko, John Esternik, John Anderko, John Varga, Andrew Kostelnik, and Stephen Gaspar arrived in Philadelphia after a 28-day voyage on December 27, 1879. Their future was uncertain in the new country until January 15, 1880, when the immigration officials released them. They were penniless and on their own in the new land.

As they later related, they walked through the forests, keeping warm in their meager clothes. It took them a whole night and one day to reach Trenton, N.J., from Philadelphia.

In Trenton the people thought they were Indians, for their Slovak peasant garb was mistaken for the Redskin attire. It was really a hard walk in a strange country and in the snow until they reached Bethlehem on the noon of January 18, 1880. The citizens of Bethlehem, and especially the youngsters, mistook them also for Indians. Here they feared a cold winter night. But a good Samaritan came to their aid; and when they told him in their native tongue that they were looking for work and wanted a place to sleep, he took them to Edward Franco on Second Street. The good Samaritan was Dr. Brauner, a Czech born in Moravia. He arranged the lodging for the first Slovaks and next day took them to Samuel Adams, then in charge of the Bethlehem iron and steel works. They were hired immediately.

On April 15 the next group of Slovaks arrived. They were Michael Balik and son, Andrew Jurasek, Andrew Dernar, George Varga, Andrew Lorinc, and Andrew Sitar. They were more fortunate, although they, too, walked from Philadelphia to Trenton. There they were hired by a forester to be lumberjacks, for which they received $1.25 for a day's work. They remained in the the forest for 2 weeks. In the meanwhile, they contacted their Bethlehem countrymen, where they arrived and started to work on May 15 in the iron works.

On June 16 a third group arrived, consisting of Stephen B. Gazdaska, John Gress, and John Balshay, who also were hired to work in the department of Mr. Shayerman in the iron mill.

In 1882 John Vojtek came with his wife. They, however, went to Shenandoah. But when Mr. Fritz, the manager of the iron mill, found that out, he sent for them immediately. Mrs. Maria Vojtek was the first Slovak woman to take care of as many as 120 of our Slovak pioneers as boarders in Bethlehem. Stephen Gazdaska and George Zboyovsky were first Slovak merchants. In 1889 the well-known Msgr. William Heinen, "Apostle of the Slovak," started to visit the Bethlehem Slovaks, and their first Society of St. John the Baptist was organized, which was followed by the Society of SS. Cyril and Methodius. And thus the parish was established.

Mrs. Maria Vojtek was born on July 15, 1851. In 1921 Joseph Graff was the oldest living Slovak in Bethlehem. He was born on April 21, 1828. Stephen Balshay, one of the first Slovaks to arrive in Bethlehem, was born on February 6, 1858.

It will be 50 years next year that Assembly 78 of the Slovak Catholic Sokol was founded. It is the largest assembly in the organization, which was founded on July 4, 1905, and has its headquarters in Passaic, N.J., with a membership of 52,000. The organization held its most successful 19th national Slet, gymnastic and athletic meet, and 18th national convention in Reading, Pa., last month. Gov. David L. Lawrence proclaimed a Slovak Catholic Sokol Week. The Bethlehem Slovaks and Sokols, no doubt, will make 1960 a great banner year, paying worthy tribute to their pioneers.

Will Self-Discipline Prevail?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN W. BYRNES

OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, as part of my remarks, I include the script of an address recently delivered in Chicago by Maurice H. Stans, Director of the Bureau of the Budget, and an article excerpted from another address by Mr. Stans at the annual dinner of the Tax Foundation.

It seems particularly appropriate to me, Mr. Speaker, that these remarks of the director of the Budget Bureau should be called to the attention of the Members as we begin a sesssion which marks the opening of a new decade. For Mr. Stans raises a question which is all-important as we face the challenge of the 1960's. He asks: "Can we, a liberty-loving people, close ranks and demonstrate that self-discipline can prevail in our society?"

He points out the enormous existing mortgage on America's future, beyond the regular annual costs of defense, welfare and commerce, and shows that they add up to the unbelievable total of $750 billion. In calling for the self-discipline required to cope with the dangers of this tremendous obligation, to balance the budget, to reduce the debt, to stabilize the dollar and to ward off inflation and then to reduce the burdens of taxation, Mr. Stans says:

Once we accept the idea that all the demands on the budget are synonymous with requirements, we can say goodby to the dollar. By definition, budgeting is a process of selecting first things first, of reining in our spending by priorities. And we can find little reassurance when we face the fact that the Federal budget is saddled to a large extent with yesterday's priorities rather than tomorrow's.

Mr. Stans spells out the kind of self-discipline required:

Neither the President nor any Budget Director can stop the trend of public pressure for spending, purely by exhortation. There is a responsibility on individual citizens and upon organized groups to withhold demands on the Federal Government for spending that can be avoided, or that can be deferred, or that can be more effectively done by local government or by private enterprise. This involves a lot more than being for a balanced budget in abstract terms. It calls for a working familiarity with the budget, an awareness of pressure to enlarge it for the benefit of one interest group or another, and a readiness to take personal action as responsible citizens through their representatives in the Congress to oppose these pressures.

Mr. Speaker, to this, I might add that our fiscal and financial plight calls for self-discipline and self-restraint on the part of Members of Congress. We have been elected, not merely to follow, but to lead. We cannot blame the consequences of our own actions, should they lead to disaster, on the absence of an inflamed public opinion.

It is up to us, Mr. Speaker, to face the fact that the Government has to stop living on credit cards and must pay its own way, and in the light of that fact, to lead this Nation toward strength in freedom and discipline.

The above-mentioned address and article follow:

THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF A FREE PEOPLE

(Address of Maurice H. Stans, Director of the Bureau of the Budget, before the Conference of Bank Correspondents, Morrison Hotel, Chicago, Ill.)

A few weeks from now, the President will meet with the Congress to review the state of the Union. This is one of the specific duties placed on the President by the Constitution, and, when we think about it, one of the wisest and most farseeing acts of the Founding Fathers. Whatever we set out to build or to manage, it is good to pause in our work at regular intervals and consider what we have accomplished, how well we are doing, and what the tasks ahead are. The state of the Union message, much like the annual accounting of a business, is a report on the Nation's assets and liabilities, its strengths and weaknesses, its aspirations and its fears.

The task of building a nation is never finished. We solve problems as we meet them, only to find that new ones inevitably arise. Our ideas and our needs change, too, as well as the tools with which we work. But in one respect there is no change: the privilege of being a free people carries with it a constant responsibility to face our problems with resolution and realism, and with a united purpose.

Never has this been more true than now, as we consider the great questions which face us as we enter the 1960's. Beyond any shadow of doubt, today's world challenges our willingness to accept the responsibilities we have as a free people.

BACKGROUND

Overshadowing all other issues in our present day is the paramount problem of providing for our Nation's security. This is a many-sided problem. One side of it relates to our military security. But another equally important side deals with our financial capacity to support simultaneously a costly defense program and urgent domestic needs, and at the same time achieve economic growth without inflation.

This is a large order, considering all the facts. We are now about half way through fiscal year 1960, a year in which we are doing everything we can to balance the Federal budget, but with the odds now against us, because of the loss of revenue as a result of the steel strike. In the 2 preceding fiscal years, the Federal Government piled up budget deficits totaling $15 billion, in large part because of the recession of 1957–58. Our public debt has reached a new legal ceiling, and is now in the vicinity of $290 billion, while interest costs take up more than $9 billion of the budget.

A further complication stems from the reversal of our international balance of payments into an unfavorable position. The result is a growing accumulation of short-term dollar liabilities to foreigners and potential pressure on our gold reserves.

Finally, Mr. Khrushchev has served notice that he is not interested in war, but that all the energies of the Soviet-controlled society will be concentrated on making the United States a second-class economic power in the world—and in burying the system that in less than two centuries has made us great.

It is no wonder that questions are being asked by the governments and peoples of the nations which are watching to see how well we meet these new circumstances. And this is what is going through their minds:

How strong is the fabric of the U.S. economy?

Will the great adventure of the new world be slowed or turned back by the exploding drive of communism?

Is the private enterprise system sound enough to cause the rising free world nations to follow our example?

Does the American economy contain the strength and stability to support growth without inflation?

Do Americans understand Khrushchev's threat of economic competition well enough to do what must be done to meet it?

And right here at home, there are Americans who think about these questions with growing concern. Until recently, we have been a highly confident Nation—perhaps a little overconfident. It's time for some hard, straight thinking. After all, there has never been a great civilization, nor a great power, that was not tested time after time. Now it is our turn to be tested. That is the simple lesson of history, written plainly for each of us.

Isn't it better for us to criticize ourselves than wait for history to do the criticizing? Sensible men and women do not fear facts. They have the merit of forcing us to stop and think, and we don't do enough of that these days. If we are shocked by what we find, perhaps that will make us a more purposeful people.

This country has by no means lost its spirit of enterprise. It is much less certain, however, that we are making the most of it. It is not easy to be truly enterprising in the face of quarrels between labor and management which sap our strength, Government budgets in the red or hovering close to it, taxation which blunts initiative, the constant threat of inflation, costly Government debts which are never reduced, defense costs which cut deeply into our wealth-producing capacities, and on top of all the selfish excesses of what someone has called a pressure group economy. And it is equally clear that we do not muster our fullest strength to compete so long as we carry these burdens on our backs.

COMPULSIVE SPENDING

One of the afflictions of the American scene today, I think you will agree, is summed up in the phrase "compulsive spending." This has assumed the proportions of a national state of mind, and by some confused psychology has become identified with the needs of a healthy, growing economy.

The urge to spend is epidemic. To the extent that it is not governed by a standard of capacity to pay from current income, it is a dangerous feature of the times. We will not build our fortunes by extravagance in spending and borrowing merely to satisfy marginal wants and desires. On the contrary, we will destroy our futures.

Compulsive spending has rubbed off on Government, in particular.

Look at the trends. Using Commerce Department figures, we find that expenditures by all governments in the United States as a percentage of gross national product grew from 18 percent in 1940 to 22 percent in 1950 and to 26 percent in 1957. What this means is that Government spending has grown faster than our national economy. Indeed, one of the paradoxes in the situation is that public spending tends to accelerate in periods when the business economy is in temporary decline.

Even though this year's fight for a balanced Federal budget has received much support, there are no signs to indicate that the urge toward compulsive spending has lost any momentum. The evidence runs the other way. Let me give you something to think about:

Near the close of the last session of the Congress, a table was printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which listed 20 big spending bills introduced in the House, and another 20 introduced in the Senate, together with their estimated costs. You may find this hard to believe, but the grand total of this shopping list came out to over $326 billion over an average period of about 5 years.

If anybody in the audience can tell me how we could squeeze 50 or 60 billions of additional spending every year within $80 billion of revenues, which is what our tax laws now yield when times are very good, I'd like to hear his formula. This is what I would call "credit card" economics at the national level.

As I said earlier, this compulsive urge has us so preoccupied with wants and desires that we have—only temporarily, I hope—lost sight of our personal and national responsibilities. And that, I submit, is an even worse calamity for the times in which we live, and for the future for which we must prepare.

Public understanding of the Government's budget problem is an essential condition to any drive for fiscal responsibility. Sometimes the facts are hard to come by. There has been a great deal of confusion, for example, as to how the Congress handled the budget which the President submitted last January for the fiscal year 1960. There have been assertions that the Congress reduced the President's budget by over $1.8 billion. I can tell you that this is an illusion.

This is what the Congress actually did in the 1959 session: (1) Appropriation requests were reduced, indeed, by more than $1.8 billion, but almost half of that cut was nothing more than postponements to another year. Of the remaining in appropriations, the effect on 1960 expenditures is only a reduction of about $100 million. (2) On the other side of the ledger, the Congress took no action or only partial action on the President's requests for certain revenue increases, and enacted new legislation and back-door authorizations involving spending far in excess of the proposals in the budget. When the pluses and minuses are totaled up, we discover that the Congress practiced economy this year to the tune of raising net budget expenditures in fiscal 1960 by almost $600 million above the budget, and added $11.5 billion to the taxpayers' bills in future years.

WHAT DO WE MEAN BY "GROWTH"?

The pressure groups that extol that kind of action tell us that budget deficits are not serious and that spending beyond our means is necessary to insure growth. This kind of argument is dangerous demagogery. There isn't a business or a family that could survive long on that basis. When we hear that deficit spending by Government promotes economic activity and creates new wealth and tax revenues, we soon recognize that old doctrine of spending ourselves into prosperity. It dies a hard death.

Let's get our thinking straight about this new slogan called growth.

It isn't a numbers game.

It isn't a process to be trifled with by opportunists.

It isn't a political football.

If the goal of economic growth is to become the rationalization for every impractical spending scheme that comes along, or for political pie in the sky, then we will really be walking over the cliff. Growth is of sterner stuff than the gratification of pressure group interests.

The facts are that Government today is piling up c.o.d.'s for the future at an astounding pace. Even if not a single one of those 40 spending bills which I mentioned earlier should be enacted, we must reckon with the commitments already on our national books. I would like to tell you what some of them are.

C.O.D., THE AMERICAN TAXPAYER

Item: The cost of completing the Interstate Highway System after fiscal 1960 may be as much as $25 to $35 billion.

Item: Expenditures to complete direct Federal civil public works projects which were started prior to fiscal 1960 will amount to about $8 billion.

Item: For public housing, the Government must make contributions after 1960, under present commitments, of $6 billion.

Item: As of next June 30, the Government's books will carry outstanding commitments for capital improvements in communities, such as for urban renewal and college housing, amounting to $3 billion.

Item: For merchant marine subsidies and future ship replacements, the Government's liability comes to $4.4 billion.

Item: For conservation reserve payments to farmers, the Government is under contract to pay $2.2 billion.

All these, together with unexpended balances in the defense program, add up to around $98 billion of commitments for future Federal spending.

Those expenditures, while they are formidable, will in many cases be for values yet to be received. To the extent that they will create future national assets, it is not unreasonable for them to be absorbed in future budgets, over a period of years. But that isn't all. Beyond this $98 billion, the Federal Government is obligated for much larger sums for services already received in full.

The national debt is about $290 billion. But commitments voluntarily undertaken beyond that, and not included in the figure, are even greater. First, there is $30 billion of already accrued liability for military retirement. Next there is $27.5 billion actuarially due on our present obligations to civilian Government employees under the civil service retirement laws. On top of that, the Government is obligated by law to pay pensions and compensation to war veterans and their dependents, and these future benefit payments will cost roughly $300 billion. Here is a total of over $350 billion of past obligations that more than doubles the amount of the national debt. Counting the $98 billion I mentioned a moment ago, our c.o.d.'s already are about $700 billion above the annual costs of providing for national defense, welfare, and commerce. The fact that we expect to pay for these unfunded items in gradual increments in our future annual budgets should be of little comfort to us and certainly will not be to future taxpayers.

BUILT-IN BUDGET GROWTH

Here is another dimension of the same problem. As you know, we expect that Federal expenditures this fiscal year will come out in the vicinity of $79 billion. Now I want you to get this next point.

Even if the next session of the Congress doesn't add any new programs, the level of Federal spending is still going to climb higher, because there are built-in increases in existing programs that will push up our expenditures in future years. For 1961 alone these built-in increases amount to between $2 and 2½ billion. And there are practically no built-in decreases, because Government programs once taken on never seem to end. The President named in his 1960 budget message 18 programs due for revision in order to accomplish future downward adjustments in spending. Only three received attention by Congress, and that with the net result of increasing future expenditures rather than decreasing them.

The catalog of built-in increases in annual expenditures would take a long time to recite. It runs through outer space programs, civil aviation, merchant shipping, urban renewal, science education, medical research, public assistance, loans to underdeveloped countries, and veterans' pensions. The farm price support program will cost more, rather than less, in the absence of realistic changes in present legislation; the meager efforts of the Congress to deal with this problem have not even kept pace with farm technology, and in a few more months we will have $10 billion of farm commodities in storage. Interest charges on the public debt are still tending to be higher. And all this is without reckoning with the tremendous pressure of increasing technological costs for military weapons, or with the further demands that are always with us for new domestic programs.

I ask you to consider the fact that once we accept the idea that all the demands on the budget are synonymous with requirements, we can say goodbye to the value of the dollar. By definition, budgeting is a process of selecting first things first, of reining in our spending by priorities. And we can find little reassurance when we face the fact that the Federal budget is saddled to a large extent with yesterday's priorities rather than tomorrow's.

These figures and facts should explain to you, too, why the President can't send to the Congress—as some people think he can—a budget for any amount from one dollar up. The past commitments and obligations which he must first include—on a basis that increases year-by-year—leave him little room for tightening up, and make his task principally one of fighting off more increases. Another way of saying this is that the actions of the Congress in 1960 on the President's budget and legislative recommendations will affect budgets for years to come.

But there is a bright side to this story, too. The demands of the taxpayers for economy in Government, the support they give the President in his fight for balanced budgets, and debt reduction, can curb the level of spending and the tax level for a long time ahead.

THE BATTLE OF THE BUDGET IS NOT OVER

Why do I go into all this? I do it because, as important as the battle of the budget was this year, we cannot begin to understand our problem if we look only at a single year's

budget. The central problem of the Federal budget is found in the commitments we are accumulating, the c.o.d.'s that we are writing; and much of this mortgaging of our future fiscal capacity is inspired by pressure groups seeking something for nothing from the Federal Treasury.

That's why this year's battle of the budget is not a flash in the pan. We have only begun to awaken the Nation to the seriousness of our problem.

Unless we bring all the facts out into the open, and make clear their real meaning to our ability as a nation to grow on the basis of financial security, we are avoiding our responsibility. And responsibility is one thing this administration is not going to avoid.

CITIZEN RESPONSIBILITY

So, the Government's budget policy is one big factor in how strong we will continue to be. But I must tell you that it's asking too much to expect the President to win the battle of the budget by himself. The President and his Budget Director can lay the facts on the line. They can propose the kind of a budget they believe is right, and they can use their voices to support it. They can point the way to prevent future spending from getting out of hand.

We have done this and we will continue to do it. But neither the President nor any budget director can stop the trend of public pressure for spending, purely by exhortation. There is a responsibility on individual citizens and upon organized groups to withhold demands on the Federal Government for spending that can be avoided, or that can be deferred, or that can more effectively be done by local government or by private enterprise. There is a responsibility, too, on all of us to take up the fight and support the President's leadership in seeking to make the country live within its income. This involves a lot more than being for a balanced budget in abstract terms. It calls for a working familiarity with the budget, an awareness of the pressures to enlarge it for the benefit of one interest group or another, and a readiness to take personal action as responsible citizens through their representatives in the Congress to oppose those pressures.

WHAT WE MUST DO

The job we have to do in the sixties is a big one.

We will have to get all the horsepower out of our economy that it can produce without overheating.

We will have to stop running up bills that will come due when it may not be convenient.

We will have to put our resources where they will feed genuine growth, rather than the mere appearances of growth.

We will have to stop regarding the Federal Government as a broker for pressure groups. The national interest must come before the selfish interest.

We will have to conquer the habit of compulsive spending, and learn to live within our means.

I think that if we bring ourselves to understand that these steps are basic to our continued existence, we will not find it hard to rediscover our great purposes and unite to achieve them.

Then, and only then, will we be able to prove to Mr. Khrushchev that our system is best. Then, and only then, will we dare to be satisfied with the state of the Union.

CONCLUSION

At the root of everything I have said here is the disturbing, but inescapable, question of whether we are willing to accept the responsibilities that go with being a free people—whether our Nation can summon the self-discipline that the times and the issues call for—to balance the budget, to reduce the debt, to stabilize the dollar, to ward off inflation, and then to reduce the burdens of taxation. We have accepted the necessity for discipline in times past, when we had to fight or die. As the decade of the sixties opens, we will be fighting in a different way, with a more insidious opponent. With all the fallacies in communism's logic and economics, it is strong on discipline, and this could spell a fateful difference in the final outcome. Can we, a liberty-loving people, close ranks and demonstrate that self-discipline can prevail in our society? In the answer to this question lies the test of how well our kind of democracy can survive.

[From the New York World-Telegram, Dec. 7, 1959]

UNCLE'S CREDIT CARD SPREE—UNITED STATES ALREADY $750 BILLION IN HOCK

(By Maurice H. Stans)

In many ways the Federal budget today is saddled with yesterday's priorities instead of anticipating tomorrow's. This situation has come about because of our proclivity to legislate benefits, services, and subsidies up to the hilt of our fiscal capacity—and then to hang on to them.

We spend great sums on interest charges on our national debt, but we do not reduce the principal.

We carry on massive Federal programs which State and local governments could do better.

We devote large amounts of money to farm price supports to reduce surpluses, with the opposite results.

We lend money to benefit special groups at rates below those which the Government must pay to its own creditors, when private sources could do the job.

We perpetuate Federal programs which have long since met the objectives for which they were created.

Whatever may be the merits of ancestor worship, I hardly think that the place to practice it is in the budget of the U.S. Government.

We are taxing current earnings to pay for many benefits and services legislated in past years, while we go on legislating new benefits and services without considering how we will pay for them when they come due.

Let me tell you something about the shape we're in.

Fact No. 1, is that the Federal Government is piling up c.o.d.'s for the future at an astounding pace. I'll mention just a few.

It will cost between $25 and $35 billion to complete the Interstate Highway System after this fiscal year. Federal civil public works projects already started will require expenditures of about $8 billion before they are completed. The Federal Government is committed to contribute $6 billion in the future for public housing. Merchant marine subsidies and ship replacement constitute a Federal liability of $4.4 billion.

These and a variety of other obligations, when added to huge unexpended balances in the defense program, total $98 billion of commitments for future Federal spending.

Fact No. 2 is this: Even if the next session of the Congress doesn't add any new programs, the level of Federal spending is going to go up. The reason is that there are built-in increases in existing programs such as outerspace, civil aviation, merchant shipping, urban renewal, science education, medical research, public assistance, loans to underdeveloped countries and veterans' pensions. Interest on the public debt will run higher, and the farm program will cost more and more until we get realistic legislation. Defense technology is putting increasing pressure on expenditures.

Now, for 1961 alone, these built-in increases amount to between $2- and $2.5 billion. Of course there are practically no built-in decreases, because Government programs are almost invulnerable to reduction or elimination. A year ago, in his budget message, the President nominated 18 programs as being due for revision in order to accomplish future downward adjustments in spending. Only three received attention by Congress, and that with the net result of increasing future expenditures rather than decreasing them.

Fact No. 3 is that our present national debt of $290 billion doesn't include present Federal liabilities for past services in even greater amounts. Our already accrued liability for military retirement is about $30 billion. Our unfunded present accrual for retirement benefits for civilian Government employees is $27.5 billion. On top of that, future pensions and compensation to veterans will cost about $300 billion. Now, the $290 billion of current public debt, plus $350 billion of future obligations for past services, plus $98 billion of CODs, add to the almost incredible total of $750 billion.

That is the Federal Government's mortgage on America's future, beyond the regular annual costs of defense, welfare and commerce.

Fact No. 4 is that the pressures for new spending programs are increasing in intensity. If you are troubled by an $80 billion budget, I can tell you that unless we hold the line now the day is not too distant when the budget will rise to the $90 or $100 billion range.

In the absence of a genuine thaw in the cold war which could lead to a major reduction in military costs, the only way to cut back the level of the budget is to look to the Congress to modify laws that are already on the books.

The job is really up to you. The President will continue to put his full weight behind the goal of a balanced budget and a surplus which can be applied initially to reduce our enormous and costly debt. What happens to that goal will depend upon opinion and its ability to communicate with the Congress.

Are we ready to face up to the fact that Government has to stop living on credit cards and must pay its way?

The Late Alvin R. Bush

SPEECH

OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 6, 1960

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, among the familiar faces for which we find ourselves looking in vain, as the 2d session of the 86th Congress swings into action, is that of my respected and valued colleague of the Pennsylvania delegation, Representative ALVIN R. BUSH, of the 17th Congressional District. The news of AL BUSH'S sudden heart seizure, on November 4, and death in Williamsport Hospital on the following day, brought shock and sorrow to me, as to all who knew him. AL BUSH was a devoted public servant, putting his business astuteness and his energetic determination into the advancement of the sometimes unpopular cause of governmental economy. Much of our legislation, over the past 9 years, has profited from the vigilance and good sense of ALVIN BUSH. His knowledge and experience in the field of bus transportation were often called upon, in his work with the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, and

with the Subcommittee on Transportation and Aeronautics.

It will long be remembered to his credit that he was an enthusiastic supporter of little league baseball, and proud of the claim of Williamsport, in his district, to have founded little league baseball. In the past session, he had sponsored a resolution to establish a National Little League Baseball Week.

We shall miss his aid as a legislator, but more than that, in the days ahead, we shall miss his quiet, friendly presence, and the feeling that, whatever our differences, we were all trying to accomplish a task together, for the common good of our Nation and of our home districts.

To Mrs. Bush, to their children, Mrs. John H. Eck and Alvin C. Bush, and to the many others who knew and loved AL BUSH, I offer my sincere and heartfelt sympathy.

Will America Survive in Freedom in Coming New World Order?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, an outstanding member of the newspaper profession and an objective interpreter of world events, John Cowles, president of the Minneapolis Star and Tribune, made a speech last November to the members of the Minneapolis Rotary Club which should be as widely read as possible. In my remarks, I include the address of Mr. Cowles, entitled "Will America Survive in Freedom in Coming New World Order?"

The address follows:

WILL AMERICA SURVIVE IN FREEDOM IN COMING NEW WORLD ORDER?

(By John Cowles, president of the Minneapolis Star and Tribune)

Most of us would agree, if we really thought about it, that the thing we most deeply want is for our children and grandchildren and great-grandchildren to be able to survive in freedom. And, of course, in addition to freedom we want them to have as full and satisfying lives as possible.

The paramount thing for us is to try to make certain that we are following national policies that will insure that our descendants can survive in freedom.

Probably some of you are shocked that I even suggest the possibility that the United States may not be surviving in freedom a generation or two from now. But if you will think about the implications of what is taking place in the world today, I believe you will conclude that our long-range national security is a good deal less certain than most of us have assumed.

To start with, most people fail to understand that we happen to be living in the midst of the greatest combination of world revolutions that has ever occurred in the history of mankind. Separate scientific, political, and social revolutions, any one of which would have had a momentous effect on the world, have happened to coincide at this particular time.

The scientific discoveries and developments that have occurred in our generation are probably greater than all the scientific discoveries of the preceding thousands of years combined. More than 90 percent of all the scientists who have ever lived since the dawn of history are living and working today. Most of us do not yet comprehend the significance and future effects on the world of the new scientific discoveries that have been and are being made.

Simultaneously, we are having another revolution. This is the alarmingly rapid rate of population growth. The introduction of better sanitation and improved health and medical measures throughout the world has caused a sharp reduction in mortality. As a result we are having an extraordinarily fast population growth everywhere, particularly in the less developed areas. Most people ignore or grossly underestimate the calamitous effect that a doubling of the world's population in the next 30 or 40 years will have.

COLONIAL AREAS WIN FREEDOM

A third revolution that is taking place stems from the fact that more than a billion people who, up to the end of the Second World War, were under colonial rule have recently won their freedom. In addition, other presently colonial areas, largely in Africa, will also become independent nations within the next year or two.

Most of these new countries don't have a sufficient number of educated people to make a democratic form of government function responsibly. Most of the people in these new nations are illiterate and desperately poor.

It does no good to say that these peoples should not have independence until they are qualified for it. They are determined to have their independence now. They are also equally determined to try rapidly to industrialize their nations and raise their educational and living standards.

I recently studied some estimates of world income broken down by nations, with the population of each. If one assumes that $100 a year per person is required for food, clothing, and shelter—about 2.7 cents per day for sustenance and all living expenses of every kind—and if one then computes the amount of excess annual income above $100 a year per person that each country has, the figures are staggering.

The United States alone has 47 percent, or almost half, of the total excess world income above $100 per person.

If one adds together the excess income—that is—the amount above $100 per inhabitant of Canada, Great Britain, Japan, Australia, and the European countries including Russia—that total is only slightly greater than that of the United States alone.

These countries that I have mentioned, including the United States, therefore have between them more than 95 percent of the whole world's total income above $100 per person.

In other words, the rest of the world—Asia, Africa, Central America, and South America combined—has less than 5 percent of the world's total income above $100 per person.

The per capita income of these Asians, Africans, and Latin Americans is only slightly more than $100 a year, or less than one-twentieth of the per capita income of Americans.

DEVELOPMENT CAPITAL NEEDED

There are only two possible ways for these underdeveloped areas to get the capital necessary for their development. They obviously don't have enough of their own to make sufficient voluntary savings to raise the funds needed for schools and roads, water systems and improved ports, power plants, and factories.

They can raise these funds internally only if a ruthless dictatorship forces savings out of them, impoverished as they are, by grinding down their already pitfully low standard of living, by reducing what each human being has to live one, from slightly over $100 a year down to $75 or $80 a year. Of course, this would mean starvation to many and serious malnutrition to more.

Although Russia started from a much higher living standard base than exists in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, this is the precise method the Communist dictatorship in Russia used to secure the billions that it has put into its capital improvement in Russia from about 1920 on.

As a result, today the Russians are turning out enough gross national product so that they can significantly increase the average standard of living above what it formerly was and still have sufficient resources left to put as much money into military expenditures as the United States is doing.

Red China is following exactly this same policy. The Government is ruthless and cruel. Probably hundreds of thousands of Red Chinese have starved to death, but China, with some help from Russia, is lifting itself by its bootstraps.

The only other way for underdeveloped countries to get the capital that they desperately need is from foreign aid; foreign investment, foreign loans, and foreign grants.

Unless the United States and the other developed and industrialized countries of the free world are willing to extend aid on a massive scale for the next 10 or 20 years, I expect to see most or all of Asia and Africa, and much of Latin America slide into similar Communist-controlled totalitarian dictatorships.

The United States and Western Europe cannot live permanently in freedom with most or all of the rest of the world under Communist rule. The Communists would disrupt normal capitalistic world trade. They would dump products at far below cost to disrupt international markets.

They would cut off the natural resources—minerals, oil, etc.—that are essential to the free world. The United States it much more dependent on foreign natural resources for our own prosperity than most Americans believe. We are rapidly becoming a have-not nation so far as many natural resources are concerned.

It is a naive illusion for anyone to assume that we could live and prosper in freedom in an isolated fortress America. Every additional country that goes under Communist control reduces our own margin of future national security.

Although I am delighted that in recent months President Eisenhower has broken through the diplomatic deadlock and has opened the door at least to the possibility that within the next few years we may be able to liquidate the cold war, anyone is reckless if he assumes that the danger of the cold war turning hot has been eliminated. The Russians occasionally change their tactics, but there is no reason whatsoever for us to assume that the Russians have in any way changed their long-ranged ambition for world domination.

It would be an act of suicidal recklessness for us to reduce our defense expenditures until and unless we are certain that Russia is simultaneously reducing hers, and until and unless we are satisfied that we are going to have an ironclad system of international inspection and control.

I hope that events will prove that Russia does want to end the cold war, but until there is proof of that, it would be foolhardy for us to reduce our defense expenditures even a penny. I, for one, think that we should be increasing our defense expenditures so that we would have an adequate capability to meet nonnuclear, limited aggression without our having to go to the alternative of an all-out nuclear holocaust.

Undoubtedly there is great waste in our armed services. Possibly several billion dol-

lars could be saved if we could eliminate some of the overlap and discontinue further production of obsolescent weapons. But when one is dealing with our national security, with our very national survival, one must not take chances.

UNITED STATES LAGS BEHIND RUSSIA

Every informed person knows that we are far behind the Russians in outer space development. It will probably be at least 3 years before we are able to develop engines with as much propulsive power to send heavy weights into space as the Russians have already demonstrated that they now possess.

Every informed person knows that we are behind Russia—opinions of the time lag differ—in our development of intercontinental ballistic missiles.

Every informed person knows that our Strategic Air Force or SAC bases are what is called "soft," that they are too concentrated and are relatively unprotected, and that we might suffer a catastrophic devastating blow if the Russians, a couple of years from now, did decide to attack us with intercontinental ballistic missiles with hydrogen warheads and with the intermediate-range missiles which they could fire from their submarines.

While we could even then undoubtedly make a severe retaliatory strike; probably our capability, if we had suffered the initial blow, would not prove nearly as massive and destructive as most of the American public erroneously assumes.

The thing that concerns me most about America today is the fact that the public seems complacent and largely indifferent to what I regard as the realities of the international situation.

One such reality is the obvious fact that the old world order, as we have known it all our lives, is dying. It seems to me not simply probable, but certain, that during the next decade, the crucial 1960's, a new world order is going to take shape and form.

Whether or not this new world order will be one in which our children and grandchildren will be able to lead full, happy lives in peace and freedom is the paramount question confronting America, but most people are too absorbed in their personal affairs even to recognize that this question exists.

SYSTEM OF WORLD LAW VITAL

If we do move forward courageously and intelligently, with a thorough understanding of what we are doing and why, I think we probably can end up with a new world order that is to our liking. Achieving this will probably require higher taxes, or at least no reduction in present tax rates, but the tax angle becomes inconsequential if one comes to realize what the probable alternative is, if one comes to understand that we may be dealing with the question of our continued survival as a free Nation.

And if we are going to be able to secure the kind of world order we want for our children and grandchildren, we are also going to have to develop a system of world law. This will involve strengthening the United Nations and making basic changes in its set-up. This will also obviously involve some abridgement of what has traditionally been called national sovereignty, but nations as we have known them in the past are becoming obsolescent in an era of intercontinental missiles, nuclear-propelled ships and aircraft, and space vehicles.

The problems facing us are enormous, but certainly not insoluble.

In conclusion, I would like to quote a statement by Arnold Toynbee, who is probably the greatest living philosopher of history. Toynbee has written, I hope not too optimistically, that "the 20th century will be remembered, not as the age of the atomic bomb, but as the first time when man thought it was practicable to distribute all the benefits of civilization to all people."

Independent Transportation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include the following editorial from the Greenville (Miss.) Delta Democrat-Times:

INDEPENDENT TRANSPORTATION

One of the cardinal principles of capitalism is that monopoly is in itself a bad thing. Nowhere is this truer than in the field of transportation, which is as vital to our national economy as the veins and arteries are to the human body.

Thus the warning issued at the Rotary Club Thursday by Baxter B. Carr, president of the American Waterways Operators, against common ownership of the modes of transportation makes good sense. Carr, who represents an industry which carries 8 percent of the intercity transportation of the United States, said that there is a vital need for several independent modes of transportation.

What we do not need, he said, "is a department store of transportation."

We agree wholeheartedly with the AWO president. Here in Mississippi we should easily be able to recall what it was like when we were served by only one carrier, the railroads. The stranglehold this carirer had on the economy was one of the chief brakes on our progress. The cost of shipping goods out was high. The price of incoming products was higher.

With some Government aid and enlightened public support, the waterways carriers came back from oblivion over the past 30 years to fill the need for a cheaper form of transportation. Over the same period the trucking industry and the airlines also began to make sizable inroads into the domain of the railroads.

Today the railroads are still the prime carriers in the Nation's transportation system. But the other carriers now control enough of the market to forestall the possibility that any one carrier can set absurdly high rates and expect to get away with it.

This is as it should be in a competitive society. What is more, there is a definite prohibition in the Interstate Commerce Act against one carrier, such as a trucking concern, controlling another mode of transportation to the detriment of competition.

But there are forces at work today which would erode this prohibition and possibly set the Nation back on the path to a transportation system dominated by one segment of the transportation industry. Recently the Illinois Central and Southern Pacific Railroads announced plans to purchase the John Hay Barge Co., which runs barges on the Mississippi River, the Illinois River, and the Intracoastal Canal.

If the Interstate Commerce Commission OK's the deal, the two railroads will then be operating parallel rail lines down both sides of the Mississippi, as they do at present, plus a bargeline down the middle. They could then put the price squeeze on other water carriers unable to compete on the land.

As Carr pointed out in his talk, it is senseless to believe that the railroad carriers, whose cost per ton-mile is much higher than the waterways carriers, are sincerely interested in keeping water rates at the present low level. The low water rates which competition have kept in effect could vanish quickly enough if effective water-carrier competition was destroyed. This was the pattern in the past once water competition was destroyed by the railroads.

What this Nation does not need is a mammoth and centralized transportation system. Aside from the possibilities for rate gouging, such a system would be too easily brought under Government control whenever anything went wrong, and, indeed, the arguments against Government control of such a monopoly would be weak ones, at best. But the two railroads' proposed purchase could be the first step to that system.

We'll have to agree with Baxter Carr some more. "There is a need for each of the independent modes of transportation," he said. "Without them in the past, we could not have reached our point of development today."

Government's Role in Highway Safety

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL F. SCHENCK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. SCHENCK. Mr. Speaker, on January 7, 1960, our colleague and chairman of the Subcommittee on Health and Safety, the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. ROBERTS], delivered an address at the annual meeting of the Royal Automobile Club of Canada, held this year in Montreal.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to insert this address so every Member can better understand the role of government in promoting highway safety:

GOVERNMENT'S ROLE IN HIGHWAY SAFETY

You have honored me by your kind invitation to meet with this distinguished group to discuss one of the most important problems facing your country and mine.

For, in my judgment, we cannot overestimate the importance of this problem of highway safety which we face today. Meeting such as this are of great significance because this is a problem that we, as individuals, can do something about. Too many of our space-age problems seem, at least, to be beyond our reach as we go about the routine of our daily lives.

But not so this problem of traffic safety. Here is a problem that, in a manner of speaking, is on our own front doorsteps, crying out for attention.

Not that we as individuals can solve the problem. Not that the problem can ever be completely solved. But we all can help to reduce the appalling toll of life and limb being taken daily in traffic accidents.

I do not pretend to be familiar with your problem here in Canada but I understand that in many respects that our problems are similar. I do know that the two countries are working together closely. I am told that 3,104 lives were lost in traffic accidents in Canada in 1958. In the United States, between 38,000 and 39,000 are being killed each year.

Canada can ill afford to lose 3,000 citizens a year. The United States can ill afford to lose 39,000 a year, especially when you remember that nearly half of them are being cut down at the very crest of their productive years, in the age bracket between 15 and 44.

I don't want to leave the impression that we have made no progress. The fact that during the last 15 years our fatality rate in the United States has held between 35,000 and 40,000 a year, in spite of the greatly

increased mileage driven means that the rate per vehicle-mile has gone down. But a look at the accident statistics shows no cause for complacency. There is much that can and should be done.

The emphasis being placed on safety in this annual meeting is proof you see of the need for action to reduce the traffic toll.

If, by reviewing briefly some of the findings of the congressional subcommittee of which I am chairman, I can throw some light on this problem of ours, it will be the source of much satisfaction to me.

For this is your problem as well as mine. This problem of traffic safety is one that concerns us all. For each of us will have to contribute to the solution of the problem before we get very far in our efforts to reduce this appalling slaughter. It is not enough that we become better drivers. We must give our encouragement and support to those who seek and apply the necessary remedies. That support is going to cost us money. This support may mean a certain curtailment of some of our freedom of action. It may mean that some of those who enjoy driving may have to give up driving. It may mean sending some wornout and unsafe cars to the junk pile. It may mean putting a little less pressure on the accelerator, especially in heavy traffic.

I don't want to bore you with statistics. You are all familiar enough with the facts and figures to know this is a serious problem.

Just for the sake of emphasis let me outline briefly some of the facts brought out in the hearings held by my subcommittee.

These facts are a warning and a challenge to everyone of us. And by us, I don't mean those working on this problem. I mean everyone who drives an automobile, or rides in one, or walks across the road here in Canada, or in the United States, or anyplace, anywhere that automobiles are operated.

You don't have to be a driver to be concerned. The toll of pedestrians killed or injured in the United States is appalling.

The problem for the pedestrian is worldwide. I am reminded of a remark made by the late Fred Allen after a visit to Paris. He said that one reason there is a church on almost every corner in Paris is so that the pedestrians can go in and pray before trying to cross the street.

But let me outline briefly the situation in the United States.

Accidents of all types, including traffic accidents, are the third leading cause of death in the United States, being exceeded only by cancer and diseases of the heart and circulatory system.

We are justified in referring to traffic accidents as a major public health problem in the United States.

The death toll from cancer and heart trouble is the cause of much concern, and justifiably so. But the auto traffic death toll is more heartbreaking. Deaths from cancer and heart disease generally occur in the later decades of life. Traffic deaths are striking down the youth of the land who are just entering their productive years.

Of all the young men aged 15 to 24 who died in the United States in 1957, 40 percent died in motor vehicle accidents. One-fourth of the fatalities among young women in the same age bracket resulted from traffic accidents.

As stated earlier, in the United States we are killing around 39,000 people a year in traffic accidents.

Startling as that figure is, it gives only part of the story. That is the dramatic, headline-making part of the story. But behind and beyond is tragedy multiplied many thousandfold in maimed and broken bodies, in families denied the services of a bread winner—sometimes for months, sometimes for life.

In 1957, the best estimate the subcommittee could get from private sources on the number of traffic accident injuries was 1,400,000.

Then, on recommendation of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Congress directed the U.S. Public Health Service to make certain statistical studies. That study revealed that the true figure on traffic injuries was nearer 5 million persons, nearly four times the private estimate.

Five million injuries means 25 million days in bed in hospital or home. It means 125 persons injured for each person killed.

Half of those hospitalized for accidents in the United States are traffic victims.

Besides the loss of life and the 5 million injuries, there is a staggering property loss, important in striking a balance when we consider the cost of the measures needed to reduce the traffic toll.

In the United States, the property loss from auto accidents amounts to between 5 and 7 billion dollars a year. In addition the cost of auto liability insurance runs to $3 billion a year, or more.

In a report prepared for Congress last year, the U.S. Department of Commerce estimated that traffic accidents cost $116 for each registered vehicle, which averages 1 cent for each mile driven, or roughly 12½ cents for each gallon of gasoline consumed.

We had warm debates in Congress last year over increasing the gasoline tax to help finance the National Highway System.

Yet, we pay scant attention to this 12.5-cent-a-gallon toll levied by highway accidents. That is worse than a tax. At least, we are getting roads and other benefits from the tax. We are getting nothing but heartaches and shrunken bank accounts from the accidents.

Now, anyone who came along with a proposal that would reduce our gasoline tax even half a cent a gallon would get a respectful hearing.

I think it is possible, if we work together and are willing to make the necessary adjustments, that we can reduce this auto accident levy a lot more than a half a cent for each gallon of gasoline we burn.

Now, I don't believe you are going to improve the situation much merely by asking motorists to stop killing and maiming one another.

We are not going to stop this needless slaughter with slogans. Lectures are not enough. Good intentions are not enough.

Unfortunately, we cannot prevent all accidents. We must accept that.

We can prevent some of the injuries and many of the deaths without preventing the accidents. One way to do this is to give the public safer motor vehicles. During the last session of Congress, I got a bill through the House that will help give us safer vehicles. In a moment, I want to go into more detail on that but now I want to digress a moment to discuss some of the things my subcommittee has discovered regarding this problem of highway safety.

This problem has concerned us in the United States a long time. Back in World War I, we drafted a code of rules for the road.

In 1924 we organized a cooperative movement to promote safety. That was headed by Herbert Hoover, later President. That first conference urged the adoption of uniform traffic regulations. A committee was appointed to draft a model code. In 1926 a model code was approved by a national conference. A model traffic ordinance was drafted in 1928.

No one doubts the importance of a uniform code in reducing traffic accidents in a country as vast as the United States, with people moving rapidly from one jurisdiction to another by the thousands daily.

But, after all these years, we are still trying to get the uniform traffic code adopted.

It is apparent that persuasion is not enough. Something more than logic is needed.

In 1956, in the face of the mounting traffic accident toll, I became convinced that the time had come for the Federal Government to take a hand, if to nothing more than to outline the problem and suggest steps to improve the situation.

Accordingly, I presented a resolution calling for a congressional investigation.

As a result, I was appoined chairman of the Special Subcommittee on Traffic Safety. Immediately we set to work to learn what we could about traffic safety. We heard leading experts in the safety field. We visited manufacturing plants. We talked with industry safety engineers. We met with medical men whose gruesome job it is to try to same as many of the accident victims as possible. We talked with law enforcement officers who try to prevent accidents.

We came up with certain recommendations. The efforts of 3 active years are included in the subcommittee reports presented to Congress and which have had a wide distribution among people working in the traffic safety field.

We have urged more aggressive action by local communities and the States in carrying out certain basic recommendations of the President's Highway Safety Conference. We urge expanded research into the cause of accidents. We urge the States to adopt the uniform traffic code. We urge that driver examining and licensing procedures be strengthened.

We urged the industry to drop emphasis on speed and horsepower and concentrate on building safer vehicles. They stopped advertising speed and horsepower but kept right on building bigger and more powerful automobiles until the buying public, by turning in increasing numbers to the smaller domestic and foreign models, forced the big three to take a second look.

Our recommendations regarding research are important, in my judgment. We need to know where we have been and where we are going and how best to get there.

Already I have pointed out the inadequacy of the accident statistics available to our subcommittee in 1957. The figures we were given were merely guesses, and not very good guesses at that.

In large and important areas we still are guessing. Research costs money. For some reason, perhaps because of our fatalistic attitude toward auto accidents in general, it has been difficult to get money needed for research.

We were told, for example, that the auto industry has been spending about $5 or $6 million a year on research. All the smugness was taken away from that statement, however, when it was pointed out that this is only a very small drop in a very big bucket when you remember that the industry is selling around $11 billion worth of new automobiles each year.

Last year the U.S. Public Health Service spent $1 million in doing research on all accidents, even though accidents are the third leading cause of death in the United States. That amounts to about $2.50 for each traffic death. On the other hand, we have been spending $40,000 a year on research for each polio death. For each cancer death, we are spending around $360 a year. For each death from heart disease, we are spending around $87 a year on research.

As a result of our subcommittee study, last September I introduced a bill in Congress to establish a National Accident Prevention Center to concentrate upon this important public health problem.

Previously I had introduced a bill to provide Federal aid for driver training. No one questions the importance of proper driver education in reducting the accident toll,

especially among our younger drivers. Yet only 16 States provide State aid for driver education programs. It is my belief that a little aid from the Federal Government will encourage the States to establish programs which will far more than pay their way in reducing accidents. Here, in my judgment, is one sure and easy way to reduce this 12.5-cent-a-gallon levy from accidents.

Earlier I mentioned my bill to promote the manufacture of safer vehicles to reduce deaths and injuries. That bill would require that all passenger-carrying motor vehicles purchased by the Federal Government must meet certain minimum safety standards set by the Secretary of Commerce. It is my belief that this would result in the production of better automobiles for the public by forcing the manufacturers to adopt as standard, or perhaps optional equipment, the safety features required by the Federal Government. The bill was bitterly opposed on the floor of the House on the grounds that it would increase the cost of motor vehicles bought by the Government.

My answer to that is that the cost of these essential safety features largely could be absorbed by eliminating some of the chrome and frills which serve no useful purpose. Even if the safer vehicles cost more money, we can, in the long run, save money by reducing that 12.5-cent accident toll levy.

My subcommittee has favorably reported and the House has passed another important bill. This would require the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service to make a study of the effect of automobile exhaust gases on human health and report to Congress within 2 years, with recommendations, if any, regarding steps necessary to protect the public health. Legislation to attack the exhaust problem is sponsored by my colleague from Ohio, the Honorable PAUL SCHENCK, the ranking Republican member on the subcommittee. I mention this to show that there are no party politics in the subcommittee's efforts to reduce the auto accident toll.

There is a growing feeling that auto exhaust gases, in addition to contributing to the dreaded smog which is an increasing menace to urban areas in the United States, is a serious health menace and perhaps an important contributor to certain types of motor vehicle accidents.

It was with the greatest reluctance that I came to the conclusion that we need the legislation mentioned, and other measures.

I am from the South, an area where we cherish the time-honored Anglo-Saxon concept of the importance of protecting the rights and liberties of the individual from arbitrary and capricious government. We have held to and defended that concept of freedom from arbitrary rule for many generations.

We follow the doctrine of State rights. Essentially that means local self-government. It means government by the people for the benefit of the people concerned. It means protection of the rights of the individual to enjoy life and the fruits of his labor as long as he does not interfere with the rights of his neighbor. It means freedom from arbitrary rule, imposed by an absent bureaucracy with little or no knowledge of local conditions.

But absence of government does not mean freedom. It means anarchy.

As a nation we abhor regulation. In view of our similar backgrounds I am sure the same is true here. We resort to legislation only as a last resort. We like to see things done voluntarily.

We want those who have responsibility to use it. The States and local communities, by legislative action, could accomplish many of the things that must be done if we are going to reduce the traffic toll. They could pass legislation to require higher safety standards for vehicles sold within their borders. In fact; the Secretary of Commerce in his report to Congress last year, recommended that the States do this. The point is that in view of the record can we afford to wait for the States to do this?

As pointed out a while ago, with convincing arguments to back up our case, for more than 30 years we have been trying to get a uniform traffic code adopted by the various States. Some progress has been made, but we have a long way to go.

Now, I am not advocating that Congress impose by law a uniform traffic code on vehicles moving in interstate commerce. But there are certain things the Federal Government is going to have to do if we are going to make much progress in the near future.

The Federal Government must help the States with driver education programs. We must do more in the field of research. We must promote the production of safer vehicles by requiring that passenger-carrying motor vehicles purchased by the Government meet certain safety standards.

It may be that we shall have to go further than that in enacting Federal legislation.

My point is that if we are going to get the job done, we can not self-righteously hide behind the cloak of State rights, or reject steps which are going to cost money. If we are going to reduce that 12.5-cent-a-gallon levy we may have to add a few cents to our tax bill. We will have to buy a little more research. We may have to pay a few dollars for safety devices. We may have to hire more traffic patrolmen and pay them better salaries. We may have to spend a few dollars in keeping our cars in repair. Some of those now driving may have to stop driving. After all, driving is a privilege and not a right. No one who endangers the life and property of his neighbor has a right to drive.

I don't think you can catch every drunk driver before he wrecks himself or someone else. But, with proper enforcement, we can keep a lot of drunk drivers off the roads.

I don't think you are going to stop drivers from going to sleep just by passing laws.

There always will be careless and thoughtless people behind steering wheels.

Adequate vehicle inspections will keep many unsafe vehicles off the roads.

Still there will be accidents. We can't stop all these accidents but, as I said a moment ago, we can reduce the number of deaths and injuries without stopping the accidents.

How? By giving the driver and his passengers a safer package in which to ride. We need safer automobiles. Reluctantly, I am convinced that the quickest way to get these safer automobiles is by legislation.

That is not my opinion alone. It is supported by leading specialists who have worked in this field. Its soundness is shown by the studies made by the crash injury research project of Cornell University under the able direction of John Moore, who is well known to many of you in this audience.

My position is supported by the American Medical Association, which has gone on record in support of legislative action in this field. The association presented the subcommittee an impressive list of essential safety features our doctors would like to see built into our automobiles.

My position that safer cars will cut the traffic toll was supported by leading engineers and safety experts who appeared before the subcommittee, including such well-known figures as Dr. T. P. Wright, the distinguished vice president for research of Cornell University, and formerly head of the Civil Aeronautics Administration.

To get legislative action, we must have public support. The public must be convinced of the need before they will support legislation to tighten up on driver licensing procedures, to require adequate motor vehicle inspections, to spend tax money on driver education and research, to tell the industry they must build safer vehicles which meet certain minimum safety standards.

As I said before, as a Nation we abhor regulation. We don't like taxes. What is true in the United States likewise is true in Canada, I am sure.

But we have to think of those 39,000 people dead upon our streets and roads. We have to think of the millions of injured.

And, if we want to stop to consider the cost, we must think of that 12.5-cent a gallon levy we pay because of these accidents.

In conclusion, let me summarize briefly the major things I think we must do, and soon, to reduce the traffic toll.

1. We must have legislation to establish minimum safety standards for passenger-carrying motor vehicles bought for Government use.

2. More emphasis must be placed on driver education, both to combat lawlessness which contributes to juvenile delinquency, and to reduce the accident toll in the age bracket where casualties are heaviest.

3. We must continue to urge the adoption of uniform driving rules to apply from coast to coast in both our countries to eliminate dangerous confusion and to plug loopholes contributing to the accident toll.

4. We must spend more on research. Only by research have we made substantial progress against epidemics and mass killers in the public health field and here we are dealing with one of the major public health problems of our time.

Again, let me thank you for your kind invitation to meet with you. My very best thanks go to all of you for your kind hospitality.

As We See It—Students' Oath

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM K. VAN PELT
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. VAN PELT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an editorial entitled "As We See It," which was published in the Milwaukee Sentinel, Monday, December 7, 1959.

I was opposed to the Federal Government's entering into a student loan program when it was considered in the House; however, now that the proposal has become law I would certainly oppose dropping the affidavit and oath required under the program.

The editorial referred to follows:

[From the Milwaukee Sentinel, Dec. 7, 1959]

AS WE SEE IT—STUDENTS' OATH

It is disgraceful that five regents of the University of Wisconsin have alined the UW—though not quite in a straight line—with the eastern colleges which protested the affidavit and oath required under the new Federal student loan program.

Harvard and Yale not only protested the oath but declined the money. Our regents accepted the money and said they hope the oath will go away because it "trammels inquiry, affronts academic freedom, and unfairly and unjustifiably singles out as ob-

jects of distrust and suspicion the needy students in our colleges and universities."

You have to lie quite flat on your face to look this far under the bed.

A member of the board, in attempting to justify taking the loan money while balking at the oath, put his finger squarely on one of the reasons why the regents might better have remained silent on the subject altogether.

From the point of view of those students who have no objection to taking the oath, he said, it would be "dogmatic and arbitrary" to prevent them from obtaining the loan.

He's exactly right. This whole thing should be a matter of personal choice by each student whether he is willing to sign an affidavit and oath as a requirement of receiving a taxpayers' loan, available under our national defense program, and it is presumptuous of college administrators to do his thinking for him. It might even be said to be trammeling of a kind.

Beyond that, what is so terrible about the affidavit and oath? It merely requires a beneficiary of the Government to identify himself as one who agrees to abide by the ground rules of this Republic. His freedom to inquire is in no way restricted, and neither is his freedom to conclude, from his inquiries, that the Republic needs changing. And if he wishes to do something about changing it, the Constitution provides ways and means which have worked passably well for 185 years.

All the affidavit and oath commit him to is the use of these means, rather than the force, violence, or other illegal and unconstitutional methods which are foreign to us but well known to enslaved millions in other countries where they were used to impose the will of a minority.

Is that bad? We think not. We think it is an essential requirement for the welfare of all of us.

It Isn't Benson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEO E. ALLEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial, entitled "It Isn't Benson," which appeared in the Rockford (Ill.) Morning Star of December 17, 1959:

IT ISN'T BENSON

Timid Republicans who have been fearful that Secretary of Agriculture Benson would be a political liability in the 1960 presidential election should have their backs stiffened by the result of the special election this week in Iowa's Fourth Congressional District. Republican JOHN KYL defeated Democrat C. Edwin Gilmour, who based his campaign on a "get-Benson" pledge.

Iowa is in the heart of the agricultural midwest, where Benson was considered by some strictly political-minded Republicans to be a drag on the party. But KYL carried the rural areas and made inroads in the Democratic stronghold of Ottumwa, the largest population center in the district.

The forthrightness of Benson is recognized by the people. He is an asset to the Republican Party because the policies he advocates point the way to stability for agriculture and its freedom from Government controls.

It is not Benson who is responsible for agriculture's difficulties. Those difficulties began in the New Deal era when the Government tried unworkable methods to guarantee never-ending prosperity to every farmer. When Benson took office, agriculture was fettered with laws that took away its independence and made it a political football. In their frantic search for issues since the Eisenhower administrattion began the Democrats have always pulled out the farm problem as a vote-getting gimmick.

If the politicans would get off the backs of the farmers, agriculture's troubles could be overcome. But the administration has been handicapped in its efforts to help agriculture by obsolete farm laws and programs which Congress has refused to scrap.

Responsible farm leaders agree with Benson that agriculture cannot be made stronger and adjust to changing conditions until Government price fixing and other politically inspired control programs are discontinued. Benson's efforts to move agriculture toward dependence on market rather than government deserve the support of every Americans.

The Future of State Labor Relations Agencies and Federal-State Jurisdiction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, a courageous and highly respected leader in the ranks of labor, and chairman of the Massachusetts Labor Relations Commission, and well versed in labor law and labor relations, is Stephen E. McCloskey, of Boston, Mass.

In my remarks, I include an able and informative address made by Mr. McCloskey at the Third Annual Conference of the Association of State Labor Relations Agencies held in Detroit, Mich., on November 18, 1959, entitled, "The Future of State Labor Relations Agencies and Federal-State Jurisdiction."

Mr. McCloskey's address follows:

THE FUTURE OF STATE LABOR RELATIONS AGENCIES AND FEDERAL-STATE JURISDICTION

Mr. President, officers of the association, distinguished guests, chairman and members of State labor relations agencies and their guests, I deem it a privilege to be given the opportunity of addressing you on the occasion of your third annual conference. Thank you for the invitation. His Excellency, Gov. Foster Furcolo has asked me to bring to you the greetings of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Before I begin my remarks on today's subject for discussion, I have a few items of interest regarding the Massachusetts Labor Relations Commission, which I would like to mention.

Our commission, in addition to providing advice and information to employers and employees under the statute, also provides information on a multitude of labor relations matters that do not come within the purview of our State labor relations law. Frequently we find it necessary to direct the employer or employee elsewhere. I think it is about time we took credit for the service we provide employers and employees and it is my intention to set up within our commission an information center which will supply the employer or employee with the answer to his inquiry or direct him to the proper State or Federal agency. Perhaps you could do likewise on your own board or commission.

The organizing efforts of State, county, and municipal workers should provide opportunities for increasing the caseload of State labor relations agencies. Cities and towns are excluded as employers within the meaning of our statute. However, in a few cases involving the representation of employees, the city or town, on the petition of a local union, has made certain stipulations, consented to an election and asked us to supervise and conduct an election. For the future I can foresee legislation amending our statute to include cities and towns as employers within the meaning of the statute. When this legislation is enacted it should provide many new representation cases for our commission.

This is an untapped area of additional cases for us and I hope it will provide the member States of this association a similar opportunity for expanded service in their respective States.

In the void that has existed since the passage of the Labor Management Reporting and Disclosures Act of 1959, because no staff or even employee has been made available in the Boston office of the U.S. Department of Labor, who can answer questions about the new law, we have made our staff available to assist employers, union officials, and union members in reaching conclusions regarding their inquiries concerning the new law.

My thoughts on "the future of State labor relations agencies" especially since the passage of title VII of the Landrum-Griffin bill produces mixed feelings of deep concern on the one hand and subdued elation on the other. As a trade union leader and a member of the Bridge Structural and Ornamental Ironworkers Union, I am very apprehensive for the labor movement in the South and those States where no State labor relations law or agency exists. There, unions must face an archaic and reactionary common law and rely on economic force to obtain their objectives while they face labor's mortal enemy, the injunction, in an unfriendly atmosphere.

My feelings of elation, on the other hand, are sudued and not as strong as they might be for the reason I have mentioned and for the additional reason that I am not yet quite sure whether the Congress has given us anything to be happy about.

Under the Taft-Hartley amendments contained in title VII, the National Labor Relations Board is permitted to decline to assume jurisdiction over that class of employers, where the effect of the labor dispute is not sufficiently substantial to warrant the exercise of jurisdiction. The State agencies are then permitted to exercise jurisdiction over those cases which the National Labor Relations Board has declined to assert jurisdiction. However the prohibition in the law preventing the National Labor Relations Board from lowering the jurisdictional standards that were in effect on August 1, 1959, seriously limits State labor relations agencies, for, it is my opinion that the impact on interstate commerce in the cases of many of these employers is not sufficiently substantial to warrant the exercise of jurisdiction. Apparently the National Labor Relations Board is reluctant to permit the exercise of jurisdiction over those cases which commonsense indicates really belong to State labor relations agencies.

If State labor relations agencies are to have a future, a realistic and commonsense approach to the problem of jurisdiction must be developed. The line should not be drawn according to the dollar size of a business or the volume of goods brought from or sent to other States, although the second method should not be entirely excluded as it might be necessary to use it in some cases. I do not believe that Congress should write de-

tailed jurisdictional standards into the National Labor Relations Board. Rather a combination of legislative and administrative action could achieve the desired results. Perhaps we should organize and conduct a study of various segments of the economy in order to formulate a new concept or new criteria for the exercise of jurisdiction by State labor relations agencies. The feasibility of such a course of action and its implementation I leave open for discussion by the lawyers and by the members of this association for your ideas.

The come-to-rest doctrine is one that deserves review and the thoughtful consideration of the State agencies and the National Labor Relations Board.

Such an approach should, of course, recognize those employers and companies that have a truly interstate character and have a substantial effect on interstate commerce.

The employers that should be subject to the National Labor Relations Board are those in the manufacturing and production industries, the transportation industries, newspapers and communications systems, utility industries, and those industries that have a substantial effect on national defense.

Those employers who should be subject to the local control of State agencies are companies operating office buildings, retail concerns such as supermarkets and department stores, hotels, motels and restaurants, automobile agencies, gas stations and metropolitan transit systems. The employment relations of the above employers are not matters of national concern, but rather of local concern.

Local authority means local responsibility which is closer to our democratic philosophies of home rule and to our ideal of self-determination. State agencies are more flexible, closer to the facts and can reach practical and sound decisions because of their knowledge of and familiarity with local conditions. Their familiarity with the individuals involved permits them to appraise the human problems and this, of course, is not the case where the National Labor Relations Board is forced to consider cases on the basis of a printed record.

I think it is most important to the economy of our individual States to see to it that a good industrial climate exists where the labor disputes of local unions and small business may be settled quickly and inexpensively. Since State agencies are able to handle cases more conveniently and expeditiously, local unions and small businesses should not be required to make time-consuming and expensive trips to Washington.

In addition the prospect of 50 States, or in reality 15 States administering a State labor relations law appeals to me for each of these States could supply new ideas and new solutions to labor management problems. No better approach could be developed in providing constructive thought and action in this vital field than by allowing each State to serve as a research laboratory for testing progressive measures.

The views of the Honorable John R. Dethmers, the distinguished chief justice of the supreme court of this State in the area of Federal-State relationships are the most compelling and profound of any I have heard or read. His remarks made in an address delivered before the midwinter meeting of the Massachusetts Bar Association at Holyoke, Mass., on February 14, 1959, are, I think, appropos and particularly deserving of our attention at this time. Your chief justice was speaking by reason of his chairmanship last year of the National Conference of Chief Justices whose report he was discussing. The title of that report was "Federal-State Relationships as Affected by Judicial Decisions."

The following remarks are meaningful to me and, I trust to this association:

"Of transcendent importance to the Nation, overshadowing all others in the concern of the conference, is the matter of Federal-State relationships as affected by judicial decisions.

"No consideration of the report can be balanced or complete without these observations:

"(3) The conference's expressed alarm, and mine, at the noticeable trend toward increased national powers accompanied by a diminishing of the powers of States and local governments, relates not to mere sectional or selfish interests, but springs from the same concern as that of our Founding Fathers that liberty's cause may be lost in too high a concentration of powers in the National Government, and from the conviction that safety for the rights of man inheres in a diffusion of those powers, and maintenance of the highest possible degree of local self-government compatible with national security and well being. So long as we would adhere to the determination of the fathers that the State, the government, exists for man and not man for the State, in the consideration of every proposed extension or withholding of governmental powers and the division of those powers between the States and the Nation, our lodestar must always be, 'How will the cause of freedom best be served, how the rights of man advanced?' The 14th amendment achieves its intended goal when it prevents State action destructive of human freedom; it misses that goal when used as a tool to concentrate power in the National Government at the cost of liberty."

A close analysis of these considerations reveals that a sound labor policy requires participation by both States and Federal Government. Perhaps the criteria to be employed by the board should be whether sound labor policy requires State action and not consistency with specific provisions of the act.

Although a multiplicity of tribunals may well lead to a multiplicity of results, this is not necessarily undesirable for it is in diversity, that this country has found its greatest strength and unity.

Barstow Pioneer, C. B. McCoy, Fought at Battle of Manila

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRY R. SHEPPARD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert in the RECORD a newspaper item complimenting Mr. C. B. McCoy, of Barstow, Calif. He served for many years in the U.S. Navy with an outstanding record, and received the Navy Medal of Valor. He is a fine citizen, and beloved by the community in which he resides.

The article referred to follows:

[From the Barstow (Calif.) Daily Sun, Dec. 31, 1959]

BARSTOW PIONEER, C. B. MCCOY FOUGHT AT BATTLE OF MANILA

(By Ray Miller)

BARSTOW.—C. B. McCoy, pioneer desert resident and U.S. Navy veteran who participated in the Battle of Manila Bay, recently received a facsimile page of the Chicago Tribune published May 2, 1898, the day after the historic naval engagement.

McCoy enlisted in the Navy at Vallejo, Calif., in 1891 and was honorably discharged in 1906. An engineer honorably discharged in 1906. An engineer, second class, he was on board the U.S.S. *Petrel*, commanded by Comdr. E. P. Wood at the Battle of Manila Bay.

His ship was seriously damaged in the fighting which took place under the guns of the Spanish shore batteries near Cavite.

SIX VESSELS

In the battle six American naval vessels including the flagship *Olympia*, a cruiser commanded by Capt. C. N. Gridley, to whom Commodore George Dewey issued the famous order "You may fire when ready, Gridley," the cruisers *Baltimore, Boston, Raleigh, Concord*, and McCoy's vessel, the gunboat *Petrel*, engaged the Spanish fleet of 17 vessels. With the America flotilla were the colliers *Nansham* and *Zafiro* and the dispatch boat *McCullough*, said McCoy, but took no part in the fight.

It was the first time in naval history that rapid fire 6- and 8-inch guns were used and they were on Dewey's ships, McCoy said.

In studying the Tribune's account of the naval battle, McCoy found only errors of fact in details. The account of the historic engagement was first received from Spanish sources and was relayed by cable via Biarritz.

The Spanish fleet of 17 ships were all either completely destroyed or put out of any further action. Six of the Spanish cruisers and all of the Spanish gunboats were sunk.

During McCoy's career in the U.S. Navy, he held the title of Navy boxing champion from 1904–05. He outpointed oldtime boxer Tom Sharkey at the Vallejo baseball grounds in 1903 and in a return bout the following year was beaten by Sharkey, when he was unable to answer the bell in the seventh round.

McCoy learned his boxing skill as a student of Gentleman Jim Corbett's school of boxing at San Francisco's Olympia Club.

Born in Aztec, N. Mex., in 1874, McCoy first came to the local desert in 1885 by covered wagon. Later he went to Modoc County and was engaged in the cattle business until he joined the Navy. There was no Barstow at that time and Daggett was the principal trading center of the desert.

After his discharge from the Navy, McCoy returned to the Mojave Desert in 1906 and has been a railroader until his retirement several years ago.

He holds the Navy Medal of Valor, awarded to him for rescuing a man at sea. As McCoy tells the incident, he was aboard the U.S.S. *Vicksburg*, enroute from Manila to the Boston Navy Yard. Midway between Boston and Gibralter, in mid-Atlantic, the *Vicksburg*, a poor sea ship, said McCoy, was battling a hurricane-type storm. A heavy sea swept four men overboard and in attempts to launch a lifeboat, another huge sea broke the lifeboat in half as it was being lowered from the davits. The boat's crew managed to save themselves by clinging to lifelines with the exception of the coxswain, a sailor named Vergler who went overboard.

SAVED FROM THE SEA

As the man came up he shouted "I'm hurt," and McCoy, an excellent swimmer, jumped overboard and held up Vergler until a lifeline was dropped. Hauled aboard, it was found that Vergler had a broken hip sustained when the huge sea struck the lifeboat. A few weeks' later, McCoy was awarded the medal and received a citation from the Navy Department for his gallant action.

Now in his 80's, McCoy still takes an active interest in desert political affairs and has hosts of friends in the desert area. As one of a vanishing breed, he is typical of the

men who assured this country's future in the days of the Nation's greatest expansion, an era which witnessed the United States emerge from second-rate status among nations to that of a first-class power and one that was then respected throughout the world.

Swastika Vandalism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, we have witnessed in recent weeks renewed manifestations of that loathsome affliction called anti-Semitism. The news stories from large cities in the United States and in different parts of the world report acts of vandalism and desecration of Jewish homes, institutions, monuments, and places of worship. I regret to say that my own city of Baltimore is one of these cities.

West Germany, of course, has gotten the most attention, since the current rash of anti-Jewish activities seems to have broken out after two young hoodlums in Cologne defaced a synagog on Christmas Eve.

I trust that those who perpetuate these offenses will be dealt with promptly and sternly, and will be punished to the full extent of the law. Where the laws are inadequate, new laws should be enacted without delay.

The New York Times of Sunday, January 10, 1960, reports that Chancellor Adenauer will ask the Bundestag to amend the penal code with the aim of curbing anti-Semitic activities. The same newspaper also reports that a Labor Member of the British Parliament—Sir Leslie Plummer—is drafting a bill to impose jail sentences up to 6 months for painting swastikas on buildings.

The West German Government has a special obligation and responsibility to deal with this matter, for it must show to the world that the evil spirit of Hitlerism is not rising again from the dead ashes of World War II. I believe Chancellor Adenauer recognizes full well that if Germany fails to do its proper duty, it will forfeit the respect and confidence that the Federal Republic has gained in the free world for its hard work of postwar reconstruction, its contributions to NATO defenses, and its diligent effort to make amends to the surviving victims of Nazi persecution and tyranny.

There have been some attempts, in Germany and elsewhere, to discount the recent actions of racial vandalism as Communist maneuvers to discredit the Federal Republic of Germany and the Chancellor and thereby to serve Moscow's propaganda line in advance of the Summit talks. While the Communists are quite capable of resorting to such techniques, so far there has been no real evidence of a Communist plot.

There are indications that the German youth has not been taught in school what the Hitler regime has done in its monstrous assault on humanity. The Federal Republic of Germany would do well, even at this late date, to reexamine its educational policies as well as its laws, in order to extripate the Nazi influence from German life.

We in the United States need not be smug about the problem. There are many acts of violence and depredations against people and property in the United States caused by racial and religious animosities. We have our own hoodlums and delinquents who paint swastikas and burn crosses and even throw bombs. Sometimes the depredations are against Negroes, sometimes against Jews, Catholics, Protestants, or others. Religious bigotry and race hatred are malignant social diseases which can spread throughout the body politic unless they are treated skillfully and in time.

Many of the reports and news stories depict the offenders as juveniles engaging in a new kind of prank called swastika vandalism. Among those who play these ugly games we might expect to find crackpots, fanatics, professional agitators, psychopaths, and other emotionally disoriented persons. If youngsters are taking a fancy to this evil sport, then I fear that juvenile delinquency is assuming a form even more dangerous than street fights, robbery, and mayhem. For actions which associate youth with religious and racial prejudice strike at the very vitals of American life and freedom. America's future is dark indeed if its youngsters become infected with the virulence of religious and race hatred which has torn nations and continents apart and led to mass murder and frightful wars. We can ignore the crackpots and fanatics but we cannot ignore the youth of America.

Next month Americans will salute Brotherhood Week. I hope that the President of the United States will find time, in recognition of Brotherhood Week, to make a nationwide appeal to the American people to spur their efforts, individually and through their civic, religious, and local government institutions, to promote good will and understanding amongst all Americans. We owe it to ourselves, to our children, and to the future of the country to condemn the offenses to which I have referred and to hold up the offenders to national scorn and disgrace as betrayers of the free way of life.

Informed Citizens

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the December 23 edition of the La Grange Citizen, a community newspaper in my district, reports an excellent commentary on the subject of public knowledge and information on the vital issues of the day:

INFORMED CITIZENS

"To invite well-informed, interesting representatives of the various fields of politics, labor, management, public relations and education to speak at monthly meetings."

That is the purpose set forth by the officers of a club named "Horizons," sponsored by members of St. Barbara's parish in Brookfield. Robert Hirsch, the president, informs that any interested person is welcome to attend the meetings held monthly.

Thomas J. Haggerty, opposition candidate to James Hoffa for the AFL–CIO presidency, was brought to Brookfield this week to discuss union controversies.

The fact that this is a church-group-supported organization should not deter others from attending meetings of the Horizons. The Haggerty program is proof in itself that the officers of the club intend to pursue the purposes as stated above.

America needs more than anything else citizens who are well informed on all the topics, and more, covered in the club's stated purpose.

There is no lack of printed material covering all the problem-creating forces that influence our lives, but to know requires reading on more than one side of any controversy. Discussion, questions and answers are the sources, especially when experts, or persons in the know, take part.

Richard Murray Simpson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, the Altoona (Pa.) Mirror has joined the long list of the Nation's newspapers that have found the life of our late colleague, Richard Murray Simpson, worthy of editorial comment.

The following editorial, titled "Good Statesman," appeared in the January 9 issue and is among the numerous tributes of love and respect tendered in memory of one of the finest Members of Congress ever elected from the great State of Pennsylvania:

GOOD STATESMAN

At the age of 59 years, death has halted the brilliant career of Richard M. Simpson, Congressman representing the largest area in Pennsylvania, a brief illness closing a 23-year service in Washington. Death came at the Naval Medical Center at Bethesda, Md., Thursday morning.

Profound regret at his passing has been expressed by the President and the Governor, as well as by the 30-member Pennsylvania delegation in Congress. He took a leading part in all phases of government, ranking high on various committees.

Congressman Simpson represented the famed "shoestring" district, the 18th, in the State, which contains eight counties, the largest group of any of the State districts. The 18th extends from the Maryland county line to Lewisburg.

He represented the district since 1937, when he was named to fill an unexpired

term, and he has been reelected 11 times in a predominantly Republican district. In Washington he was the second oldest in service from Pennsylvania. Through seniority, he gained a position of great influence. Only recently he was mentioned for national Republican Party chairman.

Dick Simpson fought for liberal legislation and strongly opposed the New Deal and Fair Deal while fighting for high tariffs and strict economy. A forceful speaker, he was heard frequently on the floor and in committees.

Dick, standing 6 feet 2 inches tall and a 210 pounds, was a formidable individual, deeply devoted to his Washington duties, so much so that he took a law course in middle age to become more familiar with Government matters. He never practiced that profession, however.

He graduated at Huntingdon High in 1918 with an athletic record and then enlisted in the Tank Corps in World War I. He played football at Pitt under famed Coach Pop Warner, getting his degree in 1923.

He is greatly mourned by everyone in his district, for he so ably served all his constituents.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, following is my newsletter of January 9, 1960:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman BRUCE ALGER, Fifth District, Texas)

JANUARY 9, 1960.

"I, JOHN KYL, do solemnly swear that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enmies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion, and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office on which I about to enter. So help me God."

Thus did the Speaker swear in the year's first new Member, JOHN KYL, of Iowa. Not only were all Members reminded of their oath taken a year earlier, but also of the relentless toll that time takes from the ranks of Congressmen. Since Congress adjourned, Representatives Boyle (Illinois), Carter (Iowa), Bush (Pennsylvania), and Senator Langer (North Dakota) have passed on. The total loss since the 86th Congress first convened in January of 1959 now is seven Representatives and one Senator. This saddening experience was heightened by the demise of Dick Simpson (Pennsylvania) Thursday morning. Dick, the ranking Republican on the Committee on Ways and Means, was a 22-year veteran of Congress. There was no question about the sincerity and depth of feeling of members of both parties paying tribute to his memory.

The reconvening of Congress January 6 was accompanied by a spontaneous and enthusiastic camaraderie as, milling about, Members exchanged greetings on the House floor. The Speaker's birthday the same day was the cause of even more good will as all united in wishing the best for Speaker RAYBURN. Earlier many Members had joined the President and Vice President at the traditional church service.

The President delivered the state of the Union message, as usual, before a joint session of the House and Senate in the House Thursday. Present also were Supreme Court Justices, the President's Cabinet officers, and the foreign ministers, including the Russian Ambassador. The smiling Mr. Menshikov looks surprisingly American in appearance and conduct. Vice President NIXON (President of the Senate) and House Speaker RAYBURN jointly presided. The Speaker introduced the President, who looked fit and happy.

The state of the Union message, 40 minutes long, covered a lot of ground, alternately dealing in generalities and then in specifics. The President spoke with unmistakable forcefulness and confidence. His two themes of peace and freedom struck just the right note, it seemed to me. Particularly pleasing was his stress of freedom, not only in the accepted sense as freedom from oppression between nations, but also as a domestic matter within our Nation, where legislation and the role of Federal Government can jeopardize our personal liberties, as we are forced to pay the tax price and suffer the bureaucratic control of Federal Government programs. For example, the President specifically reminded us that the growth problems of cities must be handled within the traditional balanced framework of Federal-State Government, not "yield to the deceptive bait of the easy Federal tax dollar." Equally satisfying was his emphasis on the need for Government living within its income, that is, a balanced budget. The big surprise of the day was his forecast of a $4.2 billion surplus which he recommended as payment against the national debt. Freedom and individual liberty took on new significance and meaning through this treatment of domestic matters. The Federal Government's legislative action obviously affects each individual's personal freedom—as viewed in specific programs mentioned by the President as warranting Congress' attention, such as labor-management relations, agriculture, education, civil rights, and finally in the inflation which may result from governmental action.

Peace, as freedom from aggression and oppression, received major attention. The President laid the responsibility for today's uneasiness squarely at Russia's door. Our efforts are directed to maintaining peace for ourselves and others, backed up by overpowering military strength. As the President put it, the Soviet threat could be competitive incentive to us, not a fear, with our system, not the Soviet's, offering the only worthwhile prize—freedom.

To accomplish our objectives, the President appealed for cooperation from Congress, noting that he has been politically opposed by Congress more than any other President. There was a significant lack of applause by Democrats throughout the speech. For my part, I thought the message excellent. However, it is necessary to receive the later, more detailed messages to understand his specific recommendations. The particular areas he mentioned briefly which need further explanation, as I see it, include foreign aid, labor-management relations, agriculture, aid to education, civil rights, and the International Court, all of which reminds me as it may you, "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," and we must all pay that price, certainly your Congressman.

My efforts to inform the people of their Government will include regular weekly television (WFAA-TV), Sunday, 10:30 a.m.), weekly radio (KLIF), occasional daily radio reports, the weekly newsletter (available to all who want it), and the yearly questionnaire.

U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Unemployment Visited Altoona, Pa., October 26, 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, for the purpose of gathering firsthand information on the unemployment situation in the central Pennsylvania area a Senate Subcommittee on Unemployment, composed of Senator JOSEPH CLARK of Pennsylvania, as chairman, and Senator HUGH SCOTT of Pennsylvania, as a member, visited Altoona October 26, 1959, taking testimony from over a score of witnesses at both a morning and afternoon session held in Altoona's city hall. Those testifying represented a cross section of business, labor, and industry.

It was my privilege to not only make the following statement to the committee on the unemployment conditions in the three counties of my congressional district but I was accorded the privilege of sitting with the committee in listening to the testimony of other witnesses, many of whom shared my concern over the unemployment situation in my congressional district.

My statement follows:

Mr. Chairman, over a period of years it has been my privilege to appear before numerous congressional committees in support of area redevelopment legislation.

As a matter of fact, I am among a group of Representatives in Congress who are recognized as pioneers in this particular field.

My congressional district comprises the counties of Blair, Centre, and Clearfield, and has been plagued with chronic unemployment for years due to depressed conditions in the coal and railroad industries. At times as much as 18 percent of our total labor force has been unemployed.

Therefore, the residents of the 20th Congressional District know the meaning of ghost towns and the misery that follows in the wake of unemployment as we watch good American families being forced to exist on public assistance and surplus commodities.

Speaking of surplus commodities as of October 1 in my three-county area there are 36,758 persons eligible for surplus food or 12.6 percent of the overall population.

In fact, in Clearfield County nearly 20.1 percent of the population are recipients of surplus commodities and dependent upon them for the necessities of life.

Mr. Chairman, at the present time in the two labor forces in my congressional district, here is the picture.

As of October 1, 1959, in the Altoona area, out of a labor force of 53,700 there were 4,600 unemployed, or an average of 8.6 percent of the labor force; while in the Du Bois-Clearfield area, out of a labor force of 35,400 there were 5,300 unemployed, or an average of 15 percent of the labor force.

Therefore, the unemployment situation in my congressional district is simply this. Out of a labor force of nearly 90,000, there are 10,000 unemployed, or 9 percent of the labor force.

As I have said before, unemployment in my congressional district has been as high as 18 percent of the labor force. One point I want to emphasize is that unemployment conditions are not temporary or seasonal nor can we see any improvement in the coal and railroad industries.

As a matter of fact, employment in these industries is still on the downward trend and nobody dares to predict when employment will level off.

For an illustration my hometown of Altoona is principally a railroad town because it is the site of the largest railroad shops in the world operated by the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. Early in 1951 these shops employed 14,361; while August 1958 employment dropped to 2,500.

According to information at hand employment is expected to level off at 7,000 as it was on October 1, 1959. This means that in the city of Altoona alone, there has been a loss of over 7,000 jobs.

Mr. Chairman, this situation in Altoona is duplicated in the city of Du Bois where hundreds have been furloughed by the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad.

Instead of having around 1,200 employees, as of October 1, 161 were employed with the expectation that employment in Du Bois will level off at 600, which means that 50 percent of the B. & O. labor force will be jobless.

I have been pinpointing unemployment in the railroad industry in an effort to show the permanent loss of jobs. Similar facts reveal that the same condition exists in the coal, brick, and related industries in my congressional district.

One often hears the question: "Why is it that these areas of chronic unemployment cannot help themselves?"

The answer is that while some 1,800 communities throughout the country have active area redevelopment corporations, I can only speak for my own congressional district where such groups have been active for years and have enjoyed a measure of success.

For example, since 1946 in my hometown of Altoona, Pa., as a result of an active industrial redevelopment group that raised nearly a million dollars mostly through voluntary payroll deductions, 11 new industries have been brought into the Altoona area solely through community, State, and Federal effort.

These new industries have provided 3,600 new jobs and a $12 million increased annual payroll.

Seventy percent of the new jobs are for men.

This highly successful effort stems from what is commonly known nationally as the Altoona plan.

Mr. Chairman, in attaining this remarkable record the Altoona group like other groups in my congressional district has borrowed at the banks to the legal limit.

In addition, the Pennsylvania Industrial Development Authority, as well as the Small Business Administration, have assisted to their legal limit.

Therefore, in my congressional district these area redevelopment groups are in need of further financial assistance such as is provided for in the area redevelopment legislation now before Congress.

I think I can speak for all area redevelopment groups in my congressional district when I say that they do not want any Federal handout.

What they need primarily is additional borrowing power which coupled with other forms of Federal assistance as contained in the pending bills will enable them to assist in wiping out these pockets of unemployment and their human wastage.

In achieving this objective, we will not only rehabilitate our economy through diversification of industry, but we will, in effect, be barring a repetition of this chronic unemployment that we have been faced with for years.

Mr. Chairman, I should like to repeat a question constantly asked by many of my constituents—"Why is it that Congress sends billions of dollars to so-called underprivileged nations yet ignores the plight of good American citizens who through no fault of their own are unemployed?"

The anwser to this question is that Congress too long has ignored "the pockets of unemployment" that have brought suffering and despair despite national prosperity.

Mr. Chairman, I hold no brief for those who quibble and employ delaying tactics over the cost of area redevelopment legislation. Since we have billions to pour into foreign aid, we certainly have a moral obligation to care for the needs of America's unemployed.

The fact that area redevelopment legislation is fully justified makes it pertinent to ask, "Why solicit a repetition of last year's veto by having the pending Douglas-Flood bill given similar treatment since it resembles to a marked degree the Douglas-Spence bill of the 85th Congress?"

Frankly, it will not be difficult for me to support the Douglas-Flood bill, but I must confess the possibility of another veto is a cause for great concern.

While there is no one in the Senate or the House who would stoop to playing politics with the misery of unemployment, we cannot ignore the fact that unless a bill is enacted the suffering of the people in the depressed areas is not going to be alleviated.

Mr. Chairman, among the sponsors of depressed area legislation there exist two conflicting points of view.

To begin with, in principle the administration has endorsed aid to depressed areas.

In addition, the two great major political parties also endorsed the principle in their 1956 platforms.

Therefore, the question that Congress must resolve is the extent of aid to the depressed areas of the Nation.

In an effort to reach this common objective, it is imperative that reasonable people should be willing to compromise.

In this connection, it is my belief that the President will find it possible to accept a reasonable compromise between the administration bill and the Douglas-Flood version of the legislation.

In my plea for a reasonable compromise, it must be thoroughly understood that I am not presuming to speak for the administration, nor have I had any consultations with administration leaders on the subject.

Mr. Chairman, let us be practical and face the facts concerning depressed-area legislation. In the event of a Presidential veto of the Douglas-Flood bill, I have been unable to find anyone willing to flatly predict that the veto will be overriden by the House of Representatives.

The fear of being unable to override a veto is based on the fact that it requires two-thirds of the votes cast to accomplish that purpose.

Therefore, looking the facts right in the face, when you review the position of those Members of the House today in relation to their last year's vote on the Douglas-Spence bill, one finds that the margin of victory would be insufficient to override a possible Presidential veto of the Douglas-Flood bill.

Mr. Chairman, to improve the chances of enacting depressed-area legislation, I introduced H.R. 4878, a bill which represents a compromise between the administration's approach and the Douglas-Flood proposal.

With a few exceptions, my compromise bill, H.R. 4878, offers the same types of aid contained in the Douglas-Spence bill vetoed last year.

For example, instead of making every depressed area eligible for the same types of assistance, my bill provides different degrees of Federal assistance based upon the level of chronic unemployment and the need in such areas.

In this connection, it is my belief that areas which have suffered greater levels of unemployment should be entitled to a greater degree of aid than those communities whose problems of unemployment are of a lesser degree.

Briefly, my bill, H.R. 4878, provides for the following programs:

(1) Technical assistance: Depressed areas would be eligible for technical assistance to help the communities to appraise their physical and human resources, which would prepare them to plan constructive programs to attract new businesses and expand existing businesses in these areas.

(2) Community loans: Depressed communities would be eligible to receive loans from a revolving fund of $100 million.

We know that the conventional lending facilities in depressed areas are not as venturesome as those in growing and expanding communities.

The fund would put the depressed areas on a more equal footing with other communities in attracting new jobs.

(3) Public facilities: Some communities need improvement in public facilities before they would become sufficiently attractive to new businesses which might desire to locate in these areas.

My bill provides for an establishmen of a $25 million revolving fund from which these communities would be able to borrow.

While the figure may appear modest, attention is called to the fact that legislation is pending before the House which would establish special funds for community facilities.

Meanwhile, under my bill, H.R. 4878, a smaller fund would be allocated and earmarked to aid depressed areas.

In addition, the most depressed communities which do not have the sufficient resources to borrow funds would be eligible to receive grants up to a maximum of $25 million.

At this point, let me stress that this is not an annual appropriation but is intended to be a $25 million revolving fund from which these communities would be able to borrow.

The administrator of the program would be expected to limit the grants only to communities with the greatest need for aid and which do not have sufficient resources to repay the loans in the foreseeable future.

It should be stressed that this is no give-away program; under the provisions of my bill grants would be made only for projects which would provide lasting improvements and thus broaden the economic base of the communities.

(4) Vocational training and subsistence: One of the big problems of the people in depressed areas is the fact that many of their industries have declined or disappeared and, consequently, the demand for the skills acquired by the people in these areas has also diminished or vanished.

In order to enable these people whose skills have become obsolete to gain new employment, we must provide facilities to retrain them.

Therefore, it is urged that we enact the program contained in my compromise bill, H.R. 4878, as a realistic means of providing an effective program to aid the chronically depressed areas of the Nation.

Since the cost of depressed area legislation has proved a stumbling block in the past and impeded our efforts, let me point out that the cost of the Douglas-Flood bill is $389.5 million as compared to the cost of the administration bill which is $53 million.

By way of contrast, my compromise bill, H.R. 4878, will cost $158 million or just about midway between the cost of the Douglas-Flood bill and the administration bill.

In connection with depressed area legislation, let me state that I have no pride of authorship.

My sole desire is to aid the people in the depressed areas and to attain such a laudable objective the spirit of compromise should be dominant in our minds.

As one who represents two chronically depressed areas in Pennsylvania with unemployment at times as high as 18 percent of our labor force and which has plagued us for years, my goal is that Congress enact without delay an effective bill in a form acceptable to the President, thereby eliminating the prospects of another Presidential veto.

Mr. Chairman, the residents of the 159 depressed areas of the Nation are entitled to this type of legislation, and it is my sincere hope that Congress will compromise any differences and enact a depressed area bill without further delay.

Congressional District Loses Faithful Servant

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IVOR D. FENTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. FENTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Williamsport Sun-Gazette of November 6, 1959:

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT LOSES FAITHFUL SERVANT

Expressions of sorrow over the sudden and unexpected death of Congressman Alvin R. Bush were heard today in all corners of the big eight-county district he served so diligently during the 9 years he was in the National House of Representatives. They were personal, heartfelt tributes.

His warmest friends, his closest political associates, even his sharpest political foes, were as one in paying tribute to his integrity and sincerity as a public official. Although there were critics in his lifetime who differed strongly with his political philosophy, as is always true in public life, there was no man today who denied that he stood loyally to his principles and dedicated himself cheerfully to the work of Congress.

Congressman Bush was not a speech-making Member of the House. He seldom took the floor.

But he make friends easily and counted them by scores on both sides of the aisle. Democrats as well as Republicans recognized his integrity, the absence of self-seeking, the honorableness of his motives.

By reason of having won their good opinion, he was enabled to accomplish much for his district.

As monuments to his memory for long years to come will be such district projects as the flood-control reservoirs and dikes on the upper reaches of the Susquehanna River; the extensive improvements at the City-County Airport in Montoursville; and the preservation of the old Susquehanna Ordnance Depot as an acreage saved intact for industrial development.

He kept himself well informed about the Nation's business. He knew what was going on in Congress.

An inquiry from this newspaper—or from any constituent—about some matter in the legislative mill would receive his closest attention. Information was always forthcoming.

In all parts of his district are persons today who tell of his helpfulness in handling their affairs with either Congress or some one of the departments, bureaus, or agencies of the Federal Government.

Indeed, concerning his activities in Washington, it was frequently surprising to observe how little he talked about the work he was doing and the significance of matters that passed over his desk.

He neither bragged nor sought publicity, but the increasing importance of his House committee assignments attested his growing stature.

For example, as a member of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and its Subcommittee on Transportation and Aeronautics, he was close to the Nation's commerce and finance. He had an influential voice in determining Federal disbursements to aviation—which was much to the benefit of this immediate community.

Again, his membership on the Committee on Public Works enabled him to serve his entire district well with respect to flood control and road projects.

Congressman Bush was an independent-minded Member of the House of Representatives.

Although predisposed—because of his years as a county chairman—to be loyal to his party's leadership, he refused to be a rubber stamp. He did his own thinking, and his wide business experience generally qualified him to rely on his own judgment.

He was a champion of good government. It may be said of him that he loved it with a devoted zeal.

He preached the importance of it during 10 years as Republican chairman in Lycoming County; he dedicated himself to it during his 9 years in Congress.

Entirely happy in serving his fellow citizens, consecrated to what he believed was the best interest of his country, persistent in seeking whatever woud benefit the 17th District of Pennsylvania, he was indeed our faithful servant at Washington.

HE DID A JOB FOR LITTLE LEAGUE

His constituents have many things for which to thank Congressman Alvin R. Bush, whose sudden death yesterday is being widely mourned. He loked after their interests well in Washington.

High on the list of his accomplishments stands the national and official recognition of Little League baseball.

The resolution he sponsored early this year, which Congress passed and President Eisenhower approved, sets aside a week annually as Little League Baseball Week. Williamsport, as the home of Little League, is as proud of this recognition as Congressman Bush was pleased to achieve it.

Britain Cried Enough

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the December 24 edition of the Lansing Journal, a community newspaper in my district, is, I believe, a most thought-provoking commentary on a topic of great concern to us all:

BRITAIN CRIED ENOUGH

Of all the free countries, England has had the widest experience with the welfare state, and with the widespread socialization of enterprise that inevitably accompanies that institution. Following the last World War, when the Labor Party was returned to power, there was good reason to believe that England was embarked on a course that could only lead to virtually total socialism.

Yet today further nationalization of enterprise is a dead issue in Britain. Labor Party leaders frankly admitted as much in speeches during what amounted to an election post mortem. They are particularly distressed by the fact that the young voters, on whom the future of any political party depends, not only were unattracted by the Socialist program but defected in droves to the Conservatives. The emphasis in Britain now, under the MacMillan government, is on the encouragement of private enterprise and private investment both at home and abroad.

Well, as the old saying has it, experience is the best of all teachers. And experience has taught a majority of the British electorate that socialism, whatever the theoretical claims made for it, leads to a dreary morass of higher taxes, inflated prices, lessened liberty, bureaucratic dictation, and a loss of national vitality all along the line. And so, in the last election, Britain cried enough in decisive terms.

Let us hope that the people of the United Sfates will profit from the example of the ally with which we share a common language and much of our heritage.

Down With Benson! Back to Brannan?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEO E. ALLEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Speaker under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial entitled "Down With Benson! Back to Brannan?" which appeared in the Telegraph-Herald, Dubuque, Iowa, under date of December 23, 1959:

DOWN WITH BENSON! BACK TO BRANNAN?

Democrats, with an overwhelming majority in both Houses of Congress, attempted no general farm legislation this past session, and yet the Democratic candidates are traipsing up and down the country condemning Benson, and promising farm Utopia—if elected. Senate Majority Leader LYNDON JOHNSON has just finished his nonpolitical tour of Iowa on a theme denouncing Benson.

And C. Edwin Gilmour, Democratic candidate for Congress in the fourth district, comes out flatly with the statement that "Benson is the issue in this campaign. Benson is Republicanism."

Farmers should know by now that they will need more help than mere denunication of Secretary Benson. It's Congress that passes legislation, and if most Congressmen believe that supports should be higher and that Government control should be even more strict, that kind of legislation can be passed—even over a veto.

The trouble is that Congress has not felt so inclined, even with the leaders talking the way they do about saving agriculture. Indeed, in Congress, despite the Democratic majority, the Benson program stands up pretty well. At least, he was successful at the last session in blocking sweeping New Deal farm bills.

The farm problem comes to a head again this week, when it will be debated for 5 days

at the annual meeting in Chicago of the American Farm Bureau Federation.

Some dismal facts must be faced. Prices received by farmers for crops and livestock fell 2 percent in the month ended November 15 to a 19-year low. At the same time, costs of production and living supplies rose 0.33 percent over the month. The parity ratio—prices received by the farmer as against prices he pays—stood at 79, as against 84 in mid-November 1958. Indications were that it would go even lower when mid-December data were released.

Government-held farm surpluses at the beginning of November hit a new high of $9.2 billion—as against last February's previous record of $9.1 billion. They'll continue to climb for several months.

Benson says he will propose legislation next year to extend use of the soil bank, expand uses for farm products, and set realistic price supports.

This plan has been denounced by the Democratic Advisory Council, which has made this announcement: "We look with favor on the system now used for wool * * * which allows prices to find their own level and which makes up for the farmer's income with a direct payment."

This is the program proposed by Agriculture Secretary Charles Brannan in 1949, and rejected in Congress by a Democratic majority.

It is the program now proposed by Iowa's Governor Loveless. He says he intends to try to have it incorporated into the Democratic platform of 1960. Governor Loveless augmented his scheme a few days ago by proposing a minimum wage, so to speak, for farmers.

The Farm Bureau Federation has been relatively conservative about these reforms, and may not go for extremes, however serious the situation seems. For some years the federation has advocated release of agriculture from Government control.

Now the proposal seems to be to exchange one control (Federal regulation of planting, etc., and price subsidies) for another Government control—a direct payment to farmers who have to sell at prices lower than the the Government thinks they should get.

Twelfth Annual Dinner Meeting, Blair County Branch, Pennsylvania Economy League, Inc., Altoona, Pa., November 3, 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, it was my pleasure to attend the 12th annual dinner of the Blair County Branch of the Pennsylvania Economy League, Inc., held at the Penn-Alto Hotel, Altoona, Pa., November 3, 1959, at 6:30 p.m.

Mr. William W. Ward, Altoona, Pa., chairman of the 12th annual dinner meeting was fortunate in securing an outstanding speaker in the person of Mr. David C. Bevan, vice president of the Pennsylvania Railroad in charge of finance, who delivered the principal address, titled "The Pennsylvania Railroad in the Pennsylvania Economy."

Mr. Bevan's address follows:

THE PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD IN THE PENNSYLVANIA ECONOMY

(Speech by David C. Bevan, vice president, finance, the Pennsylvania Railroad Co., to the Blair County Branch of the Pennsylvania Economy League, Altoona, Pa., November 3, 1959)

I appreciate this chance to meet and talk with the Blair County Branch of the Pennsylvania Economy League. Blair County and the league are both mighty important to the Pennsylvania Railroad. For generations the county's mechanical skills have created much of our equipment and kept it in operating order. In its quarter-century of history, the league has done a great deal to maintain an economic climate that the railroad and other State industries can live in. Without Blair County and the league the railroad would find the going even rougher than it already is, as would a lot of other Pennsylvania industries.

When Carl Maier kindly invited me to appear before you, he suggested you might like to hear from me on the topic, "Citizen Interest in Government." He also sent me by way of suggestion addresses by previous speakers on other aspects of industrial statesmanship. Knowing your demonstrated interest in that side of business, the part that gets away from day-to-day concern with balance sheets, nothing would give me more pleasure than to offer you some of my thoughts on it. Unfortunately, because of the recent recession, a couple of $5 million snowstorms, and the steel strike coming on top of a number of problems we were already living with, the railroad is not in a financial position to sit back and philosophize. I think in a few years we may be, but not right now. Maybe you'll ask me back again, when conditions are more favorable for that sort of thing.

Meanwhile you might like to hear, as fellow businessmen and as fellow Pennsylvanians, what we are doing about some of our most pressing problems. You may or may not agree with all of our approaches, but I do think you will see our reasons for them. Also you will see how our whole situation ties in with the State's economy and your county's economy, and some of the problems they have.

The tie-in goes back, as you know, a good many years. The railroad was put together, beginning back in the 1850's, with three economic purposes in mind. One was to connect the seaport of Philadelphia with the rest of the State and with the developing Midwest and West, via Pittsburgh. Another was to do this before the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad on the south and the Erie Canal on the north got all the business for Baltimore and New York and their respective States. The third economic aim was to help Pennsylvania exploit its magnificent natural resources: farm and forest products, industrial sands and clays, and energy in the form of coal and, to a lesser extent, oil.

There was of course a fourth aim. That was to take money doing this. For years all four aims succeeded handsomely, to the benefit of all concerned. The railroad was helping to create and spread business activity and wealth, and it was getting properly paid for it.

One of our most welcome partners and fellow beneficiaries in all this was your county. It made itself our indispensable workshop and training ground of skilled artisans. Directly or indirectly, it was responsible for the creation and maintenance of most of the "moving parts" of our growing railroad.

Then, with the passage of years, technological change began to rear its not-always-pretty head. The Texans discovered and brought out of the ground more oil and gas than anyone had suspected existed. Factories no longer had to be within reach of coal; homes no longer had to be heated by coal. The economy of Pennsylvania got a jolt which it feels to this day, both as a supplier of fuel and as a logical home for new industry.

Meanwhile, besides sharing in that technological blow, the railroad got a few of its own. The mass-produced and mass-owned atuomobile made it appearance, along with the taxpayer-built highway. Presently these were to turn our passenger profits to a $50-million-a-year passenger loss. As if this were not enough, the taxpayer-built highways were soon swarming with trucks carrying, at unregulated bargain rates, commodities that had hitherto moved by rail. Meanwhile came the commercial airplane and its taxpayer-built airports and airways, plus taxpayer-supplied cash subsidies. This cut still deeper into rail passenger business. As if to make sure the taxpayer missed no chance to make things rough for the railroads, more hundreds of millions of his money were channeled into waterways free to commercial users.

Meanwhile, as a taxpayer itself, the railroad was and is helping to give the party. Last year on the Pennsylvania taxes per share were $4.77. Net earnings per share were 27 cents. It is true that last year was the second worst in our financial history. That does not alter the fact that a large chunk of the tax bill was on fixed plant, which our competitors get for free.

If all we had to do was help the taxpayers support our competition, things would be difficult enough. But, on top of that, as you know, we are not free to compete with them as ordinary business rules dictate, or to tailor our services, especially our passenger services, to the business realities.

Where is this discussion leading us? Simply to this point:

Here you have a railroad which helped build your economy and your State's economy, blindly hampered in its efforts to continue to do so. That, I suggest, is a mutual problem, especially as the State has yet to regain the industrial preeminence it once enjoyed.

Granted the problem is mutual, what are we doing about it?

Before we get into that, we might take a quick look at what we are managing to contribute to the State's economy despite our difficulties:

Servicewise, we furnish travel and freight service within the State and to or from the rest of the country.

Forty percent of our track is here, and so are many of our most important installations. Among them are the giant ore pier at Philadelphia, the huge Enola and Conway yards, and your Samuel Rea shops.

About half our employees work and are paid in Pennsylvania. In a normal year they receive a quarter of a billion dollars or more in salary, most of which finds its way into Pennsylvania banks, stores, and other businesses.

We buy a large portion of our supplies and materials in the State, thus helping to create additional business and payroll. In 1957 and 1958 our purchases in Pennsylvania averaged $60 million a year. In the first 7 months of 1959, thanks to our big freight-car program, they came to $109 million. In Blair County our purchases came to $677,000 in 1958 and to $1,593,000 in the first 7 months of 1959.

Our corporation and property taxes in the State for 1958 were $5,599,000. Included in this was $146,860 paid in property taxes in Blair County. Incidentally, we pay 10 kinds of taxes in Pennsylvania. For years we have been among the State's five largest taxpayers.

In addition to these direct contributions to the Pennsylvania economy, we maintain

a large and expert industrial development department. Its job is to persuade and help new industry to locate in the State, and industries already here to expand. We do this both on our own and in cooperation with chambers of commerce and organizations like your Altoona Enterprises and your Blair County Regional Planning Commission. Naturally, we try to get such new locations and expansions on our lines as a source of new business to us, but we work for them whether they are on our lines or not. In both cases the emphasis is always on working with the local people in the local interest.

I might add that we have a special and deep interest in Blair County, the mechanical skills of whose people have served the railroad so long and well. The passing of the steam locomotive, which you used to build and repair for us, inevitably canceled out a lot of the railroad work done here. The same is true of the decline of the rail passenger business, for which you used to build so many of our cars. It was partly to counteract the effect of these technological changes that we put our big Samuel Rea shops here. I am sure you will be as happy as we are to know that of our big 23,500 freight car program, about which I will say more a little later, approximately 20,000 cars will be built in the State of Pennsylvania and of these 20,000 almost 60 percent, or about 12,000 cars, will be built here at Hollidaysburg. I also want you to know that the shops closed down yesterday because of the lack of steel will be reopened just as soon as we can get more steel. For once it is not a matter of curtailing expenses: the money for the program is available. I might add that our purchasing people did a remarkable job of getting as much steel as they did in advance of the strike.

So much for the railroad's past and present contributions to the economy and well-being of Pennsylvania and communities like Blair County.

The question now is, How, under present conditions, can the railroad and the economy be sure these contributions can be continued, let alone increased?

I don't like to sound like an alarmist, but the fact is that under present conditions it is not likely they can be continued much longer at anything like their present pace.

The only answer to this is to change the conditions, and this the railroad is working on various fronts to do.

Basically, the problem is low earnings, or the low return on our investment of $2½ billion, much of which is in Pennsylvania. In recent years our rate of return has often been less than 2 percent, and never more than 3 percent. By contrast, many utilities make 6 to 8 percent, and 20 percent is not uncommon in other businesses. I am not suggesting we are approaching bankruptcy. No one in this room will live long enough to see that. But I do suggest that until we are allowed to earn in a normal manner, our ability to generate benefits for the State and local economies will be held in check and perhaps even diminished. In short, the rate of return we get on our investment controls the rate of return you and the rest of the economy get on us. We cannot make anything like the amount of money-saving, inflation-fighting, and business-getting improvements we need without the money to make them.

Why don't we make this money? That brings us to the fronts I said we are fighting on. One of our big challenges, as I mentioned, is the technological change that has put air, highway, and water carriage into all-out and ever-present competition against us. Our problem here is not the technological challenge: we have technology too, as our longer and faster trains and the $450 million in diesels we have acquired since the close of the war testify. Our problem is that the challenge is subsidized by the taxpayer, and that we are not permitted to meet it head on in a businesslike way. The matter of subsidy has yet to be squarely faced by the levels of Government doing the subsidizing, but the Transportation Act of 1958 did promise us some limited competitive freedoms. It remains for the various commissions that regulate us to let us translate these promises into business actualities. This has been a slow process, but we are making progress. The other day, for instance, railroads were granted the right to offer incentive rates to shippers of paint. This was a landmark decision, and it took months to get. You can imagine where American business and industry as a whole would be if it were only now being allowed to do such a normal thing, but that is where railroads still are in many aspects of their business. You may be sure that our fight to get out of that corner is continuing, in Washington, in State capitals, and before commissions. Only with reasonable competitive freedom, and some such reasonable solution of the subsidy problem as user charges and tax relief, can we resume our rightful place in the American family of free-enterprise business, and meet our full responsibility to our investors, our customers, our employees, and the economy. In plain English, it is to everyone's advantage that we be treated as a business, and we intend to fight and to shout until we are.

An additional factor which has substantially contributed to the low level of our income is that we are not receiving a fair or adequate share of joint rates with connecting lines on traffic that moves between the East and other territories. As many of you may know, on such traffic, the shipper does not pay our railroad for its service and then, separately, the connecting line for the service which it performs. Instead, the shipper pays a single rate covering the service of all the carriers involved, and it is divided among them on the basis of fixed percentages. If these percentages were revised so that they would more closely correspond to the relative cost of performing the service and to the general revenue needs of the respective railroads, the divisions which are accorded the Pennsylvania and other eastern lines would be substantially increased. Cases before the Interstate Commerce Commission looking to an increase for the eastern railroads are now pending.

Another big and immediate battle we are in is with the railroad passenger deficit. This has cost our railroad alone well over half a billion dollars since the close of World War II. Well-meaning friends sometimes tell me that is just a bookkeeping figure. It isn't. It is better than half a billion actual dollars that should have gone into debt reduction, earnings-producing improvements, and dividends, but which went instead to keep several hundred money-losing passenger trains running. We are not alone in this problem: Every passenger-carrying road has it, including roads that the same well-meaning friends assure me make money on passengers. Last year our own loss, the lowest in some years, was $44 million. Right next to us was the Union Pacific with a $43 million loss, and the Southern Pacific and Santa Fe, with $40 million apiece.

We are attacking this tremendous and chronic drain on our earnings in two ways. One is to tailor our intercity services to the realities of highway and air travel as fast as conditions and commissions allow. This involves taking off trains for which there is no business future, and combining or "consolidating" others which have a future if they are fewer in number.

Businesslike tailoring of intercity services to the available patronage should reduce our annual deficit some. So would abolition of the war tax of 10 percent on train tickets, which we are still trying to get repealed 14 years after the war. So would abolition of taxes on our passenger tracks and stations, making them equal in that respect to tax-free highways, airways, and airports.

That part of our annual deficit generated by commuter services presents a somewhat different problem. Such services lose our railroad over $10 million a year in the New York and Philadelphia areas. Eliminating local taxes on the facilities for this public service would help, but would not make us whole. The only thing that would do that would be outright financial support from communities that want the service. A number of forms such support might take are being studied; we and the city of Philadelphia are experimenting with one now, and progress is being made in New York. It seems odd to be talking about Philadelphia and New York commuters in the wide-open spaces of Blair County, but the $10 million a year we lose on them is $10 million a year that we can't use to help make jobs and business in communities like yours.

So much for examples of what you might call the "defensive" side of our fight to achieve our rightful earnings and so play our rightful part in the economy. Now let's look at some of the constructive and business-getting things we are managing to do.

First, as background, you must bear in mind that the American railroad industry came out of World War II in pretty bad physical shape. This is not surprising. We had gone almost directly from depression conditions to handling 90 percent of the freight side of military production, 97 percent of troop movements, and a lot of civilian travel and freight that descended on us from the highways, airways, and waterways. This left little time and manpower for proper maintenance and improvements; materials were scarce; and the Government drained off a large part of earnings in excess profits taxes anyway. So we faced the postwar period, and a resumption and step-up in subsidized competition, with our plants to refurbish and bring up to date.

That job, on the Pennsylvania, cost over a billion dollars, much of which had to be borrowed. Some $450 million of it went into diesels alone. This borrowing in turn had raised our outstanding debt to an all-time peak of $1,116,000,000 by 1952. Since then we have been in the painful old-fashioned process of paying off this debt. As of the close of last year we had reduced it by $204 million down to $912 million; we expect to reduce it another $30 million this year.

Thus, during seven of the leanest years in our history, we will have managed to reduce our debt by almost a quarter billion. That is of course important as debt reduction. It is even more important for its programed selectivity, aimed at bringing impending debt maturities down to manageable size. Just two examples: some time ago we were facing maturities of $49 million in 1960 and of $125 million in 1965. The 1960 maturity now stands at $35 million, and the 1965 maturity at $70 million—with the expectation that by 1965 the latter will be down to $40 million. In other words, what our program has been doing is to get the maturities of any one year down to where we can take them in stride, no matter how bad a business year it turns out to be. This is in line with our 112-year-old record of never having failed to meet a financial obligation.

Meanwhile, the program has been paying off in another way: it enabled us to swing this year the largest single freight car program in railroad industry history. This calls for 23,500 modern freight cars of various types as I mentioned previously, of which, as I said, 20,000 will be built in the State of Pennsylvania and about 12,000 here in Blair County. The cars alone come to $215 million; in addition we are getting $10 million in diesels and $32 million in electric freight

locomotives. Much of this is by lease arrangements and does not add to our debt structure. As you see, we are not alone in our faith in the business future of our own railroad and of the railroad industry generally.

I cannot help adding that our private success with this huge financing program proves the soundness of the so-called Symes plan. The plan provides for the setting up of a governmental agency to lease equipment to those railroads which need it, but cannot obtain it by conventional equipment financing or by the private leasing arrangements granted to us. The proposal is still in Washington. It would benefit a considerable share of the industry and its customers, and cost the taxpayers nothing.

In the meantime we have managed to get our shippers the benefit of a greatly improved freight fleet. This is an important tool in our aggressive quest for business. Alone with this we are succeeding in speeding up many of our freight schedules, largely with the help of our now-completed Conway Yard, the largest installation of its kind in the world. As Mr. Symes once remarked, we are anything but a dead duck or even a dying duck, we are just an underfed duck. To the extent that outmoded regulations allow us, we are out to get all the nourishment we can, meanwhile fighting for the right to feed and digest normally, as you do in your businesses.

I might mention one other business-getting program, which we are finding successful beyond our best expectations. This is TrucTrain, our version of piggyback or highway-trailer-on-flatcar service. We started this just 5 years ago, with a handful of flatcars and service to four cities on our own lines. Today we serve a couple of dozen cities on our own lines, and through interchanges we reach the main cities on more than a dozen other railroads. The few flatcars we started with have grown to a fleet of 2,300, with 1,300 more on order, owned by a special company representing a group of railroads. The rapid growth of this business is one of the most promising recent developments in rail service. I trust you are not surprised that we are leaders in it.

It occurs to me that I may have misused this opportunity to talk economic philosophy with you by talking so much about what our, and your, railroad is doing. Maybe I am like the fellow who complained that he tried to be a philosopher, but cheerfulness would break in.

The fact is that I am cheerful about the outlook for our railroad and its continuing contributions to your Blair County economy and the Pennsylvania economy. An important obstacle in our way, really, is the inequality of Government treatment we get as compared to our air, highway, and waterway competitors. With the help of perceptive businessmen like you and your League, that picture is changing. We trust you will continue to work with us, as we have always worked with you. Nobody will lose, least of all Blair County and the rest of our State.

Thank you.

In Support of Ike's Pilgrimage for Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL B. DAGUE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, I am sure that those who are finding fault with the President's avowed intention of giving peace a priority in the final year of his administration are doing so with their tongues in their cheeks and quite evidently have no alternative to the personal type of diplomacy which he is promoting with such skill.

If there are any Members of this House who do believe that the people of this Nation are not enthusiastically in back of Mr. Eisenhower's program, such an attitude reflects an abysmal ignorance of what is taking place in their home bailiwicks. And if anyone thinks he can make capital out of attacking Ike's plan, he is welcome to any rewards such shortsightedness can bring him.

One of the most forceful discussions of this issue is found in an article by the Market Scribe appearing in the Coatesville (Pa.) Record for January 9, 1960, which is included with these remarks and commended to your close perusal:

MARKET SCRIBE SAYS IKE'S TRIP REFUTED REDS—IT PROVED ONCE FOR ALL AMERICA IS NOT HATED BY OTHER PEOPLES

(By the Market Scribe)

One of the most important results of President Eisenhower's recent trip to three continents is that it cleared the air regarding just what the rest of the world—especially the underdeveloped nations—think of this country and its aims and policies. The tremendous crowds that greeted the American President at every stop answered this question in a language that could not be misunderstood by anybody no matter how prejudiced or illiterate.

For several years past there has been a studied effort on the part of some purveyors of doom, supported by the propaganda and claims of the Communists to demonstrate that the United States is the most hated nation in the world. They asserted that because of their wealth and boisterous arrogance and their determination to start another war, the American people were feared and despised by everybody else from the most intellectual right down the line to the most benighted Hottentot.

It is not hard to understand why the Communists should try to disseminate such propaganda both by the spoken and printed word and by promoting rioting and unrest among the people. But why any right minded person should play right into their hands by spreading the same falsehoods is a mystery. It may be that some of these people are sincere and believe that they can spur the American people to greater effort by such means, or it may be that they are inspired by nothing more than an overwhelming desire for political advantage.

In any event up until President Eisenhower started on his recent trip, the Communists and their willing, or unwitting allies had many people in this country believing that everybody in the world hated us despite the fact that during the past few years we have loaned or given them some $75 billion which has gone a long way toward bringing unprecedented prosperity to a war-torn world. We have been told that we cannot buy the good will of the rest of the world, and instead of being grateful for our help these people despise us.

It is true that Vice President NIXON was stoned and mobbed while he was on a visit to South America, and barely escaped wth his life. But it has since been pretty well established that these riots were inspired by Communist agitators who pointed out that the United States supported dictatorships on that continent. But unmentioned was the fact that these agitators were themselves working in the interests of an even more oppressive dictatorship. The reception that NIXON later received in Poland demonstrated that the same feeling of hostility did not exist in at least one satellite country.

The tremendous crowds that greeted President Eisenhower during his trip demonstrated once and for all that the people of at least a large part of the world were not at all fooled by this propaganda. Indeed, it showed that the efforts of the Communists and those persons who wittingly or unwittingly supported them were an insult to the intelligence of these people. It also showed that the people of these countries have a keen knowledge of what is going on in the world and are able to think for themselves, and they are immensely grateful for what America has done and is continuing to do for them.

It is certainly unreasonable to even think that any people would not be impressed with the manner in which the Communist government of Russia suppressed the Hungarian revolt, the deceit and perfidy they employed in trapping the leaders of the revolt and the executions that followed and are still continuing. It is just as unreasonable to believe that they were not impressed with Communist China's more recent aggression against Tibet and India and the settled policy of the Communist government to grab everything they can get their dirty hands on.

At the same time some of the peoples whose countries Eisenhower visited have had uncomfortable experiences in the past with the Communists. For many years they have lived continuously in fear of what the Communists might do next as has the rest of the world during the cold war. As against this, they have seen the record of the United States which has never at any time tried to impose its authority on any one, and on the contrary, has never failed to extend a helping hand even when at times this helping hand was spurned.

There is no reason at all for wonder that the people of the countries that President Eisenhower visited acted as they did. In view of conditions that exist in the world today the leadership that this country is exercising is virtually their only hope for a better life. Without its insistence on freedom and justice for all peoples backed by its tremendous military might, the world would be helpless before the Communist menace and its plight would be sad indeed. And the people of the world know it.

No amount of propagandizing by "pacifist come lately" Nikita Khrushchev can change the record. The Soviets have fooled the people so often that they are in no humor to be fooled again. Khrushchev's agonizing cry for peace may be sincere, but in all probability it isn't. It is true that the Soviet scientists have achieved spectacular success in sending rockets into space, but instead of arousing admiration on the part of the peoples of the world as Khrushchev expected it has only increased their fears and their reliance on America for their future safety.

Congressman Bush

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IVOR D. FENTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. FENTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Lock Haven Express, Lock Haven, Pa., of November 6, 1959:

CONGRESSMAN BUSH

The shock of Alvin R. Bush's death will reverberate through the 17th Congressional District for many months to come, and also in the Halls of Congress where, in his 10 years of membership, he won respectful affection from his colleagues. Mr. Bush has been a good Congressman, one who learned his job conscientiously, performed its multitudinous duties with diligence, and maintained an excellent record of attendance at the sessions of the House, meetings of his committees, and hearings which involved the interests of his district.

We of Clinton County have much to thank him for, in his single-minded championing of the West Branch flood-control program. He has been interested in the protection of the communities of Clinton, Cameron, and Lycoming Counties from the flood ravages of the West Branch, ever since he went to Congress as a Member of the session which began in 1950. Even before that he was working for flood control with the community leaders of Williamsport and Jersey Shore. We have seen him in action on our behalf, and have had good reason to appreciate his effective efforts in bespeaking the support of his colleagues in obtaining congressional authorizations and appropriations for the various projects in the program.

His work for flood control is assuming definite and tangible shape on Kettle Creek, where the dam for which he worked and fought, through many hearings and committee sessions, is rising into a monument to the effective efforts which he put forth in company with other flood control workers. Although many others joined in the campaign which is now beginning to produce real flood control in this valley, the basic truth is that, without Mr. Bush and his constant, persistent and unflagging endeavors in Washington, to make sure that the project would not be sidetracked, the Kettle Creek Dam might not be under construction today.

It would be a fitting memorial if that dam, at its dedication, should be named in honor of Alvin R. Bush.

But flood control was not the only interest of Mr. Bush in Congress, nor the only area in which he worked with consistent zeal for what his district wanted and what he thought would benefit his constituents and the Nation as a whole. He was a sincere conservative, but one who modified his attitudes by a human sympathy with the practical needs of the people and an intelligent grasp of the requirements of a changing modern society.

His political opponents could criticize him, as they did from time to time, for his sturdy defense of the Federal budget, and his supporters could chide him, as they did on occasion, for his support of the foreign aid program. But both critics and friends would have to agree that his voting record in Congress has been one that could be intelligently defended—conservative without being reactionary, liberal without being radical.

This does not mean that Mr. Bush did not stand up for his principles. He did that consistently, and his principles included the very defensible one that good sense should dictate the type of legislation adopted by Congress.

Mr. Bush left much unfinished business on his desk. Anyone who takes his place as our Congressman will have a big pair of shoes to fill. Not only the completion of the flood-control program depends upon the type and character of the man who replaces him in the 17th District, but many other items of public business, ranging from appointments to the military service schools to legislation to lighten the tax pressure on the small businessman.

Mr. Bush, loyal to the principles of his party and to the policies of President Eisenhower, nevertheless took an independent position on many issues where he felt the inflexible maintenance of preconceived positions might create hardships and cause practical difficulties. He set a precedent of sensible service and considered action which his successor, whoever he may turn out to be, would be wise to accept as a beginner's guide to successful performance of congressional duties.

In the 17th District, literally thousands of people are mourning the death of Mr. Bush as the loss of a friend as much as the loss of a Representative in Congress. One of his outstanding qualities was the ability to greet his fellow citizens of the district not as a perennial candidate, seeking their votes, but as their personal emissary and spokesman in the National Legislature.

His 10 years in Washington gave him the opportunity to render personal services to many constituents, as the intermediary between them and their Government. He carried out those services with the interest of a personal friend, whether it was a case of helping a serviceman arrange to bring home his wife and child on the same ship on which he would travel, returning from service in Japan, or inviting a colleague to make a speech at a Lincoln Day dinner.

Those who had naturally assumed that he would continue to serve them in Congress to the end of his current term, and probably for several terms beyond that time, suffered a real blow in yesterday's news. It has shocked both friends and political opponents into a new appraisal of the man and his contribution to the huge 17th District, the longest in geographical terms, in the whole country.

He managed to get over that large area frequently, not only during campaigns but in off years as well; and he managed also to maintain an up-to-date grasp of the community problems and needs of the immensely varied territory he represented.

This session has been an extended one, and the legislation with which it has dealt has been highly complicated, controversial, and difficult. A man of Mr. Bush's conscientious feeling would exert himself not only to study the ins and outs of important legislation, but would worry over his own responsibilities and duties in relation to it. He did tell his friends that he had experienced pressures beyond his previous experience and imagination during the height of the session.

It is not an exaggeration to say that his death, at 66, of a heart attack came almost without warning, could easily have been hastened by the stresses and strains of a hardworking session of Congress, during which he had worked unusually hard and long.

He deserves the requiem of that hallowed Scriptural phrase, "A good and faithful servant."

Congressman Alvin R. Bush

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IVOR D. FENTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. FENTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Daily Review, Towanda, Pa.:

CONGRESSMAN ALVIN R. BUSH

Pennsylvania's 17th Congressional District has lost a great fighter, a man who has been as dedicated to the responsibilities of good government for America as any we have come to know. He was a two-fisted advocate of every measure that came before the Congress of the United States which stood for a better America. Congressman Alvin R. Bush will be greatly missed—by his host of friends who knew him as "Al" Bush.

A frequent visitor to Bradford County, where he received his strongest and most dependable support throughout the entire district, Congressman Bush was just one of those unusual men in the Federal Government today who has a faculty for taking care of business. Congressman Bush has served the needs of the 17th Congressional District and the needs of the Nation in the Halls of Congress as well as any good man could. He was a man of many capabilities and many burdens, but he was never short on hard work or long hours—the very things that probably contributed to his sudden passing. We have heard him say a good many times on his visits to this county: "Let me tell you, it's awfully good to be back with you wonderful folks in Bradford County." And there you have it exactly as he felt.

Congressman Alvin R. Bush has performed his duties with the vigor and the tenacity of a fine statesman. The pressures of the responsibilities on such men as him are beyond the conception of most of us. He has served this country well. We will miss him, for we know that it takes men like Al Bush to keep the ship right side up.

Unified Defense Buying

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following recent article from the New York Herald Tribune written by Allen M. Smythe. I feel it contains information that is worthy of the attention of all Members of Congress:

[From the New York Herald Tribune, Jan. 4, 1960]

NAVY IS SLATED TO START UNIFIED DEFENSE BUYING

(By Allen M. Smythe)

Further details of the Pentagon's plan to unify purchasing of many commercial products under a single armed service have become available. With the beginning of the new year the Navy will gradually take over the buying for the other two services of a large number of industrial supplies. Such purchases are expected to average more than $350 million annually.

The Army has been assigned a long list of general supplies to purchase for all three armed services. Expenditures for these items will be about $140 million a year. The Army also assumes responsibility for the inventories of these same items, the value of which is estimated to be $349 million.

Among the industrial supplies to be handled by the Navy are screws, nuts, bolts, rivets, fasteners, abrasives, paints, sealers, brushes, adhesives, wire, bars, metal sheets, tubing, and shapes. The Navy hopes to have complete control over the buying, shipping, and storing of these products within the next 3 months.

The Army has the responsibility for the handling of a long list of small commercial products that come under the heading of general supplies. Among these are hand tools, containers such as boxes, cartons,

crates, cans, bottles, and jars. Also are included household and office equipment such as furniture, kitchen, and laundry equipment, typewriters, computing machines, and other office equipment, musical instruments and athletic and recreational goods, floor coverings, awnings, etc. Paper, paperboard, and packaging equipment are included.

It has just been decided that the Army will also handle fans and industrial air circulators, self-contained refrigeration units and craftsman's measuring tools. High Navy supply officials had asked that these products be included in the list of industrial supplies to be assigned to them.

Because of the great number and variety of general supplies assigned to them, the Army expects to require at least 6 months before they can integrate common supply functions.

The Army may also be given the responsibility of unifying all defense purchasing of construction and automotive supplies. Decision on these two additional assignments is not expected before 60 days.

The Pentagon has four single manager plans already in operation. Annual petroleum expenditures of $800 million are unified and under Navy direction. Medical supplies to the value of $80 million are also handled by the Navy. Defense clothing spending of $162 million yearly is Army responsibility as well as the $723 million spent for food costs.

Assistant Secretary E. Perkins McGuire (supply and logistics) estimates that nearly $2 billion will be spent by the Pentagon this year for supplies under these unified purchasing policies. They will be, he says, effective for both peacetime and wartime and will save the taxpayers a great deal of money.

Top defense supply officials are pushing the single manager plan of unified buying to head off possible congressional demands for a "service of supply," a fourth defense service to handle all defense purchasing. This suggestion came from Congress after the Hoover Commission had criticized the separate buying practices of the Defense Department.

Welcome Home

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEO E. ALLEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial, entitled "Welcome Home," which appeared in the Chicago Tribune of December 23, 1959:

WELCOME HOME

After 19 days of travel that carried him more than 22,000 miles to 11 countries, where he was seen and cheered by millions, President Eisenhower returns to the United States. He has the sure knowledge that no man in the world has contributed more to the spirit of peace on earth, good will toward men, which is always most hopeful at this season.

Mr. Eisenhower's pilgrimage of peace was undertaken to show the nations that America and its leadership offer them friendship and trust, that this Nation harbors no aggressive intentions, and that it will never abandon its efforts to spare the world the horrors of a new war.

No ambassador could have achieved greater conviction in conveying America's repect for its neighbors than the President. His warmth of personality ingratiates him to strangers. The peoples he visited were aware that, at his age and after a series of serious illnesses, Mr. Eisenhower was risking his life on this journey, and this in itself enhanced the impression that the President attached great importance and meaning to his mission.

That he should have undertaken this task as he approaches his final year in office will fortify the belief that Mr. Eisenhower's principal preoccupation has been with peace, and that he is determined to leave no stone unturned in his quest for peace in freedom and with justice. His countrymen knew this, but now the world knows it, and it will contrast the President's sincerity with the propaganda of threat and blandishment which has marked similar travels by Nikita Khrushchev of the Soviet Union.

Mr. Eisenhower has the gratitude of his countrymen for a difficult task well done in a good cause. We think that the United States will look more attractive in the eyes of the world as a consequence of his journey.

What Is Home Rule?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STUYVESANT WAINWRIGHT
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, a common understanding of home rule is expressed in the following letter from a distinguished and able senior partner of the great banking firm of Brown Bros. Harriman in New York City. He writes:

I am sending you the enclosed editorial from the Washington Post on the subject of home rule for Washington. I have followed with interest the progress of this legislation as I have many friends in Washington who have told me about this fight over the years.

I notice that your name is not on the list of those who have signed the discharge petition, and I am writing to urge you to sign it when the second session starts.

I understand part of the problem is Southern Democratic opposition because of the large Negro population in Washington. I feel it is important in this election year, if the Party is to win back the forward looking independent vote, that the Republicans in Congress take a forthright stand in favor of legislation like this which concerns the basic principles of our form of government.

Mr. Speaker, the Washington Star on January 11 had as its lead editorial an article entitled "What Is Home Rule?" In view of the high intelligence of the writer of the original letter, I felt that there must be others who might be incorrectly informed and who might benefit from this editorial. It is at least a partial answer to the many misconceptions that have been spread about this important topic. The editorial follows:

WHAT IS HOME RULE?

In a recent press conference Speaker RAYBURN was asked about home rule and its prospects this session. He replied that he did not know exactly what home rule means. We wish the Speaker's candor were more generally shared among those who yell the loudest for home rule but are yet to offer any honest explanation of its meaning or advantages.

We are not sure what home rule—as defined in several measures parading under that name—really means. As far as any existing demonstration of its meaning is concerned, there just ain't no such animal in this country or, as far as we know, in any other country.

But we are pretty sure what home rule does not mean.

It does not mean self-government. To label it as such is fraudulent. Under home rule the people of Washington would not govern themselves. They would continue to be governed by Congress, in which they would have no voting representation.

It does not mean a better form of local government. Any form of local government established in Washington will remain an agency of Congress. It can be nothing else, as long as the Constitution assigns exclusive control over its seat of government to Congress. No one can seriously contend that the existing form of local government is less honest or efficient than anything proposed under various schemes of home rule.

It does not mean more revenue for local undertakings or National Capital development. In all probability it would mean less. To be sure, some locally elected city government would be assigned the financial responsibility. But it would not be given the power or the means to discharge that responsibility. In no pending home rule bill is there any commitment, beyond pious generalities, of Federal financial participation in local government. Existing responsibility in that connection is by implication passed on to the local government and in practice would be lodged there.

It does not mean a more rapid or more orderly development of this city as the Capital of the United States. On the other hand home rule is in a very dangerous sense a contradiction of the concept of Washington as the Nation's city, set aside as the seat of its Government, placed under the control of Congress, by stages developed as a still uncompleted symbol of this Nation.

It does not mean "half a loaf," or even a "step," in the direction of real representation in their Government for the people of Washington. It does present the likelihood of a dismal failure in the exercise of the strictly limited voting privilege, inviting another debacle—as in the early seventies—which would make more difficult the attainment of real voting rights: The rights to vote for President and for representation in the exclusively controlling Congress.

Home rule is a negative proposition. It promises nothing of value. It is not self-government. No valid principle of democracy is involved. No voting privileges worth anything are permitted. It does offer grave threat to the well-being of this city as the American Capital.

Speaker RAYBURN is only being honest when he says he is not sure what it means.

Eternal Vigilance Is Ever the Price of Liberty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I take pleasure in calling to the attention of the House a speech made by Rear Adm. Carl F. Espe, U.S. Navy, commandant of the First Naval District, on the subject of communism. Admiral

Espe was the guest speaker at the celebration of Independence Day on July 4, 1959, in Boston, Mass. Admiral Espe is a distinguished naval officer of our country. He is eminently qualified to speak on this subject, as for some 3½ years he was Director of Naval Intelligence. In his 37 years of naval service he has had many assignments of high responsibility. During World War II among other assignments, he commanded the destroyer force screen for our fast carrier forces in the Pacific. He was awarded the Legion of Merit, with two gold stars in lieu of second and third Legion of Merit; the Silver Star Medal; and the Bronze Star Medal. I commend his remarks on communism to you. There is in them a stern warning of the growing threat that communism poses to our American way of life.

The address follows:

ETERNAL VIGILANCE IS EVER THE PRICE OF LIBERTY

(Independence Day oration, 1959, by Rear Adm. Carl Frederick Espe)

Your Honor, Mayor Hynes, reverend clergy, distinguished guests and my fellow citizens, we are foregathered here today in this hallowed and historic hall to celebrate our birth date as a nation, and to pay tribute to the memory of those patriotic forebears whose courage, blood, perseverance, and wisdom bought for us freedom from tyranny.

One hundred and eighty-three years ago, on July 4, 1776, the Second Continental Congress, meeting in Philadelphia, approved for adoption that great document of human rights, the Declaration of Independence. It proclaimed these American colonies "to be free and independent States" and included in its tenets "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights"; and "that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

To colonial America, this was a very serious step indeed. It meant commitment to an all-out war for which the States were utterly unprepared—militarily, economically, and politically. Certainly it called for considerable soul searching not only on the part of those who drafted the declaration but on the part of all citizens as well. The day after the Declaration of Independence was formally adopted by the Continental Congress, John Adams, one of is signers, wrote to his wife as follows: "You will think me transported with enthusiasm, but I am not. I am well aware of the toil and blood and treasure it will cost us to maintain this declaration and support and defend these States." George Washington told his troops that "now the peace and safety of this country depends (under God) solely on the success of our arms."

We know, of course, that colonial America was equal to the task it set itself to accomplish, though the freedom and God-given rights for which it was fighting were not easily won. John Adams' apprehensions were well grounded. After those first ragged volleys on Lexington Green, eight long, cruel, and bitter years had to pass before independence was fully and finally obtained.

One hundred and seventy-six years have now elapsed since the end of the Revolutionary War. These have been eventful years, years of growing pains in which our country has passed through many trials and tribulations. Fortunately, from each of these she has emerged greater and stronger than ever, to become the foremost Nation on the face of the earth.

However, as the United States has tended to consolidate her position in the world, I am afraid that we, her citizens, have been inclined to take our freedoms and God-given privileges more and more for granted and to assume that without any further action or initiative on our part the cherished rights we have enjoyed these many years will be ours forever. Freedom, unfortunately, does not thrive on apathy. Eternal vigilance is ever the price of liberty—and this is something every citizen should remember, for today we are again faced with the task of fighting for the principles upon which our country was founded.

But today our enemy is a far more insidious one—it is communism—and the threat it poses to our way of life is greater than any other we have had to meet in our history.

Communism is like a disease; in fact, a threefold disease. It is like a disease of the body because it kills. It has already killed millions, and it proposes to kill many millions more, for the Communists consider that when they have conquered the world they will be left with the residual capitalist classes whom they must destroy. This, they seriously reflect, is their proletarian duty. But communism may also be considered a disease of the mind because it is associated with systematized delusions that are not susceptible to rational argument. And it is a disease of the spirit because it denies God, materializes man and robs him of spirit and soul. We cannot afford to be apathetic regarding this wicked malady.

Forty years ago communism was confined to a rented room in Zurich, Switzerland. Today we find it has engulfed two-fifths of the earth, and another fourth of mankind is being swept ever more swiftly toward the cataract of the Kremlin and the whirlpool of Peiping.

Let us take a moment to look back.

Many years ago Lenin said that the Communists would first take Eastern Europe, then the masses of Asia, then they would encircle the United States, which would be the last bastion of capitalism. He concluded by saying that they would not have to attack us; that we would "fall like an overripe fruit" into their hands. Lenin's strategy of encirclement is well underway to fulfillment. It is quite within the realm of possibility that within a few short years the Kremlin might wrest from us many of our remaining allies, our oversea military bases, our foreign investments, as well as our access to raw materials and markets—all without fighting a major war.

Why is this possible? Because trained Communist cadres already saturate the precincts of southeast Asia. They manipulate puppets in the Middle East; they have won elections in India. They swarm through all of Africa and on to our Latin doorstep to the south.

Khrushchev recently said, in essence: "We won't have to fight you; we are going to overcome you through trade, and we will plow you under." And, I might add, he also boasted that our grandchildren would live in a Communist United States.

We Americans are naturally an ingenuous people; in fact, we are inclined to credulity. We like to believe that others are just as sincere and honest as ourselves. Some of us still believe that skillful compromise can solve our problems with the Soviets—that they can gradually be educated to believe that reason is the best guide of conduct. But experience has shown that you cannot negotiate nor can you compromise with the Communists. They adhere to treaties and agreements only so long as they are deriving a benefit from them. Postwar history is replete with one Communist violation after another of solemn agreements made between allies. Time and time again the leaders in the Kremlin have callously disregarded treaties, contracts, obligations, customs, and traditions in order to expand their power and control.

As far back as 1920, the then Secretary of State, Bainbridge Colby, reported that responsible leaders of the regime in Soviet Russia had frequently and openly boasted that they were willing to sign agreements and undertakings with foreign powers, while not having the slightest intention of observing such undertakings or carrying out such agreements.

Lenin, in speaking of treaties and agreements, said: "Promises are like piecrust, made to be broken." Stalin was even more specific. He said: "Words must have no relation to action—otherwise, what kind of diplomacy is it? Words are one thing, action another. Good words are a mask for concealment of bad deeds. Sincere diplomacy is no more possible than dry water or iron wood."

Regrettably, the Communists have thoroughly demonstrated this thesis during the past 25 years. Our country's representatives have had over 3,400 meetings with various Communist leaders and groups since we first recognized Soviet Rusia; these meetings included, among others, Teheran, Yalta, Potsdam, Pannmunjon, and Geneva. The sum of these negotiations resulted in 52 treaties and agreements—and to what end? Fifty of these have already been broken, in whole or in part, by the Communists, and they have been trying their best to abrogate the fifty-first—that having to do with Berlin.

So there is no use deceiving ourselves. We cannot rely on the treaties or the spoken word of Communist statesmen. Consequently, we have to be prepared, at all times, to meet the threat of general war, Communist-created local wars, or the challenges presented by the cold war—each with its own tactics, its own strategies, and its own weapons.

The price of our liberty is indeed eternal vigilance.

One of the great words in the Communist's vocabulary is "peace." Communist leaders ever speak of wanting peace. It makes wonderful propaganda and it is tailor made for us Americans. They know that we are a peace-loving people and that we are ever striving for a better world. But their idea of peace and our idea of peace are two different matters. The so-called "peace" that they visualize is not an everyday peace but a Communist peace—after world communism has been established. Every act that contributes to Communist conquest is considered by them as promoting peace, murder included. And the tragedy of communism is not merely that it murders, but that it makes murder a moral and righteous act.

When Soviet tanks rolled into Budapest to butcher and destroy, it led to peace—a glorious peace—from the Communist point of view.

Khrushchev has been talking much lately about "peaceful coexistence." But what does he mean by "peaceful coexistence"? Recently he stated publicly that peaceful coexistence would lead to victory for world communism. If the Soviet's views and our own were the same concerning the meaning of peace, how could a peaceful state of affairs lead to a victory? To Moscow peaceful coexistence means, simply, conquest without the use of too much military hardware.

It is quite evident that we and the Soviets not only have ideological differences but, also, that we place different interpretations on what is moral, what is peaceful, and what is true. Any act that assists Communist conquest is by their definition "good." Any act that advances Communist world triumph is by their definition "peaceful." And any statement that advances Communist world conquest is by their definition "true."

What about communism's views regarding religion? Here, as elsewhere, we appear to have no common meeting ground.

Christianity and Judaism teach us of the dignity and value of the individual. Not only is this our religious philosophy, but in

those countries embracing democracy it is also the political philoshophy; that is, that the state exists for the benefit of the individual. But not so with communism. To the Communist the individual exists, wholly and solely, for the state. Communists, of course, do not believe in God. Lenin exhorted his people with: "Down with religion. Long live atheism." He said: "The spread of atheistic views in our chief task."

In all their plans and actions the Communists mark religion as their No. 1 enemy. Communism abhors and fears religion, brands it as the opiate of the people, and is bent upon its destruction. Communism would substitute the state for religion, would teach the writings of Marx and Lenin, and would accept the dictates of a Central Communist Committee instead of the Holy Scripture of the Prophets.

The violence of this antireligious apostolate is lesser or greater depending on whether circumstances counsel the Communist hierarchy to be prudent or permit it to carry out deadly persecution. But in either event there is no deviation in principle. To those of us living in the free world it should be understood that:

Communism cannot dominate unless it has the power to remake the life of people. It cannot ignore religion and do this.

Communism cannot dominate family life until it has fought its way past the influence of religion upon the family.

Communism cannot force its own brand of moral code upon a person without first destroying his own moral code rooted in religion.

Further, communism cannot make education a weapon in its hands so long as religion is secure in its own right to teach and educate.

It hardly needs saying that one cannot be a Communist and believe in God—and one cannot believe in God and have a peaceful life under communism.

It is very important to our future well-being that we as a people recognize the hidden dangers of communism as well as the more apparent ones, and that we start a positive campaign to defend ourselves against the inroads of this malignancy. His Eminence Richard Cardinal Cushing, recently stated: "The greatest asset the Communists have at the present time is not the hydrogen bomb, nor earth-girdling satellites, but world ignorance of their tactics, strategy, and objectives." I thoroughly agree—this is really the root of our problem.

If we, as a Nation, are to take a strong stand against this evil, the American public must become alert to the machinations of communism in the world today, for the fundamental foundation of opposition to this danger is an informed public opinion and a dedicated citizenry. On these, and on these alone, can the necessary legislation, administration, judicial, military, economic, and educational programs be built.

The realization that our Constitution and our Nation are in jeopardy must be accepted by each and every one of us. We must give more and more thought to the defense of those principles and freedoms which are the basic elements of our national life; to those inalienable rights for which our forefathers fought and which they won for us 176 years ago.

And now, if I may have your further indulgence, I'd like to close with this poem:

"Where the northern ocean darkens,
Where the rolling rivers run
Past the cold and empty headlands
Toward the slow and westerning sun,
There our fathers long before us,
Armed with freedom faced the deep.
What they built with love and labor
Let their children watch and keep.

"By our dark and dreaming forests,
By our clear and shining skies,
By our green and ripening prairies,
Where the western mountains rise,
God who gave our fathers freedom,
God who made our fathers brave,
What they built with love and anguish
Let their children watch and save."

Responsibility for International Negotiations Should Be Bipartisan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN
OF CONNECTICUT

Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the suggestion that I made on the floor of the House yesterday that President Eisenhower appoint a prominent Democrat to share the responsibility of the upcoming international negotiations with him, I was interested to read an article in the New York Times by former President Harry S. Truman which made a point very similar to mine.

I append the section of President Truman's article herewith:

TRUMAN SUGGESTS BIPARTISAN STAND—WANTS CONGRESS LEADERS OF BOTH PARTIES TO ATTEND NEXT SUMMIT TALK

(By Harry S. Truman)

I think our partners in freedom throughout the world may have reason to be apprehensive about the coming contest for the Presidency of the United States, unless foreign policy is kept out of and above partisan politics.

The President of the United States is the one person in a strategic position to prevent the misuse of foreign policy for narrow partisan advantage. If he fails to take the necessary steps at home to insure the Nation and himself of the bipartisan support and cooperation in foreign affairs, we risk losing important ground in our work for peace.

CONSULTATIONS SUGGESTED

Since the President himself, before undertaking his recent journey, called attention to the fact that he has little more than a year to remain in office, we have to bear in mind, for practical considerations, that whatever develops as a result of the summit meeting with the Russians will be the responsibility of the next President to put into effect and for a new Congress to support.

It would make good sense, it seems to me, for the President to appoint Democratic congressional leaders as well as congressional leaders of his own party, to accompany him to the first summit meeting with the Russians in Paris.

This, of course would call for frequent prior consultations and briefings, similar to what was done during the administrations of President Roosevelt and my own.

An historic example of what could happen when a President, who is responsible for the making of foreign policy but who fails to avail himself of bipartisan congressional support is to be seen in the tragic frustration and failure of Woodrow Wilson's inspired peace mission. This failure paved the way to a second World War. Wilson's great statemanship and noble goal were destroyed because of failure to take into account some of the political realities of our form of government, which in his day made it possible for a group of "willful men" to keep the United States out of the League of Nations.

In the interest of continuity in the conduct of foreign affairs, this Nation, in recent times, has depended upon bipartisan cooperation—not only from the Congress but on the part of the Executive as well.

HARMFUL DEBATE SHUNNED

Bipartisanship was not used by the two previous Democratic administrations to eliminate criticism of our foreign policy but was conceived as the only way of avoiding destructive debate, dividing the Nation when unity was indispensable in the face of a threat to our security.

Man of the South, 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES RAPER JONAS
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, it is a high honor to win the award as "Man of the South." This honor was bestowed upon one of my distinguished constituents, Mr. Norman A. Cocke, of Charlotte, N.C., chairman of the board of Duke Power Co., for outstanding accomplishments in 1959.

Mr. Cocke was presented his award at a banquet held at the Charlotte Country Club on December 14, 1959. The Honorable SAM J. ERVIN, JR., senior U.S. Senator from North Carolina, presented the award to Mr. Cocke.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I am pleased to include the significant remarks of Senator ERVIN on that occasion:

ADDRESS BY HON. SAM J. ERVIN, JR., U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

Our friend has been chosen to receive this, the Man of the South for 1959, Award by the vote of those who know the vast contributions which he has made to the industrial, educational and religious development of the Carolinas.

It is not often that one has an opportunity to express publicly his admiration and affection for a friend whom he has known for many years. Even though the task is simply that of presenting the award, I shall trespass upon your time for a few moments to say something concerning him whom we honor.

On an occasion such as this, we are conscious of the inadequacy of words. We long for the power to use what the poets have called the language of the heart. This is a silent language which finds its expression in deeds rather than words. You spoke the language of the heart when you laid aside your exacting labors and came to this meeting to manifest your love for him whom we honor.

I am compelled, however, to use mere words on this occasion. For this reason, I shall use words which come closest to the language of the heart—the words of a poet—to describe our friend. They are the words which are used by a great poet of free enterprise, Rudyard Kipling, to describe a great American. They are a fitting description of Norman A. Cocke:

"Leal servant, loved master,
Rare comrade, sure guide."

Mr. Whitaker, Mr. Sutton, Dr. Edens, the Reverend Mr. Blair, and Mr. Robertson have recounted to us in well-chosen words the vast contributions of Norman Cocke to the industrial, the educational, and the religious life of the Carolinas.

They have given eloquent expression to the fact that Norman Cocke has been a servant to the people of the Carolinas. I love the old Scotch adjective "leal," and apply it to Norman Cocke because he has certainly been at all times a true-hearted servant to our area.

During the course of his career, Norman Cocke has attained solely upon his own merit positions of high responsibility. For this reason, he can also be fittingly described in the words of the poet as a "master." In his capacity of "master," he has always applied to those subject to his authority the golden rule. As a consequence, all of those who have labored under his supervision join me in declaring that he is a "loved master."

Those of us who are privileged to enjoy Norman Cocke's friendship know that his great qualities of head and heart make him a rare comrade, and that his unerring integrity and sense of the rightness of things make him a sure guide.

This brings me to this question: What makes Norman Cocke a "leal" servant, a loved master, a rare comrade, a sure guide?

It seems to me that the answer to this question is crystal clear. Norman Cocke walks among us in simpleness, and gentleness, and honor.

I use the word "simpleness" to describe Norman Cocke's complete freedom from affectation, from artificiality, and from duplicity.

I do not use the word "gentleness" to imply that he lacks in any respect the characteristic of firmness in circumstances which call for the exercise of that characteristic. I use it to indicate the considerate and kindly attitude which arises out of his inborn love for people of all sorts.

Norman Cocke walks among us in honor because of his complete integrity of thought, word, and deed.

For these reasons, Norman Cocke was well chosen to be the Man of the South. It is my happy privilege to present to him at this time the physical symbol of his selection as such.

Tribute to Hon. Isidore Dollinger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. HEALEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. HEALEY. Mr. Speaker, as we begin the 2d session of the 86th Congress there is one colleague whose absence is especially felt by me. I refer to my very dear friend, Isidore Dollinger, who served New York's 23d Congressional District with distinction from the time of his election in 1948 until his recent resignation from Congress.

Isidore Dollinger will be deeply missed by all of his friends here in the House, but especially by those of us from New York who have been closely associated with him. He was very helpful to me when I first came to Congress and I am grateful for his friendship and our association in Congress. I consider it an honor to serve in his place on the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. He is respected and liked by all who know him and his fine record in public service and politics have earned him his new position as district attorney of Bronx County. I know he will continue to serve the people of the Bronx in the same capable way he did in the U.S. Congress.

I do not know of anyone who does not consider our new district attorney of the Bronx an outstanding and distinguished gentleman. It is my pleasure to join his many other friends in the House of Representatives in wishing him good luck and happiness.

Red Strategy in South America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, despite millions of words of publicity concerning the operations of the subversive forces to the south of us known as international communism, relatively few in the United States really understand the Red strategy of subversion with which we have to deal.

An informative article on that subject by Constantine Brown, distinguished columnist of the Evening Star, Washington, D.C., was published in the January 9, 1960, issue of that newspaper, which is commended for reading by all Members of the Congress in connection with their consideration of resolutions now pending to extend the Monroe Doctrine and to safeguard the Panama Canal.

The article follows:

RED STRATEGY IN SOUTH AMERICA—CHINESE HIT-AND-RUN TACTICS REPORTED AGREED ON BY MOSCOW AND PEIPING

(By Constantine Brown)

Arrangements for President Eisenhower to visit South America are more complicated than for his recent trip to Europe and Asia because communism is far more rampant south of the Rio Grande than in Europe or those parts of Asia not under direct Communist rule.

For security reasons, certain South American republics should be definitely avoided despite the representations of their governments that their exclusion might further increase the Communists' power.

A study of the Southern Hemisphere situation by a former active top Communist, Eudocio Ravines, a Peruvian who has taught guerrilla tactics at the Lenin school in Moscow, reveals that the Chinese Communist tactics rather than the Russian have been adopted for that area. It appears that the Moscow and Peiping leaders of international communism regard the Chinese hit-and-run tactics as more adaptable in Latin countries.

The Russian method comprises mass insurrection, coups d'etat, general strikes and occupation of capital cities and of the governmental apparatus from the very beginning. It was applied successfully in Russia in 1917. The Chinese Communist tactics provide training of small insurrectional bands which make mountain fastnesses or jungles their operational bases. From there they raid cities and disrupt lines of communication.

The Chinese Communist method of civil warfare proved highly successful before the outbreak of the last war when the Mao Tze-tung followers ensconced themselves in Yenan. It was highly successful in Cuba when Fidel and Raul Castro established a force of some 1,400 men in the Sierra Maestre and took over the whole of Cuba after a number of hit-and-run activities. It also has the advantage of impressing the American people as an agrarian revolt and thus being less repellent than an outright bloody Communist revolution. It is for this reason that the technical advisers of the Latin American revolutionaries are Chinese rather than Russian. It is also China—using Soviet submarines and other means of sea transportation—that provided the Cubans and other Latin Americans with necessary equipment.

According to Senor Ravines who has become an important member of the Moral Rearmament Organization, Cuba is the main base of operations at the present time. Communism has become deeply imbedded in that island "people's republic," and it is from there that the other movements are being planned for this year. Bolivia is the next immediate target. It is expected that the election to be held within the next 2 or 3 months will result favorably for the Communist planners. The consequences of this situation will deeply affect Venezuela where the Communist infiltration is strong in the Venezuelan press, radio, and political parties. The powerful oilworkers union is being taken over by the Communists in the same manner a number of unions were taken over before Castro's spectacular success.

In Brazil, the Communist leader, Louis Carlos Prestes, is equally active. He has recently returned with 25 followers from North Vietnam where he was the honored guest of the Communist boss, Ho Chi Minh. There he studied for months the tactics Ho used against the French forces. Prestes aims at linking his Brazilian move with the Communist groups in Argentina where they are strongest in the Provinces of Santiago del Estero, Tucuman and Salta, all close to the Bolivian border.

The Communist leaders, both national and international, are convinced that the movement, which aims at dividing the Western Hemisphere into two ideological portions, is certain of success. They claim that the Latin American masses which have suffered for so many years from graft and corrupt politicians who have called themselves liberals or conservatives—but in fact were no different—will accept the changes as the Cuban people have despite the tragedy which has befallen that island republic.

The eagerness of the U.S. Government to recognize the liberal Castro regime is also an encouraging factor for the international and local Communists.

American security officers and competent observers on the spot fear that despite the measures to be taken by the Latin American countries which President Eisenhower will visit, the Communists may have a field day in order to strengthen their own position as a preliminary to their pending revolutionary operations.

Slovakia Under Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER M. MUMMA
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. MUMMA. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I am inserting into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL

RECORD an article written by Mr. Joseph Pauco, who is assistant editor of Jednota, at Middletown, Pa.

Mr. Pauco has written several books and many articles about Slovakia and his most recent article entitled "Slovakia Under Communism" appeared in the magazine Slovakia.

This article is an honest attempt by Mr. Pauco to draw a true picture in words of the harm done to the Slovakians by the undesired and forceful interference of the iron fist of communism.

Here in his own words, is the way he wrote it:

[From Slovakia, June–December 1959]

SLOVAKIA UNDER COMMUNISM

(By Joseph Pauco)

In the past 2 years hundreds of American Slovaks visited Slovakia. They were not molested or harmed in any way, and no one was arrested or detained by the police that we know of. It is obvious that Prague wants visitors from America, because that means American dollars.

Only two Slovak clergymen were allowed to visit Slovakia, though many more applied for visas but were refused them. The Czech Reds do not want Slovak Catholic priests from America to visit Slovakia. And most well-known Slovak personalities in America, too, are persona non grata. They want to know too much about the plight of the church in Slovakia, the condition of the bishops and the clergy, and the schools.

I have talked with dozens of Americans of Slovak origin who have visited Slovakia. This report is based on these conversations.

After World War II, a certain Slovak came to America to his father. This year he was allowed to visit Slovakia. He had let his brothers and other relatives know that he was coming. So they waited for him at the station. And they waited and waited in the crowd for some time. He did not recognize them, and they did not recognize him. "We had not seen each other for 13 years," he related. "My brother and brother-in-law have changed beyond recognition."

"My brother," he continued, "is younger than I, but today he looks older than our father. He has aged terribly; he is wrinkled and gray. He is not the same man I said goodbye to in Slovakia 13 years ago."

What did he go through? They confiscated his property, as well as that of the other relatives. A nephew, a priest, is languishing somewhere in a concentration camp, while his two sisters—members of a religious order—are forced to work in the fields. The family is large and there is no money, or any way of earning it, that is, enough of it to keep going. The spiritual and material property of these people is indescribable. No wonder the man aged prematurely.

"During my stay in Slovakia," continued my friend, "not a single smile ever lit up the faces of my relatives. We all cried when my brother related what terrible things had transpired since the end of the war. And they all cry even when they eat and sleep."

He met with his friends in the village. When he left them 13 years ago, they were well off. Today they have nothing. All must work in the kholkhoses. All are aging prematurely; all are beggars today. "They walk in rags," said my friend, "like the gypsies used to long ago."

"I never felt so depressed in all my life," he continued. "These people have virtually lost all faith in themselves. In their great fear and sorrow they care for nothing; nothing interests them. They pray constantly, and it is prayer that keeps them from despairing. I certainly would not want to live in Slovakia today," concluded my friend.

Farmers in Slovakia are losing their land. The Czech Communist state is confiscating it systematically. The state now owns most of the farmers and their farms. The farmers, sooner or later, are forced to join the kholkhose system or they lose everything. In the end they do lose everything. Here is the story as told by an American with a brother in Slovakia, who "voluntarily" joined the collective farm system.

My brother owned 12 hectares of land (29.64 acres). He was obliged to give the Government annually 2,640 pounds of beef, 1,000 pounds of pork, 8,360 pounds of grain, 350 eggs, and 2,500 liters of milk. If the season was dry and crops were poor, or the animals got sick and died, the farmer was lost. He had no money with which to buy grain, meat, eggs, or milk. And even if he had money, he could not buy anything, because the other farmers, too, had to surrender their products. What could he do but surrender his land to the State?

To get the farmers to join the kholkhose system, the Reds promised just about everything to have the farmers join "voluntarily." When this did not work out very well, the Reds began to use pressure. First on the wealthier farmers, whom they labeled parasites, bloodsucker, and political unreliables. After their holdings were diminished "by law," the Reds began to work on the small farmers. They gave them a "choice": Either to give up their own farms and work on the kholkhoses, or to lose everything and work the same amount of acreage somewhere else. In the end the entire community is changed. The farmers have nothing left but a garden which cannot sustain the family. People get paid for working in the kholkhoses. Not in money, but in "units." A unit is worth 6 crowns (85 cents) and 3 kilograms (6.6 pounds) of grain. But to earn this unit, the kholkhose slave must, for example, cultivate cucumbers, or tobacco 6 hours. The value of the unit is figured otherwise for different jobs.

Kholkhose guards are also paid in units. Daily they get one and a half units, that is, 9 crowns ($1.28) and 4.50 kilograms (9.90 pounds) of grain. But the guard not only watches and supervises, but also must work.

A farmer's cow is worth 110 units to the State, that is, he must pay with his work 666 crowns ($95.14) and give 330 kilograms (726 pounds) of grain. This means that a farmer must buy his own cow annually or else lose it. In the summer the cows have a common pasture; in the winter they are fed from the kholkhoses. A milker has to take care of 16 cows. He milks the cows by hand three times daily. Everything is systematized. Each person works in his own department only. With a whip over his head at all times. People must work Sundays, too, so that the Reds can show that they completely control the reactionary peasants, who have always been faithful to God and to their nation. Today practically everything is owned by the State—business, industry, bakeries, butcher shops, drugstores, farms, and even the doctors. Everything is owned by all the people. "Everything is ours, but only to look at," is what the people say in Slovakia.

I asked several American Slovaks who had visited Slovakia recently, how the church fared in Slovakia and how the priests were treated. I was told that many priests still are in jail and that those who are not are under strict police control. The Czech Red secret police and their agents shadow every clergyman. I then asked about the priests who had signed the government program in regard to Catholic Action, and those who had refused to sign it. The number of those who pledged loyalty to the government program was negligible. About half of the latter have already regretted their action. Those who refused to sign have to live a hell on earth. The Communists spread malicious rumors about them to turn their parishioners against them. Where that happens the churches remain empty and then the Reds chase the priests to the labor camps, saying that they have nothing to do in the parish. Of course, Sundays mean nothing to the Reds. People must devote Sundays to put time in the work brigades.

This means that people cannot go to church—and in turn the priest has nothing to do. This in time will have telling effects. Since the Greek Catholic churches are now administered by orthodox clergymen from Russia and Bohemia the Slovak Greek Catholics (Byzantine Rite) attend Roman Catholic churches even if they have to walk miles to ge to one. The Catholics are becoming thus more united in suffering and in their opposition to the Reds.

When I asked recent visitors to Slovakia how fares it with the schools there, I was told that the teachers must sign a statement that they have renounced the Catholic faith or else they lose their positions. "The future of communism," the Reds keep on bellowing, "depends on the training of our youth." And God and religion must be eradicated from the hearts and minds of all youngsters no matter what the cost, according to the Reds.

The Slovaks feel that they have been forsaken by all except God. To Him they turn constantly for help, praying that another war soon breaks out. Yes, in their great affliction they are begging God to allow another war, because they feel that the Reds will never let up unles they are beat up. The Slovaks are now hardened and determined to fight. They tried to help the Magyars when they revolted in 1956, but Red Prague stopped them with its armies. If America or the West had come to the aid of the Magyars at that time, the Slovaks over there say that they, the Poles, Ukrainians, Rumanians, and the other behind the Iron Curtain would also have made a bid for freedom—and the situation today in central and eastern Europe would be different than it is. They still ask why America and the West did not help. And if they did not help in 1956, what are the chances of help from America and the West the next time some nation makes a bid to burst from its Red chains? Who has the heart to tell them that America and the West have decided on a policy of peaceful coexistence? Of course, not Radio Free Europe or the Voice of America—but the Reds will, and they did tell them: "Don't expect any help from the American imperialists. Comerade Nikita Khrushchev is the only one now that can help. Stick by him."

How about the cost of living in Slovakia? Terribly high. Breakfast—a very small piece of butter, a little jam, two pieces of bread, and a cup of coffee—come to 12 crowns (7 crowns equals $1). Lunch—pork and sauerkraut, bread, and a small beer—adds up to 17.50 crowns. A kilogram (2.2 pounds) of tomatoes, 12 crowns; 3 pounds of bread, 8 crowns; a liter of vodka, 80 crowns; a liter of rum, 96 crowns; a kilogram of sugar, 10.20; poor quality sausage, 25 crowns per kilogram, better quality, 80 crowns; women's dress material, 400 crowns (per dress) and to sew same another 300 crowns; men's suits, 1,200 crowns; work shoes, 200, and dress shoes, 380 crowns. There are cheaper shoes, but they last only about 2 to 3 weeks of continuous wear; the better shoes last about 6 months.

Thus a person must work 2 weeks to buy poor clothes. Factory workers are a bit better off. But even an expert or technician does not make more than 1,400 crowns per month. A tractor man gets 1,200 crowns per month. A commander of the national security is no better off.

How about getting food and clothes from America? They were getting quite a bit of

help from American relatives at first, but since CARE was proscribed and the Government has taken over everything, little is coming in, because of exorbitant taxes or customs duty. A headkerchief (babuška) from America for example, is taxed 50 crowns ($7.15), and other articles of wear as high as 200 crowns per kilogram.

A Slovak lady, who had visited Slovakia recently, told of her surprise when she bought some meat at a butcher shop and some buns at a bakery. The clerk would not wrap the merchandise. When she asked for wrapping paper, she was told to bring her own next time to wrap her stuff in an apron.

How about buying an auto in Slovakia? Well, they are offered for sale, but not for everybody or anybody. The prices are exorbitant, but then it's not so easy to get one even if one has the cash. A request form for an auto must first be filled out and sent to the proper authorities. It may take up to 3 years to get an answer. But that does not mean that one is ready to get the auto. The reply usually tells the applicant what further steps he must take.

It's the same thing, my informant tells me, with building one's home. First he must get permission to build; then he waits till he gets an approval for the necessary material. He may ask for a certain kind of material and get another kind.

"You know," my informer told me, "in Slovakia they have plenty of everything—poverty, fear, jails, drudgery—except money and fabricated materials. Many times I could not even buy matches in a Slovak village. And when I walked into a store and asked what they had to sell, one comrade replied sourly: 'Don't ask what we have, but what we don't have'."

Visitors to Slovakia are generally surprised at the excessive drinking of the ordinary folks. "I visited five communities," a friend of mine told me after returning from Slovakia, "but the drinking problem is the same in all of them and, I suppose, in all of Slovakia." The Slovaks drink not because they are well off, but because they are suffering extreme hardships. It seems that the people there are trying to drink their hapless lot away. "But the stuff they are drinking," added my friend, "is terrible stuff, poison that most people themselves make clandestinely. Perhaps it is worse than the worst moonshine ever made in America." The clergy are doing their best to convince the people not to drink, but to little avail. More than one priest told me that the situation is worsening with the years.

Shadowing visitors is common in Slovakia. I learned from several friends who recently visited Slovakia that the secret police of any district know who is coming from where into the area. My friend, let's call him Janko (John), recently visited his relatives, and he had quite a few of them. "As I left the home of one of my relatives for the home of another," said Janko, "I became aware of the fact that somebody was following me. Well, the first time it did not bother me. But I noticed the same fellow shadowing me for several days. When I entered the home of my aunt, the man slipped out of sight. The next morning he reappeared again. On this occasion he approached me and said: 'Pardon me, but I think you are looking for the home of your friend's mother, not the friend that lives in the same town in America that you do? Well, his mother lives over there.'

"Surprised? Of course I was," continued Janko. "I had told no one that I was going to visit my friend's mother, because he had asked me not to, since he was a public official. But the shadow evidently knew whom I would probably visit in that particular village. When I visited some relatives and friends in another town, I was shadowed again."

Another American visitor visited the pastor of the parish to which his relatives belong. "How are you, Father?" he asked. "Oh, I'm getting along fine, thank you. So fine, in fact, that things could hardly be better. And briefly, let me tell you how fine. Last Sunday I gave a sermon and then celebrated holy Mass. As I left the church, a well-known Communist official approached me and asked me to repeat the sermon I gave since he did not have time to attend church, because, he said, he wanted to be edified.

"Yes, he did want to learn something. He wanted to hear from my own lips what I said said so that he could check this with the report that would be brought to him by his own stooges," concluded the priest.

Use the Knife

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEO E. ALLEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial entitled "Use the Knife," which appeared in the Rockford (Ill.) Morning Star of January 3, 1960:

USE THE KNIFE

Battlelines between the forces of economy and spending are being drawn again as the 86th Congress prepares to open its 2d session Wednesday. Outcome of the battle will depend to a considerable extent on the interest of the public in the affairs of Congress. Members of the House and Senate will be particularly sensitive in this election year to public reaction to proposals before Congress.

Congressional spenders are preparing another big offensive for Federal aid to education, Federal housing, medical and surgical benefits for social-security recipients, area redevelopment, and other costly programs which are not based on need but are calculated to win votes. The spenders seem to have forgotten that public opinion in the last session of Congress was on the side of economy, and helped President Eisenhower apply a restraining hand on the spending-minded Democratic-controlled Congress.

President Eisenhower has served notice that he will again lead the fight for economy when Congress reconvenes. The President credited an "outspoken citizenry" with preventing reckless spending schemes from being carried out last year.

Budget Director Stans recently issued a rallying call for mobilization of the economy drive that must be resumed. He urged support of the efforts of President Eisenhower to make the country live within its means and called upon citizens and organized groups to withhold demands on the Federal Government that can be avoided, deferred, or handled by local governments or private enterprise.

The need for economy in Government is greater than ever. Congress has a duty to limit legislation to essentials and to put aside the frills. Cost-cutting measures rather than new spending programs, should have top priority. Tax cuts are out of the question, but there is urgent need for a start toward reduction of the staggering national debt.

In a presidential election year, there may be a tendency in both major parties to resort to some extravagances. That tendency will have to be overcome, for the strongest party will be the one that is mindful of the earnest desire of the public for an end to excessive costs of Government.

If Congress keeps the interest of the Nation ahead of political consideration, it will provide realistic legislation by taking care of necessary measures and limiting action on subsidy and aid programs to generous use of the paring knife.

Addresses by Maj. Gen. Lionel C. McGarr, Commandant, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kans.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I am privileged to submit for reprinting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD two speeches by Maj. Gen. Lionel C. McGarr, commandant of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kans. One of these was delivered October 21, 1959, to the American Bridge, Tunnel, and Turnpike Association in Kansas City, Mo., and the other was delivered November 11, 1959, to the Leavenworth, Kans., Rotary Club. It was my privilege during the congressional recess to serve on active duty at the Command and General Staff College. There I had the privilege of observing the outstanding work by General McGarr and his staff. His has been a most impressive record of accomplishments and I consider him among the most capable and effective officers in our Army.

The addresses follow:

REMARKS BY MAJ. GEN. LIONEL C. MCGARR, AMERICAN BRIDGE, TUNNEL, AND TURNPIKE ASSOCIATION, INC., KANSAS CITY, MO., OCTOBER 21, 1959

Members of the American Bridge, Tunnel, and Turnpike Association, gentlemen, it is indeed a pleasure and an honor for me to be here with you this afternoon, and I wish to thank your president, Mr. Collard, for affording me this opportunity to discuss the role of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College as it pertains to our Army's effectiveness—as an eminent member of the overall triservice defense team.

Fort Leavenworth is a military post steeped in tradition and history. It was founded in 1827 by Lt. Col. Henry Leavenworth who saw the bluff upon which the present academic building is now situated, as he came up the Missouri River and decided to place the post at this location. A military installation which was to become an important key outpost in the majestic westward sweep of the tide of empire in the early part of the 18th century, as our young, virile Nation pushed out of the perimeter of the Thirteen Original Colonies to the golden gate on the sparkling shores of the Pacific Ocean in California. You gentlemen, as experts on bridges, tunnels and turnpikes would be interested in the fact that the historic Oregon and the Santa Fe trails meet at Fort Leavenworth. As American citizens, I am sure you are interested in the fact that today the college is a focal point where ideas and concepts on the optimum use of weapons

of the nuclear, missile, mockspeed age, meet, are evaluated, coordinated, and built into forward-looking, viable military doctrine which will control tactical operations of our ground forces in the future.

Our educators, both civilian and military, are confronted with a monumental challenge. Education must be vital and aggressive in providing basic information, presented in such a way as to motivate the student toward meeting the challenge of change, while at the same time enlightening his mind and it must instill mental discipline. Unfortunately, as has been truly said, man obstinately resists change of any sort—particularly a change of his mental raiment—the trousers of convention, the vest of doctrine, the coat of dogma, and the all-enveloping mantle of tradition.

He uses his God-given power to reason, almost exclusively, to buttress the opinions, prejudices, and minor faiths he has unthinkingly absorbed from his environment. This he incorrectly calls thinking. The right name is rationalizing. Specifically, the challenge to the military educator is to change the mental approach and thought processes of our officer corps to keep it not only abreast but ahead of current developments. This requires mental mobility of the highest order. Down through the ages, men have hidden their failure to think objectively or creatively under the cloak of convention, conservatism, and conformity. Too often they were merely rationalizing their own mental laziness. Even today, this mental block tends to prevent a breakthrough in the art of war, commensurate with the astounding technological revolution now in progress. This self-imposed obstacle must be overcome by a comparable breakthrough in the art of thinking. Leavenworth has always been a military idea factory and with our reorganization, reorientation, and rewrite of the entire curriculum some 3 years ago, it has been brought currently abreast of new ideas and concepts. Even more important, it now has the growth potential for continued improvement which is so necessary in our fast-moving age. Yes, Leavenworth today is a far cry from the days when the padding sounds of Indian moccasins, the creak of Conestoga wagons moving west, the shout of the wagonmaster, and the thundering charge of the U.S. Cavalry, the finest in the world, echoed through this hard-bitten, challenging countryside. The USACGSC is dedicated to the service of our Army and of our country. It is dedicated to a firm belief in our way of life, a way of life founded on the simple truths our Savior taught and for which we must be willing to serve and sacrifice, no matter what the cost.

Whether we like it or not, our country has become the leader of the free peoples of the world and the hope of those who wish to be free. This imposes the requirement for a grave sense of public responsibility as citizens and a crystal-clear understanding of the seriousness and complexity of the situation confronting us. As a nation, we must have the courage, born of knowledge, to face the facts—what ought and ought not to be feared—for knowledge is power. This special kind of knowledge comes only through education. Therefore, the general public must be made fully aware of the complex and continuing nature of the threat which is not merely military in character but moral, economic, and psychological as well. It is my personal opinion that an enlightened public opinion is essental to understand, resist, and defeat Soviet cold war talk tactics. We must understand, that to the Soviets, the conference table has become an extension of the battlefield, with propaganda and concessions as the objectives.

Also, we must understand that although technology has but recently placed the military might of the Soviets on our borders, their ideological weapons systems—including propaganda, historical distortion, politically inspired cultural programs, missile blackmail, political subversion, state-controlled education, and even religion—have actually been firing from our very doorsteps for some years. We must not become paralyzed or rendered impotent by their ideological fallout. For this is the real stuff of which the Soviet nonmilitary cold war weapon systems are fashioned and which we must counter if our freedom is to survive. As a soldier who has fought in two wars, I earnestly hope and pray that the conversations between our great President and Mr. K will result in a meaningful lessening of tension throughout the world and that the cold war will give way to peace with freedom and honor. I do not for an instant believe, however, that these conversations prior to his meetings, even as our President indicated, can be expected to cause Mr. K to forsake his way of life or his ideas. The Marxist-Leninist theory of social and economic reform is based on materialism, naked military force, and duplicity, plus a highly refined technique of social revolution, with world domination through world revolution as the objective. And let us remember that all of Mr. K's actions indicate that he has been, and is likely to remain a dedicated exponent of Marx and Lenin.

The basic difference between communism and democracy can be summarized in terms of three rules. The first of these is the Golden Rule, "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you." The Golden Rule is magnificent—where peoples have roughly the same degree of culture, the same religion, the same values. To illustrate, one day a missionary received a gift of 13 beautiful maidens from an African chieftain he had recently converted to Christianity. He was horrified. The chieftain could not understand why. He said, "You preach the Golden Rule—treat others as you would have others treat you. Someday I hope to visit you in America and this is exactly what I would expect from you. When I try to live up to your Golden Rule, you won't let me." This, of course, shows the distinction between the ethics and the religion of the missionary and the chieftain. Neither could put himself in the other's place without giving up something sacred to him. So we see the Golden Rule applies only to golden-hearted people. So, let's consider another rule—don't do to others what you wouldn't have them do to you. This is the silver rule, formulated long ago by Plato and Confucius. Being negative, it is much easier to apply because although you may not owe people a positive duty, you do owe them the negative duty—letting them alone.

Now, because all people in the world are not either golden or silver hearted, we must have another and final rule. Any free country living in our nuclear world without some equivalent of this rule is inviting disaster, not only to his form of government, but to his whole way of life—including Christianity and the Golden Rule. This rule I will formulate very simply. We may call it the iron rule—and this is where your Army serves our country 24 hours of every day—this rule is: don't let others do to you what you wouldn't do to them. I give you this analogy as food for thought.

Traditionally, the USACGSC through both resident and nonresident instruction has nurtured and developed the talents of our military leaders and, impelled by continuing technological advance, has been the keystone in the development of doctrine, concepts, and organizations for use by the Army in the field during wartime. The coat of arms of the college is indicative of its martial character, distinguished particularly by the shield, the chevron, and the eagle. The three lamps of learning stand for the major components of the Army of the United States—the Regular Army, the National Guard, and the organized Reserves. This symbolizes the one army concept and recognizes that no victory in American history has ever been won by a solitary arm, service, or component of the Army. Victory in the field has always been the product of the combined efforts of Regulars, guardsmen, reservists, and Army civilians with all arms and services working together as a team within the tri-service defense team structure. Our motto is: "Prepare in peace for war."

The Leavenworth Lamp was presented to the college on May 7, 1956, by the Kansas City chapter, Military Order of World Wars, on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the founding of the college. It symbolizes the traditional lamp of learning from which emerges a mailed fist representing the military nature of this knowledge. Clenched in the fist are a rifle and a sword connoting earlier days at the college, and a guided missile symbolizing the future. Basically, Leavenworth prepares select officers of all components of the Army for duty as commanders and general staff officers in its on-campus courses and furthers the preparedness of the Reserve components (National Guard and Reserve) by conducting off-campus courses of instruction through the medium of its extension course work and USAR schools located throughout the country. As the Army's senior tactical school and college of the combined arms and services, Fort Leavenworth is responsible that all of the various combat arms and the supporting services of the Army learn to fight together on the battlefield as a coordinated, cohesive combat team.

In accomplishing this, we must lead the way in a timely recognition and exploitation of new concepts and developments so as to produce new and sound combinations of ideas and weapons, together with organizations which will insure success on the modern battlefield. Only through the unstinting efforts of man's creative capabilities can the required quantum advance be achieved and the necessary continuing impetus be maintained. To accomplish this to the desired degree, we must teach our students how to think objectively and creatively, decide logically and operate effectively in applying all important principles rather than memorizing or learning by rote. In other words, we must teach our future commanders to be military problem solvers and decision makers who can evaluate all courses of action, arrive at a logical solution, communicate it by proper order and then supervise it through to a successful and victorious conclusion. In this respect, it should be remembered that the tactical concepts which carried Guderian's Panzers from the Rhine to Dunkirk were developed, not in the crucible of war, but in peacetime general staff councils and the classrooms of the Kriegs Academy at Potsdam. This transparency represents the overall Army educational system. From the time an officer is commissioned he moves through his normal troop and basic school assignments until, after 12 to 15 years' service, about 50 percent of the Army's officers are especially selected for attendance at the college. About 50 percent of the Leavenworth graduates are later selected to go on to the highest level of military schooling, the war colleges and the Armed Forces Staff College. In other words, at Leavenworth and beyond, military schooling becomes very selective.

The vast future battle area with its highly mobile, self-contained, hard-hitting battle groups capable of dispersion over great distances and then quickly concentrating for attack, habitually operates with the threat of nuclear weapons ever present. This will require a much more highly trained type of leader than ever before. As an example of the increase in responsibility as a result of technological advances, this represents the

area of responsibility of a World War II divisional commander. Now note the greatly increased area of responsibility of the present day division commander. The firepower in future wars available to a single division commander will be greater than that available to all division commanders during World War II and Korea. More important, the use of nuclear weapons with their terrific force, as well as other new types of weapons, has reduced the all-important reaction and decision time of the commander to an absolute minimum. Only the most highly dedicated, motivated and well-trained officer will be able to lead troops successfully on the battlefields of the future.

As today's composite soldier requires knowledge in almost every field of military endeavor, higher education becomes a must. The battlefield leadership of tomorrow's soldiers will also demand a thorough understanding of the complex nature of man himself. No military leader at any level can be expected to be successful in the absence of a working knowledge of the tools of his trade and an understanding which permits motivation, facilitates learning, and enhances performance. This chart shows the present organization of the college. I shall not go into detail, except to point out the horizontal and functional nature of the organization wherein a single department is responsible for an entire course of study for a particular military organization and level of command. The staff organization provides a principal assistant in each area of the college mission. Our Navy, Air Force, and Marine representatives, plus our liaison officers from England, France, and Canada, and our special representatives from the technical and administrative services, together make up a cohesive team capable of dealing with the various facets of today's fast-moving situation.

The next chart indicates the worldwide coverage of our curriculum. The red dots indicate geographical locations of one or more of our problem settings. By solving these problems, students become intimately familiar with the actual locales worldwide where they could some day be called upon to fight. You will note that the 1956–57 course concentrated 89 percent of all problem settings in Western Europe. The reduction to 11 percent shows the trend of our present-day global interest. It is also interesting to note the reduction in general war instruction from almost 100 percent in 1956–57 to 35 percent for the course now being presented, as well as the proportional increase in teaching officers to fight limited war, such as Korea and the situations short of actual war, such as Lebanon. This, of course, is to insure that our Army can handle the brushfire type wars, which if unchecked could well result in total war.

The next chart represents the present school year at the college and shows the many different courses we teach. This block of courses will graduate about 4,2000 students this school year—students who range in rank from lieutenants to major generals in the Reserve component refresher courses and from colonels to lieutenant generals in our senior officer nuclear weapons employment course. Our courses run from 10 months for the regular course to 1 week for others. Our average student population runs around 1,220 for 9 months out of the year, and these officers represent the Army's best, the cream of the crop.

One of our most important missions at the college is our allied officer program. Over the years, 1,900 allied officers from 62 countries have attended the college. At present we have 111 allied students from 43 countries represented on this chart. It is significant to note that the allied students at the college this year represent countries with a collective population of over a billion and a half people—about half the population of the world. Over half of those now attending come from the so-called underdeveloped countries of the Middle East and Africa. Forty-six out of the 111 students come from countries which border on the Sino-Soviet dominated countries. I do not have to tell this group of the importance of our mission with respect to these officers, not only from the viewpoint of giving them sound military instruction, but also our far-reaching contributions to international good relations with allied countries of the free world.

So far I have talked about our resident program—students who were physically present at the college. This chart shows the extent of our nonresident—or off-campus—student representation. As I have said, we will instruct about 4,200 residents students this year. Our nonresident program, however, will reach over 15,000 students, most of them from the important reserve components of our Army. Please note the significant—100 percent—increase in our off-campus students from 1956 to the present. This is attributable to our curriculum modernization. The college takes great pride in its close and continuous association with the reserve forces and considers its nonresident courses fully as important as the student body physically present at the college.

CONCLUSION

The USACGSC feis that the greatest battle since the dawn of history, is for the mind, the heart, and the soul of man. The college is convinced that its military contribution must be toward a better way to use man—man who is the one constant in the equation of battlefield success. This, of course, requires the continuing development of the moral as well as the mental, physical, and psychological side of the student. Fort Leavenworth, therefore, develops the complete man. This is because we are firmly convinced that what the mind can conceive, he can accomplish. He must follow his ideas and his ideals as beacons into space—beyond the known confines of our galaxy to the unknown outer reaches of the universe itself—if he is to fulfill his destiny and exploit fully his God-given power of thought.

Those of us who are privileged, as members of the staff and faculty of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, to be entrusted with the awesome responsibility of molding the minds of our future leaders in the direction of progress feel not only a heavy sense of responsibility, but a terrible sense of urgency. This is because our survival as a great nation depends not only on the quality of our ideas in competition with those of the Soviets but upon their timeliness and our ability to convince the world of the justice and validity of these ideas. What is needed in this world, conditioned by tensions and opposing ideologies—even more than land, sea, air, or even industrial power—is brain power. Brain power coupled with the will and determination to work and sacrifice for a national purpose in which we wholly believe and behind which we will wholeheartedly unite. The Army has its purpose, continuous readiness for sustained combat. Readiness for the nuclear or nonnuclear battlefields of the future or the arena of unconventional warfare. It is our sacred trust, our proud duty as soldiers that the college—by the worth of its instruction and example—continue to furnish top battlefield leadership for our country. And now in closing—I like to think that as the many windows of Bell Hall, our new academic building, reflect the dying rays of a setting sun, they call to mind the old ode to a soldier—"For gold the merchant plows the main, the farmer plows the manor, but the soldier's gold is glory and the soldier's gain, his honor." If, God forbid, we must fight again, both sides according to their own convictions will have won glory and both sides will have defended their honor but only one, the most highly dedicated, the most highly motivated and the best led, will have won victory—this is the mission of the USACGSC. Thank you.

OUR HERITAGE OF FREEDOM

(Remarks by Maj. Gen. Lionel C. McGarr, commandant, USACGSC, to the Rotary Club, Leavenworth, Kans., November 11, 1959)

It certainly is a privilege this afternoon to have the opportunity of addressing such a group of public-minded citizens as the members of the Leavenworth Rotary Club, who are dedicated to the improvement and progress of our community and our country. I wish to thank Vic Shalkoski for making it possible for me to speak to you on Veterans Day. I feel this is a day when we should all rededicate ourselves to the spirit of service and sacrifice to our country, and to pause for a moment in the hectic business of enjoying our freedom to pay homage to those who made this heritage of freedom possible. I speak of those men of the Armed Forces who in their hour of decision, in past wars, chose the harder right instead of the easier wrong and kept their honor and that of their country untarnished and unsullied, thus setting an example which those who lived strove humbly to emulate—I speak of those men whose selfless sacrifice stiffened our resolve and strengthened our courage in those dark days—I speak of the men who made the victory of our way of life possible—the men who made the supreme sacrifice. To those men—husbands, sons, brothers—who did not come back, I dedicate these few poor words here today.

The memory of their sacrifices will remain ever green in the hearts of many but the adulation heaped upon the warrior soon fades when the war is won. Those of us who lived, soon learned to accept the fact that a grateful country can give little in the way of concrete reward for their sacrifices. But this was ever the lot of the soldier and soldiers down through the ages have accepted it. Their reward was knowing deep down inside that they had done a good job. But we would be remiss in our duty to our country and to ourselves if we did not continue to fight for a better world in which to live, for a greater understanding among men. For this reason I consider it an honor and a sacred duty to speak of these men to you gentleman here today.

In order to place the soldier's sacrifice in proper perspective, I feel it well that we consider the complex, continuing, and serious nature of the threat which faces our Nation as a leader of the free peoples of the world today, and by facing up to our responsibilities, to ensure in some small way that these men who did not come back, shall not have died in vain.

In this respect we might well review events leading up to this, the 15th year of what I shall call World War III—a war which, we could logically say, began with the Communist ideological invasion of Greece in 1944. At that time international atheistic communism owned 170 million persons, body and soul. Today this same godless ism owns and controls 970 million people—eight-tenths of a billion more. Fifteen years ago, this foreign directed ism controlled 8 million square miles of the earth's surface; today it controls 16 million square miles of the globe—an increase of 100 percent. It is my personal opinion that our people must have a crystal-clear understanding of the act that this materialistic ideology, offered for sale by international communism in the economic and diplomatic marked places of the world, is a major instrument of overall Soviet power. Historically, the spread of this ideology has been accomplished primarily through Soviet-Satellite military threat, subversion and diplomatic action—not because of its worth or its ability to come to power through free

elections. Therefore I feel it should be evident to all that this ideology of strife and duplicity is the advance guard of Communist military power.

The strength of communism is not in its preponderant numbers, for numerically it is weak, but in its ability to penetrate and exploit non-Communist organizations and peoples who then, knowingly or unwittingly, support the Soviet World War III—international communism had long used every possible media of communication to precondition the minds of its intended victims with a guilt complex—a complex against resisting the insidious threat of this Communist ideology. At the same time, it has worked to reinforce this guilt complex with a "fear complex" based on the threat of the use of force. In this way it attempts to seize the psychological initiative and so implant an excessive defensive mentality in the minds of the peoples of the west. Continued well-directed propaganda in this area also skillfully attempts to fix in the minds of all concerned the so-called reasonableness of Communist claims. Meanwhile the fateful shadow of Emry Nagy with his Hungarian freedom fighters and the Deli Lama with his supporters remains, by implication, a thinly veiled nightmare threat—especially to smaller countries—against challenging Communist might. This psychological guilt-fear complex type action based on the threatened use of ruthless, naked force has all too often given communism the victory by default.

Because of the Soviet's adherence to their concept of "continuing revolution" with its strategy of ambiguity, the cold war, which they decry, has continued unabated in all its ramifications, with no tangible or concrete evidence of a meaningful change in the foreseeable future with respect to freedom with honor for the peoples of the world. The Soviet current battle cry is "peace," but Tibet, the Formosa Straits, India, the Middle East, and now another round on Berlin show the continuing nature and globe-griding scope of Communist mechanician and design for eventual world domination through world revolution. Conditioned by our heritage of domestic and military success and our outmoded belief that peace is normal we have failed to fully recognize this Communist strategy of ambiguity—the use of alternating belligerance wtih peaceful coexistence and naked repression with subtle infiltration. We must not allow ourselves to be lulled into a false sense of security. Equally as important, we must reaize that to the Soviets the conference table has become a major battlefield conditioned by Marx-Leninist ideological fallout with concessions and propaganda as the objective of Communist talk tactics and sweet reasonableness.

For the immediate future at least, it appears that the Communist have gained a secure strangle hold on both the political life and the military strength of their satellite nations. Although total dependability of these nations in time of war certainly must remain a principal Soviet concern, we must face up to and prepare for the total context of the situation by considering that the Soviets will, at least initially, be capable of capitalizing on and exploiting the full military, econmic, and political potential of these peoples. Our own people must have the special knowledge born of a complete understanding of the nature of this deadly threat to ensure a national course of action based on firmness of purpose appropriately combined with flexibility of method. Our overall purpose as leaders of the free world must be a conspicuous preparedness and readiness, to insure our capability of resisting any necessity to secure a temporary peace by surrender of our basic principles and our vital interests. Linked as we are in no less than 8 formal alliances with our free world allies, composed of 42 different nations, we are committed to assist them politically and ideologically and we could almost without notice be committed militarily. As you know, one of a number of the serious threats to the peace of the world is again centered in Berlin where our country has undertaken an unqualified commitment to resist new aggression.

Naturally all segments of our country, especially the military and those of you who have served in wartime, hope and pray that world tensions can be lessened by current conferences and negotiations. I am sure we all agree with our President that, "Strength can cooperate; weakness can only beg." This means that to ensure peace with freedom and honor, we must have in being sufficient visible balanced strength to impress the Soviets with the fact that an attack would not be a profitable venture. Thus it is apparent that the military man in the application of his art must, more than ever before, understand and be guided by the global, political and military implications as they impact upon the strategic and tactical complexion of the wars he must fight in the future.

I feel that it is most important today, of all days, to relate the political, military, and ideological impact of the struggle to the one decisive factor in warfare—man—man on the ground, in the air, and on the sea with his courage and his fears, with his sacrifices and his unquenchable will and determination to carry the fight to the enemy against insurmontable odds in accomplishing his mission. This is the spirit, the very fighting heart of the Army, resolute and determined, driving forward to victory in the mud, and the blood, and the slime to exploit the decisive attack and dominate the battlefield. Man, driving forward with or without the help of his supporting arms and sister services to carve his initials on the chest of the enemy—asking no quarter and giving none. Man, tried, tested, and refined on the training fields, in our schools, and finally in the cruciable of war itself. This is the fighting man to whom we must look for ultimate victory. I know you all realize that only a soldier who has faced death on the battlefield can ever fully appreciate that the so-called path of glory trod by the fighting man must, of necessity, be a hard, grueling, uphill grind against terrific odds with death stalking him at every turn.

After the surrender of the German forces in Italy at the end of World War II, General Von Kesselring made the following interesting statement: "All armies have their epic of glory. The British had their Dunkirk. The French had their Verdun. The only epic of glory the American army had in this war was Anzio." I would like to tell you the story of a regiment which fought through the "hell that was Anzio" on the Anzio beachhead in Italy. As a part of the small beachhead force, isolated far behind the enemy lines, this regiment carried the initial corps main effort, attacking over a frontage two times the normal width on the morning of the breakout. The men of the regiment knew the strength of the triple "Iron Ring of Cisterna" comprising the German defenses in front of them. They had fought the vaunted German "superman" to a standstill for 5 hellish months, since the initial landing. Their casualties had been heavy and they knew that even heavier casualties would result from their attack, driving up off the low beach area with the sea at their backs against the well-fortified mountain heights to the front. Heights which had afforded the enemy observed day time artillery fire on anything that moved within the beachhead.

They went forward that gray dawn through terrific artillery fire, disregarding the cost. They went forward under cover of their smoke generators. They went forward that gray morning—singing—and they cut the road to Rome. Their casualties for the first 24 hours were 500 killed and wounded.

Six days and 1,000 casualties after H-hour, they led the victorious corps into Rome, as the first regimental combat team to reach the banks of the Tiber. One-third of the regiment were casualties, but there was not one of that doubtful category, missing in action. These soldiers were either wounded or they were dead, but wherever they were, wherever they fell, they knew they were victorious. Report after report came forward to the regimental commander in the attack that his men were going a.w.o.l.—a.w.o.l. from aid stations and hospitals. This was true—these men were going absent without leave, but they were going back to their regiment in the attack.

That regiment had been in action for 2 long years prior to the fall of Rome which, as you know, took place the day after the supreme commander launched the cross-channel invasion of France which, according to the historians, started the so-called big show. The regiment was shot full of replacements and its teamwork was weakened by losses of key personnel but it was held together by esprit, discipline and leadership—an unbeatable triumvirate.

I am sure the commander was half-humbled—half-proud—as he drove forward with his attack. Humbled because he knew the terrible price his regiment paid for victory. Proud because in 31 months of almost continuous combat against near impossible odds, his regiment never once had failed to take an assigned objective. I am sure if he could live through countless battles yet to come, if he should live to be a thousand years old, and grow to be 10 feet tall, he could never reach the height of achievement and glory which his regiment made possible for him that day. For you see, gentlemen, I had the honor to be its commander. In tribute I can only say, my regiment was superb in attack and unbeatable in defense—retreat only, it never learned, nor ever needed.

Many other battles in World Wars I, II, and in Korea also showed the fighting qualities of freemen fighting for their way of life.

Now let us take the epic of a small group, a platoon of Baker company which held one of those many small cone-shaped hills, vulnerable positions, forward of our main battle-lines, near Old Baldy in Korea in 1952. This was an understrength platoon of only 28 men led by a young lieutenant. The Communist attack came at dusk. As was customary, the attack was preceded by a vicious, smothering bombardment by heavy mortars, which left the bunkers a shambles and the trenches only knee-deep ditches. The platoon sergeant was killed in the initial attack. The lieutenant was wounded and his leg was crushed and caught tight in a destroyed bunker. However, he directed his men from this exposed position, and his platoon withstood and drove back three separate Communist attacks, one of which swept through his final protective wire and up over his position. All except seven of the men of that platoon were either killed or wounded. To their undying glory, they held their position and accounted for 180 dead Communists by the next morning. Gentlemen, these and many more were fighting men of my command. I am sure there were many of your acquaintances also. These were freemen fighting for their way of life. These were American soldiers at their best.

This type of fighting man does not just happen. He is trained, indoctrinated, and then led that way. Those of us in the Army educational system who are charged with the awesome responsibility of directing the minds of our young future leaders in the direction of progress are firmly convinced that our future battles must first be won

in advance in the minds of our leaders before they can be won on the battlefield—that men must first learn to think in new patterns before they can act in new patterns. However, even if every commander had a whole army of Univac-minded soldiers, armed with the most terrible weapons of destruction, equipped with a whole array of multicolored push-buttons and flashing neon lights, the thinking direction and the moral courage of the leader will still be an absolute must for victory.

The pious Greek, fearing that he would forget one of his many gods, added one last altar—the altar to the unknown God. So whenever we are inclined to think or speak of our great leaders such as Patton, MacArthur, Eisenhower, and the like, we should add one more altar, an altar to the unknown leader, the good platoon, squad, or fire group leader who, clinging to a stricken field by the fighting fury of his troops, has won when, according to the books, he should have lost. For he is the man who too often falls unknown, unsung, and alone, but who in the final analysis, along with the men he commands, is a vital catalyst of victory—the real leader who wins our wars.

We must insure that men such as these who have given us our priceless heritage of freedom and liberty must not have died in vain. To accomplish this, we must stimulate positive action at all levels of our national life, including the local level, to deter communism and to defend our type of democracy we must continue to fight for reality versus illusion. Communism has hurled the mortal challenge. Our response and the response of freemen throughout the world will determine whether or not freedom itself can survive. The negative approach of merely reacting defensively to each shift in Communist tactics is not sufficient. We must place greater emphasis on the positive role of our democratic way of life.

History shows that the losers in almost every battle actually lost the conflict before the fight began. The loser was defeated before hand by superior confidence on the part of the winner, and not by superior numbers of weapons. Most certainly American reality is morally superior to Communist illusion, not only because it is our way, but because it expresses the universal desires and ambitions of human beings everywhere.

A demonstrated faith in our heritage—our heritage of democracy—of Americanism is our greatest weapon in the vital struggle for the minds, the hearts, and the souls of men. Military might, morale, esprit, economic resources, while effective, cannot of themselves guarantee victory for either side. All the weapons of the military arsenals of the world would be inconclusive, if not reinforced by the citizen's will and determination to use them and, even more important, by his abiding awareness and confidence in the overwhelming superiority of our ism—Americanism—and by our way of life. We must have a national purpose in which we all believe. We must revitalize our awareness, as well as our will and determination to make our form of democracy a vital, living force of moral persuasion which will again actively capture the imagination and support of the entire world.

And now in closing, to me, as the dying rays of the setting sun light the tombs of our Unknown Soldiers in Arlington Cemetery, on hallowed ground overlooking our Nation's Capitol, they seem to call to mind that old ode to a soldier—"For gold the merchant plows the main, the farmer plows the manor, the soldier's gold is glory and the soldiers' gain is honor." If, God forbid, we must fight again, only the most highly dedicated, the most highly motivated, the best led and the soldier most genuinely convinced of the worth of his case will have won victory. Service and sacrifice to our ideals and to our country. This is our debt to the men we honor today—the men of our Armed Forces who did not come back—we must not, we cannot fail.

Loyalty Oath

SPEECH
OF
HON. PAUL C. JONES
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

(Mr. JONES of Missouri asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, during the past week I received a letter which I presume was mailed to every other Member of Congress soliciting support for legislation seeking repeal of that provision of the National Defense Education Act which requires a loyalty oath and an affidavit disclaiming which seeks the overthrow of the the U.S. Government by force or violence or by any illegal or unconstitutional methods.

At this time I want to go on record as being unequivocally opposed to the repeal of that portion of the act under which this Congress has authorized and appropriated money for the use of students.

As I wrote in reply to the letter I received:

Any American should welcome the opportunity to proclaim and/or reaffirm his loyalty to the Unitd States of America and I cannot help being suspicious of those who for any reason would attempt to avoid such expression.

Mr. Speaker, instead of attempting to find ways to discourage public expression of the support of our Government, I feel that we should encourage our young people particularly to have a deeper sense of loyalty, and a greater appreciation of the heritage which is theirs to nurture and preserve.

Each week at service club meetings and at thousands of other meetings and gatherings throughout the land, millions of Americans are proud to stand, facing the flag, and repeat together the pledge of allegiance to the flag. On such occasions we are reminded of the freedoms which we enjoy as Americans, and I believe all true Americans are inspired as they repeat:

I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands; one Nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

And inclosing, Mr. Speaker, I ask you and other Americans, what possible objection can anyone who claims or professes to be a loyal American citizen, have to signing this oath which states:

I, ————, do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of America and will support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States of America against all its enemies, foreign and domestic.

And what stigma can be attached to the affirmation contained in this affidavit:

I, ————, do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I do not believe in, and am not a member of and do not support any organization that believes in or teaches, the overthrow of the U.S. Government by force or violence or by any illegal or unconstitutional methods.

The Great American Deception

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include, at the request of the author, the following copyrighted article by Mr. Neil Hancock Burlingame, of Binghamton, N.Y.:

THE GREAT AMERICAN DECEPTION
(By Neil Hancock Burlingame)

We Americans accept without much question the ways and customs under which we live. Many of us seem unaware that our pattern of living stems largely from a continuing propaganda of business and government which stresses the role they claim in making life better for everybody.

For many years this parade of news stories, statistical reports, magazine articles, and public statements has emphasized great progress in bettering conditions for our low-income population. These morsels of information call attention to overall improvement of social and economic conditions, and often use statistics to show that the average dollar income of the lower classes is steadily on the upgrade.

To those brainwashed by this barrage of business and political bombast, it may come as something of a shock to learn that neither business nor government has been able to do anything during the past half century or more to improve the position of the Nation's low-income families. Business and political leaders may deny this, and keep right on with their attempts to deceive the American people.

Newspapers throughout the country recently published a report that the average American makes a salary of between $5,000 and $7,000 a year. Most Americans do not receive salaries, and the impression conveyed by this report about income is misleading and false. Two-thirds of our families have incomes less than the lower figure mentioned. One-half live on less than $4,000 a year. One-fourth receive less than $2,000. And over 6 million families try to exist on less than $1,000 a year. And that doesn't tell the complete story either, because millions live on almost no money income at all. About one-third of our population do not receive sufficient income to buy the necessities of life.

To better undertsand why the averages quoted from time to time regarding income are misleading, let's say that out of 100 families, 1 has an income of $100,000; 3 have $35,000; 7 $18,000; 12 $8,500; 18 $5,000, 25 have $3,000; and 34 $2,000. Actually, in this situation, analogous to the true national situation, over three-fourths of the families would receive less than the average. Two-thirds would receive about one-half of the average. During many years average incomes

have increased while incomes for the lower classes have decreased.

Through several national administrations during the first half of the century, there was much lip service about the plight of our low-income families. But in spite of social security and other so-called social advances, wage increases, and numerous accomplishments claimed by labor unions, progress in employee benefits, and the many measures to alleviate distress and help the aged, there has been comparatively no improvement for those who continue to be the underprivileged of the Nation. The "haves," as always, are intent upon gaining more and more for themselves, and have never appeared much concerned about the burdens of the "have-nots."

While campaigning in 1928—over 30 years ago—Herbert Hoover said "We shall soon be within sight of the day when poverty will be banished from the Nation." In 1928 the lowest one-third of our population received a larger proportion of the national income than they do today. Nothing that the Hoover administration accomplished dispelled the shadow of poverty hanging over the heads of a third of our American families. Mr. Hoover was not the first to call attention to the situation facing our country's low-income population, nor the last to fail in efforts to get them a bigger share of the national income.

During his second inaugural address, January 20, 1937, Franklin D. Roosevelt spoke as follows:

"In this Nation I see tens of millions of its citizens—a substantial part of its whole population—who at this very moment are denied the greater part of what the very lowest standards of today call the necessities of life.

"I see one-third of a nation ill housed, ill clad, ill nourished.

"It is not in despair that I paint you this picture. I paint it for you in hope—because the Nation, seeing and understanding the injustice of it, proposes to paint it out."

But even for our four-term President, the Nation's paintbrush was pitifully inadequate. Today, a quarter of a century since he became President, the lowest one-third of our population receives approximately the same proportion of the national income it received in 1937 when Mr. Roosevelt was crusading so loudly for social justice. The only ones who have gained in the long years since are those who already had more than their fair share of the Nation's bounty.

Yes, our public officials and big businessmen, even our labor leaders, parade the statistical averages on income, wage levels, plane of living, and other aspects of the economy, in a never-ending attempt to prove how greatly conditions are improving for the low-income families. But big business continues to grow bigger, the labor leaders more powerful, and the politicians more secure, while assuming credit for social and economic gains which do not exist.

Much of the information passed out to the public regarding incomes is given in dollar comparisons. The difficulty of securing an accurate picture of the dollar-income situation, and the ease with which income statistics can be garbled and misinterpreted, is indicated in this paragraph from the report of the Joint Committee of the Economic Report, 84th Congress:

"Although the number of families with incomes under $2,000 dropped by more than 1 million between 1948 and 1954, it must be remembered that $2,000 could purchase less in 1954 than 1948 because of the average increase of 12 percent in consumers' prices. In terms of the purchasing power of money income, therefore, families with current incomes under $2,000 were worse off in 1954 than in 1948."

Then the committee made the significant observation that measured in constant dollars, the greatest gains in the income distribution of families occurred at the higher levels of income. And this shift of wealth to the higher classes, not the lower, has been going on since long before President Roosevelt decried the plight of the "forgotten man."

Certainly, the true situation is not generally comprehended. Even the congressional committees, research organizations, economic councils, and other experts in the realm of economics, many keyed to telling Government and business what they want to hear, are bound by outmoded research and investigative concepts, and often do only a partial job of analyzing information, or miss the meaning of the facts entirely.

The widely publicized Rockefeller Report on the U.S. Economy has this to say about the low-income families of the Nation:

"The economic status of many low-income families can be raised through programs focused specially on their individual problems."

What programs? What individual problems? For two decades the Federal Government supposedly has been furnishing stepped-up leadership in an attack on poverty. How much will it cost, and how much longer will it take along the lines we have been moving, to make even a dent in the overall problem? The truth is, of course, that billions can be spent as in the past in misconceived programs which only help the well-to-do become richer, and that generations of starving Americans will come and go before that day gets any closer. It would seem that the businessmen and politicians simply cannot, or do not wish to devise a program which will change the balance between our different income groups and improve the lot of the low-income population.

Let us take a look at the best available information concerning family income over the past 50 years:

1. In 1910 the lowest tenth of our families were receiving 3.4 percent of the national income. Today they are receiving only 1.0 percent. For a period of 20 years, since 5 years before World War II, this proportion of the national income received by our poorest families has remained at precisely the same level. The dollar averages issued by corporation executives, and the wishful thinking of Government officials, does not change the fundamental truth that our lowest income families have proportionately less to live on today than they had 50 years ago.

2. In 1910 the lowest one-third of the Nation's families received 15.8 percent of the national income. Today they are receiving only 10 percent. Their income has remained at exactly the same level during the quarter of a century since Franklin D. Roosevelt so forcefully directed attention to their plight.

3. In 1910 the lower middle 30 percent of the families of the Nation received 21 percent of the national income. Today they receive 23 percent, an improvement since World War II.

4. In 1910 the upper middle 30 percent of the Nation's families received 31.3 percent of the national incomes. Today, after 30 years of great social progress, these families in the well-to-do class have reached an all-time peak of over 40 percent of the national income.

5. In 1910 the top wealthy one-tenth of our families received 33.9 percent of the national income. Today, these filthy rich still receive nearly 30 percent. They reached their highest point in 1929 before the stock crash, and recent studies indicate a trend that may swing them back to new heights of affluence.

One thing should be clear. The shift in wealth, which our business and political friends would have us believe is going in the direction of the low-income families, has in reality traveled upward from the poor, and downward from the millionaires, into the pockets of the upper middle well-to-do. This group has gained more than all others combined.

The statistics used in this article have been secured from the only acknowledged authority on personal and family income in the United States, the U.S. Department of Commerce, which takes its information from the census and from special surveys and studies conducted for that purpose. There are flaws of fact and reason in its findings, just as there may be in this article. But these are insignificant against the bold, bare truth that poverty is as prevalent as ever in this country, and that measures of business and Government to alleviate the situation have been remarkably ineffective. Anything which businessmen and politicians may say to the contrary will be sheer quibbling. Whether willfully or through ignorance, they have been deceiving the American public for the greater part of a century, and there is every reason to believe they will continue to do so for years to come. Isn't it time that new light and inspiration brought emancipation of millions of Americans now in economic bondage?

"Today in Congress"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD E. LANKFORD

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. LANKFORD. Mr. Speaker, it is generally agreed that this 1960 congressional session will be an unusually busy one for all of us. This compounds our problem of keeping abreast of the fast-breaking events here on Capitol Hill. I am delighted, therefore, that the radio program, "Today in Congress," which was a considerable help to me in keeping informed on congressional developments during past sessions, is back on the air for this session. Sponsored as it was in 1958 and 1959 by the Independent Airlines Association, this program is conducted by Joseph McCaffrey and is heard each night, Monday through Friday, on Washington radio station WMAL at 6:45 p.m. Mr. McCaffrey, who is in his 13th year covering Congress for radio and television, brings us a comprehensive summary of the day's activities on the floor, in committees, and elsewhere here on the Hill, and gives us the schedule for the following day's session. The program represents a unique and valuable service.

"Today in Congress" returned to the air Monday night, January 4. On the opening program, Mr. Clayton L. Burwell, President of Independent Airlines Association, appeared, and under unanimous consent of my colleagues, I include Mr. Burwell's remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The remarks referred to follow:

REMARKS OF CLAYTON L. BURWELL, PRESIDENT, INDEPENDENT AIRLINES ASSOCIATION

Good evening. Independent Airlines Association is pleased to bring you once again during the 1960 congressional session, Joseph McCaffrey and his nightly report on the day's activities on Capitol Hill.

In presenting this program it is our aim to provide a ready source of information on

what took place in Congress each day not only for the Members of Congress, those who work in and around the Capitol and those in Federal departments, but for all citizens who are interested in our Government.

The U.S. Congress is the world's greatest legislative body. Its innate sense of fairness, its constant striving to implement the voice of the people, make Congress a direct reflection of the hopes, ideals and aspirations of freemen. All Americans should be proud of our Congress.

On the eve of the opening of the 2d session of the 86th Congress, the Independent Airlines Association extends a cordial "welcome back" to our Congressmen and Senators, and wishes them Godspeed in their deliberations during this 1960 session.

Poems by Mrs. Mattie M. Kelly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I submit for reprinting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD two poems written by Mrs. Mattie M. Kelly, the wife of C. L. Kelly, prominent Florida businessman. They live in Destin on Florida's beautiful gulf coast. Mrs. Kelly is a housewife who writes only as a hobby, and she has shown unusual ability in her poetry. These poems I consider to be outstanding examples of her work. Because of this, I want to share them with my colleagues and with others who will read the RECORD.

The poems follow:

PRAYER ROOM—U.S. CAPITOL

(By Mattie M. Kelly)

(To the Honorable ROBERT L. F. SIKES, U.S. Congressman, Third District, Florida, upon the occasion and celebration of 25 years of public service, this poem is thoughtfully and respectfully dedicated.)

This is a place apart,
A quiet place,
A holy place;
An altar eternally holy,
Mark of a covenant,
A stepping stone to the presence of God,
The crossroad of the world,
And of the human heart;
For praises and thanksgiving, and
Humility (every knee shall bow).
A holier place than the common haunts
Of men, where clanging horns and
Penny-play
Shape human souls
Into a paltry shell.
The Nation's gear
Is apparitioned and appareled here.
Here, organized and synthesized
The government of man—
The beginning and the end
Of law;
The shape of things that are,
And things to come,
The shapelessness of minds,
The home,
The farmer's boy across the yellow fields,
The charcoal mine,
And industry,
The skies, the sea, the cosmic floor;
Time and man's face, their feud and fire,
And famine's ire,
Stubbornly yield
To seek this open door.
This is the place
Where nations gather—
Every nation under heaven—
Gather freely,
From want and ill and fear.
Here,
Each in his time and place
Shall gather in to pray;
And cloven tongues among the nations
Shall speak one voice:
The voice of peace.
No flag of creed
Prescribes the voices, unison.
Jehovah, Allah, all the same.
One search, one need,
One great Spirit
One great creed
One great name
One great God.

WHITE SATIN

April rose
Reaching to thorned green heights,
Holding aloft
In spring-pinked domes
Unfolding buds
Of white satin.
Sepals, waxen and rounded,
Cupped like avid thrusts of a bride's breasts—
Untouched and virginal—
Under white satin.
Ripening chill and the warm sun's flights
The freshness of April rain
Quicksilver pools
On white satin.
You and the year
And the yearning heart
Go forever together—
You and the troth
And the glory
Of white satin.

M.M.K.

APRIL/DECEMBER 1959.

A Labor Union That Uses Imagination

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. BATES
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, the town of Amesbury, Mass., which I have the privilege to represent in Congress, continues to be the scene of something new, daring, and stimulating in the labor-management field.

The spotlight is on the Merrimac Hat Co., which closed its doors in 1958 after over a century of operation. When no buyer could be found the Hatters Union made a proposal, took over operations, and last year declared a quarterly dividend of 50 cents a share. It was front-page news all over the Nation because it marked a new chapter in business operation.

The union was the principal owner, workers still worked and management still managed, all the result of an enlightened appraisal of the critical situation in 1958, and a remarkable cooperative spirit in which the union, individual workers, and business leaders and management worked closely together toward one goal.

Pursuant to permission granted, I insert herewith in the RECORD an article by Irwin Ross in the November issue of the Reader's Digest:

A LABOR UNION THAT USES IMAGINATION

When the board of directors of the Merrimac Hat Co., Inc., met last July and declared a quarterly dividend of 50 cents a share, it was considered front-page news by the New York Times. Commenting earlier on this company, the Times had said "Karl Marx must be turning in his grave." The reason: Merrimac's principal owner is a labor union. And thereby hangs a tale.

The Merrimac firm, the country's largest manufacturer of women's fur felt hat bodies, has been in existence in Amesbury, Mass., for over a century. In the first 5 months of 1958, however, it lost $150,000, and in November it closed its door. For Merrimac's 325 workers, many of whom had spent a lifetime in the trade and had no other skills, this was calamitous.

When no purchaser could be found immediately, Alex Rose, president of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union, made a startling proposal: that his union buy the factory. Merrimac was no economic weakling; its 1958 losses were largely due to temporary factors. Why shouldn't the union risk a novel experiment in defense of the interests of its members? As Rose said, "A union can't simply live by the old formulas."

A new corporation was set up: The union bought $300,000 worth of stock; another $100,000 was taken by two business firms which deal with Merrimac; $70,000 was subscribed by Merrimac employees (99 percent of them invested) and other Amesburyites.

The union, occupying six of the nine places on the new board of directors, retained Merrimac's old management, headed by President Hans Rie, but reduced the size of the executive and administrative staff to cut costs. Before the plant reopened last February 2, the union assured competitors that the firm would get no special advantages in wages or working conditions. Normal collective bargaining prevails, and Merrimac has to meet industry-wide standards. The workers still work; management still manages.

Business has been excellent. From February through June, Merrimac made a profit of nearly $70,000. To diversify its markets, the company began to make a large quantity of men's as well as women's hat bodies. Renewed popularity of velour hats also boosted sales. Net result: the workers' jobs are safe, and they can also anticipate a good return on their investment.

The United Hatters Union has a mere 38,000 members, but it makes up in daring and imagination what it lacks in numbers. What really distinguishes this union, however, is its broad-angle vision of its responsibilities. "Our workers can prosper only if the industry prospers," says Rose. "Any industry problem is our problem."

Rose, a tall, soft-voiced man of 61, has been a union officer since 1924, president of United Hatters since 1950. He came to New York City from Poland at the age of 15, worked in a millinery factory by day, studied by night. The Merrimac venture is several worlds removed from the rough days through which Rose and his union struggled in the late twenties and early thirties.

Beginning in 1928, the millinery branch of the union had to fight, simultaneously, Communist efforts to take over the leadership and hoodlums hired by employers to keep the union out of their shops. For 4 years guerrilla warfare was waged in New York's millinery factories, with strikes, sluggings, bloody street skirmishes. Rose himself, then secretary-treasurer of local 24 (operators and cutters), was beaten up in the lobby of his New York apartment house by two burly underworld characters. But by 1932 the union had won out; the canker of communism had been removed, and 90 percent of the industry in New York had been union-

ized. By the early forties the United Hatters had consolidated its position throughout the country.

With power came responsibility—and the way the union has exercised its leadership has been the measure of its statesmanship. The union's record in New York, which manufactures the bulk of the Nation's millinery, typifies its approach. In collective-bargaining agreements, strikes and lockouts were outlawed; unresolved disputes were to be submitted to an arbitrator. Nor did the union exert its vast economic pressure to bludgeon employers: in both 1942 and 1952, when it was negotiating new agreements, the union decided that the manufacturers could not afford higher wages and withdrew its original demands.

From 1932 to 1958, the New York industry did not suffer a general strike. Early in 1958, however, there was a 5-day nationwide walkout of 22,000 workers—in large part designed to raise standards in various millinery centers. It resulted in susbtantial increases in wages and fringe benefits.

A comparatively small number of large companies manufacture men's hats, but the Nation's caps and millinery are produced by hundreds of shops, some of which have as few as 10 workers (100 is a fair-sized work force). The union thus finds itself the strongest element in an atomized industry. Its sense of responsibility to the industry has grown in proportion. Over the last 5 years, for example, the union and its members have loaned $539,017 to employers in temporary difficulties.

In 1954 Charles Kartiganer, though one of the largest millinery manufacturers in the country, found himself short of operating capital and hard pressed by creditors. He had miscalculated in 1952 when he bought an old hat factory; it cost $250,000 more than he had anticipated to reequip. Then, in 1954, the millinery industry went into a slump. Kartiganer had to furlough all but a skeleton force of his employees; it looked as if nearly 1,000 would be permanently out of jobs. Whereupon the union resolved to perform a rescue operation.

At a meeting in Rose's office, Kartiganer's principal creditors agreed to a percentage settlement. The union then loaned Kartiganer $50,000 and worked out an arrangement whereby each worker would advance an additional sum. For workers who lacked cash, local banks put up loans, to be repaid from payroll deductions. In all, $180,000 was raised. Kartiganer, in turn, agreed to protect the jobs of his employees. Ultimately he paid off his creditors in full, repaid the union and his employees, disposed of back Federal taxes, and during the first 4 months of this year made a substantial profit.

There have been other rescue operations, not all of them as successful. But the union has had to write off only $95,000 in bad loans.

Another industry problem in which the union has lent aid is promotion. In recent years growing numbers of men and women have dispensed with headgear. The union has long lectured the industry that the long-term solution is to persuade Americans that, as in grandmother's day, it is downright unfashionable to appear without a hat. Finally during the 1954 contract negotiations in New York, the union waived its demand for an additional contribution by management to the workers' retirement fund in return for a 1-percent payroll tax which employers would contribute to a promotional fund. Similar agreements were made with millinery manufacturers throughout the country, and wholesalers, jobbers, and suppliers also pitched in.

The campaign was designed to get hats seen in all media—movies, television, magazines, newspapers. At one point, pictures of Mrs. Eisenhower and Mrs. Roosevelt attired in stylish bonnets appeared on the cover of a leading Sunday supplement. Elsa Maxwell and Marilyn Monroe were also photographed in hats.

Meanwhile, the union's absorption in industry problems has not meant any slackening of its militancy. In 1954 it conducted a bitter 10½-month strike against the Hat Corporation of America in Norwalk, Conn. The issue, as the union saw it, was whether a company had the right to "run away"—to transfer its operations to a low-wage, non-union area. In the end the company, having already set up plants in two other States, promised that Norwalk would remain its center of operations and agreed to provide severance pay for workers affected for any future shifts. Whatever the merits of the dispute, the union showed an iron will in the face of financial disaster; the strike of 1,500 workers cost $2 million.

A long period of harmonious relations followed the strike. The hat corporation was taken over by new owners who introduced many innovations in manufacturing methods. Says W. P. Morin, the company's director of labor relations: "The union helped us all along the line."

The Hatters have come a long way. Wages, once low, have steadily improved; today skilled operators, blockers, and cutters often make an annual wage of $4,500 to $7,000. Equally important, the average member of the union now enjoys medical insurance, plus retirement, and disability, maternity and, in many plans, death benefits. From 1946 through 1958, for example, the welfare fund of the New York industry received nearly $21 million in employer contributions and paid benefits of almost $12 million.

Alex Rose stated his union's remarkable position in the industry last July when he summed up the success of the Merrimac venture. "What the union has done," he said, "has been to provide continuity, capital, and confidence."

Chronicle: It Could Happen Only in America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by the Honorable R. Dewey Stearns, mayor of the city of Saginaw, Mich., given at the Saginaw Club on January 1, 1960. It is indeed a pleasure and a privilege to call to the attention of this body Mayor Stearns' eloquent toast to the President of the United States:

[From the Saginaw (Mich.) News, Jan. 2, 1960]

CHRONICLE: IT COULD HAPPEN ONLY IN AMERICA—SAGINAW CLUB HEARS MAYOR'S TOAST TO PRESIDENT

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Mayor R. Dewey Stearns, himself a member of the Saginaw Club, yesterday at the club gave its 48th annual toast to the President of the United States. It was notable for its eloquence and sincerity.)

(By R. Dewey Stearns, mayor of Saginaw)

Today, on this first day of a bright new year, we who have gathered here at the Saginaw Club with our sons and grandsons by our side, do so to perpetuate an old and cherished tradition as we join hands and hearts in this 48th annual toast to the President of the United States.

When I accepted the invitation to deliver this year's toast, I did so with great humility, as well as no little hesitancy, being fully cognizant of the importance of the occasion. I entertained serious misgivings at my ability to contribute something of lasting value to an annual tradition whose eloquence dates back to the year 1912. What could I offer, what could I add to the long line of distinguished tributes that had gone before? Was there yet something that might be said that would be of interest to this closely related group here today, these fathers, sons, and grandsons? Something to spark the curiosity of an effervescent youngster tugging at his grandfather's sleeve? Something to create a new vision for a clear-eyed young man seated next to his father? Was there yet something to be said that could stimulate the imagination of the fathers, something that could be accepted by the older generation, who justifiably weigh a man's words with the knowledge that comes from quiet maturity?

This, then, was the challenge. A New Year's toast to the President of the United States, a toast that would span the years of interest beginning with childhood, through young manhood, and on to the maturity of adulthood. It was then that I decided to turn to the story of America itself, and to the creation and growth of this office we honor today, as a source of both inspiration and information.

And, so, I set out to explore the highways of history, to examine at first hand the origin, or childhood, of the Presidency, to acquaint myself with its years of youthful adolescence, and, finally, to grasp from its present-day maturity an assurance for the future.

It is a chronicle of growth that could only happen in America.

The Office of the Presidency of the United States was conceived 173 years ago, in 1787, when a group of strong-willed, firmly seasoned patriots met in a dedicated Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. It was here that they forged a singularly exceptional document that has served as the foundation stone on which has been built the greatest Nation in the world today. This original Constitution, with its seven articles and its preamble, set down for all to witness, and accept, the fundamental working machinery for the first wholly free nation the world has ever known.

The brevity of this Constitution, and its general statement of principles, have, by accident more than design, made possible the extension of meaning that has fostered our continuous and continuing growth. I am sure that few of the men involved in drafting the document had any concept of the power and importance that would come to the executive position they labored so long to create in article II of that Constitution. In just slightly more than 100 words, virtually unchanged today, our forefathers created a position of leadership that yet stands unchallenged as the most singly powerful executive position in the free world today.

With these few simple but direct words, expressed in article II of our Constitution, the Presidency of the United States was conceived:

"An executive shall be established separate from the legislature. The executive shall consist of one man, the President of the United States. The President shall have source of election outside the legislature. He shall have a fixed term of office. He shall be eligible for relection to an indefinite number of terms. He shall be granted his own powers by the Constitution, especially the power to veto acts of Congress. He shall not be encumbered with a council to which he would have to go for approval of his nomination or other acts. No person hold-

ing the office under the United States shall be a Member of either House during his continuance in office."

It is held by many historians that no single act or force had more to do with the shaping of the Presidency than did the universal assumption of the convention of 1787 that Gen. George Washington would be chosen as first to hold the office. As one convention delegate later wrote, "I do not believe the executive powers would have been as great had not so many of the members cast their eyes toward General Washington as President; they shaped their ideas of the powers to be given the President by their opinions of General Washington's virtue."

General Washington's "virtue" is ably represented in the great gifts he brought to the Presidency, and to the Republic which the office represented. Gifts of dignity, power, and constitutionalism.

With his inauguration in 1789, the Presidency was born, a young Nation taking the first tentative steps of childhood. And, not unlike children everywhere, those initial steps were closely confined by the rules set down defining their horizons. It was Washington's glory as President that he never broke faith with the solemn vision of the American mission as outlined by the 100 or so words of article II. His was a strict interpretation of those rules. General Washington not only fulfilled the hopes of the friends of the Constitution, but spiked the fears of its critics as well.

It has been said of Washington that he could have been a king, but instead chose to be something even more exalted, the first elected head of the first truly free Government anywhere in the world. It is a strange commentary that the man known as the "Father of his country" was also custodian of the Presidency of the United States during the childhood stages of this exalted office.

In the year 1860, just 100 years ago, Abraham Lincoln was nominated for the Presidency. Lincoln emerged on the national scene at a time when the Office of the Presidency was in a turmoil of hot political and constitutional controversy. Passions were running at a fever pitch. Factionalism held sway in the Nation with little, if any, apparent middle grounds. It was a period of dissension, distress, and dismay.

When Abraham Lincoln assumed the Presidency in 1861, he did so with virtually no preparation, no preconception of the power and authority his new position embodied. He held only that he had "sworn an oath registered in heaven" to defend the Constitution, and he so expressed himself in the words of his inaugural address.

It was in this message, wherein he promised his fellow citizens to save the Union without which, the Constitution would be nothing but a scrap of paper, that we see the Presidency emerging into the age of young manhood. In the closing lines of that first inaugural address, phrased in the clear and famous Lincoln eloquence, he not only outlined his policy toward the States in rebellion but offered a humble plea for conciliation as well, when he said:

"In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the Government, while I have the most solemn one to preserve, protect, and defend it. I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained the bonds of our affection, it must not break them. The mystic cord of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot's grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

In contrast with the strict interpretation which Washington gave to the rules of the Presidency, President Lincoln had little concern for the form his actions might take, as long as the result merited the action. He meant only to act as commander of the Armed Forces, as executor of the laws, and as sole possessor of the shapeless grant of power outlined in those 100-and-some words of article II of the Constitution. And it is here again that we see the expressions of young manhood making themselves felt in the life history of the Presidency. Feeling the surge of power that comes with growth, and utilizing it in a manner that he felt was beneficial to the majority, Lincoln raised the powers of the still youthful Presidency to new unprecedented heights in his efforts to save the Union.

In the course of his famed 11-week dictatorship, during the initial days of the Civil War, President Lincoln interpreted those 100 words of article II as his authority to call out the militia, to clamp a blockade on the South, to enlarge the Regular Army and Navy beyond statutory limits, to advance public moneys to persons unauthorized to receive them, to pledge the credit of the United States for a sizable loan, to close the mails to treasonable correspondence, to authorize the arrest of potential traitors, and to suspend the writ of habeas corpus. Through the boldness of his untutored initiative, through an unprecedented plea of necessity, and through a unique interpretation of Executive power, Lincoln raised the Presidency of the United States to a position of constitutional and moral ascendancy that left no doubt where the burden of crisis Government would thereafter rest.

Just as George Washington fathered the childhood of the Presidency, Abraham Lincoln guarded it safely through its stormy adolescence into the strength of young manhood.

And thus, as the years have passed into history, the office of the President of the United States has continued to grow in stature, in importance, in power, and in worldwide influence.

Today, the Office of the Presidency carries a staggering burden of responsibility unequalled in its requirements. It is the burden of responsibility that comes with maturity. The responsibility that accepts an obligation of faith and trust in behalf of the free peoples of the world. The responsibility of preserving a strong and friendly symbol of freedom and salvation, of tangible hope, for the countless millions of the world's oppressed.

And what has happened to those 100 words of article 11, the words that shaped the childhood of the Presidency, the words that provided this office with growing room during its adolescence and young manhood? We need but to read between the lines to see how they have extended, and expanded, to foster this mushrooming growth.

Today the President is our Chief of State. He is the ceremonial head of our Government. He represents to us what the Queen does to the people of England.

The President is our Chief Executive. He is the one official commanded by the Constitution to take care that the laws are faithfully executed. The one official expected by each of us to secure for us all ethical, loyal, efficient, frugal, and responsible administration.

The President is our chief diplomat. He is, in the words of John Marshall, "the sole organ of the Nation in its external relations, and its sole representative with foreign nations."

The President is our Commander in Chief. In peace and war, he is the supreme head of the civil over the military authority.

The President is the leader of our legislation. He is, in every sense of the word, a "third house of Congress," one intimately associated with every stage in the legislative process.

The President is chief of his political party. Since the earliest days of American history, the President has served as the active leader of his own party and thus becomes the Nation's top political boss.

The President is the voice of the people. He is, in the words of Woodrow Wilson, "The spokesman for the real sentiment and purpose of this country."

The President is the protector of the peace. He is a one-man fighting force, ready to must up troops, food, money, loans, equipment, medical supplies, and moral support in the event of natural disaster or social disorder.

The President is our manager of prosperity. He is an economic overseer, expected by Congress and the people to act decisively to promote maximum employment, production, and purchasing power.

The President is the leader of a coalition of free nations. He is the permanent presiding officer of various committees of his peers, the leaders of nations united in the face of enemy pressures and threats.

And so, the office of the President has grown, forging upward and outward from its swaddling-clothes childhood, to its present-day position of worldwide eminence and authoritative maturity. The initial 100 words or so of article II still stand, changed only by an amendment limiting length of service, and yet the job they define, the principles they call for, have grown a thousandfold since the day of their writing.

In closing today, let us think for a moment of our present leader, President Dwight D. Eisenhower, and examine a bit more closely his contributions to the maturity that has come to this highest office in our land. A living symbol of freedom, the unchalleneged hope of a free world, President Eisenhower, with his deeply personal and sincere humanitarian philosophies, perhaps best expressed by his own "people-to-people" program of communications, is a firm believer in one of President Lincoln's strongest philosophies, "The best way to destroy your enemies is to make friends of them." As President Eisenhower carrier our message of human understanding throughout the world this past month, as he "destroyed our enemies by making friends of them," his mission recalled an interview he had granted some 15 years ago. He was General Eisenhower then, Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces in Europe, when he told reporters what he saw as a soldier's primary duty. (And by profession, President Eisenhower is a lifelong soldier, and we must so consider him now.) The primary duty of an Army, Navy, or Air Force, the general said, their chief responsibility is to stop wars. Armed forces have nothing to do with starting war. Kings, prime ministers, and presidents are the people who start wars, aided by the congresses or parliaments, which authorize a declaration of war desired by political leaders. The Armed Forces have but one duty, and one duty only, the general said, and that is to stop wars once they have been started by civilians. After a war is started, General Eisenhower told the reporters, the Armed Forces are called in and told:

"Look, it's up to you to stop this war we started, by victory, of course, if you can manage it."

Eisenhower, the soldier, the supreme commander, the college president, the diplomat, military chief of NATO, and President of the United States, is still, primarily, a soldier.

That philosophy which he recounted in the war, 15 years ago, is certainly still his philosophy today, a philosophy that provides us with the assurance that we can rely on this

great soldier-President to exercise every effort in stopping not only the cold war but the threat of hotter wars that might otherwise lie ahead.

And so, with the mantle of maturity of the Presidency as our shield, I know that all of us gathered here today agree there is no place under the sun we would rather live than the United States. We have seen it grow from infancy to a towering giant of strength. It is the land of the free, and it is all here, all about us, all ours. It is worth fighting for; it is worth living for, and it is worth our undying efforts to keep it great.

Gentlemen—fathers, sons, and grandsons—a toast to the President of the United States.

Cheating the Cities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the Architectural Forum of September 1959:

CHEATING THE CITIES

The cause of urban renewal is in deep trouble. It is not simply that the President vetoed one inadequate housing bill in favor of another still more inadequate, to balance a budget. Urban renewal can survive that. Far more serious is the import of the veto message, indicating that in the future the Federal Government should shift major responsibility in this area almost wholly to the States and municipalities, withdrawing wholly from public housing and other critical areas of human shelter. This would evade, as will be shown, the mounting Federal responsibility for the plight of cities through its own operations, notably such really massive Federal programs as highways and defense.

As if this were not trouble enough, urban renewal has erupted a messy situation of its own in the title I slum-clearance scandals of New York. These, thrown up on the national proscenium in big black headlines, are rarely distinguished as singular to one city and one man's rule, as shown elsewhere in this issue. And if a Congressional investigation of all title I gets under way in New York this month, as scheduled, the messy pot may be kept boiling for weeks to come. Granted that programs so closely linked to the public weal need constant scrutiny, it is still unfortunate that such fuel is being added to the fire breathing of those who oppose all public, planned slum clearance and urban renewal anyway.

The truly serious difficulty is that so many men of substance and good will, even as the President, seemingly have failed to think things through. Ignored is the enormous urban revolution going on chaotically around them, transcending all governmental boundaries; unapplied is all the sound fiscal sense these leaders bring to other enterprises, as in combating the obsolescence of industrial plant. Not all men of substance have failed to grasp this great challenge. Rising numbers of solid citizens, including business and corporation leaders, are actively engaged in urban problems, and have come to see from the grassroots the need for substantial Federal leadership and assistance. The veto message itself has been attacked as misleading by no less a conservative member of the President's own party than Senator HOMER E. CAPEHART, of Indiana. On the national and administration level, however, three great blind spots remain:

1. Federal policies and programs are creating unprecedented new problems for cities. Since World War II, the Federal Government from necessity has been putting huge sums into various programs, and taking other actions or nonactions that have had explosively damaging effects on cities.

One billion nine hundred million dollars a year in Federal housing insurance and home loans, on th average since the programs started, have been going to home builders. Around 90 percent of the total has gone to expedite the postwar explosion of suburban developments, discriminating against new housing in cities. While some redress is under way to encourage rental housing in cities, subject to heavy Federal taxes that home building escapes, it is too late to reverse the tide that has drained cities of the middle class and homeowners, leaving behind tidal flats in which blight, slums, and decaying downtowns are rankly growing.

One billion six hundred million dollars a year in Federal defense highway funds, on the average, have been apportioned since 1956 to States. The impact of this program on cities, though difficult to measure, is not difficult to see from coast to coast. Altogether, the people and property being displaced and demolished by this Federal program is estimated to be running about 90,000 family units a year, with little local and almost no Federal responsibility displayed for relocation, replacement, or planning.

Forty billion dollars a year in defense contracts have been going, on the average since 1950, into what amounts to reshaping the economy. The direct and indirect leverage on cities, little noted, is tremendous. Concentration of new industries, as on the west coast, has built up huge new population agglomerations; dispersal of other industries, as in the South, has created bulging new backwoods towns. Some cognizance is taken of this in a tiny emergency defense housing fund, but all the larger aspects are ignored.

When, therefore, the Federal Government attempts to shift responsibility for the plight of cities, it is being less than honest. Add to this a long record of inaction in promoting the modernizing of railroads and public transportation, and the Federal position becomes untenable.

2. Cities are in the midst of an urban population revolution of unprecedented proportions.

Below all this, pushing with inexorable force, is an urban population revolution which, beginning about World War II, is just now approaching full tide. This is the phenomenon known as "scatteration" or "the exploding metropolis," described by Coleman Woodbury, director of urban research at the University of Wisconsin, as "a new pattern of settlement."

The main characteristic of the new pattern is the centrifugal growth of metropolitan areas. The total national growth from 1950 to 1956 breaks down into 15.6 percent for center cities, 27.2 for suburbs, and 41.5 for fringe areas, with the latter whipping up a 55.8 percent rate of increase against only 4.7 percent for center cities. Professor Woodbury sees nothing here to indicate any diminishing of the outward flow. This urban population explosion, simply at its present rate of growth, will add residents by 1975 equal to the 1950 metropolitan area populations of New York—northeast New Jersey, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Detroit, Boston, San Francisco-Oakland, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Cleveland, Washington, Baltimore, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Buffalo, plus 15 million persons more. Even if the rate dips or levels, it will still be something phenomenal.

Above all, it is this fragmentation bomb that both the President and Congress, as well as the public generally, fail to take into account.

3. The new 85 percent urban population gets only a fraction of the Federal money going to farms.

Such changes as the new pattern portends require capital investment, public and private, on a huge, unprecedented scale. States and cities have neither the tax base nor the power for leadership to hold up the public end. Yet the Federal projection for urban renewal funds is so small as to be bizarre. The whole current rumpus is over funds—now at a yearly rate of about $300 million—slightly larger than the price support program on potatoes or about one-eighteenth of the Department of Agriculture's budget. Comparison with agricultural supports is not irrelevant. As Thomas R. Reid, civic and governmental affairs manager of the Ford Motor Co., pointed out to the recent conference of mayors, there are now a million more slum dwellers than farm dwellers, yet Federal per capita expenditure on farm families is $3,000 yearly against only $84 per slum family.

Washington has signally failed to wake up to the fact that this is no longer an agricultural nation, but one composed 85 percent of urban dwellers. When the huge wasteful farm surplus program is added to other urban burdens, the cities are being cheated on the vastest scale in history.

With or without Federal funds, the forces of change are so powerful that urban creation and renewal will go on willy-nilly. The only issue issue is whether, with some foresight and planned investment, some order, reason, and beauty—which is to say architectural quality—can be brought to America's fast-changing scene. The hard fact is that despite Federal reluctance to support public works, its own actions in housing, highways, and defense have destroyed or made obsolete a large part of our cities, and its own monopoly of tax base has made it impossible for States and cities to do for themselves.

The Late Honorable Richard M. Simpson

SPEECH
OF
HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, I was shocked to learn several weeks ago of the serious illness of my good friend and colleague, DICK SIMPSON. I hoped and prayed, as we all did, that he would survive the serious operation he had to undergo. Words cannot express how saddened I was to learn that the Lord, in His wisdom, had taken DICK from us.

My association with DICK SIMPSON was a brief one; I came to know him a few short years ago when I was elected to serve in this House. But, I soon learned that he was one of the truly dedicated members of our party. He was sincere in his convictions and he fought for those convictions when the occasion demanded a fight. He communicated this spirit to his colleagues and served his party, his constituency and his country with perseverance and distinction.

The loss of DICK SIMPSON will be felt by all of us who knew and worked with him.

He has left a vacancy in this House and in our hearts that will not be easily filled.

I extend my sincere sympathy to Mrs. Simpson and his family. May they take some solace in knowing that so many mourn in his passing with them.

Correspondence on U.S.-U.S.S.R. Cooperation in Outer Space Exploration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the RECORD a series of letters and correspondence which I had in recent weeks. It deals with a most important subject, namely, cooperation between the United States and the U.S.S.R. in the peaceful exploration and uses of outer space.

As a member of the House Committee on Science and Astronautics and chairman of its Subcommittee on International Cooperation and Security, I am strongly of the opinion that such cooperation be established for the purpose of peaceful exploration of outer space. All of mankind stands to benefit immeasurably by international cooperation in this field, while the lack of such cooperation contains the seed of humanity's destruction at some future date.

The world today both fears and yet depends on the United States and the U.S.S.R. for guidance in the new space age. Both of these nations working separately would not only bankrupt each other, but may ultimately bring destruction upon themselves and the rest of mankind. Working together, in a spirit of cooperation, they can help bring about a better life on earth for all peoples. Together they can explore and exploit outer space for the benefit of all mankind, so that no one on earth need ever be in want.

Working in unison in this field, the United States and the U.S.S.R. can make a joint contribution to strengthen the permanent committee of the United Nations and eventually bring all nations into a world program of outer space research and ultimate expansion toward other planets of the universe, thus guaranteeing an abundant life for all peoples.

Mr. Speaker, briefly stated, joint U.S.-U.S.S.R. coperation in outer space exploration would accomplish the following:

First. It would accelerate progress in space exploration.

Second. It would save billions of dollars for both countries which could then be diverted to education and raising the standard of living of all peoples of the world, provided it is undertaken as a joint or multilateral operation.

Third. It would prevent waste and unnecessary duplication of effort.

Fourth. It would make possible an exchange program of scientists specializing in the field of outer space exploration.

Fifth. Better safety measures could be developed and applied.

Sixth. Joint outer space operations could be undertaken, as was done to some extent in the Antarctic during the International Geophysical Year projects. Among such joint operations could be the following: Sending a man or a team of men to make a landing on the Moon: research of cosmic rays; worldwide communications; weather control; exploration of other planets; safe travel through space and safe reentry into the Earth's atmosphere, and others.

In the meantime, our own research program in this field must continue so that we can catch up and surpass the achievements of the Russians, which would enable us to have a stronger position in our negotiations with them and in our efforts to obtain the kind of joint or multilateral cooperation which would provide and assure peace.

I urge our Government, through the Department of State and in cooperation with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, to enter into immediate negotiations with the Russians on the peaceful exploration and uses of outer space.

Included in the correspondence which I am today inserting into the RECORD is a reply to me from the Charge d'Affaires of the U.S.S.R. Embassy in Washington, Mr. M. N. Smirnovsky, which seems to me to be a clear indication that the U.S.S.R. is ready for such negotiation. The letter specifically states:

> The Soviet Government regards favorably the idea of concluding a bilateral agreement on peaceful uses of outer space. If the Soviet Union receives definite proposals to start negotiations on this question, we will be prepared to express our attitude toward them. The Soviet Union is ready to cooperate not only on a multilateral basis, as in the U.N. Committee, but also on a bilateral basis, when such cooperation is based on mutually advantageous conditions.

Following is the text of the letters in the exchange of correspondence in the matter:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington D.C., December 15, 1959.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: First, I want to thank you for your recent reply to my letter of August 26, 1959, on international cooperation on the peaceful uses of outer space within the framework of the United Nations. I am glad to note that progress is being made in this direction.

I was also pleased to learn that on November 24, 1959, the United States and the Soviet Union officially entered into an agreement for a cooperative program of nuclear research. This step augurs well far the future of mankind, and both countries deserve to be commended for it.

As a member of the House of Representatives Committee on Science and Astronautics and chairman of its Subcommittee on International Cooperation and Security, it seems perfectly logical to me that these two nations should extend their cooperation into the field of outer space. Let us apply the same spirit of cooperation as exemplified in the agreement reached in nuclear research toward the attainment of a United States-Soviet Union agreement on the peaceful uses of outer space.

Under such an agreement, it is not too difficult to visualize the early exchange of scientists who are specializing in the exploration of outer space, as well as an exchange of research information in this field. Similarly, the two nations can jointly undertake specific research projects of various kinds, such as the launching of satellites to sample certain physical phenomena of the universe, the establishment of joint tracking stations to keep flight articles under continued observation, joint operations in regaining control of space capsules returning to earth and their safe reentry into the earth's atmosphere; later, when man is introduced into the space environment, there could be joint logistic support for control and recovery operations and similar other joint efforts.

Such an arrangement would be most advantageous to both countries. At the present time, each country is conducting a vast research program of its own, which is costly, time consuming, and a duplication of effort. Naturally, such duplication is a great waste of money, effort, and brains, much of which can be saved if the scientific plans and projects in outer space undertaken by the two countries can be fully coordinated. There is no doubt that progress in space exploration would be greatly accelerated through such international cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union.

I should further like to propose that the information obtained by our two countries regarding outer space be made available to other interested nations as a mark of our peaceful intentions and our desire to make available to mankind whatever benefits may accrue from this cooperative program.

I earnestly urge you to give full consideration to these proposals and to request the responsible officials in both countries to undertake early negotiations toward the attainment of an agreement on the peaceful uses of outer space.

The same letter is being forwarded to Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev, of the U.S.S.R.

Respectfully yours,

VICTOR L. ANFUSO,
Member of Congress.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., December 15, 1959.

Premier NIKITA S. KHRUSHCHEV,
Chairman, U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers,
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

DEAR MR. PREMIER: First, I want to thank you for your recent reply to my letter of August 26, 1959, on international cooperation on the peaceful uses of outer space, within the framework of the United Nations. I am glad to note that progress is being made in this direction.

I was also pleased to learn that on November 24, 1959, the United States and the Soviet Union officially entered into an agreement for a cooperative program of nuclear research. This step augurs well for the future of mankind, and both countries deserve to be commended for it.

As a member of the House of Representatives Committee on Science and Astronautics and chairman of its Subcommittee on International Cooperation and Security, it seems perfectly logical to me that these two nations should extend their cooperation into the field of outer space. Let us apply the same spirit of cooperation as exemplified in the agreement reached in nuclear research toward the attainment of a United States-Soviet Union agreement on the peaceful uses of outer space.

Under such an agreement, it is not too difficult to visualize the early exchange of scientists who are specializing in the exploration of outer space, as well as an ex-

change of research information in this field. Similarly, the two nations can jointly undertake specific research projects of various kinds, such as the launching of satellites to sample certain physical phenomena of the universe, the establishment of joint tracking stations to keep flight articles under continued observation, joint operations in regaining control of space capsules returning to earth and their safe reentry into the earth's atmosphere, later when man is introduced into the space environment there could be joint logistic support for control and recovery operations, and similar other joint efforts.

Such an arrangement would be most advantageous to both countries. At the present time, each country is conducting a vast research program of its own, which is costly, time consuming, and a duplication of effort. Naturally, such duplication is a great waste of money, effort, and brains, much of which can be saved if the scientific plans and projects in outer space undertaken by the two countries can be fully coordinated. There is no doubt that progress in space exploration would be greatly accelerated through such international cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union.

I should further like to propose that the information obtained by our two countries regarding outer space be made available to other interested nations, as a mark of our peaceful intentions and our desire to make available to mankind whatever benefits may accrue from this cooperative program.

I earnestly urge you to give full consideration to these proposals and to request the responsible officials in both countries to undertake early negotiations toward the attainment of an agreement on the peaceful uses of outer space.

The same letter is being forwarded to President Dwight D. Eisenhower of the United States.

Respectfully yours,

VICTOR L. ANFUSO,
Member of Congress.

DECEMBER 15, 1959.

Dr. T. KEITH GLENNAN,
Administrator, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Washington, D.C.

DEAR KEITH: I not only approve, but will vigorously support, your request for more funds to increase our efforts in the space program. You know that I opposed cuts last year which have unquestionably retarded our progress.

I sincerely hope that you will use some of the money to expand your international cooperation section, because I am convinced that money alone in an all-out race into space will not solve the problem. In such a race, without international cooperation, we could impoverish our Nation, without attaining the peace and the strength we desire.

I fought for international cooperation in the establishment of a permanent committee for that purpose within the United Nations. I am glad to see progress being made in that direction. I am now following the same procedure to seek a joint agreement between the United States and the U.S.S.R. in the peaceful uses of outer space by writing to both President Eisenhower and Premier Khrushchev.

The only way I know of attaining peace is working for peace. If the two nations which have made the greatest advances in the exploration of outer space work together by directing their discoveries toward peaceful uses, which can create a world of abundance and bring all nations closer together, then the number of experiments in outer space could be expanded and at the same time result in savings of billions of dollars.

I want to develop this idea with you in hearings before my subcommittee.

With best wishes for a more fruitful new year, I am,

Sincerely,

VICTOR L. ANFUSO,
Member of Congress.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, December 17, 1959.

The Honorable VICTOR L. ANFUSO,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR VIC: In the President's absence, this will acknowledge your December 15 letter in further regard to international cooperation on the peaceful uses of outer space.

Your interest in the advancement of space exploration is appreciated, and you may be sure that the specific proposals you set forth in your letter on this subject will have consideration.

With kind regards.

Sincerely yours,

JACK Z. ANDERSON,
Administrative Assistant to the President.

NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE, ADMINISTRATION,
OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR,
Washington, D.C., December 17, 1959.

The Honorable VICTOR L. ANFUSO,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR VICTOR: Thanks so much for your thoughtful letter of December 15. I am sure that you will be interested in the progress we have made in developing a program of international cooperation. We will be happy to discuss this in hearings before your subcommittee and with you personally before that date if you so desire. Naturally, I am grateful for your vigorous support of the total space program. Only with congressional interest and support can we make the progress which we must make in this area of national endeavor.

Kindest personal regards and best wishes for the Holiday season.

Sincerely,

T. KEITH GLENNAN,
Administrator.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, December 31, 1959.

The Honorable VICTOR L. ANFUSO,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. ANFUSO: I refer to your letter of December 15 to the President discussing the possibility of cooperation with the Soviet Union in the field of outer space. In this connection, it is significant that during the recent session of the United Nations General Assembly, the United States and the Soviet Union reached agreement concerning participation in a new United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space and in an international scientific conference to be held under United Nations auspices during 1960 or 1961. Further, on an informal technical basis, exploratory talks were conducted by scientists of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and Soviet scientists during a visit by the latter to this country in November. Technical talks have also been held with scientists of a number of other countries. Such steps as these should provide the basis for an increasing degree of international cooperation in outer space activities.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM B. MACOMBER, JR.,
Assistant Secretary.

UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION

DECEMBER 31, 1959.

DEAR MR. ANFUSO: In response to your letter of December 15, 1959, addressed to N. S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, I have been instructed to inform you of the following:

The Soviet Government and its head N. S. Khrushchev appreciate your efforts toward further development of cooperation between our two countries.

The Soviet Government regards favorably the idea of concluding a bilateral agreement on peaceful uses of outer space. If the Soviet Union receives definite proposals to start negotiations on this question, we will be prepared to express our attitude toward them. The Soviet Union is ready to cooperate not only on a multilateral basis, as in the U.N. Committee, but also on a bilateral basis, when such cooperation is based on mutually advantageous conditions. As is known the Soviet Union has already more than once made proposals on cooperation on the outer space problems. I have been also instructed to inform you that satisfaction is being expressed in the Soviet Union that XIV session of the U.N. General Assembly, which ended not long ago, decided to establish a United Nations Committee on Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. It goes without saying that the Soviet Union will take an active part in the work of the Committee.

Sincerely,

M. N. SMIRNOVSKY,
Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the U.S.S.R. in the U.S.A.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., January 5, 1960.

Hon. WILLIAM B. MACOMBER, Jr.,
Assistant Secretary, Department of State,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR BILL: Thank you for your letter of December 31, 1959.

Yesterday I was handed the U.S.S.R. response to my letter of December 15, 1959. For your information I am mailing you a copy of the letter as well as the translation.

I believe this is a good sign and I trust the Department will immediately engage the Russians in talks regarding the same.

I am at your disposal in anything I can do to cooperate.

With warm regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

———— ————.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., January 5, 1960.

Dr. T. KEITH GLENNAN,
Administrator, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Washington, D.C.

DEAR KEITH: Thank you for your letter of December 17, 1959.

Yesterday I was handed the U.S.S.R. response to my letter of December 15, 1959. For your information I am mailing you a copy of the letter as well as the translation.

I believe this is a good sign and I trust your agency in cooperation with the Department of State will immediately engage the Russians in talks regarding the same.

I am at your disposal in anything I can do to cooperate.

With warm regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

———— ————.

The Late Honorable Tom Jenkins

SPEECH
OF
HON. JACKSON E. BETTS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, TOM JENKINS was part of the Ohio political scene for 50 years and in that time he

made many friends and few, if any, enemies. This was because of his sterling character and rugged individualism. On the national scene he was respected and admired for the same reasons. As a member of the important Ways and Means Committee for 25 years, he contributed much to significant tax legislation.

I shall always remember him for his intense devotion to Congress and particularly the House of Representatives. He believed that it was the most important part of our Government because it was in closer touch with the people. He was an honest, dedicated public servant and I join with his host of friends in mourning his loss and expressing my sympathy to Mrs. Jenkins.

Farm Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, on January 11 I submitted for inclusion in the RECORD five articles comprising a series on the farm subsidy and surplus problem, written by Jack Tobin, staff writer, which appeared in the Los Angeles Mirror News during November 1959. The views and recommendations of the Mirror News in regard to this problem were summarized and commented on in three editorials appearing on November 5, 6, and 16. Under leave to extend my remarks, I am submitting the Mirror News editorials for inclusion at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Los Angeles Mirror News, Nov. 5, 1959]

OUR FARM SURPLUS MESS—NO. 1

(First of two editorials based on the Mirror News series and offering some approaches to a solution of the farm surplus problem.)

The farm price support program is a failure.

It doesn't accomplish its mission: to prop up that portion of agriculture which needs propping up.

It's a failure and experts by the hundreds will expand on this theme. Virtually all of them can give you chapter and verse on why this is so.

But there isn't anything resembling general agreement over what to do about it.

A lot of farmers will tell you it's impossible for the city folks to understand this problem. You've got to live on a farm to see the real picture.

We might agree it helps. But we contend the city dweller viewpoint is equally important.

This is so because the urbanite (a) as a consumer of farm products and (b) as a taxpayer is deeply involved in anything our Nation does to prop up the farmer.

The Mirror News' series this week on the price support program is based on intensive research, on facts. And we can tell the farmer this:

The consumer-taxpayer is fed up, to his ears. It's no longer a joking matter that he's on the verge of revolt. It's a fact.

And, frankly, we believe it's time our national leaders—and this includes the so-called spokesmen for farmers—understand the breaking point is at hand.

JUST THE FACTS

Consider these conclusions from our factual series:

We've spent more than $22 billion on national programs to help the farmer during the past quarter century.

We've pumped almost half of that amount into schemes to stabilize farm prices—and income.

And yet the sorry fact is that we haven't stabilized prices—at least insofar as the farmer is concerned.

And we certainly haven't stabilibzed farm income. It dropped about 30 percent between 1951 and 1956—at a time when most of the rest of us were prospering.

We've tried to reach some kind of balance between production and consumption. Between supply and demand.

Our series shows conclusively that the price support program has not limited production. Our mountainous surpluses have not been reduced. Instead, the shocking piles of stored grain, of row upon row of stored bales of cotton, continue to expand.

Every single day, the taxpayers have to shell out $1,750,000 just to store the farm glut. An Omaha grain elevator operator says he's had wheat—Government-owned wheat, please note—in storage for 5 years. And each year adds another 25 cents to invested cost in each bushel of wheat.

And so the story goes. Ever increasing costs. Ever increasing surpluses. And who benefits?

The middleman, perhaps. The warehouseman, the shipper, the broker.

But not the farmer, at least the little farmer for whom so many tears are shed in the halls of Congress.

And certainly not the consumer-taxpayer.

And that's the individual, frankly, that we're concerned about here.

TIME FOR ACTION

We believe it's about time the politicians, the officials who shape and direct our national policies, begin to understand the price support program isn't some kind of exclusive domain where only the farmers and the Farm Belt spokesmen can roam.

We get mighty fed up with all this hokum about the sanctity of the great American farmer. It's as if being a farmer is something that puts you a cut above the average run of American.

It's sickening to see the way so many Senators and Congressmen fawn over the "farm vote." Some seem to relish in the competition to outdo each other in schemes to help the poor farmer.

How about helping the poor consumer-taxpayer?

We can find it in our hearts to feel sorry for the industrious, efficient, small farmer who struggles with the weather and the economics to make a decent living. We recognize that our Government, as national policy, owes him the same attention, the same subsidy, that's due any of us.

HELP FOR BIGWIGS

But when our price support program clearly operates unfairly, when it gives inordinate boon to the big corporate farmer, when it socks the consumer-taxpayer heavily without at least a kiss of reward, then it's time for our representatives in Washington to face up to their responsibilities—to all of us.

And we don't like the hypocrites who tell us city folks how hard they're fighting for economy back on Capitol Hill and then make their private deals with the string-tie Claghorns from the Deep South who seek to perpetuate the obvious national disgrace that is our price support program.

OK, the Mirror News doesn't like it. What would we do about it?

[From the Los Angeles Mirror News, Nov. 6, 1959]

SOME ANSWERS TO FARM MESS

(Second of two editorials on farm surplus problem based on exclusive Mirror News series.)

When it comes to figuring out a commonsense answer to the farm subsidy program, you have to start with some basic facts:

Fact No. 1: We're sadly out of supply-and-demand balance in our basic price support crops. We produce more than we can consume nationally, and we haven't been able to find a way to dispose of our surplus internationally.

Fact No. 2: Our price support program is holding some farm prices artificially high. It's a handout.

Fact No. 3: Artificially high prices encourage overproduction, further throwing supply and demand out of balance.

Fact No. 4: The farmer chronically is subject to wide ups-and-downs in income. He's subject to weather and to market disasters, neither of which he can do much about.

Fact No. 5: Several million farmers don't belong in the business. They're marginal operators, unable to compete without substantial taxpayer subsidies.

Now, what do we do about it?

The hard facts, disclosed in the Mirror News' series by Jack Tobin this week, make it obvious the most costly farm subsidy program in all history can't continue.

The taxpayers won't stand for it.

Some will say: Let's abolish the whole, disgraceful boondoggle.

Economists tell us utter economic chaos could result. Our system is so closely geared to the Government-controlled price support program that abrupt dislocation of the subsidy plan might well throw our whole national economy out of whack.

Eventually, we would recover, to be sure. But the shock waves would be felt for years.

COURSE OF ACTION

Better, we think, to do this:

We should tell the farmers we're going to remove price supports, except for a minimum basic program keyed specifically to emergency conditions.

We should tell him this will be an orderly reduction, spanning a fixed number of years.

We should tell him he'll have to decide whether he wants to sweat it out, to compete freely and independently. If he doesn't, he'll know exactly how long he has to get into some other work—or some other crop not covered by price supports.

We should extend to farmers who don't want to compete the same assistance and aid we give anyone else who's looking for work. We should assist him in training for a new occupation, if he needs it.

Frankly, this would drive a lot of marginal operators out of farming. Inhumane? We don't think so.

If we truly believe in free enterprise, in the right of every American to compete, we should welcome a chance to free ourselves from a program which subsidizes the inefficient farmer along with the efficient operator.

Now, as stated national policy, we should make it clear to the farmer we intend to use the Government as a force in gearing production to demand.

We should encourage a land reserve program which, unlike the present soil bank, is specifically and singly devoted to reducing agricultural resources. And this means both land and people.

We should tell the farmer that, as taxpayers, we're willing to undertake a program which will provide him access to crop loans and crop insurance in case the weather or the market puts him on the rocks temporarily. We do the same for some other segments of our society.

And we should tell the farmer, in clear, unmistakable terms, we don't intend to see him forced to the wall to the benefit of the big boys—provided he shows the willingness and the ability to compete.

Now, what are we going to do with the staggering farm surplus already on hand so we can reach a supply-and-demand balance?

PAINFUL STORAGE COST

Here's a tough one. We've got so much taxpayer money already invested in mountains of stored wheat and rows of baled cotton it kills us to think of giving it away. But it also kills us to keep laying out $1,750,000 every painful day just to pay storage charges on this farm glut.

But dispose of it we must, if we're ever to solve the farm problem.

First, we don't believe in simply destroying our surpluses just to get rid of them. To do so would be a shocking waste of good food and fiber. And it would give the Communists a tremendous propaganda pitch around the world. Just imagine how a picture of burning wheat surpluses would look to starving Asiatics.

Second, we do not believe we can put much of our surpluses in the hands of the ill-fed, ill-clothed people of other nations. We believe this can be done (a) as a humane act to less fortunate people and (b) as an effective tool in international goodwill.

We recognize that it's a costly process to ship wheat to India, for example, just to get rid of it. We also recognize that our Canadian and Australian friends, for instance, are going to be hurt deeply because our gift inevitably would depress the world market.

And we recognize the gift of our surplus food and fiber simply extends the life cycle of underprivileged people, thereby adding to an already overwhelming population burden.

Despite all this, we still believe sensible men can work out a sensible program to channel our farm surplus into good use. An extension of our present barter program, a development of a U.N. food distribution program, these and other proposals may point the way.

SENSITIVE TOES

So these are some of our suggestions. We've oversimplified, perhaps, to make our point. We've undoubtedly stepped on some sensitive toes.

What can you do about it?

Do what we plan to do: Pass the word to our California Senators and Congressmen. Insist that they think about the consumer-taxpayer the next time they vote on a price support plan.

And you should make it clear to the lawmakers you intend to check on how they vote. Also on how many times they sell out to the Deep South politicos on vote-trading deals. For the record shows it has been the southerner who has perpetuated price supports.

We welcome your suggestions. In fact, we encourage them. We solicit your concern.

For if you're concerned—as much as we are—your voice can be heard. We know this to be true.

[From the Los Angeles Mirror News, Nov. 16, 1959]

FARM SOLUTION: END HANDOUTS

Secretary of Agriculture Benson has performed a great public service in denouncing the outrageous cost (in you tax money) of the farm price support program.

However, Secretary Benson's new farm price and aid program seems unlikely to eradicate the basic evils of tax subsidies to farmers.

BAD FEATURES

The 5-point program for 1960 retains many of the objectionable features Benson inherited from prior administrations. At best, it is simply a rejiggering of old formulas.

Secretary Benson proposes to expand the soil-bank program, under which farmers voluntarily withhold land from production in return for set payments. He suggested an increase of $150 million, to $600 million, for soil-bank operations.

Payment for not raising crops is a questionable principle, even when it was first broached by Henry Wallace during the depression.

Its only virtue is that it does away with storage charges on the crops not raised. But it's still a costly approach to farm problems.

You can't quarrel with Benson's plan for more research to find uses for farm produce in industry, or his food for peace program to ship surpluses to friendly nations. Rural redevelopments to aid marginal farmers is also a good idea. But no real aid in solving the farm problem is likely, even if these approaches succeed.

Putting wheat under a new parity formula, based on the last 3 years' prices, doesn't offer much hope, either. This idea was tried on corn, and a whopping surplus piled up.

The California Farm Bureau Federation wasn't impressed with Benson's new approach. Radical reduction of supports is the only way to reduce the billion-dollar handouts, according to Louis A. Rozzoni, bureau president.

And Rozzoni also advises city consumers to bombard Congressmen with demands for reduction of farm subsidies which are patently unfair to taxpayer-consumers who pay the freight.

LIMIT AID

Rozzoni argues that farm aid should properly be limited to the marginal, low-income farmer, too.

On balance, Rozzoni's plan seems more practical than Secretary Benson's, if not as political.

It's doubtful if Benson's program will reduce overall farm aid costs appreciably. Rozzoni, on the other hand, proposes deep cuts in subsidies as the only way to end the giveaway.

It seems to be the logical way.

On Behalf of the Consumer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following news article which appeared in the October 30, 1959, issue of Footwear News. It discusses the move by the Federal Trade Commission to expand its informal review of shoe industry substitute materials usage as a possible prelude to a full-scale drive of corrective proceedings.

I have introduced legislation which would provide for the labeling of shoes to protect the consumer from being misled. I certainly wish to commend the FTC for looking into this important subject, vital to each of us:

WIDER STUDY OF MATERIALS SET BY FTC

(By Robert Barr)

WASHINGTON.—The Federal Trade Commission is expanding its informal review of shoe industry substitute materials usage as a possible prelude to a full-scale drive of corrective proceedings.

FTC Chairman Earl W. Kintner wrote Representative CHARLES O. PORTER, Democrat, of Oregon, that the preliminary check made by his agency about possible deceptive failure of shoe manufacturers to disclose use of substitute materials was being expanded to include investigations of particular firms. No firm names were revealed.

Mr. PORTER is sponsor of H.R. 1320, the shoe labeling bill, awaiting House Interstate Commerce Committee consideration. He requested FTC some time ago to review shoe industry use of substitute materials as part of his program to press for action on the shoe labeling bill.

Twice, in interim reports, FTC has advised Mr. PORTER the preliminary review was still in progress.

However, the latest report to him, in Mr. Kintner's letter, explained that the preliminary check "developed only information of a general nature relating to the shoe industry and its products."

The FCT Chairman added, "based upon these data, it has been decided to conduct further investigations of an individual-case nature, to assemble more detailed information relating to specific products of some particular companies.

"It is expected that the material assembled in these individual-case investigations will permit a determination as to whether corrective proceedings should be undertaken against the particular companies now being investigated, and perhaps others."

"And Its Rider's Name Was Death"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, on November 8, 1959, Rev. Robert W. Burtner, minister of the Trinity Methodist Church, of Eugene, Oreg., preached a sermon which I would like to have preached from every pulpit in the country. His text was taken from the Revelation of John and he likens the Pale Horse of the text to the fallout from nuclear bombs which threatens us today. Under a previous consent I am including the sermon here.

THE PALE HORSE

(By Rev. Robert W. Burtner)

There are few books of the Bible—or anywhere else, for that matter—that have such weird and strange melodies than the Revelation of John. Its warlike attitude, its fantastic visions, and its excessive outbursts of praise to God are foreign to our ears whose excesses run to fields of thought other than the end of the world. But in spite of this there are few books that have provided us with as rich an imagery as this one.

One of the fascinating images from Revelation is described by John in the breaking of four seals from which come four horses. There is a white horse upon which is a rider with a bow symbolizing the coming of war; there is a red horse whose rider carries a sword signifying the revolutions of nations; there is a black horse upon which is a rider with a balance symbolizing the destruction of famine; and finally, following the thunderous voice of "Come," John describes the

fourth horse: "And I saw, and behold, a pale horse, and its rider's name was Death, and Hades followed him."

Four horses which symbolize the imminent and present destruction of the world. To the little band of Christians trying to remain loyal John was telling them of conquerors, revolutions, famine, and death which would immediately be spread throughout the world and would be used to usher in the final destruction of the world. He seemed to be saying to them to hold tight, to endure yet a little while longer and when the four horsemen deal their deadly blows the loyal persons in Christ will be raised and the kingdom of God will come in.

Apart from their original use these four horses and their riders have provided for mankind an apt symbol of the dreaded powers of every age that keep peace from the world. And Christians from time to time have seen in them some conqueror, some famine, some revolution, some death-dealing power that is apparent at the moment. Such is the richness and suggestibility of the imagery of the four horses.

Without presuming to announce that the end of the world is upon us this morning, I do want to call your attention to the pale horse and its rider and suggest that the possibilities of death going through the earth are not exhausted and that we would do well not to forget that the four horses and their riders still stalk the earth and one may well wonder how long, O Lord, this will be true.

I want to suggest this morning that the pale horse whose rider is death is an apt image of the acute danger of nuclear radiation—the silent, powerful specter of slow death that gives little warning and is fantastically subtle.

Use your imagination for a moment to enter into the mind of John. A voice of thunder roars forth the word, "Come," and out comes the pale horse riding swiftly and silently and moving through the earth dealing its destruction without the help of sword, of noise or equipment.

Now move for a moment into the image of T. S. Eliot's poem of several years ago which ended with the words—

> "This is the way the world ends
> This is the way the world ends
> This is the way the world ends
> Not with a bang but a whimper."

Now move in your mind's eye to the picture from a new movie, "On the Beach," where a huge white cloud begins to silently roll over the earth from its beginning in a nuclear holocaust of North America. The cloud comes slowly but surely into Australia and the final scene of the movie is one of the cloud taking over the deserted city and an old sign flaps aimlessly in the prevailing winds and reads, "There is Still Time, Brother."

In all of these vivid pictures we can well imagine that the fourth horseman has taken on new form in our time—the form of the reaction from atomic weapons explosions and wastes from even the most peaceful uses of atomic energy. The pale horse is the strange but inevitable radiation that is not only the specter of death but that is making intolerable burdens upon Christian consciences.

The fact of radiation is a well-known danger from X-rays and even from some natural sources. Those scientists who first worked extensively with various forms of radiation recognized its possibilities as a death-dealing form of activity.

After the dropping of the bombs on Nagasaki and Hiroshima it was immediately recognized that the radiation from the blast was as deadly as the blast itself. It is not at all pleasant for us to read that today in Japan there are 90,000 persons being treated for "atomic sickness"—90,000 persons who find difficulty getting jobs because of their probable short lifespan and who find difficulty even getting marriage partners because of dangers of hereditary genetic defects in children. These people are the direct victims of the strange character of radiation from a bomb.

But the real danger of fallout came to the public's attention only after the super-bomb tests in the Pacific when a Japanese fishing vessel, the *Lucky Dragon*, was showered with white ash which caused immediate sickness. When the not-so-lucky ship reached port it was determined that they had been showered with radioactive fallout from the bomb test. One of the crewmen died, the others are still living through though with symptoms like the loss of hair.

Last May the Joint Atomic Energy Committee held some extensive fallout hearings. From these hearings have come information telling us that the amount of radioactive material in the atmosphere now is the result of the three nations tests of the equivalent of 8,500 bombs of the type that were first used in Japan. It was shown that the fallout was coming back to earth at a faster rate than was originally anticipated and it was generally agreed that any dose of radiation, however small from now on, produces some biological effect and that this effect is harmful.

There are two types of damage produced by contact with radioactive fallout. One is the damage to the body by, for instance, strontium 90, which is a bone-seeking substance, a cousin to calcium, the deposit of which in the bones may lead to bone cancer or leukemia. Almost all scientists who testified at the hearings made it clear that the amount of strontium 90 is infinitesimally small over the Western Hemisphere in comparison to what it would probably take to do extensive damage to large numbers of people. But at the same time their findings showed that the amount of this radioactive substance has increased appreciably in many areas of the United States. Linus Pauling, a somewhat extreme, but nevertheless acknowledged scientist recently wrote a letter in the New York Times giving details of how and why it would be well for persons to take calcium tablets to counteract the effect of strontium 90 that they might be subjected to through the use of milk or other food.

A second kind of damage by radiation is that produced which may affect the reproductive cells of a person and is transmitted to children in the form of deformed limbs or liability to cancer or leukemia. These radioactive particles are referred to as cesium 137 or carbon 14, the last of which decays for as long as 6,000 to 8,000 years. The scientists all agree that the damage by this fallout is extremely slight, but even so it may mean an increase of 1 percent in total number of children under 10 who die of cancer each year.

Another problem in the same connection is that of wastes from atomic energy plants used to generate electricity. In 15 years the United States has acquired 60 million gallons of radioactive atomic waste. Ninety-five percent of this is stored underground near Hanford, Wash., where some of it has been boiling for 6 to 8 years. Some will remain dangerous as long as 1,000 years. The rest of this waste is buried in the ocean within tight vaults and some of it is being stored experimentally in abandoned salt mines. The leakage of radioactive material is the main problem with this waste.

All of this, in spite of its controversial manner among scientists themselves, does not paint a very rosy picture. Bertrand Russell once said that it was his experience that those who know the most are the most gloomy.

Let us return now to John's vision. John manages to convey to his beleagered colleagues the fact that God realizes the urgency of the situation and as a result He would have them remain faithful and if necessary die for their faith.

The practical situation of these Christians demanded this message from John. These Christians were a small group living in a tyranically governed province; they had no influence whatsoever in the affairs of state and their best witness was to stand firm in their faith even if it meant death. Their faithfulness to God was measured in terms of their ability to stand up to persecution and take it.

But I have no doubt that John's advice to us would be the same in that he would call us to be faithful, but we can show our faithfulness in a different way in the present hour. Christians may still be in a minority, but there is hope in the fact that there are some Christians who hold responsible positions of authority who want to show their faithfulness to God by doing everything possible to see that the effects of atomic radiation are curbed. These Christians will join with non-Christians to do everything necessary in the plodding, laborious task of negotiation, of arbitration of nuclear test suspension and disarmament treaties.

But even though the advice now is to be faithful in seeing to it that curbs are made and enforced the urgency is the same. It is no longer the form of a plundering army or a fanatical dictator from Rome, but is instead the form of the silent disfigurement and destruction of persons through atomic radiation. And it is this urgency which demands of a Christian his utmost skill and determination to see to it in ways open to him that the patient and laborious work of atomic test cessation and disarmament is begun and carried through.

This patient work applies also to each of us as an individual. It is open to us from time to time to speak out, to voice our opinions, to stand up, and it is at such times that we can particularly show our loyalty to God in this matter. And indeed this is little enough in comparison to the stand of many of those who chose to be loyal in death. No man can measure what will happen when one person stands against the prevailing winds.

Several men decided to witness against testing of nuclear weapons by risking death by sailing into the testing area of the Pacific Ocean in the small sailing vessel, *The Golden Rule*. They actually never got there, but the witness of reasonable men against the dangers of fallout was an expression of loyalty to a higher God than the expediency of the state. In our own spheres the witness can be as powerful and there is no doubt that it is as urgent.

A final part of this vision is very foreign to our ears. John implies through his book that God is destroying the earth to bring in His kingdom. Though we would not put it in this way, we can put it in such a way as to say about the same thing—namely, that this is God's world and it is in His hands and it is His love and His power that form the foundation of all that is.

It may be that our imperialism of individuals or nations may force us into our believing that it is best to test and even to retaliate with atomic weapons which could conceivably destroy our civilization by radiation but even this fact would not be able to destroy finally the purposes of God.

The fact that the world is in the hands of God allows us to see, apart from this ultimate possibility of destruction, that even the negligible deaths of so small a dose of radiation now living with us makes a Christian conscience feel a terrible burden. For when is the willful death of a man or child negligible?

Further if it is God's world we have to consider another question of whether or not we have any right to continually contaminate the air not only for ourselves but also for our children and their children. This world

is given to us as a privilege to live within its bounds, and as creatures of God we must bear the guilt if we take it upon ourselves to allow this world to be disfigured willingly through efforts of ours in the direction of testing weapons. "The earth rejoices when the air is clean" is almost literally true today insofar as it is our hope and the direction of our work and our witness.

All of this is to say that when we are faithful to God in much or in little regarding the cessation of atomic tests and further contamination by radiation we are in actuality faithful to the highest, the deepest, and the best that there is in the universe for it is God's universe and His love and His power hold the reins. It is by His grace we are permitted to live and it is this grace that allows us to be faithful, to keep the pale horse of radiation bridled and well secured. So far no one has caught it. Our faithfulness must be directed toward this end.

Young Democratic Clubs of America Resolutions on Labor and Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. NEAL SMITH

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, both agriculture and labor are basic and important in our high production economy. Legislation and administrative policies can increase or decrease the the take-home pay of those who work and produce in the factories and on the farms, and so we are all interested in knowing the attitudes and thoughts on those subjects by our younger generation, which will, or are now, becoming participants in government. Two thousand delegates assembled in Toledo, Ohio, November 17 through 20, at the National Young Democratic Convention. They wrote and passed resolutions concerning these important matters.

As chairman of the convention, I had the opportunity of witnessing their hard work in writing these resolutions, which were passed by an overwhelming vote. So that others may know the thinking of these younger voters, under unanimous consent I include them in the RECORD, as follows:

LABOR

GENERAL STATEMENT

The Young Democratic Clubs of America recognize that the Democratic Party, as the party of all the people, must be concerned primarily with the common interest of all, and then with the particular interests, not only of labor, but of others also, including businessmen large and small, stockholders, landowners, bankers, professional people and farmers. All have their justifiable interests in a free enterprise economy, which we endorse and support.

Nevertheless, we believe that if members of the great organized labor movement will consider carefully the voting records of members of the two political parties in the light of Samuel Gompers' admonition "Elect your friends, defeat your enemies" they will discover that time after time the great majority of Democrats are their friends and the great majority of Republicans their enemies. It was a Democratic administration and a Democratic Congress which gave us that great magna charta of the labor movement, the Wagner Act, as well as a host of other legislative accomplishments long sought by working people, such as the Federal minimum wage law, unemployment insurance, social security, the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act, and the Full Employment Act of 1946.

"We commend the labor movement for its progress in ridding itself of the very small minority of corrupt officials who had infiltrated the labor movement, and we call upon and expect the business community to correct corruption in business and industry."

We affirm our belief in the right of working people to bargain collectively with their employers, and in union security.

We favor policies conducive to a high wage, full employment, prosperity in an ever-expanding economy.

We believe that the material welfare of human beings is a greater need than the balancing of the Federal budget every single year whatever the economic condition of the country.

We deplore the highhanded manner in which the Eisenhower administration has ignored millions of people, especially in depressed areas, crying for bread, and has handed them instead the fluff of Madison Avenue "prosperity."

We favor extension of the Fair Labor Standards Act to millions yet unprotected and the increase of the minimum wage to $1.25 an hour.

We call for establishment and updating of State minimum-wage laws to these same standards.

We favor amendment of the Federal Unemployment Compensation Act to provide Federal standards as to the amount and duration of benefit payments.

We support extension of the Davis-Bacon and Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Acts to cover fringe benefits which have been accepted by industry.

Recalling that labor is not a commodity of commerce, we reject as absurd and inhumane the notion that antitrust laws should be extended to labor unions.

Having nothing to fear from the political strength of labor, we affirm the right of union members to contribute time, energy, and money to political activity, and we encourage them to do so.

We call upon Congress to repeal those sections of the Labor-Management Reporting Act of 1959, commonly known as the Landrum-Griffin Act, which are inequitable and unjust. These features include curbs on labor's right to organize, its rights of freedom of speech, and its right to engage in legitimate advertising of its disputes to the public.

We urge the revision of the bonding provisions in title III and oppose and urge the repeal of the "no-man's land" feature of title III. This latter feature deprives small business and labor of the services of the National Labor Relations Service to their mutual disadvantage. Within the confines of free speech and peaceful persuasion, we believe that labor should have the right to exert the maximum economic influence which it can when engaged in legitimate labor disputes with management. These examples are only illustrative of the general bias of the bill.

We condemn those sections of the Landrum-Griffin Act which are punitive and designed to hamper and destroy the unions' right to organize and improve the wages, hours, and working conditions for the workers whom they represent. We urge amendment of such sections of the Landrum-Griffin Act so that the act will be a true charter of democracy in labor unions, rather than a device to weaken or destroy legitimate trade unions.

Our Nation's economy has suffered a serious blow because of the protracted, industrywide strike in the steel industry. This strike reflects the adamant insistence of the steel industry that union workers give up gains of previous contracts as a basis for settlement of this dispute.

Industry has obscured the contract issue behind a smokescreen of "fighting the battle against inflation"; yet there have been three times as many steel price increases since World War II as there have been wage increases. A private study undertaken by the Secretary of Labor indicates that steel prices have already advanced, steel profits are setting records, and wage increases are justified.

Recognizing these facts, the Young Democratic Clubs of America condemns:

1. The refusal of the President to set up a fact-finding board at an early stage in the dispute.

2. Invoking the so-called emergency injunction provisions of the Taft-Hartley law, thereby nullifying the effect of labor's only defense—the strike—and forcing workers against their will to return to work on management's terms during the so-called cooling off period.

3. The President's general favoritism shown toward the steel industry in this dispute.

RIGHT-TO-WORK LAWS

State antiunion security laws, sometimes called right-to-work laws, are a continuing threat to the entire American labor movement. Experience has shown that where right-to-work legislation is enacted, labor-management relations become strained.

We urge the U.S. Congress to repeal forthwith section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act which makes it possible for State right-to-work laws to prohibit the union shop in industries affecting interstate commerce.

AUTOMATION

The tremendous changes in the work force caused by technological advances and automation represent a national problem requiring national attention of the Federal Government in cooperation with labor and management. We commend the action already taken to meet this serious problem in the meat industry by labor unions and management working together. However national defense needs and the survival of our free society call for congressional attention to this problem and for legislation to bring our training and educational programs abreast of atomic age needs. Already we are wasting countless man-years of highly skilled manpower in the United States because of the lack of a national approach to automation and technological changes.

OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH AND SAFETY

We believe that the health and safety of workers in the atomic industry and other fields where cancer and disease producing products are a problem is a matter too important to be left to the States alone. We urge the establishment of a national health and safety code to meet these new health and safety problems of our atomic age.

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

Every year over 2 million workers toil in the fields of 20th century America under conditions which belie the supposition that peonage, vicious labor exploitation and extreme forms of child labor are grim memories of an unenlightened past. Included in their number are hundreds of thousands of migratory workers who annually shift from shack to shack in search of employment. These are the Nation's forgotten people.

The average American farmworker gets only about 125 days of work per year, makes less than $5 per day, and earns less than $740 per year. His plight is growing worse, not better, with the passage of years as the spread between industrial and agricultural wages continues to widen.

Despite this lack of job opportunity for American farmworkers, almost 500,000 for-

eign workers are now brought into the United States every year on certifications of need issued by the U.S. Department of Labor. These foreign workers have no rights as citizens and frequently work under conditions which border on slavery.

The Young Democratic Clubs of America believe that governmental policies should be directed to the welfare of all the people, but especially of those most in need and least able to help themselves. We cannot remain cold and indifferent to the deplorable condition of domestic and foreign farmworkers. Therefore, we call for the following program:

1. The enactment of legislation which will extend to farmworkers such protections as the right to organize for collective bargaining; and coverage under social security, the Fair Labor Standards Act, unemployment insurance, and State workmen's compensation laws.

We commend the AFL–CIO on its efforts to organize farmworkers and we pledge this campaign our full support.

2. Federal and State legislation to regulate housing and sanitation in farm labor camps; to regulate unscrupulous labor contractors who prey on the migrant worker, to regulate the transportation of farmworkers, and to provide educational opportunities for the children of migrant workers.

3. The adoption of enlightened policies by governmental agencies, most prominently the U.S. Department of Labor and State employment agencies, who have considerable authority to eliminate exploitation of farmworkers if only they have the will to do so.

4. Curtailment of the use of foreign farmworkers who have been used to drive down wages and working conditions of domestic workers and deprive them of job opportunities.

We recognize the practical problems involved in extending such a program to the few employees of the small family or tenant farmer.

Part of the small farmer's problem today is that substandard labor conditions constitute an enormous subsidy to the big farmer.

Yet a way must be found to alleviate the abject poverty of farmworkers, and this is an additional motive urging our Nation to adopt a sound farm program, so that farmer and farmworkers alike may enjoy their just share of our Nation's economic abundance.

WORLD FREE LABOR MOVEMENTS

In many areas of the world, the labor movements are or may be the most powerful nongovernmental force. The Communists are making a determined effort to take control of these movements and pervert them from their legitimate aims and aspirations. The United States is doing little to combat this effort or to give assistance, material and otherwise, to these democratic movements.

We believe that a free trade union movement is one of the greatest bulwarks of democracy. We, therefore, recommend that the U.S. Government undertake an intensive and extensive program to assist these emerging trade unions. We propose that labor attachés be established in every American mission overseas. These posts should be filled with men trained in the democratic union movements who would establish contact with those peoples and who would stand ready to give advice and assistance to all. As a corollary we pledge support to those American unions who are attempting to carry out such a program on their own initiative.

RECOMMENDATION FOR EDUCATION

We reiterate our recommendation of the 1957 YDCA convention that a permanent committee be set up to work with designated representatives of organized labor for mutual education. We urge that whenever possible this program be expanded to a regional and State basis during the coming years.

RAILROAD LABOR

We commend railway labor for the great increases in productivity during the past 10 years. The contributions they have made to the railroads in the form of increased productivity amounts to several hundred million dollars a year in the form of increased services at no increase in wages.

We urge the Congress to curb the outrageous abuse by the railroads of their public service responsibility by spending millions of dollars of railroad revenues to persuade the American public that railroad workers are featherbedding, wasteful, and incompetent.

Railroad management has the right of free speech but they also have the responsibility to tell the truth and to cease their antilabor public relations program which they list as a legitimate business expense in their tax returns.

AGRICULTURE

The income of farmers has been steadily declining while the Republican administration has demonstrated neither sympathy nor interest in the family-type farmer.

1. Because we believe that the continued independence of the family farmer is a cornerstone of the American way of life, we advocate a Brannan-type farm program with 100-percent parity of income for the family farm production of all agricultural commodities through production payments direct to farmers.

2. We support adoption and use of workable combinations of farm commodity income improvement methods such as: loans; purchase agreements; market surplus diversion purchases; parity income deficiency payments direct to farmers; stabilization operations by farmers and by Governments: market agreements and other farmer bargaining. We support marketing premium payments designed to keep supplies in balance with demand; marketing standards and scheduling; and a system of marketing quotas for all commodities as a whole, for groups of related commodities, and for individual commodities as needed.

3. We believe that the farm programs must be democratically administered through referendums and farmer-elected committees with adequate safeguards to prevent the domination of such committees by the large or corporate farmers.

4. We believe that all production payments and allotments must be aimed at providing an adequate income for family farmers, with reasonable limitations on the amount paid to any individual payee so as to halt the trend toward corporate farming.

5. We support assistance to small farmers in the form of low-cost Government credit, technical aid, and larger soil conservation allowances. We urge the enactment of legislation to expand the funds and authorities of the Farmers Home Administration.

6. We urge the establishment of a compulsory food stamp or food quota system for the distribution of surplus commodities to needy families under a separate division of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. We further favor the expansion and the improvement in quality of the present school lunch and school milk programs.

7. We support a world food reserve administered by the United Nations with contributions of surplus foods and adequate funds to the reserve.

8. We propose an extension of Public Law 480 for a 10-year period and its expansion to extend foreign aid through shipments of farm surpluses to needy countries of the world, such as India. The present cumbersome and onerous agricultural surpluses that burden our nation's economy should be turned into a positive food and fiber program to ensure world peace and domestic prosperity through the following methods:

(a) The expansion of the present program of agricultural trade development and foreign assistance so that it will play a more effective role in the conduct of American foreign policy.

(b) The gradual distribution of American food and fiber surpluses to the needy nations of the world for the purpose of supplying these nations with needed agricultural reserves. This program would be conducted on a long-term basis so as not to upset world markets.

9. We urge expansion of world markets for American farm products.

10. We support genuine farm cooperatives, which help farmers reduce the cost price squeeze and which assist in maintaining and strengthening the bargaining power of the small farmer in the domestic market place.

11. We ask a more rapid expansion of the rural electrification and rural telephone programs with provisions for adequate funds and Federal policies to expand rural telephone and electrification facilities. We oppose legislation designed to increase interest rates on loans to rural electric cooperatives and legislation designed to transfer existing rural electric associations to private power agencies.

12. We believe there should be expansion of the Federal Crop Insurance Corporation, on a financially self-supporting basis, to include all crops in every county in the United States.

13. We believe in the maintenance of adequate reserve of food and livestock feeds against such emergencies as war, flood, and crop failure.

14. We believe allotments to farmers should be made on a bushel or unit basis rather than on an acre basis as in the past.

15. Many of the expenditures accounted for in the Department of Agriculture budget are actually expenditures in such areas as foreign aid, welfare, etc. We advocate a breakdown of the Department of Agriculture budget to clearly reflect the areas of actual expenditures.

Resolutions of the United Italian-American Labor Council

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, the United Italian-American Labor Council is a strong and positive force in the ranks of labor in New York, where it is in the forefront for progressive legislation in the interests of the working masses. It is also dedicated to the cause of freedom and lasting peace.

The president of this organization is the well-known labor leader, Mr. Luigi Antonini, who is a veteran leader in labor's ranks extending over several decades. He is beloved by all who know him or work with him, and is known for his sincerity, devotion, and loyalty to his country and his fellow men.

On December 5, 1959, the United Italian-American Labor Council held its 18th annual conference in New York at which a number of important resolutions were adopted stating the organization's position in these matters. Four of these

resolutions, dealing with freedom and foreign policy, labor legislation, the recent steel strike, and immigration, are of more than local interest and should be more widely known.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am pleased to insert these four resolutions into the RECORD and commend them to the attention of my colleagues and to the public. They are as follows:

RESOLUTION ON PROMOTION OF FREEDOM

Since its inception, our organization has dedicated itself to promoting the cause of freedom and the defeat of all totalitarian aggression.

This fundamental principle was reaffirmed last year on the occasion of the reunification of our forces into the United Italian-American Labor Council.

Together with the entire labor movement, we are yearning for lasting peace, freedom, and well-being. These goals and aspirations are still very much unfulfilled.

We endorse the statement unanimously adopted by the 1959 San Francisco convention of the AFL–CIO that:

"The threat of Soviet aggression and worldwide Communist subversion stubbornly persists despite all talk about Moscow's 'new look,' Khrushchev's 'peaceful coexistence' drive and a 'thaw' in world tension resulting from recent developments in top level personal diplomacy."

In view of this persisting danger, the United Italian-American Labor Council reaffirms its wholehearted support of the foreign policies of the AFL–CIO.

In this spirit, we call upon the Government of the United States:

(a) To strengthen the NATO as a more effective defense against any possible military aggression, and to make this alliance of the free nations an instrument for unified action and cooperative policies among all its members;

(b) To give effective and decisive support to the democratic Republic of Italy; with its population of 50 million in one of the most strategic areas of the world, being given an adequate role in the highest level of NATO and permanent membership in the Security Council of the United Nations;

(c) To promote genuine people-to-people relations and contacts so as to strengthen the bonds of friendship between the United States and other free nations; and

(d) In the continuation of the programs for visits to the United States, and the technical training of foreign trade union delegations, countries like Italy, where Communist influence is still strong and menacing, should not be discarded or diminished, but should rather be expanded.

RESOLUTION OF ANTILABOR LEGISLATION

Whereas recent months have seen increasing attempts to deprive the American workers effective protection afforded them by their union; and

Whereas the strength of American labor is the most solid and fruitful basis for the stability and improvement of our free society; and

Whereas America would be in danger of failing to meet the Communist totalitarian challenge, if its free-labor movement were weakened in its aspirations and actions aimed at improving the standards of living of our people: Be it

Resolved, At the annual conference of the United Italian-American Labor Council, held on December 5, 1959, Hotel Statler-Hilton, New York, to extend vigorous support to the AFL–CIO campaign against the old and new antilabor legislation, especially the Landrum-Griffin Act.

RESOLUTION ON SOLIDARITY WITH THE STEELWORKERS

The United Italian-American Labor Council, at its annual conference held on December 5, 1959, Hotel Statler-Hilton, New York City—

Expresses its fraternal solidarity to the United Steelworkers of America. We protest against the issuance of the Taft-Hartley injunction which serves only the interests of the biggest steel corporations and aims to force the workers to return to the plants;

Warmly praises the decision taken by the AFL–CIO San Francisco convention to raise a solidarity fund for the steelworkers by having every union member contribute each month 1 hour's pay; and

Extends heartfelt wishes to the steelworkers and their valiant union for a just settlement.

RESOLUTION ON IMMIGRATION

Whereas from 1948 to January 1959, 64,000 Italian relatives (sons, daughters, brothers and sisters) of American citizens had applied to immigrate to the United States under the fourth quota; and

Whereas these applicants, together with the members of their families, constitute a population of about 170,000; and

Whereas Congress provided initial, very limited, relief by admitting under the fourth quota those relatives whose applications had been approved prior to December 31, 1953; and

Whereas this limited congressional action thus leaves many thousands of families still divided: Be it

Resolved, at this annual conference of the United Italian-American Labor Council, held on December 5, 1959, Hotel Statler-Hilton, New York, to urge the President of the United States to recommend, and to the Members of Congress to provide for, the admission to the United States of those relatives of American citizens who shall have made their application for the fourth quota prior to January 31, 1959; and be it further

Resolved, To urge the President of the United States to recommend and Congress to enact the following necessary and just revisions of our immigration laws:

(a) To determine the number of immigrants to be admitted into the United States under the first quota on the 1950 census and not on the 1920 census;

(b) To distribute among the countries, members of NATO, the unused quota numbers of the other European countries; and

(c) To abolish, as damaging to the good name of American democracy, the quota system based on the national origin, and thus end the present discrimination against south European peoples.

Foreign Policy and National Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. NEAL SMITH

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, some of the NATO countries and others are now trying to encourage youth groups to better appreciate democracy and the fact that citizens from the various walks of life in a democracy cannot afford the luxury of letting other people do all the thinking. In this this country, we have youth groups such as the Young Democratic Clubs of America which have been a training ground for democracy. Two thousand delegates gathered in Toledo, Ohio, at the 1959 national convention of the Young Democratic Clubs of America on November 17–20. These young men and women were legislators, party workers, college students, and citizens from various occupations and professions who are interested in making democracy work. Among the resolutions they hammered out were those on national defense and foreign policy, both of which reflect the depth of their thinking and the extent of their work.

Under unanimous consent I insert resolutions on these subjects in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

FOREIGN POLICY

The need for achieving a just and lasting peace presents the greatest political and moral challenge confronting mankind today. We recognize that there can be no peace without the development of the rule of law on the world level, at least in the field of war prevention. We urge that a fundamental objective of U.S. foreign policy be the support and strengthening of the United Nations to make it capable of maintaining peace with justice under law.

The opportunities for creative American leadership to meet the challenges of the nuclear and space age have been cravenly ignored by the present Republican administration.

Young Democrats welcome any concrete and enduring relaxation of international tensions. Recent exchanges of visits of some few top leaders, cultural interchanges, talk of friendship and peace and the apparent agreement by the Soviet Union not to attempt to take over West Berlin by force, are indications of progress toward peace.

We see evidence of a new awareness and understanding of the international situation by the American people and a universal desire for a peaceful world community.

The United States and the rest of the world is tired of war and armament races. Too long have precious national resources been poured out in what appear to insatiable demands for more and more weapons. The time has come for a new bold approach to the settlement of international poroblems.

The United States must take the initiative in proposing imaginative solutions.

We believe that the solution lies in steps toward the development of a world organization to which the nations of the world would surrender their power to make war in return for the protection of international law enacted by an internationally constituted legislative body interpreted by an international court, and enforced by an international police force.

We recommend that the United States should submit without reservation to the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice. Such action will represent a forward step toward the rule of law in the relationships among nations.

We urge all possible steps, including revision of its charter, to strengthen the peacemaking powers of the United Nations. We support the objectives of Senate Concurrent Resolution 52 and of similar resolutions in the House which favor the early holding of a conference to review the United Nations Charter and which request the executive branch to prepare U.S. proposals for such a conference. This study should concern itself with such matters as realistic representation in a strengthened United Nations.

The survival of our Nation, of civilization and perhaps of the human race, depends upon the abolition of war. Only with the

removal of the perpetual threat of war can the way be opened for the constructive utilization of nuclear power and the conquest of the evils of poverty, undernourishment and disease.

The recent decision of the administration to transfer nuclear weapons information and components to allied nations in Western Europe has greatly complicated the problems of European security and increased the difficulty of achieving a workable agreement on disarmament.

We call for a halt to further distribution of nuclear weapons components and technology and urge that ultimate world disarmament be the goal of U.S. foreign policy.

We urge the U.S. Government to initiate studies and consultations to begin to move toward this goal, including studies of how the U.S. economy can be adapted to full peacetime production. The reduction in the defense share of the Federal budget that will result from reduction of armaments production must be compensated for by increased public and private production of consumer goods. To this end the United States should greatly accelerate its program to develop peaceful uses of atomic energy.

We believe that it is not beyond hope that Communist nations can be persuaded to agree to limited disarmament extending to mass-destruction weapons. Cessation of manufacture and destruction of stockpiles of these weapons can be a first step toward eventual total disarmament.

We approve disarmament only if there is guaranteed effective inspection and controls under the auspices of the United Nations.

We deplore any resumption of nuclear-test explosions. The price which future generations will have to pay for such tests is horrifying to contemplate. Our governmental leaders have attempted to justify nuclear tests in terms of national security. We are not convinced, in fact, we are appalled at the contradictory and incomplete information which we are given by the administration. While keeping our eyes on the long-term goal, we must also turn attention to specific problems which confront us today.

SELF-GOVERNMENT OF COLONIAL AREAS

It should be a tenet of American foreign policy that we support the demand for self-government of those areas now under colonial rule. We favor phased programs for the transfer of power to native governments which include specific target dates for the granting of complete independence.

No idea has greater force in the world today than the idea that men should have the right to determine for themselves the form of government under which they live. This idea has penetrated into the most remote regions of the earth and fires the imagination of even the most primitive peoples. It is an idea for which the United States is in a large part responsible. Our Declaration of Independence, Wilson's 14 points, and our voluntary granting of self-government to the Philippines have earned for us the reputation of a nation dedicated to the right of self-determination of all peoples. It is a good reputation, one which increases our influence in world affairs and one which should be judiciously preserved.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

We firmly believe that assistance to underdeveloped areas does not depend upon the action or inaction of the Soviet Union.

In recent years this country has placed more emphasis on military pacts and treaties than on measures to promote the growth of that type of stable democratic society abroad which will remain in the free world, not because it has been coerced or bought, but because it is politically healthy and mature. Since political health and maturity are to a large degree dependent upon a degree of economic development which many countries and colonies of Africa, Asia, and Latin America lack it is in our best interest as well as that of humanity to aid economic development in those areas. To be effective, such aid must not involve political ties or conditions; the best means of achieving this end is utilization of the machinery of the United Nations. By permitting the U.N. to dispose of U.S. farm surpluses, their distribution is achieved in a manner least likely to endanger price stability in other agricultural regions thus absolving the United States of charges of dumping. Although we favor channeling the major portion of American contributions for economic development through the United Nations, we do not wish to preclude special unilateral programs such as American aid to India, in special circumstances where unilateral assistance is necessary for the strengthening of those nations which are making special contributions to the advancement of democratic forms of government or those whose economic welfare is especially important to international stability. Private as well as public capital is necessary in the development of underdeveloped areas of the world. Vigilance must be maintained against the formation of cartels which exploit backwardness for private gain and exert undue and unhealthy influence on weak governments.

TRADE

We favor the progressive reduction of protective tariffs on all commodities and manufactured goods as a step in the direction of a truly free world market. We support U.S. membership in organizations dedicated to the expansion of world markets through reduction of artificial trade barriers.

We believe that healthy commerce among the nations contributes greatly to the preservation of peace as well as to the prosperity of all. We see no advantage in aiding foreign nations to improve their economies if at the same time we deny them markets for the goods they produce. We look upon trade with the nations of the Communist block as an opportunity for lessening tension by steps toward mutual prosperity, and therefore believe such trade should be increased.

EUROPEAN ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

We welcome the beginning and initial success of the European Economic Community. We believe that one goal of American foreign policy should be to assist and encourage the furtherance of the purposes of this community and, as soon as possible, its expansion to include more nations.

NO MILITARY AID TO PERPETUATE DICTATORSHIPS

We believe the United States should use all moral and economic pressure which will not damage the collective security of the free world to insure that U.S. military aid is not used to perpetuate the rule of dictators who govern without the consent of the people, and repress legitimate responsible opposition.

AFRO-ASIAN-PACIFIC RIM INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

We recommend that an international conference of young political leaders from the Pacific rim, Asia and Africa be hosted jointly by national organizations of Young Democrats and Young Republicans and held in Seattle during, or immediately prior or following, the Century 21 Exposition, 1962; and that the conference be composed of delegations of young leaders representing major political bodies in the above-mentioned countries, consonant with security and immigration regulations (although consideration might be given to inclusion of young leaders from the Communist nations and solution of the attendant problems of entry, and so forth, explored).

NEAR EAST

The Near East, with its crucial problems of Arab unrest, Soviet imperialism, and the conflict between the State of Israel and its Arab neighbor remains a threat to world peace.

Arab unrest in most instances is an outgrowth of poverty, malnutrition, and famine for the greater part of an exploding population. We recommend that the United States Government, through the United Nations and the International Cooperation Administration, give all possible assistance to these Arab States. In this way, land and resources can be developed to provide the people with the food and wherewithal to fruitfully support themselves.

We recommend that the United States and the United Nations take positive action to negotiate a peace treaty between the Arab States and Israel. We maintain that a settlement of the boundary questions, the refugee problems, and free access to the Suez Canal are prerequisites to the establishment and maintenance of a more stable atmosphere in the Near East. We propose that our Government do everything in its power to guarantee mutually the territorial integrity of Israel and the Arab States upon the establishment of a peace treaty.

We feel that as the Near Eastern nations resolve their problems, raise their living standards, and become active partners in the world marketplace, Soviet imperialism will, of itself, manifest a lesser pressure in this area.

FAR EAST

We believe that the only civilized way to solve international disputes is by negotiation through regularized diplomatic channels. Because of the policies of the present administration such channels are not now available for use with China. We, therefore, call for the opening of diplomatic negotiations with China for the purpose of seeking solutions to the outstanding differences existing between our two nations, including the settlement of the status of Formosa; for exploring the possibility of a worldwide inspection system for disarmament and the control of nuclear testing; and for the beginning of mutual profitable trade and cultural interchange.

AFRICAN INDEPENDENCE

Africa's desires for independence and self-government cannot be denied. Unfortunately, the Republican administration has allowed the United States to become identified with colonialism in Africa. We maintain the majority of Americans are in sympathy with African independence.

America was founded upon the concept of self-government—simple integrity dictates reaffirmation of the principle of freedom for all nations. Our Government must boldly support the cause of liberty and identify itself with the peoples of Africa in their striving for independence.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

The present poor state of our national defense clearly demonstrates the ineptitude of the Eisenhower administration. The Republican's false economics in cutting Armed Forces' appropriation have made us incapable of anything else than massive retaliation. As a result, any war must be a war of total annihalation.

In addition recent Soviet scientific advances have been notable in many fields necessary for national defense, while our efforts have been absorbed in wasteful competition among the branches of our Armed Forces and among private industry under Government contracts. It is doubtful that the United States now has sufficient scientific skill and finances to draw abreast of the Soviet Union in the near future.

Perhaps the most serious, dangerous, subtle and insidious threat to our national defense (and to the Nation as a whole) derives from the distrust which the Eisenhower administration has shown in the past and continues to show toward the public and the scientific community. The Republicans' ridiculous and overbearing security

measures and their misrepresentation of facts—many of which are well known to the Soviets—produces doubt, confusion, and apathy in the public.

We therefore now recommend that—

1. The false economy cuts in our Armed Forces budget must be stopped.

2. The State Department must cease to think only in terms of total war, tottering from brink-to-brink. To counter this problem more attention must be paid to our strategic forces.

3. The Federal Government adopt a coordinated program for research vital to national defense removing the wasteful competition among branches of our Armed Forces and among the favored industries under contract to the Government, thereby more effectively utilizing our scientific talent.

4. Our Nation works closely with our fellow NATO members in scientific research and development.

5. The unnecessarily strict security regulations imposed by the Eisenhower Administration be relaxed. These restrictions have had the effect generally—especially in nuclear research and development—of discouraging competent men from seeking Government employment and have choked off vital channels of information upon which the scientific community relies.

6. Great effort be expanded toward accomplishing basic research in the natural and social sciences and in mathematics to provide a basis for future technical progress, realizing the inherent value which basic research possesses.

7. An avoidance of the tragic misuse of valuable scientific personnel in the Armed Forces, by establishing a careful program for their utilization in proper places.

8. A military policy be established which promotes career soldiers, especially by attempting to permit as normal a family life as possible.

Education for a Free Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, on April 25, 1959, President Truman was the principal speaker at the 89th convocation of the board of regents of the University of the State of New York.

I commend to the attention of all his address, which follows:

CONVOCATION ADDRESS BY HARRY S. TRUMAN

Thank you very much, His Excellency, the Governor of the great State of New York, Mr. Chancellor of the University of the State of New York, the board of regents, and all these distinguished guests.

You know that I am extremely sorry that my good friend and predecessor in the White House, the Honorable Herbert Hoover, could not be here tonight. He and I do not agree very much on anything politically, but we are the closest of friends. I think very highly of him and we enjoy an almost continuous correspondence on various subjects on which we can agree.

This is a very wonderful educational setup you have here in this great State of New York. I am very much intrigued with it and I think it would be a good thing if we had one like it in Missouri. Missouri has to be shown, you know.

There is another thing I want to call to your attention. This is a wonderful band. There is nothing I like any better than good band music. I listened very carefully to all the playing I heard here tonight and I didn't hear a single sour note. I have pretty good ears.

Now, with your indulgence, I am going to talk to you about the Presidency of the United States. I have had a little experience at it and I want to give you the results of some of my experiences and some of my studies on the subject. It is one of the most unusual, the most important, and the least understood constitutional offices in the history of the world. Generally speaking, we have a pretty good idea of the nature and functions of the Supreme Court and of the Congress. Their words and acts are preserved in official publications and official records, but there is no single publication that preserves the utterances and acts of the Presidents. Many of them can be found only inadequately reported in the newspaper files.

The personal papers of the President, which are the best record of the functioning of the office, have often been scattered and destroyed. I am trying to correct this condition by encouraging an official and current publication of all the public utterances of the President, just as the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD reports all of the public acts in the Congress, and by establishing firmly the precedent set by Franklin D. Roosevelt that the papers of the President should be preserved as the property of the Nation.

Do you know that Millard Fillmore's son, who was a native of this great State of New York, deliberately burned all his father's papers and that Robert Lincoln burned more than half the papers of his father? The papers of other Presidents have been scattered from one end of this country to the other. Princeton University is spending $250,000 to get Jefferson's papers back together.

To this end, I have built a library in Independence in which I have placed all my papers for research and study by all qualified students. There are about 4 million of those documents. On dedication day last July the building and its contents were turned over to the National Government and when all my papers have been properly sorted, I hope that some of you will come to Independence and work in this library.

President Hoover has built a library at Palo Alto, Calif., which contains all of his papers. President Roosevelt's are at Hyde Park where they are being properly indexed under the supervision of the National Archives.

When my library was being dedicated, I invited Mr. Hoover, Mrs. Roosevelt, the leaders of the minority and the majority in the House of Representatives and in the Senate, other Senators and Congressmen and half a dozen Governors, and I was up against it. I did not know what was going to happen with all those people there. They are the topnotch people of their political parties and of the country. My chief of protocol took it upon himself to go to Europe. I wrote to Mrs. Edith Helm, who had been secretary to Mrs. Truman and Mrs. Roosevelt and to Mrs. Woodrow Wilson and said I would be happy if she would come out and help me as chief of protocol for that day. She wrote me: "I am 82 years old. It gets even hotter in Missouri than in Illinois. Besides, I don't see why you are so interested in protocol now. You never paid any attention to it when you were in office."

You know, Mrs. Truman was very pleased with Mrs. Helm's rebuttal. I want to tell you something. When the President is in the White House, he sets the protocol. No matter what he does, that is protocol.

The first three articles of the Constitution outline the three branches of the Government of this great Nation. Article I sets up the legislative branch of our Government and gives that branch certain powers and duties. Article II sets up the executive branch and gives it executive powers and duties. Article III sets up the courts and creates a Chief Justice. He is not Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. He is Chief Justice of the United States and he has supervision over all the courts of the United States. It gives that great Court and all the rest of the courts—Federal courts—certain powers and duties.

The Founding Fathers outlined the Presidency in article II of the Constitution, but they left a good meany details rather vague. The office of the Chief Executive has grown with the progress of our Republic. It has given our Nation a means of meeting our greatest emergencies, and today it is one of the most important factors in determining whether or not we provide leadership for the free world, leadership for the Western Hemisphere and leadership for the people of the United States.

If you take the powers of the President as enumerated in article II and the duties that have been given to the President by the growth of our country, you will conclude that the President has the most difficult job in history. It is also the most honorable and powerful office in the history of the world and one of which every American should be proud, because the President is given his position by the voice of the people. No dictator in history ever rose to a position of such power and influence as this chosen spokesman of a free electorate.

The President's job is really six jobs. You must bear one thing in mind that, as a former President of the United States, my sympathies are always with the man who holds these jobs in the White House. I may not agree with him politically, but he still has my sympathy, because I know exactly what he is up against.

I am going to enumerate the President's duties. One of the first jobs the President has—and this is the one that is enumerated first in article II of the Constitution—is to take care that the laws are faithfully executed. He takes an oath that he will support and defend the Constitution of the United States and enforce the laws of this great Government of ours. You know that every officer in the United States takes that oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States. I have taken it about 40 times, and it impresses me and did impress me just as much the last time as it did the first, because it is equally awesome to have that responsibility in the smallest political job as it is to have it in the greatest political job in the history of the world.

The next duty of the President is to be Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces. He appoints and commissions officers in the Army, Navy, and Air Force. He has complete authority over the Armed Forces of the United States. He can place admirals and generals in command, and when it is necessary, he can take them out, too.

Sometimes, I am sorry to say, that is necessary. This is a very great responsibility and one that has to be considered very, very carefully.

The third job I would like to think about and would like you to think about, too, is the President's role in foreign affairs. He is the foreign policymaker of this Nation. The Constitution says that he shall appoint ambassadors, with the advice and consent of the Senate, and receive ambassadors and ministers from foreign governments. Few of us fully appreciate what this means. Our ambassadors are the personal agents of the President, his eyes and ears abroad. The ambassadors of other countries cannot operate here unless they are approved by the President. The President recognizes foreign countries diplomatically and this is a great power and responsibility.

In times past, it used to be customary for an ambassador to be ushered in to the Presi-

dent, and he would stand up with great formality and read a long speech. The President would have to sit and listen to it and then have to read his own speech. Now, when an ambassador is introduced formally to the President, he hands the President his speech, the President hands him his, and they get up and part company.

The President is our foreign policymaker, also, because he negotiates treaties. The Constitution says that he shall have the power to make treaties by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. In the days when the Constitution was young, George Washington tried to carry out the provisions by going personally to the Senate with a proposed treaty to get their advice and consent during his negotiations. The Senate said they couldn't act on things that way. They would have to appoint a committee. The committee would have to report back. They would have to have a lot of hearings and they couldn't work properly with the President sitting there wtih them. At this, George got pretty indignant, and he made some very salty remarks, which I cannot quote here. So, ever since, the President has negotiated the treaty first and then submitted it to the Senate for approval, but he can make executive agreements wth foreign countries and send special representatives without consulting anybody. Presidents have always done these things when needed.

Turning again to the Constitution, the President's next job is his legislative responsibility. The Constitution says that he shall from time to time give Congress information on the state of the Union and recommend measures for their consideration. Of course, he must approve these laws before they can become effective, unless the Congress can muster a two-thirds vote after his veto. I have had that done to me a time or two.

The Constitution has written the President in as a vital part of the legislative process and he is not supposed to stand by and be a "yes man" for the Congress. He must fight for his legislative program and if he doesn't, de doesn't get one.

The fifth job of the President is the one from which I got the greatest kick. The President is the head of his political party. You won't find this job mentioned in the Constitution. Political party leadership was the last thing the Constitution contemplated. The Founding Fathers did not intend the election of the President to be mixed up in the hurly-burly of politics, but our two-party system, as it developed, changed all this. The electoral college became a formality and the President has come to be elected by the whole people. As a result, the President has emerged as the man who leads his party to political victory and who is expected to set the policies of his party for the future.

The President must try to convince the people that his party can run the National Government better than the opposition, but at the same time, he must never forget his responsibilities to all the people in the Nation, regardless of party. He must also think of the welfare of the Nation as a whole.

The President and the Vice President are the only officers elected from the United States at large. As I have said, the President is the only lobbyist in Washington who looks after the interests of about 150 million people. The other 15 or 20 million are able to hire people to go to Washington to present their claims to the Congress on any subject they choose. That is lobbying, a perfectly legitimate function and an exericse of the right of petition, but there are 150 million people who don't have any lobbyists. It is the business of the President to find out what is good for those 150 million people and to act as the principal lobbyist in the Nation for their welfare and benefit. When a President does that, he usually has a successful administration.

I have had a lot of experience on this subject; I know something about it and the first job of lobbying I ever did outside the White House was not long ago when I went to the Congress and got them to pass a bill for the indexing and microfilming of all the Presidential papers in the Library of Congress.

The President cannot carry out his job without a lot of opposition. The Constitution makes the executive and legislative separate and independent branches of the Government, and, as a result, there is a certain amount of conflict built into the Constitution. The separation of powers was not devised to promote efficiency in government; it was devised to prevent absolutism and dictatorship. That is the most important statement I am going to make tonight. This division of powers was established for the purpose of keeping the Government out of the hands of a dictator. So, a certain degree of struggle between the President and the Congress is natural.

It is the duty of the President to see that the powers of the Presidency are not infringed upon. Some elements in Congress are always trying to legislate him out of office. To them, it is a legislative government, which is not what the Constitution provides for.

I think the Constitution is the greatest document of government that has ever been written. You can read it every day and you always will find something new in it. It took the Supreme Court 150 years to find a certain word in the Constitution—that word was "welfare."

The President is the social head of the Nation. That is a great thing and all the stuffed-shirt socialite people like it very much. They think it is the finest thing in the world to be able to meet princes and dukes and kings and queens. Of course, when distinguished guests of that kind come to the United States, the President is their host. It is a vital part of our international relationships, but you ought to see the pulling and hauling, when a state dinner is given, by all of the people who want to sit close to one of these dignitaries. The President gives five or six state dinners at the White House and several large receptions, and if you think it is a lot of fun to stand in line and shake hands with 2,700 people whose names you can't even understand when they are pronounced, I wish you would try it.

At diplomatic receptions, the wife of the President has a tremendous burden. The last year we were in the White House, Mrs. Truman shook hands with 50,000 people by count. I shook hands with 25,000 and dodged the rest. There are receptions for organizations, the D.A.R., the Colonial Dames, the Boy Scouts, and Girl Scouts, and everything else. Mrs. Truman would stand in line as long as she could and then one of the Cabinet ladies would spell her for a while. The social end of the President's office is a necessary job and a very important one.

I have enumerated the six full-time jobs that one man has to fill and there isn't any way under the Constitution that he can avoid them. He must do them. When they aren't done, it is too bad for the country. There is only one way to do these jobs, and that is to keep everlastingly at them and to give them as much time as possible out of 24 hours. I used to get up at 5 o'clock in the morning, read all the papers, take a walk and go to the White House office. I would have a session with the staff, and with organizations that had dates with the President, and then at 1 o'clock would start the same thing over again. You never get enough time to do everything. I used to wish there were 48 hours in the day and 8 days in the week.

There have been Presidents who have been working Presidents and there have been Presidents who did not appreciate their responsibilities. Washington was Commander in Chief of the Colonial Armies and he was the Presiding Officer of the Constitutional Convention in 1787. As the first President, he established the Government of the United States. He had his troubles with Congress. He was abused unmercifully in the press of that day, as all great Presidents have been. If you think some of our later Presidents have been roundly abused, you ought to go down to the Library of Congress and see what the newspapers had to say about George while he was in the White House.

Washington was followed by a New England reactionary, John Adams, who claimed special privilege for a part of the people. He left the White House at midnight rather than speak to the next President, Thomas Jefferson. Before their deaths, however, they became great friends. They both died on the same Fourth of July, and as Jefferson lay dying, Adams' last words were: "The country is safe, Jefferson still survives." Jefferson was a real Democrat, although just as much as aristocrat as Adams. Thomas Jefferson explored the Northwest with Lewis and Clark and set a precedent for the exploration of other territories. He was bitterly attacked in the press which called him both an atheist and a traitor.

He was followed by Madison, James Monroe and John Quincy Adams, and then came Andrew Jackson. Jackson moved the money capital from Philadelphia to Washington and released the stranglehold of old man Biddle from the throats of the people. You ought to read what the papers had to say about Jackson. He was followed by William Henry Harrison and John Tyler. John Tyler's brother was my great-grandmother's father.

Then came James K. Polk, who bought all the Southwest from Mexico and paid the same price as Jefferson had paid for Louisiana—$15 million. At the time, it wasn't worth a cent. If I said that in Los Angeles, they would throw me in the Pacific Ocean.

Polk was followed by a professional soldier, Zachary Taylor, whose daughter married Jefferson Davis. When Taylor died in office, he was succeeded by Fillmore, who, in turn, was followed by Franklin Pierce and Buchanan, all easygoing Presidents.

Then came Abraham Lincoln, who, by making the Constitution fit the emergency, saved the Union and really established the United States of America as a growing concern and as a great Nation.

Some people are impatient with the United Nations and wonder how in the world they are going to get it to work. It took 80 years for the U.S. Government to become firmly established and we had to whip ourselves to do it.

Lincoln was followed by Andrew Johnson, U. S. Grant, Rutherford B. Hayes, James Garfield and Chester Arthur. I could dwell on each of these men, but that is not my objective. I will tell you one story about Chester Arthur. He was a very fine-looking man and wore striped pants and a swallowtail coat. The White House had been furnished in the time of Jefferson and Monroe and John Quincy Adams with some very beautiful furniture—antiques that would be invaluable today. Arthur loaded it all into nine vans, had a sale and then bought some Victorian furniture.

Grover Cleveland, a native of this great State, was the next President. He established a two-party system and made it strong. After Ben Harrison, Cleveland was elected again, but he was not the same Grover Cleveland. William McKinley, who followed, was succeeded by Theodore Roosevelt, who undertook certain reforms and, because of his policies, was finally disowned by his own party.

William Howard Taft was a kindly, easy-going man, who was followed by one of the greatest of the great Presidents, Woodrow Wilson.

Right here, I want to put in a plug for Mr. Hoover's book. He has written a biography of Wilson that is one of the most objective things ever written about Woodrow Wilson. It is a very wonderful thing for one President to write the biography of another.

Wilson was forced into the First World War. He not only recognized world history in the making, but he realized the effect it would have on the United States.

Wilson was followed by three more Presidents and then came the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt brought on as a result of the great depression. He was a great man. He and Winston Churchill organized a free world and won the war that saved it. The United Nations was established. The great Roosevelt was followed by me and the present occupant of the White House.

I am anxious for all of you young men and women to become curious about your country and the world, and to follow through to keep this the greatest republic in the world. It is up to you youngsters. It is up to you now to make this Republic what the Founding Fathers wanted it to be, and you cannot do it unless you study the history of the United States and the world.

Our great Presidents were followed by other Presidents who were not so great. The history of the United States, in the light of the Presidency, is one of the most interesting things you can come across. Then, when you begin with the things and the deeds that happened all during the period since this Republic was founded, you will find something that will make you the proudest person in the world, that will make each one of you youngsters go right ahead and carry the Republic on as it should be, because you have the greatest government the sun has ever shone upon. I am proud to have been a part of it.

Resolutions of the Young Democratic Clubs of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. NEAL SMITH

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, the 2,000 delegates assembled at the national convention of Young Democratic Clubs of America in Toledo, Ohio, last November 17 through 20, divided into subcommittees and worked very hard upon producing resolutions reflecting the majority thinking of the members of the organizaiton. The product of their long hours of work in the fields of economic policy, conservation, and natural resources and social legislation is an example of the kind of thinking young people in America today are capable of.

As chairman of the convention I witnessed the work, and so that others may see the product of their labor, under unanimous consent I include the resolutions on this subject in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

ECONOMIC POLICY

BUDGET

Capital investments by the Federal Government in fields such as power, reclamation, conservation, navigation, and irrigation are not handled systematically in the Federal budget but are lumped with budget funds for paper clips, stationery, and other current operating expenditures. Consequently, many so-called economy drives in Congress have ill-advisedly cut or abolished capital investment programs under the false impression that such cuts would result in economy. This confusion is caused by the failure of the Federal Government to distinguish between capital investments (proper development of our national assets) and current operation expenditures.

We strongly endorse legislation for the establishment of a Federal capital budget which provides for a distinction between capital assets and current operating expenditures in the Federal budget.

BUDGET POLICY

A balanced Federal budget in a time of national prosperity is a fine ideal, however, it must not become a shibboleth to be followed blindly nor an idol to be worshipped to the exclusion of greater national needs.

We must always first measure what expenditures are necessary to national survival in the defense and foreign aid field, and for national well-being and growth in such domestic fields as housing, education, conservation, sceince, and health—rather than just using an arbitrary dollar figure or last year's budget or 5 percent under last year's budget.

The Young Democratic Clubs of America believes we must elect a Democratic administration in 1960 in order to change the near-sighted policies of the present administration.

INTEREST RATES

It is a well-recognized fact, even admitted by many prominent leaders of the present administration, that the Soviet Union is not only far ahead of us in the missile and space race, but perhaps even more serious, has been able to achieve a rate of economic expansion of about 9 percent per year compared to our laggard rate of about 2 percent per year during the recent years of Republican administration.

The Eisenhower administration took to Washington in 1953 the Wall Street economic philosophy of tight money, and this policy will be continued by any succeeding Republican adminsitration. This policy has been one of the chief causes of the failure of our economy to expand and our people to prosper sufficiently during the last 7 years; it has caused an increase in Federal taxes because of almost doubling the national debt service; and it has contributed substantially to inflation and everyone's cost of living. It has particularly hampered homeowners and small business. The Young Democrats of America go on record as declaring that it is necessary that the tight-money policy be reversed, and that the U.S. Treasury Department and the Federal Reserve Board work together to see that money rates and credit expansion serve the needs of an expanding population so that our production will return to at least a 5-percent annual growth rate and that this Nation may prosper at all levels and have the strength to remain free.

CONSERVATION AND NATURAL RESOURCES

We believe that the Nation's foremost task is to develop and protect our human resources. To do this we must manage our bountiful natural resources in such a manner that future generations yet unborn can say of their ancestors, "In the last half of the 20th century those responsible for formulating our resource policy—left our forests, rivers, and lakes in better condition than they found them—to them we owe our bountiful heritage."

We define conservation as the wisest use of natural resources for the greatest good for the greatest number of people forever.

The land and water resources in the public domain are part of the commonwealth. As owner, the public has the right to expect the wise use of these resources for the creation of new job opportunities, consistent with our goals of conservation.

The general welfare of the American people demands that the Federal Government follow wise policies of stewardship of our natural resources. We believe in the deliberate development of all our resources for the maximum public use. We oppose the Republican administration's policies of accidental and wasteful development primarily for the benefit of special economic interests.

We urge that the administration of the various resource agencies be returned to the professionals in these fields by replacing present incompent political appointees.

ATOMIC ENERGY

The taxpayers of the United States have invested many billions of dollars in the activities of the atomic age. The fruits of this investment belong to the American people. The Republican administration desires to take these fruits away and to give them to special interests for private profit.

We believe that the fruits of the public investment in the atomic era must go to the entire public. Therefore, we support the following: Public ownership of all atomic power generation plants, and adequate Federal control and protection against the hazards of radiation.

We call for an international investigation of the effects of radiation on ocean life and the human race with a view toward negotiating international treaties to protect against threats from the sinking of nuclear-powered vessels and the dumping of radioactive wastes. We urge a similar policy with regard to nuclear-powered aircraft to protect the human race against radiations from accidents to nuclear-powered airplanes.

ENERGY

We believe it essential for an expanding economy that we develop a positive program of continued development of all our energy resources and that the costs of Federal Government participation be allocated in the Federal budget as capital assets rather than as current expenditures.

In order to allow for development of the full potential of each region in the United States and to avoid artificial rate decisions influencing the location of industry we support a federally owned national and regional grid system for the transmission of electric energy.

We urge the encouragement of commercial development of the vast oil shale reserves of this Nation.

We firmly support legislation to establish effective regulation of price and sales of all natural gas sales as well as location of transmission pipelines.

We firmly believe that import controls on oil should be relaxed to allow the U.S. consumer the advantages of low cost Canadian and Latin American oil supplies.

WATER

We believe that the control and the benefits of the rivers of the United States belong to all of the people. We oppose the discredited partnership and multi-agency programs of this administration for river development.

The management of a river and a river basin is one problem. We believe that the greatest benefit to the most people (from the standpoint of development of natural resources, needed power, and irrigation water; the preservation of natural beauty of wilderness areas, recreational areas, and fishing areas) is realized in the comprehensive planning and Federal development of entire river basins.

We support sound measures for Federal multipurpose development of the power and water potentials of the Columbia River Basin, Central Valley of California, Upper Columbia

Basin, Missouri Valley, and the Colorado River, and other river basins.

We specifically urge the Democratic Party in the Congress to support an amendment to the Federal Power Commission Act to insure that the FPC grant licenses for construction of dams which provide only for maximum full development.

We urge the establishment of a Department of Natural Resources and urge that the civil functions of the Corps of Army Engineers be transferred to that department.

We believe that a thorough investigation is needed of the reemergence of the dominating economic power of electric utilities and of the Securities and Exchange Commission's inexcusable assistance to mergers in the public utility field. We also call for legislation to curb the outrageous abuse of millions of dollars of ratepayers' money spent to influence the American public by the private utilities of this country. Their attacks upon public power have been dishonest and irresponsible.

OUTDOOR RECREATION

The demands upon our recreational resources are accelerating and will continue to do so with the increase of population growth, the increase in leisure time and the increase in personal income.

We favor an increased systematic development and expansion of natural and State parks, campsites and lakes and streams for recreational purposes.

We urge increased appropriations for the maintenance of existing facilities, particularly for National forests and State parks.

We urge continuation of the program to develop and expand park and camping facilities for all Americans and to protect all recreational areas by means of a national antilitter policy.

We favor legislation to create an adequate national wilderness preservation program.

We urge the adoption of legislation to establish a Youth Conservation Corps.

POLLUTION

Water and air pollution are primarily an interstate and Federal problem. We therefore urge the adoption of legislation establishing Federal regulations to protect our air and rivers of pollution. We urge Federal regulations to regulate pollution from exhausts of motor vehicles.

We urge the Congress to provide a national policy of regulation of artificial weather control and cloud seeding.

FORESTRY AND TIMBER

We endorse the Forest Service recommendation for doubling our timber and pulp and other forest products output by the year 2000 by means of long-range programing of increased forest acreage, more effective use of forestlands, construction of forest roads and increased efforts to control forest insects, disease, poisonous weeds and fires. We favor the reinvestment of the Federal share of our Forest Service earnings for the purpose of increasing forest production.

FISH AND WILDLIFE

We urge immediate action by the Congress to provide much larger funds for research and programs to sustain and enlarge anadromous fish runs in our rivers and in the ocean.

We favor a policy of providing access to the public of all streams, banks, lakesides, and river courses for the purpose of fishing and other recreation on public as well as private land. We believe land bordering interstate waterways and their tributaries should be public rights of way, in the same manner as the waterways.

RECLAMATION

We urge the preservation of the antimonopoly provisions of the reclamation law.

We believe in the preference of public agencies for power distribution and the 160-acre limitation. We oppose piecemeal undermining of these protections by such devices as special bills exempting particular projects.

MINERALS

We believe that a healthy American mining industry is essential to the welfare and safety of the American people.

We condemn the policies of the Eisenhower administration which contributed to a deterioration of our domestic mining industry. Our mineral reserves are stockpiles and should be maintained upon at least a minimum standby basis.

At the same time we urge the Congress to develop policies to allow the American economy to utilize more widely the more economic mineral deposits of undeveloped countries which is consistent with our policies of assisting these countries toward full economic development.

MAPPING

We urge a program of combined Federal and State aid to procure new topographical maps of the United States for evaluation of forest reserve, water resource and soil conservation problems.

RESOURCE EVALUATION

We urge an evaluation of the resources of the free world toward the long-range development of marketing, production, and distribution programs between our Government and our major resource industries and the governments and major resource industries of the free world.

SOCIAL LEGISLATION

SOCIAL SECURITY

The aged, persons unable to work because of illness or injury, widows, and minor children must be provided with adequate income in maintain their dignity as human beings, their health, and their opportunity to happiness and comfort. Such basic human requirements can only be provided through a program of private and public insurance. As social security programs are a proper and necessary function of government, we strongly urge that the Congress greatly expand the scope and increase the benefits of the social security programs.

HEALTH

We urge the adoption of a program of hospital and medical benefits for our senior citizens on social security covering all illnesses including mental illness with the cost to be met by Federal funds.

MEDICAL EDUCATION

We urge an increase in national expenditure for medical research with particular attention to preventive medicine. Federal, State, and private funds should be made available to greatly expand medical training facilities of all types.

PURE FOODS AND DRUGS

We urge an immediate expansion of the investigative personnel of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, so that the present pure foods and drugs laws may be enforced as they were intended to be. We further strongly urge a strengthening of these laws.

HOUSING

In the face of the reactionary Presidential vetos of the first two housing bills and the resulting passage of the greatly weakened housing bill, we reaffirm our belief that the Democratic Party must continue its fight for a meaningful housing program. A comprehensive program must include Federal aid to local governmental units for urban renewal, low-cost housing, industrial development and unified city planning and development.

We further favor legislative action designed to provide long-term low interest rate mortgage money for the construction of new private housing units.

REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

Proportionate representation in government is a fundamental requisite for maintaining a free, democratic government. Today, widespread inequality exists in State legislatures and the Congress of the United States. This situation is brought about by a lack of the reapportionment process and the basis used for apportioning legislative bodies. We urge young Democrats throughout the Nation to work toward solutions of this basic problem which threatens our democratic form of government.

NATIONAL CONVENTION

In order to encourage young Democrats to enter into and discuss national political issues, the Young Democrats of America urge the Democratic National Committee to employ young Democrats as ushers, doormen, etc., for the Democratic National Convention to be held at Los Angeles in 1960.

CONVENTION HOSPITALITY

Whereas the Lucas County Young Democrats and the Ohio League of Young Democrats have expended tremendous energy in planning, organizing, and executing this 11th biennial convention of the Young Democratic Clubs of America; and

Whereas this convention has been the most successful in the history of the Young Democrats: Now, therefore, we commend the Young Democrats of Ohio for their unselfish efforts in making our stay in Toledo a memorable one.

THANKS TO CHAIRMEN

Whereas Congressman ED EDMONDSON and Congressman NEAL SMITH, by their excellent chairmanship of this convention, have contributed materially to the success of this convention; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Young Democratic Clubs of America thank Congressman EDMONDSON and Congressman SMITH and wish them the greatest success in their political careers, which are a credit to the Democratic Party and to themselves.

Save Our Shorelines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article appearing in the September 1959 issue of Outdoor America under the byline of Mr. J. W. Penfold, a distinguished conservationist and officer of the Izaak Walton League.

The article sets forth in plain terms why the Congress must enact during this session the save our shorelines bill sponsored by a number of us here in Congress.

Failure to do so may witness an irreplaceable natural resource and an irreplaceable part of America's heritage developed for other purposes and loss to our future generations without hope of recovery.

The article referred to follows:

SAVE OUR SHORELINES

(By J. W. Penfold)

"The last 5 miles of undeveloped beach between Miami and Daytona" reads an ad

in the Wall Street Journal, "$1 million down—the balance on easy terms."

"National Steel Co. Let's Contract for $100 Million Steel Mill on Indiana Dunes," is a recent eye-catching headline. "Area had been scught for public park."

And a few random samples from the news:

Reports show attendance at national and State park areas up 14 percent above last year's record high.

A Pennsylvania park developed to handle 5,000 people was swamped with 250,000 over the July 4 weekend.

"As a result of action to abolish the State park strip along the Overseas Highway," comes another plaint, "before very long there won't be one spot along the 100 miles of Florida Keys where a fisherman can launch his boat without paying tribute to some developer."

Items bearing the same message, in endless variation, can be found in the press almost every day, in almost every section of the country which boasts of ocean or lake shore frontage. In the aggregate they—both the number and urgency of the cases of local crisis—add up to a frightening conclusion: our shorelines are vanishing in a tidal wave of urban sprawl.

Demand for water frontage—acute almost everywhere—has reached a peak in Florida, where bulkhead, dredge, and fill replace the natural shorelines with barren canals, boat slips, and the stench of stagnant water. That such improvements may destroy the breeding and nursery grounds for important commercial and sport fishes and obliterate winter feeding areas of hard-pressed waterfowl populations disturb the developers not one whit.

Nor will the trend be reversed. The pressures on our shorelines arise naturally from growth. But the need for wise development is snatched as a shield by the fast buck operators. And thoughtful Americans thus must seek means whereby the public values may survive in a trend which reflects burgeoning populations, improved standard of living, and a yen for the outdoors.

There can be but one answer and it's not a new one in any sense. The Indiana Dunes presents the classic case:

Over 40 years ago Stephen Mather, first National Park Service chief, urged that the 30 miles of Indiana Dunes along the Lake Michigan shoreline be designated for preservation in the National Park System. He foretold that except as it was so, it would be lost to the public in the years to come.

In the early 1950's, the Izaak Walton League's Indiana Division tried to set aside the dwindling Dunes, preferably as a State park, but found little support from a still-apathetic public.

Today conservationists, faced with overwhelming odds, are attempting to save the last 4-mile stretch not already lost to industry and city growth. We are apparently too late to save it all; a steel mill is under construction; the beach and Dunes area—which could serve recreation needs of the new mill's workers, their families and countless other new residents—has now been whittled down to 2 miles.

Just 2 miles. Not much—but doubly valuable because of it. Perhaps this small remaining fraction of what was once a glorious public potential can be salvaged if public officials display the vision the situation demands.

There are, fortunately, men of good will who are determined that the sad tale of Indiana's Dunes will not be repeated again and again throughout the country.

Within the past few months the administration sent to Congress a rather sharply reduced version of a bill to do something about our fast-vanishing shoreline. It would provide authority for the Secretary of Interior to establish three national shoreline recreation areas not to exceed 100,000 acres in total, and an authorization to spend up to $15 millions for the acquisition of lands. The areas to be selected were not named.

Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER (Oregon) demonstrated bipartisan recognition of the problem by introducing the measure at the administration's request. Senator GORDON ALLOTT (Colorado) cosponsored it.

This bill (S. 2010) was so patently inadequate, however, that key Members of Congress who had given the problem thorough study appraised it as hardly a start on the task of preserving examples of superlative shoreline for the public.

Senator JAMES E. MURRAY of Montana, chairman of the powerful Interior Committee, Senators CLINTON P. ANDERSON (New Mexico), PAUL H. DOUGLAS, Illinois' determined fighter for the Indiana Dunes, and NEUBERGER joined forces to prepare a broader, more comprehensive bill. Introduced on July 29 as S. 2460, Senators Moss (Utah), KEFAUVER (Tennessee), MANSFIELD (Montana), RANDOLPH (West Virginia), LANGER (North Dakota), MCNAMARA (Michigan), GRUENING (Alaska), HART (Michigan), MCCARTHY (Minnesota), GREEN (Rhode Island), ENGLE (California), BIBLE (Texas), BYRD (West Virginia), and MUNDT (South Dakota), joined as cosponsors.

At almost the same time JOHN DINGELL (Michigan), LEE METCALF (Montana) and JOHN SAYLOR (Pennsylvania), were introducing similar bills (H.R. 8445, 8449 and 8519) in the House. WAYNE N. ASPINALL (Colorado), House Interior Committee Chairman, has expressed a favorable attitude and called for departmental reports on the bills.

The 10 shoreline recreational areas that would be authorized under the bill would be established as described and pictured on these pages.

The legislation itself is simple in the extreme:

1. It authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to "take appropriate action toward the establishment of national shoreline recreational areas," following recommendations by the National Park Advisory Board, consultation with the Governor of the State concerned and public hearings in the area.

Objections raised on grounds that the measure places too much power in the hands of the Interior Secretary seem to be based on imperfect understanding.

Congress can be trusted to study each area carefully before the original bill is passed. Public hearings are required. And routine appropriations processes offer Congress an annual review of land acquisition programs in each authorized area.

2. It provides for the establishment of the basic regulations for their administration. Recreation uses which have been traditional in the areas will be continued, such as fishing, hunting, and waterfowling.

3. It provides for assistance to the States (up to one-half the cost, subject to rather stringent regulations and appropriations) in the acquisition of State-managed shoreline areas which are best suited for inclusion in the State park systems.

4. It provides for thorough study of potential areas by the National Park Service, with the cooperation of the appropriate State, to determine if they warrant establishment either under the National or State park systems.

5. It authorizes funds up to $50 million for acquisition of the national areas, $10 million for assistance to the State acquisition programs, and a nominal sum for the necessary study of additional areas. Funds are anticipated to be spent over a series of years.

The scope and purpose of the program has been most dramatically expressed in the slogan coined by Senator DOUGLAS: "S.O.S.—Save Our Shorelines."

The legislative sponsors, the administration, the Izaak Walton League, conservationists, and the public know that to save anything of our heritage for ourselves and the generations to come we must act.

May we all have the courage to act promptly and vigorously.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Address by Hon. Jennings Randolph, of West Virginia, to Membership Dinner of Veterans of Foreign Wars, Post 629, Fairmont, W. Va.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, on behalf of the distinguished senior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. RANDOLPH], I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of an address delivered by him at the membership dinner of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Post No. 629, Fairmont, W. Va., on January 10, 1960. The subject of the address is "The Obligations of Freedom."

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE OBLIGATIONS OF FREEDOM

(Address by Senator JENNINGS RANDOLPH, Democrat, of West Virginia, to the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Post No. 629, Membership Dinner, Fairmont, W. Va., January 10, 1960)

Commander Jack W. Bunner, officers and members of the Fairmont Post of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the topic which you have asked me to discuss is not only one of cold war implications. It is one which bears upon our hearts and minds and embraces the very nature of the meaning of freedom and the duties of free citizens to maintain it. But, as Dr. Karl Menninger said of the virtue of humility which disappears when one lays claim to it, freedom tends to disappear when it is confused with license.

The absolute and unabridged right to do as one pleases and to pursue personal pleasure and profit do not in themselves represent the liberty of men and women in a free society.

Freedom imposes its own obligations upon the citizen. The first of these is to understand the nature of freedom itself, the second to understand the nature of its opponents. Since each veteran here has contributed a portion of your life, and some have given blood in the defense of freedom, I know you have more than an average understanding of the cause of freedom. It has been suggested that I indicate ways in which such patriotic organizations as yours can best contribute to the common defense.

Let me devote a few words to defining the face of the evil with which we are confronted.

DIRECTOR OF FBI EXPLAINS GROWTH

One hundred years ago communism was a theory of history and economics coveted by a handful of men in Europe and England. Some 40 years ago, at the time of the Bolshevik revolution, communism commanded a small but militant force of some 80,000 followers. Today, it claims a total world membership of more than 33 million, with active party units located in 83 nations, according to J. Edgar Hoover, who has acted with courage and zeal in the uncovering of Communist schemes.

In addition, while the Soviet Union holds forth the olive branch of peaceful coexistence, international communism, aided by followers working within, has subjugated 17 countries with a population of over 900 million people or about one-third of those on this planet. While Khrushchev extends the hope of lessening world tensions, his Chinese partners are engaged in shipping contraband arms to North Africa, fomenting disturbances among their neighbors, and threatening the peace of Southeast Asia.

Though the capacity of the individual American citizen to affect the tide of events in these areas is limited, each of us can contribute by keeping ourselves informed on foreign affairs and by supporting the kind of military and economic aid programs which will strengthen our friends abroad.

But I interpose the declaration here that we have a double obligation to provide adequately for our domestic needs if we would keep our country strong.

The challenge on the domestic front, however, is one which can be accepted by each individual in his capacity as a citizen in a free society. And we must all make sure that our voices are heard and that our rights of suffrage are exercised.

As the primary target of worldwide communism, the United States is the chief objective of Soviet espionage. Again, according to FBI Director Hoover, Soviet defectors indicate that between 70 and 80 percent of Russian officials in the United States are members of the Red intelligence services. The importance which the Soviet Union attaches to the value of these agents is vividly pointed up by the sharp increase of Soviet diplomatic personnel in our country. In May 1954, there were 212 Russian officials in the United States; 5 years later, that number had increased to 313—or almost 50 percent.

SOVIET SEEKS TO SECURE SECRETS

Soviet espionage activities in this country expose their disregard for the doctrine of "peaceful coexistence." A 10-year "peace offensive" is but a brief episode within the "permanent revolution", as many of us believe. Just as this revolution continues unceasingly, so do the Communist espionage efforts in the United States. Using blackmail, bribery, and similar techniques, Soviet agents—many with diplomatic immunity—continue in their efforts to obtain our military, scientific and industrial secrets.

Aiding and abetting them is the Communist Party, U.S.A., an integral part of the international Communist conspiracy. It is composed of the disciples—the hard-core militants for the Soviet Union—who sing the praises of Communist Russia despite the dreadful inhumanity to man inflicted in much of the world by the Soviets and their satellites.

These are the people so blinded by their commitment to the false doctrines of communism and so indoctrinated in their hatred of the United States that they still give their allegiance to the Communist Party despite the Soviet brutalities in Hungary, the herding of countless millions of Chinese into the degradation of the communes and the rape of Tibet.

Within the United States there are certain groups which—because of the roles assigned them by the science of Marxism-Leninism—are targets for infiltration and indoctrination by the Communist Party. Five of these groups are of prime importance.

The first group is the working class, through which, according to Marxist ideology, capitalism prepares its own doom. During the 1920's the party's efforts in this field were spearheaded by the Trade Union Educational League. But in 1935, in accordance with a new party line of the united front, boring from within became the order.

And from 1935, when the CIO became the chief target, to 1949, when the Communist-dominated unions were expelled, the party was astonishingly effective in making its inroads. In a factual and carefully written book by Max M. Kampelman, "The Communist Party Versus the CIO," is this passage: "Assuming that of this number (70,000—the largest number of Communist Party members in recent years) one-half belong to the unions, * * * they would have had a maximum numerical strength of twenty-four ten-thousandths of the 15 million labor union members. Yet at the height of this power drive within the CIO, they dominated 12 to 15 of the 40 international CIO unions."

LOYAL LABOR UNIONS OPPOSE COMMUNISM

The final victory of the millions of loyal union members under the inspired and courageous leadership of such men as Philip Murray and Walter Reuther is now the source of much well-won wisdom and strength within organized labor. As a result, the American labor movement today is one of the strongest bastions against communism.

A second permanent target has been the Negro community. According to one of the tenets of Leninism the underprivileged minority group is ripe for revolution. Though time does not allow me to go into detail here, the failure of the Communist efforts among Negroes has been more conspicuous than in any other area. This has been due not only to the militant opposition to communism by the NAACP but also, and more fundamentally, the Communists have attempted to exploit rather than solve the problems of the Negro.

The third target group is the Armed Forces, which Lenin said must be infiltrated, subverted, and made ready for mutiny before a revolutionary situation could develop. Though the party no longer expects to bring about such a situation within the foreseeable future, it does exploit every event in the peace offensive in a concerted effort to influence servicemen, their families and draftage youth. These efforts, and the cries to bring the boys home are designed for both psychological and practical weakening of our defenses.

The fourth target is the youth group—because, under Marxist-Leninst doctrine, to win the youth for communism is to win the future. Here the party attempts to capitalize on youth's uncertainty in today's world, on its lack of knowledge of our country's history and traditions of democratic institutions, and on youthful idealism and the desire to join an appealing cause.

To combat this we must seek to lead our young people to a deeper understanding of democratic values and provide them with the kind of challenges in community and national life which will harness their idealism.

The final permanent target group is that of the intellectuals. The party achieved some notable successes in this field, particularly during the 1920's and 1930's, though even then it was but a small minority of the total number. However, during the late 1940's and 1950's most of these defected from the party—and though some have simply adopted another kind of authoritarianism, many have become effective sources of strength in the anti-Communist effort.

COMMUNISTS FAIL TO FIND VETERANS AID

Since World War II there has emerged another group which has become a prime target of the Communist Party, U.S.A. That is the veterans group. The party has adopted several techniques in this respect, but whether through establishing its own front organizations or by trying to infiltrate such loyal organizations as the VFW and the American Legion its aims have been the same—to influence veterans to support the peace offensive and to press immediate demands for the solution of all the veteran's problems.

These then are the main groups which the Communist Party seeks to infiltrate, divide, and subvert to its own purposes. We know their aims and purposes to be illegal; but often their methods are legal. We thus have the problem of how to combat this conspiracy without sacrificing the legal safeguards and moral principles that underwrite our own freedom.

The answer to our problem is certainly not to turn into a nation of amateur detectives and informers, each suspecting his neighbor at the slightest show of nonconformity in thought and action. Nothing could serve the Communist purpose better than the development of such a divisive national temper.

ALL DEMOCRATIC AND FREE PEOPLES CAN AID

I would suggest five general principles that we might observe in combating the threat of international communism.

First, maintaining our regard for the Anglo-American tradition of law. When the respect for law begins to crumble the people become the victims of the perversion of power. The intemperate attacks on the Supreme Court we have sometimes witnessed do not serve the cause of freedom, whatever one might think of some of the Court's decisions.

Second—and this is the cornerstone of Western civilization—is the traditional respect for the individual. Nowhere in the lexicon of communism is the word "individual" acknowledged as meaningful—always it is the masses, the proletariat, the bourgeoisie, the capitalist, the progressive, or the revisionist—never is it the average sensible man or woman who experiences the fullness of the emotional and spiritual life.

And now to the third principle, which is to maintain the integrity and the spontaneity of the good life of friendship, compassion, and love—the very antithesis of the class hatred which the Communists seek to inculcate.

Fourth, we must seek to extend the principles of civil liberties and economic and social justice to all of our citizens, regardless of race, color, or creed. Only thus can we present to the world at large the true America. And let us not forget that approximately two-thirds of the world's population are composed of people of color—most of whom have only recently been freed from the white man's dominance.

Finally, we must seek to extend these ideals to other nations within the international community and to live with knowledge of the aspirations of others beyond our shores. The true and really "permanent revolution" was that of 1776—a revolution in the spirit of man, and not in the ownership of the means of production. If we but maintain the faith in the Revolution of 1776 we will have the necessary armament to combat the Communist onslaughts, whether psychological, political, economic, or military.

Human Values and Red China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED MARSHALL
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. MARSHALL. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of the House a new book on Communist China which gives special attention to the methods used in the brainwashing technique known as "Hsio-Hsi." Entitled "The Communist Persuasion," it was written by Rev. Eleutherius Winance, O.S.B., now a professor at St. John's University, Collegeville, Minn.

He is a Belgian Benedictine monk who lived and taught in China until his expulsion by the Communists. This is more than a journal of personal experiences, however; the author examines the psychological indoctrination process as it affects both individuals and the Chinese nation.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include an excellent review of the book by William Henry Chamberlin in the Wall Street Journal of November 2, 1959:

HUMAN VALUES AND RED CHINA

(By William Henry Chamberlain)

All sorts of mirrors have been held up to Red China, in press accounts and in a sudden stream of books. Those range from the reports of lavishly entertained visitors to the grim stories of former prisoners.

The story of Eleutherius Winance, a Belgian Benedictine monk, falls somewhere between the two extremes. Father Winance was not subjected to outright physical abuse. But, together with other Catholic missionaries, monks and nuns, located in remote Chengtu, in west China, he went through a distinctly unpleasant experience of being spied on, haled before the local authorities, pestered with false accusations and finally expelled from China.

Father Winance notes that, although the guards tried more or less mechanically to whip up public feeling against the expelled missionaries, the general attitude of the people was friendly, some whispering consolation that they would be much better off when they got out of China.

What made the deepest impression on the author, obviously a thoughtful man and so well versed in Chinese that he was able to give lectures in philosophy in a Chinese university, was the intensive psychological indoctrination practiced by the Chinese Communists, frequently referred to as brainwashing. Every occupational group, workers, peasants, government employees, professors, students of all grades, is subjected to this process, known in Chinese as "Hsio-Hsi," which means literally: "To receive learning and put it into practice."

Led by Communist teachers, these groups are given constant drill in the correct party attitude toward every subject under the sun, from "American imperialism" to correct wiving habits. By observing the reactions of participants in these gatherings, it is possible to promote the Communist ideal of having everyone spy on everyone else. To be sure, as Father Winance reports, the Chinese develop a certain defensive skill in masking their real views and saying what will be considered acceptable. Still the mass impact of this organized propaganda, especially on untrained and undeveloped minds, must be fairly formidable; there is something a little terrifying in the idea of over 600 million people (if the Chinese Red census figures are correct) being conditioned to strive, admire and hate, all in unison.

Even mature minds are caught up and carried away by the "Hsio-Hsi."

The author agrees with other foreigners who were in China at the time of the Red takeover that the first months were deceptively mild, with conditions in some ways even improving. The Red troops were well disciplined; the new fairly stable money was a relief after the bottomless pit of inflation into which the Nationalist regime fell during and after World War II.

But this mild period was of short duration. As Father Winance describes further developments: "This calculated mildness was to be altered into a harsh, inexorable, but diabolically subtle procedure that would result in the suppression of independent newspapers, the destruction of the Christian communities, the crushing out of small business, the extermination of the large landholders, the impoverishment of the small landowners, the enslavement of the workers and the expulsion of foreigners."

The author describes in some detail how, through the slogan of the "Three Autonomies," the Red rulers tried to undermine and destroy the communion with the Holy See which is an integral part of the Catholic faith. These "Three Autonomies" were "administrative, economic and apostolic." For a long time both Catholic and Protestant missionary groups have recognized the desirability of removing any stigma of "foreign domination" and seeing native Chinese take positions of leadership in their Christian churches.

But the Communists wanted something much more: To sever the Christian communities completely from foreign contacts and turn them into obedient tools of the totalitarian state. Some Chinese Catholics yielded and participated in uncanonical ordinations of bishops; others suffered death or imprisonment for their faith.

Father Winance does not try to give a broad panorama of Communist rule and its effects for China. His book is mainly a record of what he saw and experienced himself, with special emphasis on the continuous high-speed indoctrination of the population. Recognizing more than once that there is, on the surface, a certain similarity between indoctrination by the Communists and by the Church, he sees in this proof of the adage that "the Devil imitates God."

Forced labor is often prescribed as a punishment for Chinese whose "thinking is wrong" and Father Winance suggests that this systematic disregard for human dignity should be kept in mind "if we are to give a wholesome judgment on the gigantic material progress that strikes the eyes of kindly visitors in China."

Annual Business Forecast by C. B. Stephenson, President of the First National Bank of Oregon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, on January 4, 1960, Mr. C. B. Stephenson, president of the First National Bank of Oregon, presented his annual business forecast to the Portland Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Stephenson is an outstanding leader in our State in banking and finance, and he has had the advantage of observing foreign trade, the common market and other international problems at firsthand overseas. Because the Senate will be considering many grave economic and fiscal problems during the months directly ahead, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Stephenson's annual business forecast, which he presented under the title, "Surging Into the Soaring Sixties," be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the forecast was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SURGING INTO THE SOARING SIXTIES

(Annual business forecast presented by Mr. C. B. Stephenson, president of the First National Bank of Oregon to the Portland Chamber of Commerce, January 4, 1960)

I

These repeat command performances make me think of the lady visitor to a mink farm who was surprised and somewhat confused by the sight of the great number of mink coats on the hoof. She inquired of the owner of the farm who was conducting the tour, "How often do you take their pelts?" The farmer was taken aback but replied after a short pause, "Well, it makes them very nervous if we skin them more than once a year."

What I mean by "command performances" is some set of circumstances that seems to combine each year in driving me into a corner from which I can't escape. This year Russ McNeill, who takes over the chairmanship of the chamber forum, is one of those circumstances. If I had declined to make this speech this year, he would have yelled to high heaven that I had let him down.

Before talking to you about 1960, a brief backward look at 1959 seems appropriate: 1959 was indeed a good year for Oregon and the Nation as a whole. Some of the statistical estimates I made last year proved low. The year contained some very significant highlights, all of which bear a relation to the business outlook. I will enumerate them without indicating any order of importance.

From the standpoint of news, I suppose the visit if Nikita Khrushchev was the number one story. Will the impact of his visit affect congressional thinking? Will we go soft on our defense program with consequent cut-backs in defense orders?

President Eisenhower's visit to 11 countries in three continents also looms large in importance. What effect will it have, pro or con, on our foreign aid program?

The race to conquer outer space accelerated in 1959 and will continue in 1960. It has to be given a high rating in the list of important events of 1959. Some say, "Suppose the Russians have hit the moon—what of it?" I am told by those who deal with such matters that one day satellites will be developed to carry observers and equipment to permit detailed observation of the earth from 100 miles up. We have to be up there peeking at the other guy if he is going to be up there peeking at us.

On a more earthy basis, the steel strike and the tight money situation have a more immediate relationship to the business outlook for 1960.

To review a little further, most everyone recognizes that we had a good business year in Oregon in 1959. Almost every index showed gains in 1959 over 1958. This is true of bank debits, which showed a 17-percent increase; and is also true in the decline in business failures and in the increase in retail trade, employment, lumber production, and farm income, and in many other areas that are used to measure the economic scene. Some things moved up that can't be classified as gains—namely, the increase in the number of bankruptcies and total consumer debt.

The same general pattern prevailed in the country as a whole. I'll not bore you with statistics except to say that when the figures are in, the gross national product may hit a high of $480 billion at 1959 prices, which is considerably higher than the estimate I made when I spoke to you a year ago.

II

Usually by this time of year my mail is flooded with forecasts for the year ahead. That is not true this year. Those forecasts that have been published predict that 1960 will be a prosperous year, and I agree with that. With the caution typical of economists and forecasters in particular, there is a sizable minority of the breed who think that the second half of 1960 may not be as good as the first half. This is known in some quarters as second half-itis. Predictions, however, are based on the assumption that the steelworkers will continue at work. Also that the impetus that the continued production of steel will give to the economy will provide a springboard for the economy at least to equal 1959 and likely to exceed it.

There are two possible soft spots—prices for farm goods, and housing. Total housing starts in 1960 likely will be somewhat lower than in 1959, principally because of the money shortage. One aspect of the housing business that cannot be measured statistically in number of starts is that new houses are bigger than they used to be and require more plywood, which will take up some of the lumber slack.

It is my opinion that the steel strike will be settled on some basis. If it is not settled by negotiation or a vote of the men to accept management's offer, settlement will come about through some type of intervention at the Federal level, either executive or legislative. Some say that the economy can withstand a prolonged steel strike; but I question that. I think the defense needs of the country will be a controlling factor in the attitude of government if other measures fail.

So it could be that we will surge into the "soaring sixties". All of these happenings and predictions, however, are posed against a background of some underlying problems that continue to plague us. The steel strike took a heavy toll in Government tax receipts and shot full of holes the Government's plans for a balanced budget. These recurrent deficits tend to make us punch drunk and apathetic to the significance of sound fiscal and monetary policy; but I must remind you that the real reason for a balanced budget, in simple terms, is the "American way of life".

Your future freedom and mine are at stake. To quote Senator Byrd, one of the sound money stalwarts of the Senate, "With fiscal soundness I would have no fear for the future economically or militarily. I would anticipate the period ahead with enthusiasm for my children, and with pride for the contribution of my own generation. Without solvency and sound money, there will be neither solid economic progress nor national security."

Much attention is being given to the problem by both public and private groups. Like the alchemist's dream of finding a formula which would turn base metal into gold, is the search now being conducted by the Joint Economic Committee for a method that will insure an adequate rate of economic growth, maximum employment, and substantial stability of the price level. It would be a neat trick if it could be done.

America cannot be governed into perpetual prosperity. Our system is not like that of the Russians—God forbid. But when you get into the field of monetary and fiscal policy we find too many Congressmen who either are looking out the window or at the ballot box. Money, credit, and interest rates in particular are a fertile field for demagoguery. Some politicians have a solution of sorts based on the discovery that governments can spend not only what they take in but what they do not take in. Since the latter is limitless, their spending can approach infinity. This gimmick is known as deficit spending, and in the economic books it is also called inflation.

III

Why is money so tight? The answer is simple. It is nothing more than the operation of the law of supply and demand. There are too many dollars chasing too few goods. To expand the money supply would accentuate the problem.

But will we accept the disciplines necessary to stop the inflationary spiral and maintain the integrity of the dollar? Are we ready to face up to the fact that government has to stop living on credit cards and must pay its way?

An example of how unrealistic we are is the reaction of a Swedish banker in Stockholm, with whom I talked last May, who expressed amazement that we should have a statute on our books that limited the rate of interest that the Federal Government could pay on its long-term securities. He asked, "How can you operate your country with such a straitjacket?" When forced into the short-term market, the Federal Treasury is hamstrung in attempting to manage our huge Federal debt. It is a penny wise and pound foolish philosophy for Congress to take the position that it has.

It is hard to get people to recognize the importance of a sound dollar. Someone said: "Economics is like being lost in the woods—how do you know where you are going if you don't even know where you are?" We are people who live by headlines and catchwords, and we do not pause long enough to observe what we are doing or where we are going. But with world conditions as they are, we had better take stock.

France and Germany had to learn things the hard way. German currency became valueless. The French franc that the American soldier used to buy in vin rouge in 1917 is worth two tenths of a cent in contrast to its value then of 19 cents.

Much of this may be just old stuff to you, but there is a crying need for an understanding and acceptance of the economic facts of life. There is a time when silence is not golden—just yellow. We need to find a way to fit socially, politically, and economically into the very small world in which we now live.

The emergence of the Common Market in Europe and the development of a comparable group of countries which have called themselves the "Outer Seven" Free Trade Area have meaning for us. I referred to this matter last year and results are beginning to show. For the first time in history the United States had an adverse balance of trade in the month of August 1959. The "balance of payments"—which is an inclusive term and covers foreign aid, tourist expenses and the like—is further against us. That, of course, could be adjusted somewhat through curtailment of our foreign aid program. Should not the NATO countries bear a greater share than they do now? But our trade, involving the export and import of goods, has far greater significance to us than the 10 percent of our total production of manufactured goods and farm products which our exports represent.

We have all heard the expression "pricing ourselves out of markets". We all know of products that can be manufactured in Europe and sold in this country at much lower prices than we can produce them. A close-at-hand example has to do with one of the food packers in this area who has discovered that he can buy box shook in Finland, have it shipped by water to Portland, thence by rail to his packing plant, and have it cost him less than a similar item available at a near-by sawmill. He also can buy nails in England and have them delivered to his plant here at a price cheaper than he can buy them in this country.

IV

It must be said that if the item of automobiles was deleted from the import figures, our balance of trade would not look so bad. On the other hand, the American people seem to have gone for the low-priced European car; and it is too early to say whether or not they will substitute the so-called low-priced American equivalent.

But if we import more than we export, the balance is made up in gold; and there have been some rather heavy withdrawals of gold during 1959. They are not alarming, but if the trend continues, the dollar will naturally depreciate in value and our problems will intensify.

Dr. Roy Reierson, economist and vice president of the Bankers Trust Co., emphasized this point very forcibly some weeks ago when he stated,

"Perhaps the most painful adjustment required of us today is to recognize that we are no longer free, as we were for so long in the postwar period, to make our own rules and shape our domestic policies independently of economic developments abroad and independently of the effects of our actions upon our foreign creditors. Now that other countries have regained their economic and financial strength, we are once again only one among a group of nations, each subject to the discipline of the balance of payments, and each required sooner or later to correct any maladjustments and imbalances that have been permitted to develop in the economy. The question is whether we shall conform to these requirements which are basic not merely to our own economic progress but are also essential in living up to our responsibilities to the economy of the free world as a whole."

I have belabored you this half hour with a discussion of some problems which I hope will be thought-provoking. I have been around too long to deal in platitudes and "sweetness and light" philosophies.

These are sobering times and it is no time for boom and bust with the Russian threat overhanging us.

Again, 1960 should be a good year. In 1956 the title of my speech was "Can Business Hold the Pace?" We can hold the pace if we orient our thinking to give proper regard and perspective to the manifold complexities of our times.

Soviet Sub Strength Grows

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I enclose therewith an article by Steve Tillman, the able associate editor of the Army-Navy-Air Force Regitser, Washington, describing his interview with Adm. Jerauld Wright on Soviet Sub Strength Grows. Admiral Wright, commander in chief, Atlantic and U.S. Atlantic, and Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic, is the authority on the subject of the interview; his words should be read carefully by the American public.

The article follows:

SOVIET SUB STRENGTH GROWS, SAYS WRIGHT

(By Steve Tillman)

Soviet ballistic-missile submarines will be a threat to the Western World, possibly within a year, warned Adm. Jerauld Wright, NATO's Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic, in an interview with the Register, noting that there is conclusive evidence of a Russian missile "sub" building program of such proportions that the threat may be significant in 1960.

In a 10-year growth the Soviet Navy has risen from comparative unimportance to a position second only at this time, to that of the United States in immediately available offensive and defensive power. Reliable sources report that Russia has the largest force of "subs" in her history—more than 450 being in commission. Approximately 300 of these are of modern convention construction. All are fully manned.

Throughout history we have realized that control of the seas is a necessity of life. Then, what is our defense, and how good really is it, we asked Admiral Wright, in this question: "Assume that behind the so-called Iron Curtain a thumb is poised ready to launch the weapons that will devastate the world—what deters the thumb?"

The admiral answered with the explanation that NATO has three distinct but inseparable military tasks to be done. One is the defense of Europe, a second is the defense of North America, and the third is the defense of the Atlantic. If one of these fail, they will all fail.

There are two coequal supreme allied commanders in the NATO military organization. The Supreme Allied Commander Europe is Air Force Gen. Lauris Norstad, in Paris, and the Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic is Admiral Wright with headquarters at Norfolk, Va. Norstad is charged with all NATO military operations on the European Continent while Wright with all NATO sea operations in the Atlantic.

SACLANT (Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic) is composed of army, navy, air force, and marine officers of the eight NATO nations, and this organization is what Admiral Wright discussed in this interview.

"European nations are dependent upon the heavy tonnage of seaborne traffic. Deny European countries access to the sea and they would not long survive. Deny America the use of the seas and she would be divested of her allies, and deprived of raw materials so vital to her war production.

"Finally, the loss of the seas would result in the loss of any initial advantage from our atomic capabilities because we would then be unable to follow up with the deployment of essential support to Europe.

"Contrast this with the picture presented by the Communist bloc. Here is a vast land mass with relatively little reliance on the seas and, in fact, relatively short sea coasts in the Temperate Zone.

"Even though the Soviets are not forced to rely upon the seas they are vulnerable to attack by naval forces. Within NATO these attacks could be launched from the Norwegian Sea area and the Mediterranean.

"The Soviets have the advantage of being able to operate from one vast base, within which their industrial complex can be geared closely to their military machine without any substantial reliance on outside help.

"The doctrine of communism allows no margin for gambling nor does it include reckless haste in meeting their objectives. The Communists have patience, years of it, in the achievements of their aims. It is not likely, therefore, that the Soviets will precipitate any armed conflict directly involving their military forces with those of NATO so long as their leaders are convinced that they will be opposed in force and that NATO is capable of defeating them.

"The ability to convince the Soviet leaders on these two counts is NATO's best assurance of maintaining peace. That ability is what we call the deterrent. The NATO Alliance is the greatest deterrent to aggression in the world today, and it must be kept as such."

Here the admiral interrupted his conversation to observe that he had been asked, "What deters the thumb?" First, he pointed out in reply, the various early warning systems are constantly alert. In tests and training operations these systems have demonstrated that they can help us to destroy the knockout punch before it reaches its target. Secondly, and probably the most important, there is power of retaliation possessed by NATO's air, ground, and sea forces. Combining these two factors, it is reasonable to believe that the "button" will not be pushed so long as the aggressor knows it will mean self-destruction.

We asked Admiral Wright what were the major tasks facing SACLANT in the Atlantic?

"First, working in close coordination with our SAC and aircraft assigned to the defense of Europe, fast carrier task forces would seek to destroy the sources of enemy naval power. In this objective the carrier fleets have the great advantage of mobility and are, therefore, free from pinpointed guided missile attacks and free to launch their attacks from any point at sea. With the present range and capabilities of naval aircraft, no point on the European continent is beyond the range of attacks launched from the sea.

"The second task requires domination of the seaways around northern Norway and down through the Iceland-Faeroes Gap, for it is through these waters that the enemy naval forces from the north must pass. By an effective antisubmarine campaign in these confined waters NATO can blunt the Soviet wedge and ease its third task—the protection of the Atlantic shipping lanes.

"By the use of antisubmarine aircraft, ocean escorts, and antisubmarine carrier

groups, a protective screen would be thrown around the trans-Atlantic convoys.

"The fourth task demands protection of the coasts of North America and Europe against attacks launched from guided missile subs. This would be accomplished by dependence on air surveillance from Iceland, northern Ireland, and the Azores for protection of the European coasts, and from Newfoundland, and additional bases on eastern seaboard for protection of the North American coast. These maritime air patrols working in close liaison with specialized antisubmarine ships are the principal close-in defense against the guided missile submarine.

"The last primary sea task is in support of the defense of Europe. This is done indirectly by the defense of trans-Atlantic lanes of supply and reinforcement, and directly by carrier based air support of the armies in Western Europe and the Mediterranean."

A missile-firing submarine force of the U.S. Navy is coming into being, that will carry a built-in guarantee that we will have a nuclear deterrent ready when needed. Polaris subs when ready, will make it unnecessary for the United States to engage in a missiles arms race with any other country. The first Polaris sub is expected to be ready about 1 year hence. More are in the building. The missiles they will carry have a range of 1,200 miles.

In conclusion, Admiral Wright said that the broad expanse of the North Atlantic must be regarded as the focal area upon which the success of the alliance rests.

Admiral Wright, who retires in March, has been SACLANT since nominated by the President in 1954. He will be succeeded by Adm. Robert L. Dennison.

Wright has served as commander in chief, U.S. Naval Forces, Eastern Atlantic and Mediterranean and as U.S. representative to the Standing Group of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Washington where he worked with service representatives of NATO nations in the formulation of the plans and policies of NATO military organization and operations. He participated in NATO conferences at Washington, London, Paris, Bonn, Brussels, Ottawa, Lisbon, and Rome to effect the development of NATO military plans—plans which as SACLANT he had a great part in carrying out.

Address by Hon. Harry Flood Byrd, of Virginia, Before the American Farm Bureau Federation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a speech I made before a meeting of the American Farm Bureau Federation in Chicago on December 15, 1959.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I am honored to be among those on the program of this 1959 meeting of the American Farm Bureau Federation. It is always a pleasure for me to participate in Farm Bureau meetings.

I take pride in being a conservative. Sometimes I am called old fashioned; but this is not the worst thing I have been called over a period of 50 years in public life. Let me tell you some of the things I believe.

I believe sound progress should be a primary purpose in every man's life. Sound progress is a source of strength. But progress is not sound unless it is based on sound financing; this is another application of the theory of checks and balances which has been so useful in our form of government.

Our form of government is the greatest and most productive the world has ever known. The fundamentals on which it was founded must be preserved. I have always fought wherever they were being attacked. They guarantee our freedoms and nourish our free enterprise system under which it is possible for every American to start at the bottom and work to the top.

I believe it is the individual initiative and national strength developed under our system that have brought this Nation to world leadership in relatively few generations. Historically, lives of nations are measured in hundreds—even thousands—of years. I want ours to be the longest and best.

I believe of our form of government, our system and our freedoms can and would be destroyed by continuing centralization of government. Excessive centralization of government will inevitably lead to excessive Federal regulation, competition and taxation. In short, it will lead to State socialism.

I believe our people want our system perpetuated and strengthened. Basically the requirements are simply honesty and individual initiative, independent attitude and hard work, constructive production and free competition, and progressive development with sound financing. How well are we measuring up?

This Nation is showing signs of weakness when it should be strongest. Our form of government is being challenged from abroad and undermined at home. I pray none of us will live to see the fall of our great free enterprise system; but our freedoms are already being weakened.

We are in serious need of character and fortitude to restore, develop and defend the sources of national strength which raised this country to world leadership. I urge your attention to these conditions today because we are in an historic turning point in world history.

We are entering a new era of atomic energy, rocketry, space, etc. Our population is increasing. Our resources are great. Our productive know-how and capacity are yet unsurpassed. Representative democracy with free enterprise should thrive soundly on these elements for the good of all mankind.

I firmly believe that with responsible citizenship, good government, and fiscal soundness there could be no fear for the future. Wihout these there can be neither solid progress nor security with military preparedness. These are simple requirements. But we are showing weakness at many points.

Our strength has been sapped by paternalism in Federal bureaucracy grown too big, usurpation of power by the Federal Supreme Court grown too mighty, and force of labor leaders grown too arrogant. These have undermined our system, changed our attitudes, and hobbled our will for freedom.

We are faced today with more deficits, more debt, growing inflation, sinking foreign trade balance, dwindling gold reserves, Russian gains in the continuing race in scientific, military and economic fields. These are serious weaknesses. They are dangerous conditions which must be reversed.

Federal deficit financing has been the rule for more than a quarter of a century. But the fiscal situation in the United States Government deteriorated faster in fiscal years 1958–59 than in any comparable peacetime period during my 26 years in the Senate.

In the short span of 6 months we moved from estimates of virtually balanced budgets to combined deficits of $15.4 billion. In the same period we were forced to raise the statutory limit on the Federal debt twice. In fact, it has now been raised the third time in 2 years.

During the past fiscal year Federal debt passed the World War II peak, and Federal spending and deficit financing reached levels exceeded only in years of all-out global war emergency. There will be more debt and deficit this fiscal year. Budget Director Maurice Stans sees rising expenditures in the future.

Today, December 15, 1959, the Federal debt is at its all-time peak in the history of this Republic. The debt is now $292½ billion and it is expected to be a billion dollars higher this time next month. There are no plans to begin paying off this astronomical debt.

As of this date, I foresee another deficit this fiscal year of $1 to 2 billion. A $95 million surplus is the official estimate. But the spending estimate is too low and the revenue estimate is too high. Spending up to $80 billion and revenue not exceeding $78 billion would not be surprising.

Deficit financing is a heavy factor in continuing inflation. Purchasing power of the dollar has dropped an average of a tenth of a cent a month for the past 7 months. It is down to 47.3 cents on the 1939 index. Think of this in terms of insurance you bought 20 years ago for protection of your family. And all indications point to continued cheapening of our currency.

Interest on the Federal debt this year will cost $9.1 billion. This figure should stick in the mind of every taxpaying citizen of this Nation, especially farmers. The Department of Agriculture is now estimating the combined net income of all farm operators in the United States this year at $9.6 billion.

Not only does interest on the Federal debt nearly equal net income of farm operators, but it approximates total annual Federal, State and local highway expenditures, and it is equivalent to far more than half of all State and local expenditures for public school education.

Interest on the Federal debt is averaging about 3 percent. New issues of recent months are costing nearly 5 percent. Should the whole debt of nearly $300 billion ever be refinanced at the new rates the interest cost would be upward of $15 billion, compared with $9.1 billion now—an increase of $5 to $6 billion, or more than 50 percent.

The terrible burden of this terrific debt is the result of 24 deficits in the past 29 years. Half of these deficits were incurred during years when we were fighting neither war nor depression. There have been four deficits totaling $23 billion since the Korean war was stopped. And the end is not in sight.

There was reason to expect runaway new Federal spending authorizations during the past year. This is where the Farm Bureau Federation stepped in so effectively to help sustain the President in his efforts to reduce spending by vetoes. Only one veto was overridden. I urged the Presidential vetoes; more will be needed in the coming year.

The total cost of Federal Government in the United States has gone up nearly $16 billion since the Korean war. This is a tremendous increase. It is 23 percent; it amounts to nearly $100 per capita; more than a billion and a quarter dollars a month; more than $43 million a day.

It may surprise you to know that the great increases in this period were not for

military and foreign aid. They were in domestic-civilian programs and these too frequently involve multiyear or permanent commitments for heavy spending in the future. Increases in these programs are continuing.

But in the past 6 years domestic-civilian program spending increased nearly 83 percent to $34.9 billion; housing, highways, and commerce from less than $1 billion to nearly $7 billion; agriculture from $2.6 billion to more than $6 billion; labor and public welfare nearly doubled to $4.4 billion.

Much of this domestic-civilian spending is for subsidies through all kinds of Federal loans, grants, and payments. These not only increase Federal spending; they contribute to inflation. Inflation is destructive of fixed incomes, provident investment, prudent business, sound financing, national security, and free enterprise.

Nearly 40 million people will receive payments from the Federal Treasury this year totaling some $40 billion, including social security. With their families these 40 million people could easily reach a number equivalent to half our population. In this connection, there are now 90 Federal programs for subsidy payments to States, localities, individuals, etc., totaling more than $9.5 billion a year.

In addition to increasing direct expenditures and debt, the Federal Government has underwritten nearly $275 billion in contingent liabilities in the form of insured and guaranteed loans, insurance in force, etc. This is an increase of $70 billion in contingent liabilities assumed since the Korean war.

The Federal Government is now subsidizing business, industry, private finance, agriculture, transportation, power, housing, health, education, States, localities, and individuals, etc. And when they take their subsidies they give up independence and freedom. They submit to bureaucratic control.

And where does this money come from? Taxes are the Government's only source of revenue. To borrow the money simply takes more taxes. And wherever there is debt—public or private—cold terms of mortgage are grim reality. How can we disregard this?

Subsidies and inflation feed on each other, and both of them feed paternalism. Paternalism centralizes power in Washington bureaucracy. By the process of cheapening our money and centralizing power we have descended to a level of state socialism which is obvious if not admitted.

Social democracy undermines sound government and stifles constructive enterprise. Its evils have been proved wherever nations have stooped to it. We know these things, but responsible citizenship in this country today seems insufficient to hold back the growing demand for more.

Irresponsible attitudes with respect to Federal spending are bad enough, but they are epidemic. They have spread to State and local governments. They have permeated the whole economy and society. They are evident in both public and private pursuit. Take our great highway programs for example.

Perhaps more than any other group, farmers have reason to be interested in good roads and highways. Few people have worked longer and harder for them than I have. In Virginia we are proud of our 52,000 miles of State highway systems—all developed on a pay-as-you-go basis.

I think there should be an interstate highway system. I appreciate traffic problems in urban areas. But like you, I know the basic requirements for farm-to-market roads, and I think all who benefit from them—at both ends—should think twice before they do anything to impede their continuing development.

I am certain essential requirements of both the regular Federal-aid primary and secondary roads, generally referred to as the ABC system, and the Interstate System can be met in an orderly way on a pay-as-you-go basis without excessive taxes. This was the purpose of the so-called Byrd amendment in the Federal Highway Act of 1956.

Under that act Federal gas taxes and revenue from other highway sources were segregated into a trust fund for use in construction on both the regular Federal-aid roads and the Interstate System. The Byrd amendment put the whole Federal program on a firm basis by writing the pay-as-you-go policy into the law.

As you know, the time-proved ABC system roads are constructed with funds matched equally, on a 50–50 basis, by the State and Federal Governments, and the States retain dominant control. But it is generally understood that interstate roads are built with 90 percent Federal money and 10 percent State funds.

Under such a Federal formula it is easy to see how interstate projects may be very enticing. But like so many other Federal programs, this one, too, needs further examination. And if it is not watched closely and controlled carefully, it can result in more harm than good in highway development.

Take a look at the experience to date. We superimposed this Interstate System over our well-tested ABC system, and the weaknesses and temptations came quickly to light. The estimated cost of the system has gone up 73 percent since its inception, and on present schedule the program still has 15 years to go.

At best these are extremely expensive roads. It is not difficult to find interstate projects where 10 percent of the cost exceeds 50 percent of the cost of equally important ABC projects. And once interstate roads are built the States forever assume 100 percent of their high-cost maintenance.

Furthermore, the interstate highways are almost invariably limited access roads. In many areas the States must construct paralleling roads to get traffic on them, off of them, and on the other side of them. This places another heavy burden on State highway funds.

In short, it is easy to see how 90–10 Federal highway money may tempt States to divert their funds from ABC roads of higher priority to interstate projects. And once Interstate System roads are built they eat up State funds in expensive maintenance and construction duplication.

With its high ratio of expenditures on interstate roads, the Federal Government is now spending twice as much as the States on highway construction—$3 billion to $1.5 billion. In this situation, as you can imagine, the Federal Government has begun dominating the programs.

Excited by the temporary recession in 1958, Congress abandoned the Federal pay-as-you-go provision by repealing the Byrd amendment and went on a spending spree. Our great highway programs were thrown into an inexcusable mess. State programs were seriously disrupted and threatened with chaos. The trust fund was broke. The integrity of the Federal Government was impaired when the cost of contracts awarded exceeded funds available.

We were forced to raise Federal gas taxes. But we managed to make the increase temporary and reinstate the Byrd pay-as-you-go amendment. But I can tell you there is need for vigilance if we are to avoid making the gas tax increase permanent and raiding general fund revenue for the Federal Interstate Highways.

You know the importance of both systems. Your position for sound financing is traditional. Farm bureaus all over the Nation have intimate knowledge of highway requirements. The federation can be of great constructive service in keeping these programs in proper balance and within our ability to pay for them.

Raising Federal gas taxes is an example of how, in the process of centralizing power, the Federal Government usurps State and local revenue sources at the same time it encourages greater expenditures at all levels. Like the Federal Government, States, and localities are now finding it difficult to pay their bills.

Both are trying to push more of their costs on the Federal Government—States sacrificing their sovereignty and localities their autonomy. Taxpayers, pinched by levies at all levels, look for tax loopholes and avoidance at the expense of their self-respect.

We have increased total debt in the United States nearly $200 billion in 5 years. Most of this increase is private. The American people now have nearly a trillion dollars in debt on their backs; more than $350 billion in public debt, and more than $550 billion in private debt.

When individuals become insolvent they take bankruptcy and dispose of their obligations. When governments become insolvent their money becomes worthless and they go through a revolution wringer. The nature of the revolutions may vary, but change in the form of government in inevitable.

I do not imply that this Nation or the Government is insolvent. But make no mistakes. Profligate spending has strained our fiscal position. And in this condition we are vulnerable to insidious attacks on the fundamentals of our form of government.

Ours is a government originating in the sovereignty of the States. Under our Constitution the States gave certain powers to the Federal Government and kept the rest. And constitutionally the Federal Government is in the form of three separate branches—they are coordinate, but each is independent of the other.

The checks and balances in this system are obvious. Their purpose is to protect the fundamentals on which our form of government and our enterprise system are based and the freedoms they require. And we had better start defending against those who would destroy the things which have made this Nation great.

In our present condition and state of mind, the Warren Supreme Court has usurped legislative powers and executive authority, struck at State sovereignty, deprived citizens of traditional freedoms, and set free those convicted of Communist subversion.

By destructive decree and naked force the Warren Court has violated our fundamentals, undermined our institutions, and invaded our privacy. Its decisions are called "law of the land." Our Constitution empowers only Congress to make Federal law; and there is reason for this. Members of Congress are elected by the people and are answerable to them.

Without the great strength developed in this Nation in earlier days, it would be difficult to survive this latter-day Federal bureaucracy and judiciary. Federal usurpation, combined with abuses by irresponsible labor leaders, curtail sound progress, and insidiously sap national strength.

I am glad to learn Senator JOHN MCCLELLAN will be among the speakers at this meeting. No one has done more to reveal corruption at high union levels and misuse of power by arrogant labor leaders. This takes courage, and JOHN MCCLELLAN has got it. He has contributed great service to his country.

Senator MCCLELLAN has a fine legal background. He has keen insight. He has studied labor legislation. His advice to you on this subject will be the best. And if the

steel strike is not settled when the injunction expires next month, demand for more legislation is certain to come soon.

When he speaks tomorrow I hope he will tell you how Harry Bridges, the Communist Longshoreman's boss, and Jimmy Hoffa, the Teamsters' boss, planned a worldwide boycott. That plan demonstrates the power and danger in present labor leadership. He told me 232 witnesses "took the fifth amendment" in hearings before his labor rackets subcommittee.

You heard and saw those witnesses before the committee. Did you imagine so many thugs, gangsters, and racketeers were out of jail? "Taking the fifth," their silence was indisputable evidence of weakness in our national fiber. We all know they should be restrained from the practices to which they were witness.

You have shown your knowledge of this weakness. I supported all labor legislation the federation recommended in the past session. I am the only member now in the Senate who voted against the Wagner Labor Act in 1939. This Act gave special privileges to labor unions. I voted for the Taft-Hartley Act and against the Truman veto. I supported the strong labor bill last session. I would vote for a stronger bill now.

I have always conceded to the good citizens in the rank and file of labor unions the privilege of organizing. I was among the first to concede to legitimate labor unions the privilege of collective bargaining when they are bona fide representatives of their membership.

But when irresponsible labor leaders have the power virtually to shut down the country, our national security is imperiled; when they have the power to stop production and wages, our economy is impaired; when they have the power to force wage increases unjustified by increased production, they create inflation.

We hear a lot about issues in strikes today. Usually there are only two. One is an inflationary wage increase unjustified by increased production. The other is more authority to tell management how to run the business. More power for the labor leaders usually is the big objective, with little regard for others.

I am sure you have noted the dangerous competition among today's labor leaders. When one gains in a strike, the others think they must do better. If McDonald wins in steel, Reuther will think he must strike the automobile industry for more, and so on it will continue.

Not only can irresponsible labor leaders choke off vital production in critical periods; they can ruthlessly control the livelihood of millions of people. The costly steel strike ran 116 days before it was stopped by court order. Who can measure the price to be paid either by steel worker families or the Nation?

That strike alone stopped production for nuearly 4 months by a half-million workers employed in steel plants. Work stopped for thousands more in dependent industries. At the same time lesser strikes stopped work for tens of thousands more in the butcher, mine, mill, smelter, glass, shipyard and other industries.

More than 60 million man-days of labor have been lost this year as a direct result of strikes. Strikes almost invariably increase production costs. We feel some of the undue production costs directly, but much of the damage is hidden. For instance, our products must compete in foreign trade markets.

This is a matter of great importance at this time. The comparative level of our imports affects our balance of payments with other countries. We are in balance-of-payments difficulty now. Serious imbalance siphons out our gold. This, among other things, involves the value of our money.

The level of imports is not the only factor in the problem; others include dollars spent out of the country by our far-flung military operations; we are still dumping billions abroad in foreign aid programs, etc. But it would help the situation if our prices were more competitive.

The Secretary of the U.S. Treasury appeared before the International Monetary Fund asking that certain nations stop discriminatory trade practices against us. I know this action would not have been taken unnecessarily.

In 10 years we have purchased abroad, invested abroad, and given away abroad 17 billion in gold and liquid dollars more than we have earned from foreign nations through exports of goods and services. This deficit in the current year is running at the rate of $4 billion. Last year it was $3.4 billion.

Such deficits cannot continue indefinitely. Foreign countries are now holding more than 17 billion in liquid dollars. More than half of this is in official accounts, and the governments holding these dollars can call upon us to convert them into gold if they wish. They will do this if the dollar is not kept strong.

There is need to protect our gold reserves. In this situation you can see there are reasons for balanced budgets and reduction in debt that do not readily meet the eye. Keeping our currency sound, and protecting its purchasing power at home, is a major factor in preserving free world confidence in the U.S. dollar.

The Secretary of the Treasury needs backing at home. He needs the cooperation of the Government, labor unions, and business—by all of us, including farmers. Failure to adjust our balance of payments will be a continuing threat to our gold reserves.

The Government should balance its budget, reduce its debt and stop inflation. It can start by reducing foreign aid expenditures. Over the last 14 years we have dumped $75 billion of foreign assistance into 85 countries. And many of these have become our serious competitors in world markets.

Labor leaders have great responsibility for rising prices and inflation. Industry has its responsibilities in this matter, too. The fact is that many of our products have been priced out of foreign trade.

Agricultural products have been about 22 percent of our total merchandise exports during the past 10 years. Actually, this is a somewhat smaller percentage than it was before World War II; and about one-third of the farm exports are now being sold for "soft" currencies abroad under Public Law 480 programs and section 402 of the Mutual Security Act.

Most of our payments abroad are in dollars, many of which accumulate in foreign reserves. But farm exports sold for soft local currencies, bartered or given away do not earn for the United States either gold or dollars. This type of export is of little help in efforts to correct our balance of payments deficit. We know the Public Law 480 program has been exploited for use not intended. Perhaps it could be constructively reviewed.

I know the Farm Bureau Federation wants to make our agricultural products more competitive in world markets, and less dependent upon Government at home. I hope you will redouble your efforts to bring about that highly desirable condition. You can count on my enthusiastic support.

Our tolerance of increasing Federal paternalism and spending, increasing usurpation of power by the Supreme Court, and increasing arrogance by labor leaders is a clear sign of national weakness developing among us. These are three menacing subversions of our system which must be brought under control.

Our complacency about such fundamental matters is amazing. In contrast, last year when a recession cloud appeared on the horizon, Congress was deluged with spending demands that made the Nation appear hysterical—approaching panic. Our idol seems to be a fast buck; not a golden calf.

In my opinion too much Federal control and spending are at the base of most of our trouble. Easy money through Federal paternalism, and an economy continually doped up with inflation will never produce national strength. They are destructive of charatcer and initiative.

We shall be moving for national strength when we demand—and get—elimination of paternalistic programs and deficit financing, reduction in debt, halt in inflation, and sypmathetic allegiance to fundamentals throughout the Nation, including the Federal Government and the judiciary.

We shall be moving for strength of character and constructive initiative when we stop requesting nonessential new programs and expenditures; when we revitalize our State and local governments; and when we assert the fundamental freedoms and independence which are our heritage.

When these things are done we shall merit our position of leadership in the free world. Unless and until they are done we shall be working for the Communist objective publicly declared in Moscow last May Day when the Russians said their primary purpose is to outgain capitalism in minimum time.

We have to admit they are achieving impressive gains in many fields. Their gains have made our weaknesses clearer and more ominous. We know what our weaknesses are. We know where they are. We know in our conscience what should be done. We know in our minds what must be done.

The American Farm Bureau Federation has taken the lead before in proving the judgment of our people is basically sound and can be made to prevail. I urge you to renew your efforts now for the good of our country at the grassroots and in high places.

Among other things which must be done, I think the American Farm Bureau Federation can render especially effective leadership in:

1. Stopping expenditures in excess of our income by eliminating nonessential spending;

2. Reducing the Federal debt; this would be a great deterrent to inflation for the present and lift some of the burden we are loading on generations of the future.

3. Watching and controlling the Federal highway programs, to keep the interstate system from running wild at the expense of farm-to-market and other important State roads;

4. Conducting a constructive review of the Public Law 480 farm product export program; and

5. Curbing the excesses indulged in by labor leaders, without destroying the right of collective bargaining.

I shall be with you all the way to the fullest extent of my capacity and energy.

Honor for Representative Pillion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, each year during the past decade Buffalo's 10 most outstanding citizens have been chosen by the Buffalo Evening News.

It is my honor and privilege to call to the attention of the House the inclu-

sion of one of its Members among those chosen for the 1959 roll of honor. Cited for outstanding achievement is my esteemed colleague from Erie County, the Honorable JOHN R. PILLION.

In selecting Mr. PILLION, the News said:

An able and effective champion of western New York interests in Washington and a rugged individualist whose outspoken and informed opinions are respected, Mr. PILLION, representing the 42d New York District in the Congress of the United States, has a wide range of interests which, nevertheless, do not divert him from personal service to his constituents and an active concern for the Niagara frontier. He labors without fanfare. His accomplishments are many.

During 1959, Mr. PILLION was one of the few to recognize the potential danger of Russian expansionist efforts in the Antarctic. To bolster his opinions the Congressman visited the Antarctic and endured innumerable hardships in order to weigh the vast, down-below continent's strategic importance.

Information he provided and arguments he advanced prompted administration policy which will preserve U.S. interests in the Antarctic in concert with other nations. The Antarctic will not fall under the domination of any single ideology.

Congressman PILLION can take pride in this accomplishment, among others, and future generations may have reason to be thankful that he had the foresight and the will single-handedly to press his case. His effort and ultimate success on the Antarctica issue alone is worthy of the plaudits of his constituents and the populace of western New York which he serves.

Also named outstanding Buffalo citizens in 1959 were:

Robert B. Abram, 45 Penhurst Place, for outstanding service as a merchant and as a community leader in sparking the rejuvenation and revitalization of the downtown Buffalo area.

Dr. Edgar C. Beck, 33 Gates Circle, for community service as an associate professor of medicine at the University of Buffalo Medical School, for his work in the field of diabetes detection, for his leadership in organizing medical alumni support for the university's basic science departments.

Judge Charles S. Desmond, Eden, for outstanding achievement in his chosen field of law, who was the bipartisan nominee for chief judge of the New York State Court of Appeals, first resident of Erie County to occupy this high court position.

George M. Frauenheim, 697 LeBrun Road, Eggertsville, for community service, as a Roman Catholic layman whose tireless efforts for the Buffalo diocese have brought aid and comfort to thousands of persons of all races and creeds, who in 1959 led both the successful Catholic charities appeal and the successful seminary fund drive.

Dr. James T. Grace, Jr., 19 Kimberly Drive, Williamsville, for outstanding achievement as a noted cancer research surgeon and as assistant director of Roswell Park Memorial Institute for leading a team of researchers in a significant discovery of a virus in certain human cancers.

James P. Kavanaugh, 2415 Seneca Street, for community service as executive secretary of the city planning board, in directing significant civic improvements like rebuilding the Ohio Street Bridge, and coordinating major rail and highway route changes to fit the city's future.

T. Emerson Murphy, 33 Gates Circle, for community service as a leader in work for underprivileged and handicapped children, as president of the Fresh Air Mission summer haven, and executive committee chairman for the Buffalo Evening News-Rotary Club crippled children's camp fund.

Ralph J. Petersen, Strykersville, for outstanding achievement as an industrial executive, and for community service as chairman of the 1959 Community Chest and Red Cross appeal which surpassed its goal—first time since the drives were combined 5 years ago.

Paschal A. Rubino, 25 Woodley Road, for community service as a leader in education, as a dedicated member of the board of education, and for his work with youth, with the boys club, the police athletic league, and with personal sponsorship of several teenage athletic teams.

Farm Prosperity Beckons

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL T. CURTIS
OF NEBRASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of an address entitled "Farm Prosperity Beckons," delivered by Henry E. Kuhlmann, president of the Merrick County (Nebr.) Agricultural & Industrial Corp., before the presidents of Nebraska's county Farm Bureau organizations meeting at Lincoln, Nebr.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FARM PROSPERITY BECKONS

(By Henry E. Khulmann)

We can have a prosperous Nation if we make use of the knowledge chemergic science has given us. Through compilation and correlation of ideas relative to the exigency which exists in managing the farm surplus problem, Farm Bureau of Nebraska established an independent research entity. Thus a new and properous future awaits Nebraska agriculture and the Nation. We have said, now is the time we in agriculture take the lead in doing something for ourselves for our own future.

Many of us have been guilty of saying, "If I just had an oil well behind my barn." You have. You are not using it. The production of chemicals from farm crops is the oldest branch of organic chemistry and occupies an important place in our modern economy. The farm depression following World War I brought forcibly to the attention of farmers, businessmen and scientists, the need to expand the utilization of farm surpluses at home. Much public discussion has occurred on this subject since the Congress of the United States set up four research plants in the 1920's to study utilization of farm products by industry. These four plants have switched from their initial purpose to 85 percent production research and 15 percent utilization research.

Today we could be facing 1929. The pattern is very much the same. Great depressions are not caused from scarcity but from ill or unmanageable surpluses. The last war forced us into a great expansion in the production of industrial alcohol, vegetable oils and industrial starches from domestic farm crops. Chemurgists and scientists have been confronted with the problem of converting these industries to peace economy, with little evident assistance or encouragement from the man on the farm.

There are no tricks or sleight-of-hand in chemistry and science. Progress is made simply by intelligent application of knowledge together with long hours and hard work.

There are three distinct divisions to this industry; first, of course, is production of farm crops or raw materials. A job that is done by each farmer as he operates a little chemical plant of his own.

Second, is the conversion of these crops into a relatively few primary chemicals such as ethyl alcohol, butyl alcohol, acetone, acetic acid, glycerol, lactic acid, industrial starches, dextrium, sugars, cellulosic materials, vegetable oil, and others.

Third, division is one which takes these relatively few primary chemicals and combines or transfers them into a very large number of secondary products including rubber, plastics, textiles, paints, soaps, dyes, medicinals and many others that are so very familiar with our daily lives.

I am firmly convinced that when the farmer is not prosperous neither is labor, industry, or the Nation itself, but we are the ones who must seek methods to make our own prosperity.

Not one of us is untouched by the great agricultural production that has taken place, regardless of restrictions the last few years. It has brought about the most amazing and greatest surplus in a like period of time in all the history of the world. This production has not begun to tap the knowledge of research in respect to such advances as pelleted seed and 20-inch corn rows just to mention a few. In potential production we have only scratched the surface.

I realize it is not popular to talk about surpluses and low income for farmers when the economy is worried about inflation, and I certainly hope we do not let the farm cost-price squeeze become a depressing factor, not only for the farmer, but industry, labor and the entire Nation to force us through another financial wringer such as the early thirties so that the standard of living of all is greatly reduced.

Keep in mind that all depressions are the result of surpluses and never the result of deficit production. Our great surpluses can lead to disaster for all or we can turn them into opportunity.

Under Public Law 480, we have the same program as we used under the name of lend-lease that caused our Nation's financial collapse after World War I. Since we have the ability to overproduce; and no buyers in sight for our surpluses, it seems to me we are left with only two choices.

First, stop production. Second, to make use of the profitable uses for our production at home by industry.

I believe we should produce every bushel of grain we can on every acre, consistent with the preservation of the soil, and that we make use of the profitable utilization methods that scientific research, through chemurgy has found. Continued effort in this field will give us not only better food and clothing, but also many yet unimagined products.

Under the first choice, stop production, we as farmers become wards of our Government. Surely, none of us crave this approach.

Under the second choice, surely farm prosperity beckons.

Now let us turn to our disposal operations for a minute. Under lend-lease, after World War I, foreign countries had to protect their own farmer from our dumping program and charged as much as 60 cents per bushel tariff which was used to keep their government. Now let's turn to our present disposal in India. The cow is sacred so she will be fed first; next will come the older people and, last, the starving babies. These are of least importance because they are the easiest to reproduce. Let's take a look at a few figures. We plan to send $1,300 million through Public Law 480 in grains to foreign lands. For this, we will receive about 20 percent of the cost in other currency and trade besides getting only 20 cents on the dollar, we have the honor of picking up the tab for ocean shipping $37.6 millions.

Also, India is the recipient of $25 million of U.S. fertilizers to increase production. Just to confuse you, if you are not already confused, Firestone Tire & Rubber Co. is teaming with a firm in Bombay to build a plant to extract alcohol from sugar cane, their principal food, to make synthetic rubber. Let's look further. In the Wall Street Journal of November 24, 1959, under the heading, "Ike and India," we read of the great starving of the people and of the rationing of sugar and rice in Bombay state. Yes, it's all very clear. We need to take India's food so we might have tires to produce more so that we can give more away.

Let's head for home.

The facts are known to all. One bushel of grain will yield 2¾ gallons of alcohol which will yield about 6 pounds of butadiene, which will yield about 6 pounds of synthetic rubber which is the amount needed for one passenger car tire. Why not American surpluses? We used American agricultural products to keep the Nation on rubber-tired wheels during World War II.

We have been indoctrinated by the petroleum philosophy that our product cannot compete with them. Let us consider this fact as our nonreplenishable resources are used up the price will go higher. As we begin to use industrially our replenishable resources such as farm products, the price will become cheaper and, through full production, the income to farmers increased.

I believe if the public was fully informed, they would not long stand for the present methods of using our nonreplenishables and paying farmers not to produce. Under prevailing conditions of internal-combustion motor operation, it is impossible to burn completely such hydrocarbons as gasoline. Whatever the extent of combustion, it is usually not in excess of 75 percent of the fuel admitted. This marked inefficiency of combustion of gasoline costs the American public upward of $1 million annually. But more alarming is the poisonous nature of vapors from motor exhaust. A great portion of these vapors are dissipated, but a little here and there finds its way into the lungs of passengers in immediately following automobiles. The result in time is cancer of the lungs. A majority of the hospitals in the country are fully aware that the spread in lung cancer is keeping pace with the increase in use of gasoline in motors.

Though many people preach free enterprise, they scoff at what it calls for. The young people of today look askance upon the plundering of the limited reserve of unreplenishable fuels by private interests whereby only holes in the ground will fall to the younger generation. They are beginning to demand and will soon be voting for the Government to take over coal, petroleum, natural gas, and shale.

Would that someone, and it could be Farm Bureau that takes this lead, to ascertain a line of chemurgic procedure promising unlimited development of renewable resources to supply power and promise to the lifespan of our young people. Nature stands ready with Farm Bureau members, to produce a bounteous supply of all we can utilize in the way of food and fuel.

Let us look at a business proposition. If, out of 10 bushels of corn, 2 bushels are sold to a fermentation alcohol plant, and the distiller's dried grains resulting therefrom, as a byproduct, are returned to the farmer to be mixed with the remaining 8 bushels of corn, the mixed feed so obtained will produce greater gain in livestock than is securable by feeding 10 bushels of corn. Such is an experimental report from Iowa State College.

Now let us look at alcohol as a fuel. A 25 percent blend of farm-produced alcohol blended with gasoline practically eliminates carbon monoxide gases from the exhaust.

Or a 10-percent blend will:

1. Reserve 10 percent of our nonreplenishable resources.
2. It clears the atmosphere of a great portion of foul and poisonous carcinogenic hydrocarbons ordinarily discharged in motor exhaust.
3. It cuts down by 50 percent the content of deadly carbon monoxide in these same exhaust vapors.
4. It prevents deposition of carbon within the cylinders.
5. It prevents deposition of gum-forming substances in fuel lines.
6. It adds appreciably to mileage of car per gallon of fuel.
7. It eliminates knock or ping.

Tests have shown that when gasoline was blended with 17 percent agrol its combustion in a motor operating on 8.5 to 1 compression ratio actually delivered a 50 percent greater mileage, than when agrol was absent. A great new field in plastics. These also from the starch in grains. Such things as fence posts that would last longer than steel and be as strong. Also for buildings, alfalfa storage with gas. Polyethylene truly is coming to the fore. Much more could be done with our replenishable farm resources that are causing the Department of Agriculture so much concern, but much growth and this is as they desire it. They will keep you broke, fellow farmers, so they can get increased pay by adding new people on the payroll. This is the way they get their raise, not by the help they give to us.

A plan is now under way to store our surpluses in grain bins all over the world. This will put a new and greater army to work under our Agriculture Department heading and will be charged as a subsidy to the farmers. The Government wants to stop storing grain in its own bins here at home, because it has learned it is more expensive than to have privately owned storage handle it for them. Pray tell, how can they do it in India when they can't do it at home.

I have merely touched the surface on unexplained and unmanageable theories of disposal of our crops. All prove to be costly to everyone and, most of all, the farmer. What is the reasoning behind all of this?

The petroleum philosophy of thinking has, for too long, governed our Agriculture Department. Their policy is to give it away rather than see it used as a fuel. In England, a company in which the controlling stock is owned by one of the largest oil companies in the United States, advertises the greatest fuel ever produced was that with an alcohol blend. Alcohol long has been a part of other countries' fuels.

Now a new philosophy rubber has entered into the picture. How soon are we going to be asked to go to war to protect Americans' part in the recent $30 million investment. All this while our grain is hauled to Government storage on tires made from India's food supply.

It certainly would seem that we should charge a part of the dollar, to say nothing of the bloodshed of our past war, to the cost of gasoline. Do American and foreign oil interests in foreign countries, with their 18.7 percent import to American markets, need to be protected at all costs to agriculture?

We, as farmers, must approach this from a positive viewpoint. Industry can, and will, use our farm production when we decide to help with a program that will bring this great project into being.

Chemurgic science has given us the knowledge to make us a prosperous agriculture. Our motto should very well be "forward march." Surely farm prosperity beckons.

How Old Is Too Young?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, in my remarks, I include an interesting and informative article on the ages of our Presidents entitled "How Old Is Too Young?" written by James H. Powers, and appearing in the Boston Globe of January 10, 1960.

The article of Mr. Powers refreshes our memory of information particularly interesting this year in connection with the coming campaign for President.

The article follows:

HOW OLD IS TOO YOUNG?

(By James H. Powers)

What is the appropriate age for a candidate seeking the Presidency of the United States?

Should he be young, in keeping with Bacon's warning that, "Men of age object too much, consult too often, and adventure too little, repent too soon, and seldom drive business home to the full period"?

Or should he be older, conforming with the advice of the Roman sage who insisted that youth should spend its time acquiring experience and leave to the old the task of applying it?

The Founding Fathers believed they had answered these questions by stipulating 35 as the minimum age for the White House. Yet, in the opening stages of the preconvention campaign for presidential nominations in both parties, some are suggesting that men in their 40's belong in the category of the unduly young.

YOUNG MEN OF 1960

None of the three presently avowed candidates for their party's leadership in 1960 will, of course, have to defend himself against this soft impeachment as did William Pitt, Prime Minister of the British Empire at 25, who pleaded "guilty to the atrocious crime of being young." All three aspirants are well into their forties.

Vice President NIXON yesterday observed his 47th birthday.

HUBERT HUMPHREY, who challenges Senator JOHN KENNEDY for the Democratic nomina-

tion, is 49. The Massachusetts Senator, at 43, is in fact 3 months older than was Thomas Dewey, of New York, when, as Republican nominee in 1944, he extolled his youth as his party's asset in the effort to roll back the Roosevelt tide.

Evidently definitions of "youth" need revision if the judgment of the writers of the Constitution is to be discounted in 1960.

Senator KENNEDY, urging that "vitality, energy, endurance, new ideas, and receptivity to new ideas" are "qualities a new President is going to need," was stating a case for all three avowed candidates, not for himself alone.

On five occasions the Nation has sent men in their forties into the White House. The results compare well with records of those who took office in their fifties or sixties.

THEIR RECORD SPEAKS

James K. Polk, first "dark horse" to attain the Presidency, was 49 when inaugurated in 1844. Long adjudged an indifferent Chief Executive, he has undergone rehabilitation as the record of his services has become better known. No President, excepting Jefferson, presided over so vast an expansion of our country's territories; none has given closer attention to the duties of the Presidential office or shown a greater capacity in firm administration and policy.

Ulysses S. Grant became President at 46 as a war hero of no party. Though twice elected as a Republican, he did not even vote his party's ticket until his final year in the White House. His lack of political knowledge and acquaintance outside the circle of his military and family associates brought his administration to grief.

Republican James Garfield, elected at 49, remained untested when an assassin's bullet quickly closed his career.

YOUNGEST EVER

The two other Presidential 40-or-more-year-olders were among the ablest Chief Executives of the past century. Grover Cleveland, relatively unknown when elected at 47 in 1884, displayed such capacity that he achieved the miracle of winning a second term after an interlude of defeat. He was the only President to do so.

Theodore Roosevelt, who was 42 when the assassination of McKinley elevated him from the Vice Presidency has become an almost legendary figure among our Presidents.

The Nation's experiments with Presidents in their forties have scored more hits than misses. Only one proved a dismal failure, and in that case the circumstances were unusual.

The median age of all our Presidents stands at 53. Only 1 of the 7 reaching the office after 60 can be listed among Presidential figures of force. William Henry Harrison, a hero of the Indian wars, died exactly 1 month after his inauguration at 68. James Buchanan at 65, allowed the drift to civil war to gather speed.

Zachary Taylor, 64, another "drifter," lasted 14 months.

But Harry S. Truman, assuming Presidential responsibilities at the age of 64, proved by his bold dynamism that Bacon's strictures on age need qualification.

THE MAN, NOT HIS AGE

And indeed they do, in or out of the Presidency. Like those who denigrate the youth of men in their forties those who indict the incompetence of age would better exercise caution.

One's biological age and his mental age are often quite different matters, depending upon the individual himself. The wiser view was Emerson's who wrote: "We do not count a man's years until he has nothing else."

Michelangelo was chief architect of St. Peter's in his eighties. John Wesley attained his greatest power and eloquence at 88. At 80, Talleyrand contrived the Triple Alliance; Hugo wrote some of his greatest works at 4 score; Goethe finished the Second Part of Faust in his eighties; Bancroft completed his famous history at 80; Gladstone began his fourth term as Britain's Prime Minister at 83.

The appropriate age for a President seems to be a question less of years (above the constitutional stipulation) than one of physical and mental capacity. Perhaps Cicero was right. These qualities, he suggested, are found in a youth with something of an old man in him, and an old man who has something of youth in him.

Dorothy Rochon Powers, Montanan, Wins Ernie Pyle Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, in the Appendix of the RECORD for January 11, 1960, page A101, is an item entitled "Henry N. Taylor, Montanan, Wins Ernie Pyle Award." Due to a mistake on my part, this is a misnomer, because while Henry N. Taylor, a distinguished writer for the Scripps-Howard newspapers, did win the Ernie Pyle award this year and is entitled to due credit for it, he is not a Montanan; I believe he is a Virginian.

I had intended to have the headline read: "Dorothy Rochon Powers, Montanan, Wins Ernie Pyle Award."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that my statement and the article published in the Scripps-Howard press be printed in full in the Appendix of today's RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, last week the winners of the seventh annual Ernie Pyle Memorial Award were announced. One of the winners was a Montanan, and, in addition, she is the first woman to receive this distinguished award, sponsored by the Scripps-Howard newspapers. I refer to Mrs. Dorothy Rochon Powers, feature writer on the Spokesman-Review, a daily newspaper in Spokane, Wash.

Mrs. Powers is a graduate of my alma mater, Montana State University, and was a student there while I was on the faculty. She has had a distinguished career in journalism, and has covered every kind of a beat in news reporting, in addition to writing feature columns.

I am much pleased that Mrs. Powers has received this honor, and I heartily concur with the statement of the judges of the contest that she "has the heart, the soul, and the insight of a woman Ernie Pyle."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have an article from the January 7, 1960, issue of the Washington Daily News printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"MRS. DOROTHY ROCHON POWERS, MONTANAN, WINS ERNIE PYLE AWARD"

"NEW YORK, January 7.—The Scripps-Howard newspapers today announced two 1959 winners of the Ernie Pyle Memorial Award.

"They are Mrs. Dorothy R. Powers, feature writer on the Spokesman-Review, Spokane, Wash.; and Henry N. Taylor, correspondent for the Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance, Washington, D.C. (Mrs. Taylor's dispatches appear regularly in the Washington Daily News.)

"Mrs. Powers is the first woman winner in the 7 years the award has been made.

"Each will receive $1,000 cash and a bronze plaque for writing and reporting most nearly exemplifying the style and craftsmanship of the great war reporter and columnist.

"The trustees of the Scripps-Howard Ernie Pyle Memorial Fund also announced a grant of $2,500 to the Inter-American Press Association for an exchange scholarship.

"TREMENDOUS IMPACT

"The judges said Mrs. Powers 'has the heart, the soul, and the insight of a woman Ernie Pyle. Her reporting and writing have had a tremendous impact on her community.'

"Of Mr. Taylor, they said: 'He combines good, solid reporting with good, easy-to-read writing devoid of frills. This is reminiscent of Ernie Pyle's topnotch copy. On any front, from home to Rome, Mr. Taylor makes the reader feel right there with him.'

"Mrs. Powers, 38, was graduated from Montana State University, edited a weekly, the Maryville, Tenn., Enterprise, and was State editor of the Clarksville, Tenn., Leaf-Chronicle.

"'OUR TOWN'

"She has covered virtually every beat on the Spokesman-Review, from courts to stockyards, and writes a column, 'Our Town,' in addition to general assignments and features.

"She was named 1959 National Headliner of the Year by Theta Sigma Phi, honorary women's journalism sorority, and received a National Headliners' Club medal in 1959.

"Mr. Taylor, 30, is a graduate of Virginia University, served as a U.S. Navy intelligence officer from 1951 to 1954, and while stationed in London was a contributor to the London Observer.

"He became a reporter on the Cincinnati Post, a Scripps-Howard paper in 1954 and in 1956 won the American Political Science Association's Award for outstanding coverage of State and local politics.

"THREE YEARS HERE

"For the past 3 years he has been a member of Scripps-Howard's Washington and international staff. He accompanied Khrushchev on his recent U.S. tour, and his recent foreign assignments have included Cuba, the Middle East, the U.S.S.R., Europe, and the Far East.

"Judges for this year's Ernie Pyle Memorial Award were Edward J. Meeman, editor of the Memphis Press-Scimitar; Loye W. Miller, editor of the Knoxville News-Sentinel; and E. M. Pooley, editor of El Paso Herald-Post."

Address of Hon. Joseph W. Martin, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an address by the Honorable JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR., of Massachusetts, at the annual dinner of the New England Society in the city of New York, on Thursday, December 3, 1959.

In his speech, Mr. MARTIN related the fine progress of the New England States in the new industrial age. He also discussed the menace of inflation and the need for action to prevent the destruction of the value of the dollar.

There is a message in this address which I consider extremely timely and of great importance to the American people. It is important from the viewpoint of the economic soundness of our country.

The address follows:

It is a great privilege to come to this fine gathering of people who, while now a vital part of the great Empire State, have not forgotten the part of the country to which they trace their origins.

This is the 154th annual dinner of your society. Its very age is conclusive evidence of the ties of affection which a New Englander always bears to the land of his origin. While I still live in the bustling town where I was born, I have traveled far, and whether it was in California, Hawaii, or even the Orient, people of New England origin never fail to grasp the chance to reminisce about the State of their birth and yearn to relive the old days.

One hundred and fifty-four years old. What mighty changes have come to New England, America—yes, to the world in this span of time. In the early days of this society, we were a struggling nation, a nation whose people were mostly loyal to some particular section, as your founders were to New England. Now while we are properly loyal to and cherish the State of our birth, our supreme loyalty is to the Nation itself. It is this love of country which has made us the mightiest Nation of all time. It is this loyalty that will make it possible for us to meet the challenge which will unfold in the future.

If there is any fault to be found with New Englanders, it is that we do not extol more vigorously our past contributions to the Nation, the contributions we are making today, and those we expect to make in the days ahead.

Texas never tires of telling of the wonderful achievements of that great State in the Southwest. Virginia takes just pride in its historic past and the great part it had in the formation of the Republic. California properly boasts of its tremendous growth and of its great future. New York likes to remind us of her eminence in trade, commerce, and banking. This is the spirit which makes it possible for us to look to the future with great expectancy.

We New Englanders have every reason to speak up about our contributions to the early history of our country, our busy present days, and the promise of the future. It is because that, as a people, we are of a modest nature many have come to believe we are slipping backward and that we are a declining section of a great nation.

This concept is far from the truth. New England is still forging ahead—a little slower perhaps than the newer sections, but still progressing at a healthy rate. We hope to accelerate that rate in the days ahead.

New England has been forced to redirect its course on several occasions. The early days were the maritime era. It was in New England where the American Navy was born and where it was stimulated in the critical days of the Republic. Our clipper ships sailed the seven seas, bringing the wealth and produce of the world to the new land. The beautiful homes of the old sea captains upon Cape Cod and the north shore still remind us of this great era.

Then started the industrial age. The Government nurtured the new industries with the tariff to protect our infant industries, and simultaneously there was a decline in shipping. Quick to adapt itself, New England turned to the factories for a livelihood.

The first cotton mill in America, the first iron foundry, and one of the first General Electric plants were just a few of the early contributions.

Those were the days of water power. It was not long before every river in New England was dotted with a little factory giving employment to hundreds of workers and prosperity to many little villages. Far removed from the sources of raw material, this progress was remarkable. These industries blazed the way for the great industrial empire of the United States.

In later days, new conditions arose. Many cotton mills went South to be close to the sources of raw material, to obtain cheaper labor and operating costs. Dominance in the cotton textile trade, for years a bulwark of New England economy, was no longer to be found here. This was a painful period of readjustment to many of our cities and towns. But happily that period has passed. We have come through this crisis with customary New England courage and determination, and we can now see brighter days ahead.

We have grasped the opportunities of the new age, the age of nuclear power, the age of electronics and plastics. The coming nuclear power will give New England a great advantage in the future, an advantage we have not had in the past. Today new factories are springing up everywhere. Wonderful modern plants are replacing the old factories. People are working at better wages than ever. I can tell you good people there is no gloom or despair in New England.

We face the future fully confident that the people of our section will measure up to their historic past.

How, I ask you, can we fail? Here in New England is the wealth, greater per capita than any other section. We have the brains and the industrial leadership to direct that wealth. And above all, we have great educational advantages and research centers in our many fine universities and colleges. Every year these schools are turning out the best-trained minds in the world to meet the industrial challenges of our times. We must continue to maintain and expand our great schools of learning. They are one of our greatest assets.

Years ago, when taunted in the Halls of Congress by a colleague with the inquiry: "What does New England produce?", Daniel Webster thundered back with his great voice—"New England, sir, produces men."

It is because we produce able men and women, the most skilled workers, the best-trained leaders that we go forward to further glorify your New England heritage.

We have many handicaps in New England, such as a hard soil to cultivate, and remoteness from the sections where raw materials are produced. But we do have distinct advantages. Within a radius of 500 miles is a market containing a population of 52 million consumers, the richest buying market in the world.

New England is the mecca of people from all parts of the Union who want to get away from the heat of other sections and enjoy the opportunities for a refreshing summer vacation under excellent climatic conditions. Every year the list of summer visitors grows, and Cape Cod is sometimes called the Florida of the summer season. It is unnecessary to mention the possibilities this provides to increase the earning opportunities of our section. Thousands are already profiting from the evergrowing tourist trade.

We do not forget the deeds of the Pilgrims and the Puritans who, along with the cavaliers of Virginia, built this great American heritage. It was built by hard work and loyalty to the State. We must not stray from these principles. They are still the foundation upon which the safety of our great Republic rests.

The Pilgrims in Plymouth taught us early that communism or socialism would not work in the New World. They briefly tried this system of regimentation, but it ended in failure. They were quick to cast aside the experiment and to substitute instead the system of profit for work accomplished. They knew that, if the new land was to flourish and grow, it must have the stimulus of individual opportunity and initiative.

The lesson is most timely today when a powerful nation asks the world to embrace the ideology of communism. The Pilgrims knew better and so must the people of today if they are to enjoy the blessings of progess, happiness, and human dignity that are available only when freedom prevails.

The Pilgrims knew, too, the value of a democratic government. They realized that free men and women are supposed to run the Government, and it should not be the function of government to manage the private lives of the people. Chaos and confusion generally result from too much government interference.

Today we are drifting away from those principles. I hope this trend will not go too far and that the people of New England will remain true to their traditions and sturdily resist the tendency toward a powerful bureaucracy which seeks to manage the details of our lives. This eventually would mean the loss of our liberties and finally the end of the American way of life.

To those who constantly seek government aid for private projects, I might remind them that the Government in Washington has no secret source of revenue. It has only the money it takes from the people in taxes. When the Federal Government is given the assignment of spending your money, it levies a huge brokerage charge for doing so. Thus it can readily be seen you are paying more when you ask the Federal Government to pay for a project than if you did it yourselves.

The people of America have many grave, challenging problems today. We must solve them properly or risk the danger of a serious blight on our future. Above all is the need of preserving peace. Closely associated with the need of peace is the need of controlling the forces of inflation.

The curbing of inflation should be the grave concern of every American, regardless of economic status. But its ravages are felt especially by the poor. In fact, the lower an individual is on the economic ladder, the more he suffers from the effects of rising prices. For the poor, a sound and stable dollar makes the difference between a decent meal and hunger. That is why the achievement of a stable currency must be our goal.

The little people of our land—those owning modest insurance policies, savings accounts, Government bonds, and those old folks living on small pensions and social security—are rightly worried by the gradual whittling away of the value of money in the devastating course of "creeping inflation."

In a rising and expanding economy, the accomplishment of price stability becomes a difficult and a complex problem. It is economic history that, in periods of high and rising demand for goods and services, prices tend to go up. There is no easy solution to the problem, such as the passage of a law. The truth is that the most effective laws we can employ to combat the menace of inflation are the laws of commonsense.

The practice of reasonable self-restraint on the part of management, labor, and the general public is inherent in the success of this undertaking.

It would be a sad day for America to resort again to a system of Government controls. Such controls are destructive to competitive enterprise, and they are destructive to individual liberties. What is even worse, for the most part, they do not work.

A system of price controls would be unworkable without wage controls, profit controls, and the rationing of goods. This would mean the creation of another gigantic bureaucracy in Washington to run the Nation's business, when the bureaucracy is already too big. Moreover, controls lead to the inevitable black markets and the loss of freedom on which our prosperity has been built.

The problem we face, therefore, is to maintain a growing, expanding economy, providing jobs for our increasing population and at the same time to maintain a stable dollar. It is unthinkable that we should reconcile ourselves to a continuous vicious spiral of inflation where wages and prices chase each other ever-upward.

Dilution of the value of the dollar discourages people from saving. They see little incentive to save dollars which would steadily decline in value each year. Of course, under such conditions, the little people on pensions and fixed incomes find it impossible to save anyway. Declining savings would mean that capital to finance normal growth would become scarce, making it more costly to borrow money as interest rates go up. This could result in cutbacks in programs for business expansion and improvement; and that, of course, creates unemployment and recession.

For the past 20 years, the dollar has been declining in value as a result of the inflationary process. There have been variances from year to year in the rate of decline, but there has been no essential change in the pattern of decline. Thus, a dollar in the period from 1935 to 1939 was worth 48 and a fraction cents by the year 1958.

We have seen other nations go through the wringer of inflation. We have seen Germany, for instance, after World War I so debase its currency that it was literally necessary for a housewife to carry a wheelbarrow full of paper money to buy her groceries.

The experience of France furnishes further testimony of the havoc wrought by runaway inflation.

Typical is the story of the thrifty Frenchman who sold his house in Normandy and bought life annuities that at the time of purchase would have provided himself and his wife a minimum of security for their old age. That was in 1927. Thirty years later, the cost of living had gone up 37 times what it was in 1927. The pound of butter she could have bought for 10 francs in 1927 now costs her 410 francs. This tragic widow was reduced to buying one egg at a time, a little milk every other day, and a slice of ham once a week.

France has experienced the disastrous results of a paternalistic government which went too far toward socialization. The French have learned the bitter lesson that government cannot give its people anything it does not take away from them in the first place. The people rebelled against paying for their social reforms in taxes. So they are paying for them in the destruction of the value of their money. Here again, of course, it is easy to see that the poorest people are the hardest hit.

But we do not have to go beyond our own shores to realize the evils of inflation. The decline in the value of the American dollar graphically tells the story.

An American with an income of $3,000 a year in 1939 needed an income of $7,370 for exactly the same amount of purchasing power in 1957.

An individual who had an income of $5,000 a year in 1939 needed an income of $13,004 in 1957 to maintain the same standard of living.

If the same trends should continue from now until 1975, the person who had a $3,000 income in 1939 will need an income of $16,867 to live in the same manner as he did in 1939.

One does not have to be much of a prophet to see that, if the present trend continues unabated, this country is on a joyride to a disastrous crash. It must be prevented. It will be prevented if the people do a little serious thinking.

There are numerous reasons for this inflationary process, but the heart of the problem lies in Federal deficit spending and a mounting Federal debt.

In 22 of the last 27 years, the Federal Government has spent more money than it has taken in taxes.

What should be done to control the destructive forces which in 20 years have cut the value of the dollar in half and which threaten to diminish it still further?

The first sound approach to this problem is to discontinue this now accepted practice of deficit spending and to operate on balanced budgets in all years except years of national emergency.

One method of balancing our budgets would be to increase taxes. But this method should be rejected because taxes already absorb too great a proportion of the citizen's dollar.

Studies made by the Tax Foundation show that in an 8-hour day the average $4,500-a-year wage earner must work for the Government 2 hours and 29 minutes. This is more than he must work to pay his food bill, which is 1 hour and 39 minutes; or his housing, for which he must work 1 hour and 25 minutes; or for clothing, for which he must work 37 minutes. The average man already pays out one-third of his income in direct and hidden taxes. That is too high. Reduced taxes are vital to stimulate our economy.

The only other method of balancing the budget is to reduce Federal spending. And this is the sound and sensible approach. If this country is to wage a successful battle against ruinous inflation, it is obligatory on the part of the administration and the Congress to begin now a system of progressive reduction in our budgets each year.

We often hear it said that you cannot cut military spending—that to do so would endanger our national defense. I cannot subscribe to this belief. And the fact that military spending accounts for such a large part of the whole budget is often cited as an excuse for not reducing spending anywhere at all.

Spending for national defense should be scrutinized as carefully as any other forms of expenditures. Enormous savings can be made in the armed services without in any way impairing their essential strength and their defense potential. We need to give all that is necessary for the preservation of peace and our security, but not a cent more.

The responsibility for drasic cuts in spending is not the responsibility of the Congress alone. Far from it. Equal responsibility rests upon the administration and the executive departments. Too often the Appropriations Committees of the Congress are the innocent victims of inflated budget requests sent up to the Capitol by the executive branch. The administrative people, feeling their requests may be cut down, often overstate their needs in order to get what they want. This is wrong. Those who run the departments would render a real patriotic service and help to control inflation by putting their own houses in order and keeping their budget demands down to a minimum instead of a maximum which has grown to be a rather general practice.

There is not a single department, including the military, which could not run for substantially less money without impairment to any essential public service if there is the will and determination to do so.

The maintenance of peace and the need of cooperative relations with the other nations of the world demand our closest attention. Without peace no nation can expect to attain the progress its people pray for. With peace we can all expect an expanding economy, prosperity, and a better world for all.

The real guardianship of peace in the immediate years ahead will primarily rest with the United States. We are the one nation whose resources and strength make other nations pause before engaging in a war that would be disastrous.

It is because of that great responsibility we are spending over $40 billion for national defense. Your national administration would much prefer to use these funds to balance the budget, cut Federal taxes, and direct great sums to humane activities.

But as long as the threat of communism exists we must continue to spend huge amounts for missiles, aircraft, the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force. We must be so strong that our strength will guarantee peace. We spend these vast sums for peace and not for war.

It is the same story with our aid in the building up of the "have not" nations of the world. We help other nations build their military strength because we want them to be able to resist aggression and contribute to the defense of the free world.

We spend for economic aid so that other nations may live better, and we know that will contribute to our own prosperity through the purchase of goods that could not be bought otherwise.

We help the little nations of Asia, Africa, and South America because we know that if we do not the Communists may well do so. We want them as friends and voluntarily on the side of the free world.

In the past we have been neglectful of South America. We have taken these countries too much for granted. The Communists, noticing that neglect, have not been slow to stir up strife through their insidious propaganda. Fortunately, the South American Republics know full well that they can expect no permanent good from the Soviet world. They want freedom; they want to build strong nations; and from our past history they know the United States is the one country that can and will help them. So it is incumbent upon us to invest a little money in building up South America. It will yield great dividends of good will and cooperation and, from a business point of view, will open tremendous markets for American goods.

Wisely administered, we can well make these foreign expenditures profitable to both the recipient of the aid and to our own country as well. South America knows, as indeed the whole world must know, that our country is not selfish in its aid. It seeks neither territory nor domination in any part of the world. It wants all nations and all people to be free, independent, and prosperous.

The future is full of hazards, and the picture is cloudy. But I believe we will meet these difficult problems at home and abroad with the courage and determination demonstrated by our New England forebears when this Nation was born. With courage we can meet the challenge given to us by the other nations of the free world.

We can and must avoid war, and we must make our dollar sound. If we do there will be a more abundant life not only for the people of America but for the other free nations of the world as well.

May the Almighty guide us in the great tasks which lie ahead.

America's First Polaris Submarine Is Commissioned

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NORRIS COTTON
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, on December 30 last America's national defense preparations took a significant step forward into a vast new dimension when the first Polaris missile submarine was commissioned as an active part of the naval forces.

Dr. George B. Kistiakowsky, special assistant to the President for science and technology, was the speaker at the commissioning ceremonies for the U.S.S. *George Washington*. His remarks aptly picture the characteristics which make the missile-launching submarine a key weapon for our national survival:

She and her sister ships will give our Navy a new capability and so will provide our Nation with a unique strength—the strength of a secure deterrent—of a force that can, with inevitable assurance, decisively punish an aggressor.

She will slip through the dark reaches of the oceans that cover seven-tenths of the earth's surface, moving stealthily and with surety, because her electronic brains will tell her at all times where she is; she will be hidden by hundreds of feet of water; her detection and destruction will be well-nigh impossible and yet her targets for retaliation will be continually within reach.

Commissioning of the U.S.S. *George Washington* is a heartening accomplishment, but we must not overrate its importance. It is only an early milestone on the long road we must travel before we have a fleet of nuclear-powered missile-firing submarines continually on the alert in the oceans of the world.

We must forge ahead to complete the development of the Polaris missile which these submarines will carry, and we must swiftly augment the number of these submarines. I believe we must have at least 40 of them, if we are to realize their full value to our national defense, and only 9 have been authorized so far.

We must move ahead on this program as swiftly as possible. No amount of money will buy back the time lost if we do not, and the Polaris missile system will give us more defense for less money than any other weapon in the whole arsenal.

For my part, Mr. President, I shall press this year, as I have in the past, for approval of the largest construction program for Polaris submarines that we can effectively support.

Because of its importance and interest, I ask unanimous consent that the remarks which Dr. Kistiakowsky made at the commissioning ceremonies be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Captain Osborn, men of the *George Washington*, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, it is a great privilege and honor for me to take part in this historic event.

The commissioning of the first Polaris missile submarine—that moment when this complex product of our technology springs to life and becomes the U.S.S. *George Washington*—will long be remembered proudly by all of us. We, assembled here today, are citizens of this young and free Nation of ours that had the enterprise, initiative, and great skill to conceive, design and build this incomparable ship. All of us, whether our forefathers bore the hardships of the American Revolution or, like myself, became adopted sons of our country not so long ago, will share together in the advantages accruing from the capabilities of this undersea vessel of the future. We all already share the benefits of the foresight, courage, and devotion to freedom of her namesake, President George Washington.

This man is known to all as a man "first in peace, first in war, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." We, ordinary citizens, cannot hope to serve our country as George Washington did. Nor can we, as individuals, expect to earn the recognition that is so rightly his. Captain Osborn, however, and his fine crew of officers and men, being welded into a living entity with their ship, the *George Washington*, will come nearer to this enviable goal. Theirs will be key roles in peace or war; they will be close to the hearts of a multitude of their countrymen.

"In any circumstances," President Washington said, "a decisive naval superiority is to be considered as a fundamental principle and the basis upon which every hope of success must ultimately depend." The ship we see before us will give a truly new dimension to the concept of naval superiority. Late next year this young lady called *Washington*—that was baptized last June and is having her coming-out party today—will be wedded to her intended, the Polaris missile. Feminine though she is, hers will be the prowess and endurance of a nuclear-powered submarine and the awesome striking power of ballistic missiles. She and her sister ships will give our Navy a new capability and so will provide our Nation with a unique strength—the strength of a secure deterrent—of a force that can, with inevitable assurance, decisively punish an aggressor.

She will slip through the dark reaches of the oceans that cover seven-tenths of the earth's surface, moving stealthily and with surety, because her electronic brains will tell her at all times where she is; she will be hidden by hundreds of feet of water; her detection and destruction will be well nigh impossible and yet her targets for retaliation will be continually within reach.

Let us keep in mind, though, the spirit in which she was built. It is the same spirit in which George Washington led the Revolutionary Army in which he became the first President of the United States of America: To further the dignity of the individual; to further the cause of freedom.

It was 160 years ago this month that George Washington died, but this spirit—his spirit—has never foundered. It has been built into this ship to maintain peace and to preserve our precious way of life. And so let us fervently hope that as long as she sails the oceans her work will be that of deterrance, not that of retaliation; of a guardian, not an avenger. Let us hope that her mission to prevent war will succeed and that she will convince all of the determination of the American people to stand fast by their basic principles as set down in Mr. Washington's day:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Let us hope, therefore, that she may fully share in the peaceful exploration of that vast inner space asleep beneath the blanket of ocean waves—a realm that we cannot neglect in our justifiable excitement over the conquest of outer space. Let her gently disturb the ocean's sleep to pioneer in research of the deep. Let her be a leader in mapping the untrod ocean floors, in learning about ocean currents and thermal layers. Let her discover new wonders of flora and fauna in undersea depths. One of these days mankind will learn how to tap the abundant treasure now hidden in the oceans. Let the new *George Washington* be among those who are forging ahead at these never-ending frontiers of human knowledge.

Like her namesake, this *George Washington* will be in the hearts of her countrymen, particularly in the hearts of the men and women of the Electric Boat Division of the General Dynamics Corp. who built her. In so doing they have added another superior and well-deserved entry on their already glowing record—a record that includes the building of the first U.S. Navy submarine *Holland*, the first nuclear-powered submarine *Nautilus*, the largest and most advanced picket submarine *Triton*, and many other famous firsts.

This *George Washington* will also be in the hearts of many others. Let us remember that under this stout hull there are now hidden—or soon will be—the most advanced and diverse products of our technology: turbine and rocket propulsion, nuclear power and nuclear weapons, electronics tailored into sophisticated radar, radio, sonar, and many other applications. Fluid dynamics, hydraulics, metallurgy, ceramics, and the art of plastics all found unique applications here; it is a breathtaking microcosm of American technology. Many men in many places of our land toiled to make all this possible. There is probably not a single one of our 50 States whose sons and daughters have not contributed, in some way, to this proud ship and so she will remain close to the hearts of men and women throughout the land.

However, this day belongs to Osborn and his men. It is their efforts that have earned for her the proud title U.S. ship. They have given much of themselves to her and will be expected to give more.

We must not fail to recognize the enormity of the task that confronts this select group of Navy men. To them goes the job of breathing life and order and precision into this mass of steel, interlaced with cables and filled with complex machinery.

Officers and men of the *George Washington*, your watch is set, your duties are clear, your opportunities boundless. As so many other Navy men before, you are pacesetters and explorers. You are also pioneers in a new dimension of your profession.

Yours is a glorious heritage—to follow in the footsteps of so many famous predecessors—those valorous Navy men who gave so generously of their talents, their years, and—all too often—their lives. We know that you will be brave, be loyal, be faithful to the ideals of George Washington. To each of you we wish for every dive, "Green board—pressure in the boat," and on every cruise, smooth sailing.

The Thing That Counts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL ALBERT
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, one of the top ratings in the annual southeastern

Oklahoma district speech contest was awarded to Kenneth Wolfe of Wilson, Okla., for his oration on the subject of education.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include a copy of his speech "The Thing That Counts." In the light of the tremendous demands of our age for technical knowledge, it is worthwhile also to restate the importance of education in enabling the individual to understand and participate fully in a democracy.

THE THING THAT COUNTS

As a society, we have allowed our rapidly expanding educational needs to outstrip our educational efforts and performance. The task now is to close this gap, which has already grown dangerously wide and which could prove even more disastrous for our society in the long run than inadequate military defenses.

The children now in school need a far better education than any we could have dreamed of in the past, or can even conceive of now, if they are to cope successfully with the challenging problems and opportunities of the 21st century in which they will live.

What is an adequate education for people who will travel to the moon, who will enjoy unbounded solar energy, whose working hours will seem more like our lunch hours, who will live in a world of technological devices as unimaginable to us as TV was to Moses, and whose lives may be as long as Methuselah's?

Are we giving an adequate education to the future President of the United States, who is attending school somewhere right now?

No belief is more firmly held in the United States than belief in education. But belief is not enough. We must understand education as well as believe in it. The thing that counts, after all, is not the number of schoolrooms we have, but what goes on in them.

Since the beginning of time man has developed through trial and error method. Later on, he experienced, he explored, he discovered, he read, and he is now launching out for new horizons, ideas, and perceptions. This has all been a process of education.

To many Americans, education is one of the religions they really believe in. It has its orthodoxy, its pontiffs, and its noble buildings. Education is the established church of the United States.

There is much truth in this observation by the late British educator, Sir Michael Sadler. We Americans do have almost a religious faith in education. We want the highest quality instruction and the best possible educational opportunities for our youngsters. We recognize that the being of individuals and of our Nation depends upon true knowledge and a thorough understanding of basic principles which can be gained only through sound education.

There is increasing evidence, however, that too much attention is being paid to the external form of education, its pontiffs, and its buildings, while not enough is spent on fundamentals, truth, and understanding.

It is not enough simply to invest more money and more materials in the production of missiles, satellites, or other products of this scientific age. These are vital concerns, but these are end products; over the long term, our fundamental concern should be to invest sufficiently and wisely in the development of highly skilled and broadly responsible men who will make possible not only scientific and military progress, but advances in the humanities and in all the highest fields of mankind's endeavor.

While our ability to meet immediate national security needs depends upon effective use of the talents our society already has, we should be even more concerned with our rate of achievement—and with the Soviet rate—10 to 20 years from now. In large part the levels of achievement in the future are being determined in the classrooms now—today—both in the United States and Russia.

Schools now affect the welfare of the United States more than ever before in history, and this new importance of education has been dangerously underestimated for a long time.

The schools have become the chief instrument for keeping this Nation the fabled land of opportunity it started out to be. The committee members for the White House Conference on Education were right when they wrote: "As long as good schools are available, a man is not frozen at any level of our economy, nor is his son."

What is needed most is a new emphasis on the pursuit of learning, a new esteem for academic teaching and academic accomplishment. In many of our schools and homes we need more hard work in fundamental academic subjects, and higher academic standards. Good teaching and good scholarship should be highly prized by the student, the school, the family, and the community. And the rewards our society accords to good teaching and good scholarship should be much greater.

I do not believe we have made as much progress along these lines in this country as we should. Education has not had the priority it deserves. If academic accomplishment has not fallen into actual disrepute, it is at least suffering under indifference and lack of esteem.

More emphasis, more esteem for academic accomplishment cannot be obtained simply by Government order, or even by investing more money in education, as desperately needed as more funds are. Esteem for scholarship must be an attitude—the result of a sense of values of the people.

The Government can, however, provide some leadership. And I believe it can help develop an environment, a climate of opinion, which gives more encouragement to scholastic pursuits. Under our traditional system of education, the bulk of the funds and effort needed for education must be provided by local, State, and private sources.

Man's destiny appears to depend upon his acquisition and use of knowledge. Public concern is based, in short, upon a new sense of the relationship between the quality of education and the future of America.

The best education is that which does most to enable each student to develop his abilities and to serve society. It follows that education must be dynamic and diverse. High quality in education implies never-ending adaptation and improvement.

Education is a process of acquiring the knowledge, skills, and standards of a culture, and of learning to contribute to that culture, but no individual is fully educated who has received knowledge of extracurricular activities alone. It is quality of education in academic abilities with which most Americans are concerned today.

The ultimate measure of the quality of education today is its impact on individual pupils. It helps to develop a sense of purpose and of value as members of a community and fosters the pupil's understanding of themselves and their ability to direct their own affairs.

The quality of an educational enterprise is largely determined in each locality. High quality in a school depends directly on the character of the community at large and on the abilities and attitudes of the parents and the school staff. Thus, the taproot of quality in a school is a vigorous public commitment to education based on understanding of what education can do and what good schools are like.

It has long been an article of faith in America that public education, if universal and excellent, would help immeasurably to eradicate social ill, elevate the tenor of human life, and strengthen democracy.

As a society of liberty-loving people, America cannot fail its youth by neglecting the thing that counts most—a thorough education.

The International Cultural Exchange Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, many times in the past I have been proud to associate myself with the legislation on arts and culture introduced by Representative FRANK THOMPSON, JR., of New Jersey. In particular, I recall our bill passed by the 84th Congress to ensure that the President's international cultural exchange program would become permanent policy.

It is to the administration of that law—Public Law 860–84—that the distinguished Representative from New Jersey referred in a speech on the American Educational Theater Association on December 28, 1959. Representative THOMPSON said:

Under the current program of the President's International Cultural Exchange Program as administered by the Department of State, of 115 attractions which have been sent abroad, only a half-dozen or less than 6 percent, have been educational talent—university or college theater or music groups. * * * This program is so weighted with professionals that it might justly be called the 6 percent program rather than the President's international cultural exchange program. It should also be noted that there is no cultural exchange in the program at all.

Ambassador Llewellyn Thompson in Moscow and Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker in Delhi have requested the State Department to send young educational talent in the arts to Russian and India, hoping to repeat the success of Van Cliburn, for example. However, the administration has only talked about this exchange and no young talent has been sent to either of these countries.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this fine speech on recruitment of educational cultural talent for our exchange program be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

ADDRESS BY CONGRESSMAN FRANK THOMPSON, JR., OF NEW JERSEY, BEFORE THE AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL THEATER ASSOCIATION, DELIVERED IN WASHINGTON, D.C., ON DECEMBER 28, 1959

Dr. Young, Dr. Cole, Dr. Selden, Dr. Morrison, distinguished friends and guests, it is an honor and a pleasure for me to have this opportunity to discuss with such a select group some of the pressing problems and suggested solutions which this 23d annual

convention of the American Educational Theater Association must deal with. My remarks might well be titled "Democracy Needs a Broader Cultural Emphasis," since they are especially directed to the need for stimulating a more widespread cultural awareness in the United States and in sharing this enthusiasm with people throughout the world. I think it particularly important that we understand that our approach to the arts must be one of sharing them with other peoples, rather than one of using the arts for political ends. For if our primary purpose in our national policy is political we shall fail. Political results may very well follow as a result of sharing the arts, as indeed they have followed the educational exchanges authorized by the Fulbright and Smith-Mundt Acts. But in the arts as in education, it must be primarily a matter of exchanges, and this is something that is entirely missed in Washington these days due to a belief that everything from breakfast cereals to our way of life can be "sold."

The American Educational Theater Association can exert a tremendous force for the stimulation of a significant cultural impact which could be felt both in this country and abroad. Through positive action your association in effective cooperation with other cultural organizations, can with imagination, purposefulness and hard work, effect a cultural renascence. This will require your wholehearted direction, support, and effort—for as Walter Lippmann has pointed out "the renascence will have to come from men of learning"—men who know, because they live the intellectual life, what a renascence would be. However, before we can achieve this goal of a fuller cultural awakening there are obstacles to be overcome. It is my desire today to discuss some of the areas, nationally and internationally, in which your particular kind of leadership is specifically required.

Just recently, for example, Richard B. McLanathan, who was the curator of the U.S. art exhibit at the Moscow Fair (now director of the community arts program of the Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute at Utica, N.Y.), reported to the United States Information Agency and other Government agencies that he found throughout Europe and the U.S.S.R. that people were looking to the United States for cultural leadership. People are looking for evidence that the United States will not only take up Mr. Khrushchev's challenge regarding economic competition, he said, but that we also will demonstrate more fully than we have done so far that we have "a lot to spare in the aesthetic and cultural field as well.

Mr. McLanathan further reported, I am told, that people throughout the world believed that the United States and its allies could withstand any economic or pollical pressures which the Soviet Union and its satellites might exert. We can do this, they are convinced, only if we are strong culturally. According to Mr. McLanathan, the people of the world believe the United States and the U.S.S.R. offset each other in the economic area. Their decision to follow either the United States or the U.S.S.R. ultimately will depend, he thinks, on the balance sheet evidence of cultural resources and leadership. History clearly documents the fact that civilizations are remembered more for their contributions to the fine arts, to music, the theater, to literature, to painting and sculpture and architecture than they are remembered by the battles which they have fought. It is my belief, and I know it can be documented, that one of the major ways in which we can turn reluctant and uneasy military allies—and the millions of uncommitted people of the world—into friends is to earn their respect through our own respect for our own cultural leadership and achievements in the deeply related fields of education, science, and the fine arts.

As we know, President Eisenhower is a leading exponent of this point of view. In his speeches in India, for example, he called for a massive interchange of mutual understanding through exchange of students. I might add, parenthetically, that he also took the lead in forming a very effective Committee of the Arts and Sciences for Eisenhower in the fall of 1956.

For a number of years, 10 in fact, the great value of exchanging students, the leaders of tomorrow's world, has been proved by the successful Fulbright and Smith-Mundt programs. A massive expansion of these and other programs will be a welcome and valuable step toward creating the international understanding so essential to a permanent peace. Dare we hope that the forthcoming budget message of the President will request the funds which will be needed to finance the President's massive exchange? I look forward anxiously to the opportunity to vote for such a program. My colleagues and I would, I am sure, be much more willing to appropriate the additional funds needed to implement these massive exchanges if the State Department shows the same good judgment it has displayed in the Fulbright and Smith-Mundt programs and work with and through our country's major educational organizations for the implementation of these new exchanges which the President has called for.

I am concerned, however, that the President has endorsed massive exchanges as a grand design because I question how well this will actually be carried out in the field of exchanges in the arts—your association's particular interest—as long as all public funds for cultural and artistic exchanges are channelled through one organization, the American National Theater and Academy, and no other organization, even the American Educational Theater Association, or the National Music Council which—like ANTA—has a congressional charter, is permitted to develop any know-how in this vital area because of the restrictive practices of the Department of State. Yet, at the same time, the leading educational organizations such as the American Council on Education and the National Education Association, and the Institute of International Education, are given a major role by the State Department in the Fulbright and Smith-Mundt programs.

To illustrate what I have in mind, under the current program of the President's international cultural exchange program as administered in the Department of State by Mr. James Magdanz of 115 attractions which have been sent abroad only a half dozen, or less than 6 percent, have been educational talent—university or college theater or music groups. In my opinion, and also in the opinion of such important national groups as the National Education Association, the National Association of Schools of Music, the National Music Camp at the University of Michigan, the Music Educators National Conference, the National Art Education Association—to name only a few—this program is so weighted with professionals that it might justly be called the 6-percent program rather than the President's international cultural exchange program. It should also be noted that there is no cultural exchange in the program at all, as there is in the Fulbright and Smith-Mundt programs. So we now find that many of the Nation's most talented performers, its young artists, who could be our country's most successful cultural ambassadors, witness Van Cliburn, are actually used less than 6 percent of the time.

For the record I will read from some of the glowing newspaper and official reports on the success of the performances of our university theater groups who have toured abroad just in case Mr. Magdanz and Mr. Robert H. Thayer, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State for the Coordination of International Educational and Cultural Relations, missed them. The reaction of people in Latin America, India, and parts of Africa was significant. These accounts prove beyond a shadow of a doubt the great and lasting impact America's talented young artists are making where ever they are given the opportunity to appear by our cloistered policy-makers.

"The visit of the University of Minnesota players to Sao Paulo was a success from every point of view," we are advised by the American Consulate General. "They attained a level of the best professionals in many countries in Latin America," according to the Diario de Sao Paulo.

The American Embassy, New Delhi, reported home that the Wayne State University Players were "a fine group and did an amazing job in the face of many vicissitudes while they were in Delhi. Their performances were excellent. They met people well and were eager and enthusiastic in their contacts with Indian students and other play groups. They made an outstanding contribution, with a grueling schedule, to the feeling of good will and in the advancement of knowledge about the American university drama."

The American Embassy in Ghana reported that the Florida A. & M. University Players "had a net effect favorable to the United States. * * * The players were quite effective in their social relations with Ghanaians before and after their performances, and left many fast friends behind them when they left Ghana." This report is supported by the comment in the Ghanaian that "Their visit is a fine example of what can be done by actors who love the theater and are willing to give their spare time to not only the glamorous side of it but also to the equally exacting tasks of stage management and general organization."

Clearly, talented groups of this type can be a major asset to the United States in its program to give the peoples of the world a broader understanding of America's culture and purposes. As you know so well, since you pioneered it, the Department of Defense sends a large number of college and university drama and music groups abroad to entertain our troops in distant theaters of operation. These groups are much more popular with our troops than most professional entertainers. When they are abroad on these tours why doesn't the State Department and the U.S. Information Service cultural affairs officers schedule them for appearances before young people of the countries in the countries they are visiting, including university audiences, thus saving tax money and spreading America's message at one and the same time?

I think it is significant to note that early in October at the very time that Mr. Robert H. Thayer (special assistant to the Secretary of State) was speaking in New York City to the President's Music Committee about the difficulty of including young educational talent from our institutions of higher education in the President's special international cultural exchange program he was advising Members of Congress that Ambassador Llewellyn Thompson had requested that such young educational talent in the arts be sent to Moscow. Ambassador Thompson was moved, no doubt, to make this request by the astonishing success of Van Cliburn, a Juilliard graduate, who, by the way, received absolutely no financial help

from the President's program. His expenses were paid with funds raised by the Institute of International Education from the Martha Baird Rockefeller Fund. Mr. Thayer also told us that Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker had requested that young educational talent in the arts be sent to India. What then becomes of the classic defense of the Department of State of its present program's virtual exclusion of young people: that American cultural affairs officers and top Embassy people have demanded the great professional groups and don't want educational talent? The State Department, by the way, has done nothing to date about these significant requests by the American Ambassadors in the U.S.S.R. and India except to study them.

The agreement for cultural exchanges with the Soviet Union includes a provision for "university exchanges of faculty and students," and clearly this agreement doesn't rule out educational talent in the arts. There is no reason why we cannot work out this particular type of exchange of educational talent with the U.S.S.R. and other Iron Curtain countries, just as we have with so many other countries under the Fulbright and Smith-Mundt programs where between 3,000 to 4,000 of the 35,000 to 40,000 exchangees during the past 10 years have been in the arts. That this is so is shown by a New York Times article of December 25, 1959, to the effect that one of the U.S. students who went to the Soviet Union last September is studying at the Moscow Musical Conservatory. The New York Times says:

"The U.S. Government is understood to be strongly in favor of continuing and enlarging the student exchange program. Officials remark that the American students during their academic year in Moscow or Leningrad are able to befriend more Russians than any American diplomat or news correspondent can do during his entire service in the Soviet Union.

"Young Americans and Russians are reported to be establishing personal contacts in lecture halls, libraries, cafeterias, and dormitories of Soviet institutions of higher learning with ease and eagerness. This alone, in the opinion of United States officials, would be sufficient for justifying the entire exchange program and advocating its expansion. * * *

"Kenneth Holland, president of the Institute of International Education here, declared that 'it is important for us to have students who know the U.S.S.R., even if they do not advance in their specific fields' in the course of their Russian year.

"Mr. Holland talked with many American students during a visit to the Soviet Union earlier this year. He said he was impressed with their knowledge of Russian affairs and had found that despite the limitations they were encountering their experience was invaluable."

If President Eisenhower's call for massive exchanges is to be carried out with maximum effect then the United States should embark upon a broad program to provide two-way cultural exchanges with all nations, with particular emphasis on young people. You will be pleased to know that Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, Democrat, of Minnesota, Representative HARRIS B. MCDOWELL, Democrat, of Delaware, and I have introduced legislative proposals (S. 1827; H.R. 6876 and H.R. 7533) to put this type of program into effect. We want to see the Humphrey-Thompson Act (Public Law 860, 84th Cong., which made the President's special international cultural exchange program permanent) amended to specifically provide for more widespread cultural exchange of young artists and art groups, and we think that at least 50 percent of the funds appropriated for this program should be devoted to young Americans if the President's call for massive exchanges is to have any real meaning. We hope President Eisenhower will support this, and that he will call in his budget message next month for an immediate raising of the present picayune $2 million to an amount respectably nearer the $20 million which he annually requests for the Fulbright and Smith-Mundt programs.

I was very pleased to hear that the Young Democratic Clubs of America, at their recent national convention, adopted a resolution which urges the Republican adminstration to utilize the power they have been given not only to send throughout the world our large artistic groups and universally accepted artists whose appeal is primarily to the sophisticated audiences of the world's capitals, but also the groups with fine artistic merit who would represent our local creativity and to include in the exchange program, as was intended by the sponsors of the legislation, young artists of great merit.

I completely support the idea that we should create and help finance with Federal funds university circuits at home and abroad. Such programs would certainly more fully display our cultural achievements and assets as well as help us learn more about the people of other nations. Here the sharing of our cultural resources with the people of other nations, which I mentioned earlier, would have significant meaning and results. In my considered view, the question of whether one or another great American orchestra plays with that extra shade of polish, and is a fraction better in its technique than a similar great aggregation in Europe or the Soviet Union cannot compare with the importance of reaching and influencing the leaders of tomorrow's world through our young American student exchanges in all fields.

For this reason, the national showcase program which my colleague, Representative HARRIS B. MCDOWELL, JR., has recently espoused, and which passed the House of Representatives with the help of the leaders of the American Educational Theater Association in 1952 and was passed over without prejudice in the Senate at the same time, is a plan which has my wholehearted support. For years I have wanted to see our talented young American artists given more recognition on the national scene and particularly through a program in the Nation's Capital by which their talents could be displayed to the Nation and the world.

As a corollary, then, to a national showcase program there should be a worldwide Olympiad of the Arts and Sciences held regularly in Washington, D.C., which would afford competition between talented young people from all nations. Such an arts and sciences competition could sponsor contests for awards in piano, cello, violin, youth orchestras, choral and chamber groups, ballet, folk dancing, and other forms of the dance such as ballet in which the U.S.S.R. excels, painting, sculpture, readings, and drama and poetry presentations. It is also desirable that under this program comparable talent competitions in the Nation's Capital be held in mathematics, physics, biology, and the other sciences. These Olympiads should be judged by an international jury of renowned artists and specialists in the various fields. The winners would immediately attain international recognition and be awarded substantial prizes. It is quite reasonable to assume, I have been advised by Dr. Oliver J. Caldwell, Assistant Commissioner for International Education, U.S. Office of Education, a long-time and able advocate of the proposal for a worldwide Olympiad of the Arts and Sciences, that such an international Olympiad program, if carefully planned, would be as significant as the Nobel Prize Awards in the years to come. As President Eisenhower said at Delhi University in India:

"More enduringly than from the deliberations of high councils, I believe mankind will profit when young men and women of all nations and in great numbers study and learn together. In so doing, they will concern themselves with the problems, possibilities, resources, and rewards of their common destiny.

"Through the centuries nations have sent their youth armed for war to oppose their neighbors. Let us in this day look on our youth, eager for a larger and clearer knowledge, as forces for international understanding; and send them, one nation to another, on missions of peace."

As we go forward, then, along this great highway into the future to a less troubled era I believe we can be resourceful enough to find the best possible methods to surmount any roadblocks which may be planted by those with axes to grind. I have in mind, for instance, the fact that the American Educational Theater Association already has a committee for U.S. touring by foreign university dramatic groups. I understand that this committee is at work seeking private engagements in the United States for educational groups from other countries, and it should have—if it is to really accomplish its great objectives, both status and public funds comparable to the program the American National Theater and Academy carries on for the Department of State.

A word about the little matter of the double expense in presenting performances of professional foreign artists in our country because of union policy that American artists must be paid during such a performance even though these American artists are not performing in the attraction. Here a bit of statesmanship is required on the part of top State Department officials. My, my, if they can't develop a policy to surmount such a roadblock, how can they possibly negotiate successfully with other nations.

My own suggestion, for what it is worth is as follows. If there are to be standbys, then why not react to this situation by providing, under the President's cultural exchange program, that such matching funds be utilized in a way similar to the funds of the music performance trust fund which is managed by representatives of the American Federation of Muiscians, AFL–CIO, the broadcasting industry, and the public. Standby funds could and should be used to provide increased employment of American artists and, at the same time, cultural attractions could be offered under the fund's auspices throughout the United States. Cooperative arrangements could undoubtedly be worked out by the Department of State, with the blessing of the Congress, between the theater and music industry, the Federal Government, and such powerful unions as Actors' Equity Association, the Associated Actors and Artistes of America, AFL–CIO, the American Guild of Musical Artists, and the American Federation of Musicians, or whatever the unions involved. All it takes is good will on both sides and I know this is present.

In my opinion, if we are to capture the imagination and the minds and hearts of the peoples of the free world as well as the millions of uncommitted peoples—the United States must more definitively supply the energy, the resourcefulness, the creative power and talent which is ours to give than it has done so far. If this is to take place then several steps must be taken by the American Educational Theater Association in cooperation with other national educational organizations concerned with the arts in education. You must work together toward—

1. The establishment of a permanent division at the State Department in the Bureau of International Cultural Relations to handle the massive exchanges in the arts which must be developed as a central and integral part of this massive exchange program which

President Eisenhower has called for. Such a permanent division must be headed by a distinguished educator, and must be staffed by leaders drawn from the arts departments of our colleges and universities. At the same time, the Advisory Committee on the Arts established by the Humphrey-Thompson Act (Public Law 860, 84th Cong.) must be reorganized and strengthened with the addition of leading educators from our college and university art departments. For several years now, every time the White House appointed people to an art commission in Washington, the District of Columbia Auditorium Commission, and the Advisory Committee on the Arts at the State Department are examples, the names of George Murphy and Robert Montgomery—from Hollywood via the Republican National Committee turned up. The names conspicuous for their absence, even from the Advisory Committee on the Arts of the National Cultural Center were those of Dr. Howard Hanson, director of the Eastman School of Music, and president of the National Music Council, other officials of the National Music Council, and distiguished art educators generally. At the present time the official directly in charge of the President's cultural exchange program at the Department of State is Mr. James Magdanz who has no background at all in the arts. He is a former budget officer, and no doubt a good budget officer. However, many of the present limitations of this vital program, for instance, its virtual exclusion of educational talent, is directly due to an astounding lack of familiarity with today's significant fine arts programs in our Nations' colleges and universities on the part of leading State Department officials. (H.R. 6876, THOMPSON; H.R. 7533, MCDOWELL; and S. 1827, HUMPHREY, go to the heart of the problem sketched here.)

2. The status and quality of our cultural affairs officers abroad must be sharply raised, and legislation will be offered soon to do this.

3. The establishment of a worldwide Olympiad of the Arts and Sciences and a national showcase program in our Nation's Capital has been developed by Representative MCDOWELL and will be introduced early in January 1960 by several sponsors in both Houses.

4. The establishment of a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Sponsors include Senators HUBERT H. HUMPHREY; PAUL H. DOUGLAS; and JAMES E. MURRAY; and Representatives EMANUEL CELLER; JOHN V. LINDSAY; JAMES G. FULTON; SEYMOUR HALPERN; STUYVESANT WAINWRIGHT; LEE METCALF; CARROLL D. KEARNS; EDITH GREEN; DOMINICK V. DANIELS; ROBERT N. GIAIMO; CARL ELLIOTT, committee chairman; and JOHN A. LAFORE, JR., and FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

5. The establishment of the position of Special Assistant to the Secretary of State for the coordination of International Educational and Cultural Relations has passed the Senate under the sponsorship of Senators J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT and HUBERT H. HUMPHREY. House sponsors include Representatives WAYNE L. HAYS, STUYVESANT WAINWRIGHT, JOHN V. LINDSAY, JAMES G. FULTON, and FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

6. If the American National Theater and Academy is to continue in the future to enjoy its special privileged status as sole professional manager of the State Department's cultural exchange program with other nations then ANTA's reorganization must be sought. As you know, ANTA was chartered by the Congress in 1935 as a theater organization and it is undoubtedly rendering as great a service to the American theater and to American drama as the National Music Council—likewise chartered by the Congress—is rendering to American music.

When the State Department selected ANTA in 1954 for the important role of professional manager of the President's cultural exchange program which was authorized by the Congress in July of that year, ANTA set about creating advisory panels in music, the dance, and so on and more recently has established academic screening committees to advise it on outstanding talent in our colleges and universities in the performing arts. These latter committees are: The overseas touring committee of the American Educational Theater Association, and the academic screening committee of the music panel. After 5 years the time has come, I am convinced, to expect ANTA, in fairness and justice to the other art fields, to elevate these advisory panels and academic screening committees to a position where they are an integral part of ANTA itself, and in full charge of their respective fields of interest in the arts. These panels and committees should, at the same time, be broadened to provide the American Educational Theater Association, the National Music Council, the Music Educators National Conference, and the National Association of Schools of Music and other similar groups a more significant role in keeping with their importance in our society. ANTA would be a true arts council.

Alternatively, the American Educational Theater Association and the National Council of the Arts in Education should be contracted with directly by the State Department to manage our developing program of educational exchanges in the arts of the theater. For ANTA to continue to manage our cultural exchange program for the State Department without such significant internal changes would be comparable to the Department of Defense contracting with General Motors to manage its entire procurement program covering everything from submarines and airplanes to tanks and trucks. You can well imagine what giant aircraft companies like Douglas and Boeing and great automobile manufacturing companies like Ford and Chrysler would think of this. If it becamp known that the Defense Department was even considering establishing the kind of arrangement the State Department has with ANTA the outcry occasioned by Defense Secretary Wilson's remark that "What is good for General Motors is good for the country" seem like a lark by comparison.

There are other areas directly relating to the arts fields which I want to discuss with you also—and briefly because of the time limitation. For several years I have urged that the status of our cultural affairs officers be raised and given a status equal to that of cultural affairs officers of other nations. I have introduced legislation to effect this change. We must create a career foreign service system in the U.S. Information Agency equal to that in the Department of State—of which it was originally an integral part to insure the ability to recruit high caliber people. Abbott Washburn, Deputy Director of the U.S. Information Agency, recently urged the need for legislation to correct the present deplorable situation. He pointed out that—

"The system under which we continue to operate is unsatisfactory for a number of reasons. Americans in our overseas service may hold appointments only as Foreign Service Reserve or Foreign Service Staff officers. Chiefly because of the lower ceiling on staff salaries, the Agency's most important and valuable officers—our public affairs officers and other top officials overseas—hold appointments as Foreign Service Reserve officers which in no sense meets our needs for a career service system. Reserve appointments are authorized under the Foreign Service Act for temporary service not to exceed 5 years. While Reserve officers are accorded the same salary and allowances as Foreign Service officers, the limitations on tenure make the Reserve category an antithesis of a career service. In addition, Reserve officers have no job security. Under the law, they may be separated at any time for any reason.

"As you know, many of our posts are located in areas where work is demanding and living is hard. Moreover, the work, itself, whatever the location, requires experience, expert knowledge, and a high level of ability and character."

Cultural affairs officers are, indeed, key men in the long-range program of presenting America's cultural image to the world. They surely deserve to be recognized as permanent career officers. I intend to continue to push for legislation which would accomplish this necessary change.

When the Congress convenes I am very hopeful, too, that we will act quickly to establish a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts. In my opinion this would represent a significant cultural step forward on the part of the Federal Government. A Federal Advisory Council on the Arts would formally recognize the essential role of the Government in promoting the arts. "There should be a Federal advisory agency as provided in several bills now pending before Congress," a resolution adopted by the Democratic Advisory Council on December 7, 1959, says, "with general authority to assist in formulating plans to develop the cultural resources of the United States, and to promote general appreciation of the beauty and educational value of works of art, literary and musical compositions and of the contribution of performing artists in all fields."

It is interesting and significant, I think, from a long-range point of view, in our Nation's cultural development that the bills in the Congress to establish a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts, and to carry out much of the legislative program I have outlined in my remarks today, now have the support of strong elements in the Democratic Party at the national level. The Young Democratic Clubs of America at their Toledo, Ohio, national convention in November 1959, and the Democratic Advisory Council at its New York City meeting on December 7, 1959, endorsed the bills in the Congress in support of the fine arts.

It will be interesting and important to observe if the organizations of the Republican Party follow suit, with regard to the fine arts legislation in the Congress—much of which has been sponsored by individual members of the Republican Party—including the bill for a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts which President Eisenhower first recommended to the Congress in his message on the state of the Union in 1955. The fine arts must have bipartisan support, just as our foreign policy does. Unfortunately, the Republican Party has tended to regard the arts in a more personal light as a handmaiden of political advantage. I need only remind you that the Committee of the Arts and Sciences for Eisenhower (CASE) established in the fall of 1956 had as its purpose, not the advancement of the fine arts, but the election of a leading official of the Republican Party. Such a committee can only discount the great purpose which the fine arts have in any democratic society. Certainly Thomas Jefferson and the other Founding Fathers never conceived of the arts in this particular context.

We in the Congress would deeply appreciate hearing much more than we do at present from the cultural leaders of our States and districts just as we presently hear from representatives of labor, agriculture, commerce, and industry. How many of you have contacted those sponsors of fine arts legislation in the Congress to tell them you appreciated their introduction of fine arts bills in the Congress? I'll wager not many, yet

this is an essential part of the democratic process.

The need for greater understanding and support of the cultural activities of the Federal Government must be developed at the grassroots level, and must be given wider publicity. I would hope that the American Educational Theater Association will, as a part of its work here in its annual convention, adopt strong resolutions in support of some of the matters which I have discussed with you today in order that we as a nation may move forward in 1960 along the hard and difficult road to artistic and cultural maturity.

More of our citizens must come to know about the forthcoming $60 million fund drive for the National Cultural Center and the exciting plans of Architect Edward D. Stone for it which are now sorely threatened by a road-and-bridge complex developed by the Republican-controlled city government of the District of Columbia which doesn't have to account to the voteless citizens of Washington for its actions and which has had no firm direction from President Eisenhower who appointed its members. There is the added riddle of what the National Cultural Center will do about the educational fine arts. Despite the law which specifically lists the educational fine arts, including even the children's theater, there is little evidence that the present movers and shapers of the National Cultural Center have any plans for educational theater. Few of the country's leaders in educational drama and music have been appointed to positions of influence, and few men of wealth have been apopinted to the board of trustees. We can only hope for the best, but the American Educational Theater Association should certainly call for appointments of leaders from the fields of the educational fine arts to the Advisory Committee on the Arts of the National Cultural Center, and condemn by an outright resolution the present plans for a bridge-and-road complex which the Commission of Fine Arts has found unacceptable.

I would like to say a word about the 45-room hospitality mansion which the American Council on Education, with which the American Educational Theater Association is affiliated, has purchased with Ford Foundation Funds ($500,000). The AETA is a real grassroots group and the Nation's most representative and powerful theater group. Certainly the AETA should have a special position at the new headquarters of the American Council on Education commensurate with its special and deserved position in our country's cultural life. In the past there has been no adequate headquarters for the reception of such special groups as were intent on learning about America firsthand, such as professors, students, corerspondents, and others from nations across the face of the earth. Certainly in such an exciting program the American Educational Theater Association must and should have a role equal to that of the recently formed Institute of Contemporary Arts which is local and confined to the District of Columbia in its operations.

In closing, let me say that we must turn the spotlight on the arts by dramatizing across the Nation, through all the various media of communication, the exciting possibilities of our cultural resources. The stage is set for action, the players are on hand—only your direction will assure effective performances. The times in which we live demand that democracy's show must go on.

Economic Dictatorship in Automobile Financing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, when this Congress reconvened on January 6 I introduced two measures which I believe are long overdue and which I hope will be enacted upon during this session.

The bills are H.R. 9356, to supplement the Sherman Act and the Federal Trade Commission Act by prohibiting automobile manufacturers from engaging in the businesses of financing and insuring automobiles purchased by consumers, and H.R. 9357, to fortify the antitrust policy of the United States against concentration of economic power and the use or abuse of that power to the detriment of the national economy by preventing manufacturers of motor vehicles from financing the sales of their products.

In this connection, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following report published in September 1959 by the American Finance Conference, Inc., of Chicago, Ill. It is a report on hearings conducted by the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly of the Senate Judiciary Committee on Senate bills 838 and 849 which are identical to the bills which I introduced in the House.

ECONOMIC DICTATORSHIP IN AUTOMOBILE FINANCING

During the late winter and early spring this year, seven august U.S. Senators sat in panel as a subcommittee to decide on the wisdom of two bills which had been introduced in the U.S. Senate. Despite the fact that the philosophy behind these bills is vital to the business life of every small businessman in the Nation, little interest was stirred up. Most businessmen, other than those immediately involved in the bill, seemed apathetic and completely lacking in understanding of the importance to them, and their immediate futures, of Senate bills 838 and 839.

The subcommittee which was meeting in February and April was the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly of the Committee on the Judiciary. Chairman was Senator Estes Kefauver, Democrat, of Tennessee, and the other members were Senators John A. Carroll, Democrat, of Colorado; Everett Dirksen, Republican, of Illinois; Thomas C. Henning, Jr., Democrat, of Missouri; William Langer, Republican, of North Dakota; Joseph O'Mahoney, Democrat, of Wyoming; and Alexander Wiley, Republican, of Wisconsin.

The bills relate to automobile financing, and specifically seek to divorce General Motors Acceptance Corp. from the corporation which owns it outright, General Motors. They also carry provisions which will stop other automobile manufacturers from developing wholly or partially owned finance companies. This provision is pointed directly against Ford, which announced early in the year that it planned to set up a finance subsidiary to handle automobile time-sales paper for its dealers, as GMAC does for General Motors dealers now.

Excluding the financing of cars alone by banks, credit unions, etc., witnesses showed that GMAC currently does 41 percent of all financing of automobiles. The next three largest companies, between them, do 32.5 percent. The remaining 26.5 percent is divided between the 400 or 500 regional and local finance companies.

Is this, then, merely a fight in the finance business, with small finance men making a last-ditch fight for survival? Testimony showed that was not the case. Here was a classic example of the largest corporation in the Nation using its fantastic power and pressures to maintain a highly profitable subsidiary, and through this tremendous power, virtually eliminating competition in great divisions of the automobile business, always to the detriment of its competitors and ofttimes to the detriment of the consumer. Seriously injured, also, it was brought out, were many of the dealers who sell one of the many lines of General Motors cars, for they found themselves robbed of free choice in selection of financing plans or companies in which to discount the customers' paper.

Here was a test case for every small businessman, no matter what his line of business, throughout the Nation. He, too, could suddenly find that General Motors, or one of its counterparts, had decided to enter his field and through the great power they exerted, preempt half or more of the market. He, too, could suddenly find that to stay in business he had to direct part of his normal sales of accessories to the large corporation, or risk loss of his right to do business, at worst, or subtle discrimination, at best.

As witness after witness testified, the small businessmen of the Nation and the millions of people dependent on them for employment and livelihood, failed to realize the importance of this matter to them.

Finance men were, of course, vitally interested. So were automobile dealers, and they flooded the Senators with mail, mostly in favor of divorcement.

Witnesses told an interesting story. Independent finance men expressed bewilderment. One after another told of operating a successful business, a business which met with favor and had happy long-time relationships with the automobile dealer customers and the general public—but with General Motors dealers representing approximately half of the market, none, or very, very few, were among his dealer-customers. Many of the Ford dealers in his area were devoted customers; he got a good share of the business from Chrysler dealers, Studebaker, American Motors, the foreign car dealers—yes, he got his share of those. But General Motors dealers—well, they were scared to even discuss financing with him. Sometimes he got the feeling they didn't even like to have him seen in their showroom.

There were a few, of course, who would give him secondary paper—doubtful accounts that GMAC didn't want to handle. But as to regular customers—it was a rare independent finance man who reported having many General Motors dealers as regular customers.

Senator O'MAHONEY made an important statement at the opening of the meeting. He said, in part: "I am inclined to believe

if we really believe ourselves to be the leaders of the free world, we must realize that we gain nothing in freedom for people by merely transferring from political dictatorship to economic dictatorship, and I hope, Mr. Chairman, all of those who are called upon to testify here will realize that what we are actually trying to do is to find a way in which actually to preserve free enterprise. That means competition.

"We talk about free enterprise, but I have noticed that most of the leaders of the giant corporations, when they talk about free enterprise, mean enterprise which is free from Government regulation of any form.

"I do not want to crush big business. I do not believe anybody on this committee wants to crush big business.

"We are represented as being hostile to business. We are not hostile to business. We are seeking ways and means of making effective the constitutional regulation, in the public interest, of commercial affairs so that the door will constantly be open for new enterprises to come in, and so that it will be impossible for a few individuals, through their banking connections, their board of directors connections, and their economic power, to control and regulate the business of the United States on which all the people depend."

Senator WILEY, a few moments later, made the following comment: "* * * I think the gist of it" (Senator O'MAHONEY's talk) "is very definite; wherever there is power that gets into the hands of a few, it corrupts and injures the many.

"We have got to see to it that power itself is exercised with judgment and discretion."

Then came a parade of witnesses. Those in favor of a passage of either bill concerned themselves primarily with four points:

1. That GMAC, due to its size and its ownership by General Motors, was able to borrow money more cheaply and advantageously and with greater leverage—i.e., at a rate of much greater profit—than any of its competitors, thereby giving it an unfair advantage in competition.

2. That, due to its connection with its parent company, General Motors dealers felt it necessary to do business with GMAC if they wanted to retain their franchises (in which many had invested their lifetime earnings), and wanted good service and good delivery schedules from General Motors. Witness after witness testified to his belief that General Motors dealers were "scared" to place their good installment paper anywhere but with GMAC.

3. That, due to this situation, GMAS operated on an acquisition cost, that is, a cost of obtaining accounts, far lower than any competitor could obtain, since General Motors dealers understood, without much sales effort, that they were expected to place their paper with GMAC.

4. That, despite their greatly lower costs of operation, GMAC rates to the consumer were ordinarily no lower, and occasionally were higher, than the rates offered by the independent finance company. It was explained that the local automobile dealer sets the rates oftimes obtaining whatever above his cost for the paper he felt the individual buyer could be talked into paying. It was explained that the dealer kept the difference between the GMAC rate to him and what he charged the customer, as additional profit for himself.

Those opposed to the bills centered their arguments around the fact that GMAC was an efficient organization, which none denied; that its divorcement from General Motors might cause a shortage of lending money available; that, in its present form, it was a stabilizing influence on loaning rates; and that legislation to limit power in this case was not desirable.

First of the independent finance company men to appear as a witness was Edwin P. Latimer, president of the American Discount Co., Charlotte, N.C. In his opening statement he said, "The manufacturer-owned finance company from the date of its creation is placed in a superior position in various phases of the finance business. It is in a position to obtain its money in desired quantities at lower cost because of its parent-company relationship. Equally important, it obtains its business at a lower acquisition expense. Lastly, it enjoys a natural closeness of business relationship with the manufacturer's dealers that must be developed at great expense by the competing finance company."

He went on to show figures that told that in the Southeast States, where he operates, although General Motors' portion of the new car market was 47 percent during a recent 5-year span, he could only obtain 7.82 percent of his business from General Motors dealers.

"It is my opinion," Mr. Latimer went on to say, "that the 'built-in' interlocking controls of GMAC by General Motors prevented our company's volume of business from fluctuating on a scale commensumate with the national automobile sales figures."

He explained how the manufacturer-owned finance company requires the dealer to protect it against poor credit risks, by binding the dealer to absorb losses. This allows the manufacturer-owned finance company to be disinterested in the customer's ability to pay. In some cases, they purchase sales contracts without even making a prior investigation.

"We, as an independent sales finance company, must and do accept the responsibility for safeguarding the customer's credit by controlling down payment and terms in accordance with his individual needs and capacity," he testified.

Another witness to testify in the early sessions was David B. Cassat, president of Interstate Finance Corp. in Dubuque, Iowa. He told of the deals whereby Ford and Chrysler undertook to coerce their dealers to deal with finance companies in which they had a financial stake, prior to the consent decrees entered against them in 1938, and how at that time those two companies were forced to divest themselves of any financial interest in the automobile financing business.

He explained how General Motors fought the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice for 16 years, until the case was finally settled in 1952. Nevertheless, today, he showed on charts he presented to the committee, GMAC is getting 41 percent of the retail automobile financing. When questioned, he explained that retail financing was the desirable part of the financing business. All finance companies had to do wholesale financing, i.e. lend the dealers money to buy automobiles from the factory, and hold title to the automobiles until they were sold, as an accommodation to the dealer and in order to qualify for his retail business, but that wholesale business was virtually profitless.

He showed that C.I.T., second largest finance company, had receded in percentage of the total volume of automobile paper since the 1952 decree, and now only did 13.9 percent of the business. Commercial Credit, next largest, did 9.45 percent, Associates Investment did 8.87 percent, Pacific Finance 2.14 percent, General Finance 1.45 percent and all of the other finance companies in the Nation, about 400, between them had dropped to 23 percent.

Turning to the subject he headed "Debt and Capital," Mr. Cassat explained that the ratio of borrowed funds to equity capital is of prime importance to any sales finance company. The more borrowed funds a sales finance company is able to employ in relation to a given amount of capital in financing its portfolio of installment receivables, the greater the leverage will be on its equity investment. Consequently, the borrowed funds ratio is a vital factor in determining the net return on the capital investment of a sales finance company.

He then showed that GMAC had a ratio of 15.05-to-1 in 1957, while the three largest other companies are given 6.71-to-1, and smaller companies even less.

In discussing GMAC's method of operation, Mr. Cassat said that the variable charts which GMAC furnishes its dealers allow the dealers larger commissions where it is deemed necessary by GMAC, in order to keep competition at a minimum. "Their rates vary with the market they are in, and the local climate," he said.

He pointed out in conclusion that, with the dominance of GMAC becoming more pronounced each year, firm after firm was being forced out of the sales financing business. Since 1952, the American Finance Conference, trade association of the independent sales finance industry and representative of about 90 percent of the volume the independent firms do, has lost 62 members net, most of whom resigned because they were going out of the business.

David D. Steere, chairman and president of Allied Finance Co., Dallas, Tex., and president of the American Finance Conference, was the next witness. He read a prepared statement in which he testified that he was only able to purchase 14.8 percent of his new car retail business from General Motors dealers, despite the fact that they had 47 percent of the total volume of sales during 1958. His wholesale business—floor planning—for General Motors dealers only amounted to 9.3 percent.

Of the 231 General Motors dealers in the area he serves, 83.5 percent carry their floor plan with GMAC and 74.4 percent sell their retail paper to GMAC, he reported.

He then cited some of the troubles and delays independent finance companies encounter with General Motors when they try to take a General Motors dealer away from GMAC. Telling of one delay he said, "In my opinion, this unnecessary delay was instituted to discourage the dealer and to give GMAC time to try to sell the dealer on returning to them."

He concluded with the statement that, "General Motors can put enough pressure on their dealers to control the financing if they want the account. It is this monopolistic practice that will be cured by Senate bills 838 and 839, and I hope that Congress will pass them, in the interests of free enterprise."

Second day of the hearings brought to the witness stand Francis J. Conway, president of Thorp Finance Corp., of Thorp, Wis. He explained the two groups of sources for retail automobile installment credit, one group being composed of commercial banks, credit unions, small loan companies, and similar concerns, where the customer goes and makes a loan of money with which to purchase his car. The second group is the sales finance companies. Here, the customer who purchases a car from the automobile dealer expects the dealer to make the arrangements for financing the installments, and the note, in most cases, is discounted by the dealer with a sales finance company. He said, in the latter case "we compete with other sales finance companies in the opportunity to do a credit business with automobile dealers."

He told the committee he felt their problem was "whether it is in the best interests of the country to permit the largest sales finance company in the United States to continue to enjoy the advantages of association with the largest industrial corporation in the United States."

Asked whether divorcement of GMAC from General Motors might in any way affect the ability of ordinary individuals who cannot borrow money at a bank to be able to get a car without worrying about the installment paper, Mr. Conway was very definite in his answer of "No, sir."

A banker also testified to the fact that GMAC has a near monopoly on the financing of General Motors dealers and their accounts. Charles B. Whiteside, vice president and director of the Merchants National Bank of Fort Smith, Ark., told the Senators that he favored passage of the bill.

He said that while he purchases about a million dollars worth of automobile sales contracts a month for his bank, he has no General Motors dealer accounts at all. He has solicited their business continually, but has found it impossible to get any of it. The other two banks in Fort Smith are also engaged in the automobile finance business, but they, too, have been unable to crack the General Motors accounts, he stated.

He told the story of a dealer, who had been a good customer while selling another make of car, who finally got a General Motors franchise. Mr. Whiteside's bank encountered great delays in trying to arrange financing for him in his new connection. Then, a week before he was to receive his new cars, "a General Motors representative called on him and explained to him that all good General Motors dealers did their finance business with General Motors Acceptance Corp., and that General Motors preferred it that way. Further, that General Motors dealers using General Motors Acceptance Corp. wholesale and retail financing received more cars and had no trouble with special orders."

He concluded the story by saying, "We haven't had any business from him since that day."

Later, on the same day, Senator O'MAHONEY made a stirring speech in which he stated: "I am inviting GMAC and General Motors directors to realize that what we are trying to do now in this legislation is to stop the trend toward economic dictatorship in America. We cannot successfully fight political dictatorship if we allow economic dictatorship to dominate a dozen businesses across the country." Referring to this particular industry, he added, "* * * it is a great instance of the evil result of concentration of economic power upon free enterprise."

Final witness of the day was L. Walter Lundell, chairman of the board of directors of Universal CIT Credit Corp. He made a number of points showing that a monopoly exists.

"GMAC, by reason of the fact that it is a wholly-owned subsidiary of General Motors Corp.," he said, "has controlled this market and has virtually closed it to the many hundreds of independfent finance companies who would like to compete effectively for this business."

He added: "(1) The fact that GMAC is a member of the General Motors family exercises a potent sales influence which gives GMAC unique benefits. Such a relationship means lower acquisition expense and lower overhead, organizational and personnel costs, relative to other finance companies.

"(2) GMAC, as a member of the General Motors family, can borrow about twice as much money in comparison to its capital base as the largest independent finance companies, and this advantage is even greater when related to the smaller finance companies. This borrowed money can then be employed by GMAC at a lower rate than competitors, and still earns for GMAC as great, or greater, return to capital than any competitor. The advantage which GMAC has through being owned by General Motors is specifically demonstrated in certain loan agreements which provide that were GMAC to be divested from General Motors, the borrowing ratios presently in effect would be reduced."

He also explained that this does not mean lower rates for the consumers who use financing. "What rate the consumer will pay," he said, "depends upon local competitive conditions and represents the bargain the dealer and car buyer have struck between themselves."

Discussing the possibility of the entry by other automobile manufacturers into the finance business, he said this would lead to further concentration in the financing of automobiles, where the business is now done by hundreds of finance companies and banks. For consumers, it would very substantially reduce the range of alternatives for financing, Mr. Dundell stated. "The time to prevent this is now," he warned the committee. "Under pressure for sales, credit standards, could deteriorate, thereby contributing to economic instability and inflation, which would be very damaging to the Nation's economy."

The first opponent of the bills before the subcommittee was heard on the morning of the third day. He was F. W. Misch, vice president-finance, Chrysler Corp., Detroit.

He stated that he believed that the presence of automobile manufacturers in the field of financing in no way reduced competition, and that eliminating them from the field would not promote competition. He felt, he said, that the antitrust laws now in effect are broad enough to guard the public interest against undue concentrations of economic power.

He also expressed concern that dealers in the more sparsely settled areas might have difficulty getting financing if GMAC was made an independent company, rather than a subsidiary of General Motors. He also felt that, while competition in the metropolitan areas kept the prices of financing at a reasonable level, this competition did not exist to the same extent in areas which were less readily accessible to finance company employees. Without the beneficent influence of a General Motor's owned GMAC to set price levels which others had to meet in these rural areas, they might go much higher, he said.

Principal witness against the passage of the bills was, however, Theodore O. Yntema, vice president-finance, Ford Motor Co., Dearborn, Mich., who was accompanied by Ford's general counsel, William T. Gossett.

While Dr. Yntema's testimony covered the full gamut of automobile financing, it returned, time and again, to the fact that Ford was suffering a competitive disadvantage. General Motors dealers, he pointed out, received both various forms of compensation and opportunities to make profits beyond those on the markup of the automobile, from General Motor's subsidiary, GMAC, while Ford could not offer these additional compensations and opportunities. He plaintively stated that even passage of these bills would not alleviate the situation for Ford, since he was sure General Motors would delay enforcement of these laws through extended legal action, and that, even if they failed in the courts, it would be many years until the influence General Motors has exerted on its dealers to use GMAC wanes entirely. His exact phraseology, in a letter he wrote later summing up his testimony, was: "Passage of the bills would continue GM's competitive advantage for years while the statute is tested in court and, even if the statute is upheld, for years thereafter due to close relationships that have developed between GMAC and GM dealers."

His reasoning was that, therefore, the independent finance companies and commercial banks should suffer additionally from other major automobile-manufacturer-owned finance companies, rather than have Ford get what would only be gradual relief from the competition from which it is now suffering.

He then admitted that "The only effective protection that I know the consumer can have is from competition. Now, there may be honest differences of opinion as to just how that competition should be provided."

Senator KEFAUVER, in discussing this and other items of Dr. Yntema's philosophy a few minutes later, remarked: "It seems to me that if General Motors Acceptance Corp. was spun off, you might have more competition and lower rates. Of course, they would offer the same service to everybody, then.

"You, with your great financial resources, might be able to get into the finance business and put up all the money and suffer the losses that would be with it. Chrysler might be able to."

But "we have got two other [automobile] companies that are trying to survive. If every [automobile manufacturing] company has to have its own finance company, it is going to make much more difficult new entries into the business.

"I must say it is a little bit discouraging when those you are trying to help and do something for come around and advocate the retention and even the extension of a concentration of power that is already very, very tremendous, so big that the Department of Justice is apparently very much concerned about it. But that is apparently what we have here today."

In responding to Senator KEFAUVER's statement, Dr. Yntema did say, "If I can make one final comment, I think it is quite possible that in the short run, if you could get the spinoff of GMAC, in the short run we might get some benefit from it."

The committee adjourned for 6 weeks, and then resumed hearings in April.

First witness they heard after adjournment was Thurman Arnold, former head of the Antitrust Division of the U.S. Department of Justice, and presently a practicing attorney in Washington. Mr. Arnold stated that he was appearing in two roles, as a representative of an automobile financing company and as a vitally interested citizen, since it had been under his administration that the indictments against General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler were brought in.

He stated his philosophy: "The evil of the great corporation lies not in its size but in the temptation to use its power over the product which it alone can efficiently make to swallow up other businesses which can be carried on locally. * * * At the time that the General Motors prosecution was brought, the United States was rapidly becoming a land of absentee ownership. Local dollars were being siphoned to New York. Opportunities to build up local capital were being rapidly destroyed. The West and South had become colonies of the industrial East."

He stated the whole theory and the motive behind the attack on the passage of S. 838 and S. 839 by Dr. Yntema and Ford in two paragraphs:

"Mr. Yntema of Ford appears to be of the opinion that it is a fine thing for everybody if General Motors owns GMAC. It is good for Ford to be forced to the great expense and difficulty of breaking into a new market with its own finance company, in order to put Ford in the position of being able to compete with General Motors in the sale of automobiles. It would be a bad thing to equalize Ford's position by making GMAC independent. He does not explain to me satisfactorily why he thinks so. However, that is his position."

A little later, he says, "I agree with the testimony of Mr. Yntema of Ford that control over a finance company gives the manufacturer who has it the competitive advan-

tage over a manufacturer who does not. * * * If it be true that Ford believes what it says now—that ownership of GMAC by GM together with a lesser participation in the financing market by Ford is a good economic situation for Ford, then Ford in signing the divestiture decree of 1939 made the most incredible blunder in judgment since the charge of the Light Brigade."

In answer to the charge that this legislation might be special legislation, aimed solely at the automobile industry, Mr. Arnold pointed out that "the Government has itself in a procedural trap by virtue of the consent decrees of 1952 which make General Motors immune from prosecution. These decrees are res adjudicata. They cannot now be altered. Legislation is required to make General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler subject to the same laws as apply to other American corporations. This is not, as is charged, special legislation to treat the automobile companies differently from other industries."

Mr. Arnold said that the Ford attitude was that by establishing a finance company and concentrating power in the hands of the big motor manufacturers, the public would benefit. When questioned by Senator KEFAUVER on this point, Mr. Arnold explained: "I know of no section of administered prices that ever goes down. Of course, that is the theory of the cartel system, if you get these industries together they will always charge a fair price, nobody will go broke, they will always have security and be able to lower prices.

"It is completely in contradiction not only with the facts, but with every American tradition."

During the final session, two witnesses appeared. The first, who made a brief statement, was R. L. Mullins, president of the Wolfe City National Bank, Wolfe City, Tex. Mr. Mullins explained he was also chairman of the legislative committee of the Independent Bankers Association of America.

He said, "In recent years it has been almost impossible to obtain automobile retail paper from General Motors dealers. Only in rare instances is a borrower able to place his paper with our bank even if he wants to do so."

He also told the committee that as far as the banks of the country are concerned, he was quite sure they were able and willing to finance more automobile paper, if they could get it.

He concluded with this statement: "In my opinion, the GMAC manufacturer-finance combination is against the public interest. If GMAC has reached a point of efficiency where it can serve the purchasing public better than local banks and smaller independent finance companies, I fail to see where that efficiency will be impaired by legislation which would have the effect of making it stand on its own feet unaided by General Motors."

The final witness of the hearing was Paul C. Jones, president of the American Security Division of A.S.C. Corp., of Marion, Ind.

Mr. Jones made a number of points in most telling fashion. Some of the principal points concerned rates to the consumer, dealer profits, and leverage.

On the question of rates Mr. Jones stated, "Others have claimed for GMAC what GMAC has never claimed for itself, because GMAC knows it is not true, and realizes that any such claim by them would prove embarrassing because facts repudiate it.

"In the statement General Motors filed with you, dated February 27, 1959, no claim was made that GMAC financing assured low rates to time buyers. The facts are that GMAC permits the GM dealers to charge the maximum the law will allow in States where there is rate legislation, and in other States, according to statements made on several occasions by the GMAC president, they will permit charges for new cars as high as $9 per hundred per year.

"This is definitely not a policy of low rates to the public."

He also pointed out that GMAC sees to it that the GM dealer has five sources of income when he finances his cars through GMAC. Mr. Jones referred to these as "five separate pocketbooks."

He explained that they are (1) The mark-up on the new car, (2) the normal reserve for losses on time sales set up on the books of GMAC, (3) the overage or pack charged to time buyers when the charges reach or approach the maximum set by law, such overage is then credited to or paid to the dealer by GMAC, (4) the commission paid auto dealers on insurance included and paid for in the time sales contract, (5) the income so long as the dealer remains a GM dealer, from the repairs and parts replacements under losses under such policies.

Under the GM mobility of subsidy plan, all these incomes are under GM control and passed on to the dealer from GM or its subsidiaries, Mr. Jones said.

Other manufacturers, without finance and insurance subsidiaries, furnish only one income, the mark-up on the new car. This exclusive position, Jones points out, enables GM to control its dealers. Additionally, three of the five incomes are delayed future incomes, to come from GM's subsidiaries to the dealers. "In addition to control over the dealers, this setup places General Motors own dealers in an enviable position with respect to competition with the dealers of Ford, Chrysler and other independent dealers * * *. With these advantages, the dealers would be foolish to switch franchises from General Motors to competing franchises, and for the contrary reasons, good dealers of Ford and Chrysler and independents are attracted to take on GM franchises. This condition is one of the chief reasons for failures of new automotive manufacturers." Jones said that there was "restraint in trade" prevalent in the competition for dealer outlets by auto manufacturers because of the setup.

In discussing the question of leverage and telling how GMAC, due to its ownership by General Motors, can borrow a far higher amount in ratio to its capital than even the largest of the independent finance companies—possibly three times as much—Mr. Jones filed a very important document with the committee. It was a copy of a special loan agreement between the large insurance companies and GMAC, and it stated that so long as General Motors owns GMAC, GMAC may issue subordinated debenture bonds to the ratio of 200 percent of its common net worth, but in the event of separation it would have to reduce it to 150 percent.

He showed figures to prove this unusually large borrowing ratio and numerous other discriminations from which independent finance companies suffered, but GMAC did not, were entirely due to the ownership of GMAC by GM.

This, then, is where the matter stands. Nearly 25 pounds of recorded testimony and exhibits are in the hands of the committee. But this is not just hundreds of pages of words and charts and figures. It is, instead, the evidence that will cause the committee to resolve the question of large corporation dictatorship; of protection for the small, independent businessman (finance company, auto dealer, and others involved); of whether free competition is not the very best thing for the protection of the consumer; and, finally, of whether free competition or cartel operation is most likely to bring prices to the consumer down.

More than a hundred thousand people—automobile dealers and their employees, those who operate independent finance companies and those who work in them—await the action of the committee on Senate bills 838 and 839 with tremendous interest and the knowledge that their very livelihood is threatened.

For the public at large, a stake almost as great exists, for by this legislation will be determined whether or not large, monopolistic enterprise, not proved to be in the welfare of the public, shall be allowed to continue.

Security With Solvency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH S. CLARK
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very able article entitled "Security With Solvency," written by our colleague the Senator from Missouri [Mr. SYMINGTON], and published in the November 26 issue of the Reporter magazine.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SECURITY WITH SOLVENCY—A DEMOCRATIC LEADER'S CRITIQUE OF THE UNBUSINESSLIKE "BUSINESSMAN'S ADMINISTRATION"

(By Senator STUART SYMINGTON)

Can the United States maintain an adequate defense and insure the well-being of its own people without jeopardizing its economy? This question arose time and again during the recent session of Congress—a session in which concern for a balanced budget and fear of deficit financing dominated nearly every debate on public expenditures.

It is a vital question. To provide security—in the broadest sense of that term—while maintaining national solvency poses a challenge to our skill in self-Government. With the great burden that our defense program makes necessary, we have reason to make all the economies that are possible by sound and able management of our Government programs. I believe it is possible for Republican and Democrat alike to agree on this even though they may still disagree about whether the present level of Government expenditures is a sacrosanct figure revealed from on high as the absolute measure of the Nation's needs.

HOW MUCH IS WASTED?

From its beginning the Eisenhower administration has paid lip service to the concept of security with solvency and, as a businessman's administration, promised to conduct the affairs of Government on an efficient, economical basis. Judged by its own criteria, it has been a colossal and expensive failure. It has not only cut into the bone of essential programs without achieving necessary economies; its mismanagement has positively contributed to wasteful expenditures that could have been used to good purpose. Despite rumblings of protest from many in a position to know, the policies and programs of the present administration are wasting tens of millions of the taxpayers' dollars every week. Billions of dollars are being squandered that otherwise could be invested in the public facilities needed to keep abreast of our growing population. As a result, worthwhile programs for schools, dams, highways, medical research, etc., are dismissed by the administration as contributing to budgetary imbalance.

When a government finds its expenditures crowding its revenues, and senses popular disapproval of tax increases, it can embrace one of two solutions. The first is retrenchment. This has been the answer of the present administration, which has drastically pared social-welfare programs and decreed no new starts in public facilities.

The second solution is more difficult. It involves more patient effort, discipline, and leadership. It means that the conflicting interests which pull government programs in different directions must be met with decisions instead of wasteful compromises. It means the constant weeding out of inefficient practices in government departments. It involves rejection of the prevalent notion that waste must be tolerated as an inevitable part of the cost of any public enterprise.

The application of management principles to government is difficult, but its dividends are great. The money thus saved, I believe, could go a long way toward providing America with the investments it needs.

Let us consider four areas of present expenditure: agriculture, government finance, foreign aid, and defense. I select these four because they make up some $62 billion of this year's expenditures, or about 80 percent of the total budget. These four areas pose a common indictment of the waste brought on by the Eisenhower administration's decisions, or just as wasteful, its failure to make decisions.

1. In agriculture

Since assuming office in 1953, Ezra Taft Benson has spent more money than was spent by all of the previous Secretaries of Agriculture put together since the department was established in 1889. He has managed to do this without raising farm income or lowering food costs to the housewife. The farm problem has grown into what has been called "the most critical, perilous, unresolved domestic problem facing the United States."

The $31 billion spent on the farm program since 1952 has involved increases in many areas. Administrative costs of the price-support program since that year have multiplied more than tenfold from $34 million a year to $364 million. The number of employees in the Department of Agriculture has increased from 66,000 to 85,000.

But the greatest increase in spending—running into billions of dollars—comes from the government's failure to manage agricultural surpluses properly. This in turn results from failure to understand the business operation of the typical family farmer who operates the great majority of the farms of America.

The administration has followed a policy of lowering price supports on the theory that this would reduce production. Any true understanding of the way farmers operate would show that it has the opposite effect. Farmers have fixed costs—mortgage payments, farm machinery, installment payments, and the like—most of which have increased with the cost of living and the cost of money. In order to meet these higher costs when price supports are reduced, they must produce more. Unless there are effective controls on production, they take advantage of technological advances to increase production as much as possible.

Under the administration's policies this is precisely what has happened. In each of the last 6 years, farm production has increased, leaving the Government holding an inventory of farm commodities which has cost over $9 billion and which by January 1961, will be over $12 billion. Storage costs alone on this inventory amount to a billion dollars a year.

This sad situation was foreseeable and correctible. Why then did it happen? The unavoidable evidence is that the administration has stooped to play politics with the farm program time after time, has refused to impose meaningful production controls, and, despite continuing criticisms by Congress, has never come up with a concrete program to correct the situation.

Instead, makeshift actions have only aggravated the problem. Last year, for example, with Government warehouses and bins stuffed with a billion and a half bushels of surplus corn, the Secretary of Agriculture recommended a corn program that not only removed all limitations on production but actually increased the price support on more than 90 percent of the corn produced in the United States. The department now estimates that its new program will result in the record-shattering production of 4.5 billion bushels this year; at least 500 million additional bushels will end up in Government warehouses.

This year, Congress passed a wheat bill that would have reduced wheat production by 20 percent and cut down Government wheat inventories by hundreds of millions of bushels. The savings to taxpayers would have been at least $260 million annually—enough to build 6,500 needed classrooms. But the President vetoed the bill.

The handling of this enormous food inventory has been mismanaged. The administration, by its own admission, has negotiated and signed contracts for the storage of grain without first studying what this storage would cost. It has sold commodities from Government stocks to private companies at a low price, and then allowed those same companies to sell them abroad at much higher prices, in transactions the Government itself financed.

The irony is that the administration's policies have hurt the farmer, particularly the small farmer, instead of helping him. In fact, though farm families constitute 12 percent of the Nation's population, their share of the national income has now fallen to 3.5 percent, a new low.

2. In Government finance

By January of 1958, the Nation had already been through the first 4 months of what was to prove a prolonged economic recession. Some of the clearly predictable effects of a recession upon Government finance are shrinkage of anticipated tax revenues and increased demands for expenditure upon the Government. These were not reflected in the budget for the next fiscal year, to begin in less than 6 months, that the President submitted to Congress on January 13. Instead, it contained an estimate that the Government would be operated at a budget surplus of about $500 million. This estimate turned out to be in error by approximately $13 billion. Instead of a surplus of $500 million, the Government incurred the largest peacetime deficit in the country's history, even though Congress appropriated $617 million less than the President had requested.

During the past 5 fiscal years, the Federal Government has been operated at a net deficit of about $17 billion. This also is far above any deficit ever experienced in this country over a comparable period during which we were not at war. Despite the widely held belief to the contrary, this deficit was not the fault of Congress, which in these years appropriated $10.6 billion less than the President requested.

The increased Government borrowing resulting from these years of deficit has increased the national debt from $266.1 billion at the end of the fiscal year 1953 to the present figure of about $290 billion. If the taxpayer is to be protected, such a large debt must be managed with great care. Like any prudent business concern, the Treasury should try to finance its debt at the lowest possible interest rates.

But from the beginning, the Treasury of this administration has violated this simple rule of debt management. Early in 1953, the Treasury Department raised the interest rate on Government bonds to 3¼ percent. This was substantially above the minimum interest rate needed to sell the bonds. Even 2 years later, in spite of a general upward trend of interest rates, potential buyers oversubscribed a 40-year Government bond issue offered at the lower rate of 3 percent.

This imprudent practice has been followed time and again during the last 3 years. Offerings of the Treasury at lower rates than the present limit were oversubscribed by the public, but the Treasury continued its policy of issuing a far smaller amount of bonds than the evidence showed the market would absorb. Only last March, for example, the Treasury opened the subscription books for a 4 percent 12-year bond. The public offered to buy $1.5 billion worth, but the Treasury had limited the subscription to only $619 million. Again in February, 1958, investors made bids totaling $6 billion on a subscription of a 3 percent 8½-year bond. But the Treasury had limited the sale to only $1.5 billion.

Of course, no one can state with absolute certainty what the money market will accept. But the administration has shown a continuing hesitancy about getting a good bargain for its bonds. Its own sense of insecurity has created insecurity in the market—has, in fact, helped push up the price of money. When the Treasury appealed to Congress this June for authority to increase interest rates, it did so despite the fact that many times during the last 2 years it passed up the chance to refinance the debt at lower rates.

With such management, is it any wonder that the interest cost of the national debt has increased from $6.6 billion in the fiscal year 1953 to an estimated $8.6 billion for the fiscal year 1960? If our financial management had been conducted on a businesslike basis during the past 6 years, I believe the interest burden to the taxpayer would be at least a billion dollars less a year.

The other important phase of financial management is the collection of taxes. There is a great deal of evidence that if our collections were handled more efficiently we could be raising billions more in taxes at current tax rates. In fact, earlier this year, the Commissioner of Internal Revenue told Congress that $25 to $26 billion of income each year was not being reported by taxpayers. The Commissioner also testified that every new tax-enforcement agent brings in, in 1 year, 10 to 15 times his salary for searching out this unreported income.

Faced with such a sure prospect of increased revenue, any prudent businessman would work hard to collect it. But not this administration. Since 1952, it has actually cut 3,000 enforcement personnel from the staff of the Internal Revenue Service. The staff is so small today most returns cannot even be checked to see if they were computed correctly. Fewer than 5 percent are given a thorough audit. Nevertheless, on the grounds of economy, this year the administration, in a prize example of false economy, continued to oppose all but the smallest increase in funds for additional enforcement.

3. In mutual security

Over the past few years reports have come from abroad about great waste in the administration of our mutual security program. These reports have come not just from the opponents of foreign aid. Senator FULBRIGHT, perhaps its greatest champion in the Senate and as knowledgeable a man on international relations as we have, has cited various examples of his own. They include a $5 million hospital in France that was built but never opened.

Most of this waste is not due to corruption, and bad management by our oversea personnel is far from the whole explanation.

Many of our foreign-assistance programs have gone wrong because the people in charge of them could not plan projects beyond the limiting 12-month period. Public-works projects start, then stop and hang in abeyance waiting for word from Washington whether the new budget will allow them to proceed. Underdeveloped countries have been reluctant to request loans for the most important wealth-producing projects, such as dams and railroads, because these require longer term financing than our aid program has offered.

Largely for this reason, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee proposed this year to put the Development Loan Fund on a long-term basis, with authority to borrow from the Treasury. Such long-term planning is one of the simplest requirements of any successful business. If a private corporation could not plan confidently beyond a 12-month period, its development would be bogged down in uncertainty and waste. It would be judged guilty of exceedingly bad management.

This principle of fiscal foresight is already recognized in other programs of our government. At least 13 public agencies borrow from the Treasury in this manner. Nevertheless, the administration opposed granting such authority to the Development Loan Fund. As a result, we will spend almost a billion dollars a year in this field without the kind of long-term planning that will make it effective and economic.

4. In Defense

For our own military forces we are now spending about $41 billion a year—more than half our total budget. Nearly $5 billion more is being expended annually for such additional national security items as atomic energy, military assistance to other countries, and strategic stockpiles. Not many Americans realize how heavy is the price the taxpayer is paying for the duplication, service rivalry, inefficient organization, and resultant waste now characteristic of our defense operations.

One example: During fiscal 1959 alone, the three services together spent more than $4 billion for the development, production, and manning of a continental air defense system against possible enemy bombers. In other words, we spend almost $11 million a day for defenses against a small number of Soviet bombers. But these defenses are useless against such modern offensive weapons as long-range ballistic missiles or shorter-range guided and ballistic missiles launched from submarines.

By far the greatest waste in government today can be traced to the obsolete organizational structure of the Department of Defense, an organization that cannot possibly function efficiently. Most of our prominent military leaders, including General Eisenhower until he became President, have asserted that unless our defenses are reorganized on the basis of progress rather than tradition, this Nation could well go broke.

As an illustration, we are currently being obliged to support a variety of air forces: the Army air force, the Navy air force, the Air Force air force, the Marine air force, plus the Military Air Transport Service. In addition we support, in whole or in part, various reserve components such as CRAF (civil air reserve) and the Civil Air Patrol. Instead of one group of land combat forces, we support two, the Army and the Marine Corps, plus the reserve components for both of them.

As a result of the waste all this duplication entails, the taxpayer is getting a very small combat force at very high cost. These various organizations are in active competition in weapons systems, in the bidding for skilled personnel, and in the struggle for the most desirable engineering and production facilities.

Despite the fact the science of warfare has changed more in the last 15 years than in the previous thousand, we have not conducted a genuine weapons-system evaluation since the end of the Second World War. That failure in itself has cost the American taxpayer tens of millions of dollars a week. Hundreds of millions of dollars have been spent on each of many specific weapons systems. Then the projects have either been drastically curtailed or canceled. In most cases the cancellations and curtailments have not been based upon evidence that the weapons systems were not needed; they have been the result of the overriding priority given fiscal objectives by this administration.

To cite just a few of the numerous examples:

The Navy spent almost $400 million on the development of the Seamaster (P6M)—a long-range amphibious bomber. This project was canceled in August of this year, during the early stages of the preparation of the fiscal 1961 budget.

The Regulus II is a Navy supersonic air-breathing missile, which the Chief of Naval Operations called the best of its kind in existence. It was developed, proven, and then produced in small quantities. After several hundred million dollars had been spent, the project was canceled during the last stages of the preparation of the fiscal 1960 budget.

The Air Force and the Navy spent about $250 million on facilities and materials for the development of fuel applications of boron. After such expenditures, the new facilities have been left idle, and the project has been reduced to a small-scale research operation.

It is not hard to understand why this start-and-stop financing takes place. Each service is trying to prepare itself to wage any possible future war by itself. The duplication and waste resulting from such loose management is costing us billions.

Failure to reorganize for the nuclear and space age has compounded the waste of funds and skills. A prominent member of this administration warned that unless the friction and duplication between the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and the Defense Department were eliminated soon, the taxpayers would be losing at least $3 billion annually in that field alone.

Last spring, after examining the Government's organization for space activities, a Senate subcommittee issued a unanimous report with nine specific recommendations for improving administration. It stated: "Failure to act promptly on the above-listed inadequacies will not only result in additional waste of time, money, and skilled personnel, but also will impair both our national security and our international prestige." The final conclusion in this unanimous report was: "Space activities within the Department of Defense cannot be managed effectively by changes in the organization and administration of the space program alone. Such changes can only be effective if they are an integrated part of a further unification of the services within the Department of Defense."

This present ineffective organization and management brings into disrepute the entire military structure of the country. Direct and indirect derogatory publicity degrades the competence and missions of the rival services. But what is more important, it does not give us the security we should be buying with such a large expenditure.

The transition to the nuclear space age will not be cheap. But a first step that any prudent management should attempt is to make certain that the Government's dollar is being well spent.

The savings possible in the four areas I have discussed could total $10 billion. Among other things such funds could finance:

The slum-clearance and urban-renewal program of the U.S. Conference of Mayors ($600 million).

The expenditure of the original Murray-Metcalf aid-to-education bill ($4.4 billion).

Twice the Senate's recommendation for medical research ($800 million).

A doubling of authorized funds for hospital construction under the Hill-Burton program ($420 million).

The maximum Senate-committee programs for depressed areas ($400 million) and modernization of airports ($115 million).

Governments have no profit-and-loss guidelines, nor are they as limited in the ways they can meet the demands of creditors. The concessions and compromises of the political process often induce duplication and flabby practices. I believe, however, that our Government could perform its proper functions, far more effectively and with solvency, if in our approach to the problem we would emphasize better management instead of retrenchment. With a hard new discipline, and with a policy of taking the people in as partners in knowledge of the true nature of our problem, it can be done.

Mr. McGEE subsequently said: Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "Security With Solvency," written by the distinguished junior Senator from Missouri, the Honorable STUART SYMINGTON, and published in the December issue of Reporter magazine.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McGEE. I yield.

Mr. CLARK. I may advise the Senator from Wyoming that I placed that article in the RECORD earlier today.

Mr. McGEE. Then, Mr. President, I withdraw my request and only reiterate, in commendatory language of my own, the wisdom of reading with care Senator SYMINGTON'S forthright, direct assault on some of the embarrassing fiscal policies which confront the country today.

Testimonial Dinner Tendered Louis G. Feldmann, Commander in Chief, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, Hazleton, Pa., December 12, 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, December 12, 1959, nearly 600 friends of Louis G. Feldmann, commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, packed Genetti's Pennsylvania Room at Hazleton, Pa., at a testimonial dinner in his honor. Guests representing all walks of life and from every section of the United States were in attendance and joined in

paying a well-deserved tribute to one of Hazleton's prominent citizens.

It was my privilege to deliver the following address at the testimonial dinner.

ADDRESS BY REPRESENTATIVE JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, MEMBER OF CONGRESS, 20TH DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA, AT THE TESTIMONIAL DINNER HONORING LOUIS G. FELDMANN, COMMANDER IN CHIEF, VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES, DECEMBER 12, 1959

This is indeed a happy occasion when we can gather to pay a well-deserved tribute to a local boy who has made good in so emphatic a way.

Hazleton, Luzerne County and Pennsylvania, are justly proud that the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States has honored Louis G. Feldmann by electing him as commander in chief.

We are taking this opportunity to tell Lou Feldmann that we are glad of the honor that has come to him, that we confidently accept his leadership, and that we intend to aid with all our power the efforts of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, under his command, to promote loyalty among Americans and peace and good will throughout the world.

It is an accepted fact that invariably every successful man owes a debt of gratitude to a woman whether it be his mother, wife, or sweetheart for the encouragement he receives in the daily battle of life.

Therefore, it is fitting that we pause in this tribute to Lou Feldmann and salute his good wife, Ann, who keeps the home fires burning as Lou moves through the air and over the highways and byways of the Nation.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, as we all know, is one of the major veterans organizations of the country, numbering almost 1½ million members.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars with other similar veterans organizations, represents a large segment of the American population since the veteran population today numbers approximately 23 million persons.

In fact, veterans, with their immediate families, have recently been computed to comprise approximately 45 percent of the total population of the United States.

As veterans we have no interests and no wishes that separate us from the local and national community.

Like our neighbors, we receive the benefits and share the burdens of government.

We are of many races, creeds, and national origins.

We are of varying economic positions, and belong to different political parties, and to different schools of thought in many other respects.

Nevertheless, we share a common citizenship, and a common intensity of American patriotism.

The love of country that we all share, we have had occasion as veterans to prove by our deeds—yes, we have proved our love of country by labor and obedience, by bravery in the face of danger, by undergoing hardships and imprisonment, sickness and wounds, in the service of America.

With this history, we join to give effect to our concern for the general good of the Nation, to exercise our influence, to give leadership to the community, and particularly to the young.

In fact, we of the veterans organizations wish to make of our group a citadel of patriotism whose first concern is the welfare of all citizens.

It is, therefore, most fitting that the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, should have chosen for its commander in chief such a man as your friend and my friend, Louis G. Feldmann, whose character and career are typical of the ideal citizen.

Like many of you, Lou Feldmann is my own good friend and longtime associate.

Therefore, I can speak of him with much pleasure because like you, his neighbors, I know and admire his many fine qualities.

Lou Feldmann's career has been divided, as his professional life now is, between the two towns of Wilkes-Barre and Hazleton.

He was born in Wilkes-Barre, and spent his childhood there, attending St. Mary's Parochial High School.

Then he went to the University of Pennsylvania, earning the degree of bachelor of science in economics and then staying on for graduate work.

He studied law at Duquesne University, Pittsburgh, where he received his law degree.

As you know, he now lives in Hazleton, and practices law in both Hazleton and Wilkes-Barre.

Between the study of law and the practice of it, however, occurred the same essential interim occupation that commanded the attention of so many of us in the early 1940's.

With the strong sense of civic responsibility already evident in his choice of economics and law as studies, Lou Feldmann could not hold back from the fight upon which our national existence depended.

As a result, early in World War II he enlisted as a private in the U.S. Marine Corps.

Lou's talent for leadership was soon recognized, and he was assigned as a drill instructor at the Parris Island Marine Base, where he had the responsibility of training thousands of recruits for combat duty.

On January 13, 1945, he went overseas with Company G, 9th Regiment, 3d Marine Division, for service in the Asiatic-Pacific theater of operations.

Upon the conclusion of the war in the Pacific he was returned to the United States and discharged with the rank of sergeant.

Of course as we all know, the rank of sergeant in the Marine Corps—as the marines would say—compares favorably with that of a general or admiral in other branches of the Service.

What the marines have in mind is that the authority of a sergeant in the Marine Corps is unequalled regardless of rank or raitng in our Armed Forces.

If you doubt this interpretation let me suggest that you talk to any leatherneck after graduation from basic training at either Parris Island or San Diego.

So tonight we salute you, Sgt. Lou Feldmann.

Returning to Lou's biography he resumed his interrupted civilian occupation, and soon passed his bar examinations, after which he was admitted to the Pennsylvania bar.

As we all know our honored guest ex-Marine Sgt. Louis Feldmann is an attorney of high professional standing and reputation, being a member of county, State, and national bar associations, and admitted to practice before the Supreme Court of the United States.

In his professional career, Lou has behind him an excellent record of public service, as district attorney of Luzerne County from 1951 to 1955.

Such a career is enough to keep any man busy, and reduce his community and organizational activity to a minimum, but Lou Feldmann has been so active in organizations, local, State, and national, that some people would probbaly be surprised to hear that he is a practicing lawyer.

Here in Hazleton, he is a member of the advisory board of the Salvation Army.

Chairman of the board of Catholic Charities, and a member of the Hazleton Educational Council.

He has been president both of the Hazleton Kiwanis Club and of Hazleton Mental Health, Inc., an organization devoted to the problems of mental health and their solution.

In 1956, at the request of Gov. George M. Leader, Lou served as a member of a State conference concerning mental health.

Strongly conscious of the danger to our country inherent in the current tendencies of juvenile delinquency and neglect by parents and other adults of their social and civic responsibilities our distinguished guest has given of his time and energy in touring the Nation in behalf of an energetic and practical approach to these problems.

He has gained national prominence in urging wider participation by citizens in public affairs on both the community and national levels.

In short, he has pleaded for a sympathetic and positive approach to the problems of youth.

But, though these activities would seem to make a more than full career for any man, it is within the organization of Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States that Lou Feldmann has been most active and outstanding.

Shortly after his return from overseas duty in World War II he joined the local post, No. 589, of the VFW and was soon elected its commander.

Proving his outstanding leadership he later became commander of the Anthracite Counties Council.

The representative of Pennsylvania VFW then recognized Lou's ability and understanding of the veteran problem by electing him as judge advocate of the Department of Pennsylvania, then vice commander of the Department of Pennsylvania, and finally in 1950 he was elected commander of the Department of Pennsylvania.

In 1951–52 he served as a member of the national council for administration, representing the Departments of New York and Pennsylvania.

In 1957, he was elected as junior vice commander in chief.

He became senior vice commander in chief in 1958.

In September of this year at Los Angeles the delegates representing nearly 1½ million oversea veterans selected him unanimously as their leader.

Therefore, tonight we honor Lou Feldmann as the commander in chief of a group of fighting men who compose the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States.

In bestowing upon Lou Feldmann the highest honor possible the membership of the VFW recognized particularly the extraordinary leadership that he demonstrated for 8 years as chairman of the VFW National Loyalty Day committee.

As chairman of this committee he distinguished himself as the leader of a group of patriots in the battle against communism in America and in the promotion of loyalty and responsible citizenship by our people.

As a symbol of this patriotic ambition—through Lou Feldman's efforts—it was my privilege to sponsor in Congress Loyalty Day legislation and to have the pleasure of seeing the measure enacted into law by proclaiming May 1 annually as Loyalty Day.

Like most veterans, our friend Lou Feldmann is well aware that our patriotism, like our family feeling, is best if it spreads out beyond narrow limits.

Therefore, he has been a leader, as chairman of the VFW Loyalty Day committee, in promoting the VFW pilgrimage projects that, in 1955 and 1957, were carried out in conjunction with President Eisenhower's "people to people" world friendship program.

Scores of VFW members visited countries of Europe and Latin America, under these projects, helping to promote better understanding between the United States and other free nations.

Under Commander in Chief Louis G. Feldmann, it is comforting to know that we can look to the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States to continue as a mighty sentinel in the United States, yes. A mighty sentinel advocating responsible thought and feeling for meeting the problems of a divided world, and for leading the free world both to greater freedom and to security and peace.

The Nation needs, I believe, more men of the energy, the high morality, the sense of neighborhood and public responsibility that characterize Louis G. Feldmann.

When I contemplate his character and career, I am reminded of the noble words of the poet, Josiah Gilbert Holland, in his prayer for great men to meet the needs of our country in a time of little men and widespread corruption and selfishness:

"God give us men. A time like this demands strong minds, stout hearts, true faith and ready hands; men whom the lust of office does not kill; men whom the spoils of office cannot buy; men who express opinions and a will; men who have honor; men who will not lie."

International Travel: Present and Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the encouragement of international travel has a special significance this year in the light of President Eisenhower's recent proclamation of 1960 as "Visit U.S.A. Year," and the contribution this program can make toward our peace mission in the world.. Also, as a corollary, tourism to the United States helps us with a reduction of our international balance-of-payments deficit. Our tourist deficit—that is, the difference between the sum our tourists spend abroad and the total expended by foreign visitors here—amounts to about $1.3 billion.

In this connection, the information contained in the Holiday News Letter issue entitled "International Travel: Present and Future," by H. H. Kelly, is particularly relevant. I ask unanimous consent, therefore, that it may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the news letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL: PRESENT AND FUTURE

(By H. H. Kelly, former director of the Office of International Travel and for years chief representative of the United States at many international meetings)

Before crystal-gazing into the future of international travel from the U.S. viewpoint, the basic fact to look at is the long-trend rise in our travel abroad during the last 12 years—an amazingly smooth curve showing an increase of 10 percent every year since 1947 except one, the Korean war year of 1951. Barring widespread war or depression—and there's much less fear of these today than there was a year ago—the line should continue upward in 1960 and the years beyond.

TEN PERCENT MORE

What this means in people and money is impressive: In 1959, more than 1,500,000 U.S. residents traveled to countries overseas, and millions more visited Canada and Mexico, spending a record $2.3 billion in the process. Next year should see at least 10 percent more—and so on into the foreseeable future. Foreign areas in which our travelers are spending their money are: Europe and Mediterranean, 38 percent; Canada, 22 percent; Mexico, 22 percent; Caribbean, 11 percent; South America, 3 percent, and rest of world, 4 percent.

On the inward trek, 250,000 foreign visitors came to the United States from overseas, plus several millions from Canada and a lesser number from Mexico, and spent close to $1 million. The trend here has been more erratic, ranging from 5 to 11 percent annually, but always upward.

The total outbound and inbound volume makes international travel today one of our biggest import-export businesses. With the appetite for travel growing everywhere, with exploding population and increasing personal income and leisure time, someday—but anyone can make his own predictions on the soundest of grounds. It should be noted that estimates given above are based on properly conservative Government statistics which omit certain classes of travelers and therefore always understate the annual travel volume.

Here are detailed facts that bolster the optimistic outlook:

VISIT U.S.A. PROGRAM

More advertising of the United States

Most notable is the recently strengthened policy of the U.S. Government to encourage foreign visitors to pay us a call, as exemplified by the "Visit U.S.A. 1960" program proclaimed by President Eisenhower in 1958 and now actively under way. Officially appointed committees of eminent citizens are at work directing the program. An impressive 4-pound portfolio of U.S. tourist attractions is being distributed by the National Association of Travel Organizations (NATO) in several thousand copies to more than 100 foreign countries, in cooperation with the Departments of Commerce and State here and our embassies and consulates abroad—and this means that there'll be more advertising of the United States throughout the world next year than ever before. The project demonstrates growing official interest in two-way travel, chiefly induced by long effort on the part of NATO, and while it's tagged initially to 1960, it may be expected to continue and broaden in years to come. Despite its official sponsorship, the U.S. Government has as yet provided no special funds for helping to carry it out.

One problem looming up is that of providing a friendly personal welcome in this country for adult visitors, as distinguished from students and other officially sponsored persons. A hospitality committee of the "Visit-U.S.A." program is working on the matter, and helpful voluntary organizations like the Meet-Americans Club of Washington, D.C., are begining to appear. Some knowledge of one or more foreign languages, even rudimentary, will be needed by those who want to make a good impression on the visitors from abroad, and the U.S. program will give a real impetus to this long-desired objective.

IN THE AIR

"Fares commensurate"

The jet age has opened brilliantly, and within little more than a year has revolutionized all prior concepts of space-time in travel. With double speed and double capacity, the present 600-mile-per-hour jets are rapidly pushing piston-engine planes off the main global routes—and design engineers already are talking of 2,500-mile-per-hour types. In a decade, air transport has gained the dominant position in overseas travel. Just how dynamic has been its contribution is shown by a single comparison, viewed against the background of the expanding total market: in 1959, four times as many U.S. residents went overseas by air as by sea, compared with a 50–50 proportion in 1949. The next objective here is to establish fares commensurate with the increased capacity and efficiency of jet planes and still consistent with the economic realities of high-volume versus low-volume routes. U.S. carriers are leading the drive in this direction, with the assistance of a limited number of their foreign conferrers. If and as international air fares are lowered, successive new strata of the travel market will be tapped—to an illimitable future.

ON THE SEA

Five new U.S.-flag passenger vessels had their first full year of operation in 1959—four in the South American trade, with single-trip-lift capacity totaling 1,700 persons, and one in the European trade, with 900-person capacity. Only new ship in sight for 1960 is the nuclear vessel *Savannah*, 13,400 gross tons, due for delivery in March. Built by the Government at a cost of $31 million, it will be operated by a U.S.-flag carrier as a show piece to demonstrate our advances in the peaceful uses of atomic energy, and its 60-passenger space (it holds 9,000 tons of cargo, too) will probably be used on official voyages to many parts of the world for some time to come. Congress has authorized two new superliners—one for the North Atlantic run (2,000 passengers, $125 million) and one for the Pacific (1,400 passengers, $75 million)—but, under current governmental-economy policies, has not yet appropriated the necessary funds for construction.

Ambitious plans by American entrepreneurs for 6,000-passenger low-fare ships on the North Atlantic are still classified as gleams in the eye. If financing is ever found for them, they will probably be built abroad and be operated under a foreign flag. In general, U.S.-flag operators do not seem to be improving their competitive position against either air-transport or foreign-flag carriers, although certain individual ships remain outstandingly successful, and winter cruises to warmer waters are increasingly popular. It's still too early to see what the St. Lawrence Seaway may produce in the way of tourist travel by ship.

ON THE HIGHWAYS

Farsighted conveniences

Highway travel is predominantly personal rather than commercial, and every man is something of a king in his own car. Millions of U.S. motorists use the roads into Canada and Mexico every year, and their number will grow steadily. The new Inter-American Highway—3,200 miles between Texas and the Panama Canal—should be nearing completion by the end of 1960. It will definitely be open for all-weather traffic as far as Costa Rica, close to the southern end of the route, and any motorist can have at his command the new thrill of travel in the deep Tropics.

Elsewhere in many parts of the world, striking growth is taking place in the improvement of existing roads and even in the building of express highways and long-distance tunnels (like the one under Mont Blanc in the Alps). Hundreds of thousands of U.S. motorists will find pleasure in driving in foreign countries, most of them in rented cars, aided by the farsighted conventions of the United Nations to which this country is a party.

As for commercial transport, leading bus companies are offering ever better and more luxurious services into Canada at surprisingly reasonable rates, and service down the Inter-American Highway may not be far distant under a treaty now being considered by the organization of American States. In many foreign countries, bus companies offer excellent long-distance service, as well as local sightseeing. One of the most promis-

ing aspects of travel abroad is the rapid development of the drive-yourself business, and American rent-a-car systems now have branches in scores of foreign cities.

ON THE RAILROADS

International rail passenger movements are naturally confined to the lines having connections with Canada or Mexico, and they have been hard hit by the private automobile and the airplane. The volume handled is hardly any longer a factor in the general picture, although some roads do a commendable job with crack trains, seasonal travel and tours. On the other hand, the Association of American Railroads has shown a public-spirited interest in international progress by taking active leadership in the Pan American Railway Congress Association (headquarters in Buenos Aires, with 10th Congress scheduled for Brazil in October 1960) and by holding membership in the International Railway Congress Association (headquarters in Brussels). Travel promotion plays a part in the activities of these organizations, but the main emphasis is on freight movement, in which the United States excels.

As a marked contrast to the North American situation, the government-owned railroads of 13 Western European countries this year have demonstrated anew their aggressiveness in developing tourist traffic by introducing a revolutionary "Eurailpass"—a first-class ticket, good for unlimited travel for 2 months, at a price of $125, issued only to bona fide residents of the Western Hemisphere. American travel agents, who get a $9 commission per ticket, already report many thousands of sales. The United Kingdom railroads offer somewhat similar arrangements. (Few persons may remember that the American railroads tried out in 1939–40 a "Grand Circle" ticket in connection with the New York and San Francisco fairs—$90 for a coach seat, potentially good for up to 8,000 miles of travel. The plan was not continued.)

INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMS

Global survey

On the intergovernmental front, the chief project in sight for 1960 is a thorough study by the United Nations secretariat of the development of international travel, under instructions from the U.N. Economic and Social Council. All 32 member-nations of the U.N. are expected to contribute facts and suggestions for a report which ECOSOC will consider early in 1961. The long-term vistas in this global survey are large.

International official travel bodies will continue their useful efforts. The 70-nation International Union of Official Travel Organizations (IUOTO) will hold its 15th annual assembly in Buenos Aires next November, immediately following the eighth Inter-American Travel Congress in Rio de Janeiro. The International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), always the leader in attacking the travel redtape problems under a joint program developed with the support of the international air lines in the International Air Transport Association (IATA), will have an intensified program of air-facilitation standards and recommendations following a conference in Rome this month. A special meeting of government officials is being planned for February in El Salvador, aimed at eliminating redtape obstacles to travel on the Inter-American Highway. Other important bodies like the Pacific Area Travel Association, Caribbean Tourist Association, and Europe Travel Commission will meet in annual sessions. The sum total of all this official effort is formidable.

Tremendous sales effort

In the field of private enterprise, influential organizations like the American Society of Travel Agents (2,000 experienced travel agents here and abroad), National Association of Travel Organizations (over 500 State and city travel promotion bureaus and travel industry organizations), and the American Automobile Association (over 6 million motorist members) will press forward their objectives with large emphasis upon foreign travel, spearheaded by capable executives and energetic committees. Over and beyond these cooperative programs will be the tremendous sales efforts of American business—transportation companies, travel agencies, advertising agencies, magazines and newspapers, guidebook publishers, research organizations, tourist resorts, hotels and motels, radio and television, movies—whose combined expenditures in promoting international travel (for a proper reward, naturally) are many times greater than those of all the official agencies.

U.S. GOVERNMENT

New travel legislation was not extensive in 1959, but was certainly helpful. Congress lengthened the validity of the U.S. passport to five years—three years original period, two years renewal—and amended the Tariff Act to permit the duty-free entry of bona fide tourist promotion literature from foreign countries, which will eventually make possible reciprocal benefits for us under a 1954 United Nations protocol. Next year there's an excellent chance that Congress will eliminate the wartime excise tax of 10 percent on domestic travel—after nearly having done so in the last two sessions. Also, it may increase the duty-free allowance for U.S. residents returning with purchases from trips abroad, and for foreign visitors bringing gifts to friends in this country.

The regulatory agencies are showing increased sympathy with travel problems. Spectacular improvements have been made in expediting the issuance of U.S. passports since 1955, despite a large increase every year in the number handled; the Department of State reports over 733,000 passports issued or renewed this year—with $5½ million deposited in the U.S. Treasury as a result. Visa, customs and health procedures are also being steadily streamlined and speeded. Near the end of 1959, the Bureau of Internal Revenue issued its long-awaited regulations on income tax declarations for foreign visitors, which in effect relieve them from examination upon leaving this country, provided they have earned no money while here, are bona fide tourists (B–2 visa), and have been here not more than 60 days. This examination requirement of long standing, like the former fingerprinting of alien visitors, always held the United States up to criticism abroad. Now it is ended.

Government-industry cooperation

One of the few clouds in the generally bright sky of 1959 was a reduction in congressional appropriations for the U.S. Department of Commerce program, which had been gaining momentum for several years. A direct effect will be a curtailment in the valuable Commerce statistical services to the travel industry, and particularly a loss of detailed figures on travel to and from individual foreign countries. There will be a lot of hard thinking and planning on this situation in 1960, and indeed on the whole question of the U.S. Government's proper role in international travel development. The comprehensive and authoritive Randall Report, which President Eisenhower transmitted to Congress in 1958 without recommendation for legislative action, undoubtedly will receive new and serious attention. The travel industry's objective will be to persuade Congress of the fundamental value of international travel, on both economic and social grounds, and of the desirability of giving it some greater measure of government support. Thought will also be given, in many quarters, to the possibility of creating some new and more consistent type of Government-industry machinery to meet the needs of 1960 and beyond. If our 2-year deficit in international balance-of-payments continues, Congress may be moved to act promptly.

The International Cooperation Administration will keep on with its rather limited program of technical assistance projects in the field of tourism, bringing trainees to this country and sending experts abroad, and may expand it if well-justified requests are received from foreign countries. Its biggest single job to date in this field, the Pacific Area Travel Development Project, undertaken in cooperation with the Department of Commerce, should be completed in 1960.

The Department of State will continue its international educational exchange program, now well established in national policy and highly regarded as a means of giving officially-sponsored visitors an opportunity to study thoroughly the American way of life in specialized fields, and reciprocally sending qualified U.S. citizens to work for a time abroad; in 1959, 6,000 persons have been covered by the program under arrangements with 70 foreign countries. The U.S. Information Agency likewise will maintain its libraries and information centers in many key cities abroad, and will carry on its People-to-People program in which there are potentially-useful travel and transport committees.

As a minor economic point, but an important political one, there will probably be a further modest expansion of the east-west travel movement. The present annual volume is small: a few hundred persons from the Soviet bloc to the United States, a few thousand in the reverse direction. Developments here rest on much weightier considerations than travel alone. So does the situation relative to Communist China—but this does not prevent the conviction, that, if and when relations with the latter are restored, the greatest stimulus in all history to travel in the Pacific area will be generated.

ACCOMMODATIONS

Problem urgent

Construction of new hotels and motels, and the general improvement of all types of facilities and services for tourists in foreign countries, are among the chief needs and opportunities in the whole travel field. Much has been accomplished in recent years, notably by American hotel interests which have promoted and helped establish magnificent facilities at a number of cities on the main travel routes, but the tempo of new building seems to have slowed down in 1959. The problem remains urgent, while the volume of travel continues to rise and to produce increasing numbers of unhappy guests, especially in the peak season and in big cities. Foreign investors don't show much enthusiasm for taking the iniative and shouldering the financial burden in providing for assured future demand, and governments may have to step into the breach. U.S. and international lending agencies are receiving many applications for assistance, but their generally conservative attitude toward the hotel business and their stringent loan requirements make difficult any broad and rapid expansion program. Some help might be given in the private sector if Congress enacts the legislation it has been considering on facilitating American private investment abroad through tax concessions.

Promising factors

On the other hand, motels are increasing, particularly in Western Europe, and this movement comes largely from the local grassroots, as it should. Finally, measures to protect the health of travelers and to provide safe food and water will receive increased atention next year in many countries.

Currency controls are rapidly diminishing as economic conditions improve overseas. Most significant action in 1959 was the

United Kingdom's raising of the dollar allowance for foreign travel from $280 to $700 per person per year, and other countries are following suit. This, of course, will be a real help to the "Visit U.S.A." program, considering that foreign residents can buy their transportation in local currencies.

Group travel is another promising factor and should expand steadily with the development of new and tempting offers by travel agencies, transport lines, sales incentive plans, and the like. "Visit U.S.A." will stimulate interest in foreign countries in bringing groups here. The Olympic games at Rome and the "Passion Play" at Oberammergau will be group targets abroad—and some 3,000 church members will attend the Baptist World Congress in Rio de Janeiro next June.

CHANGES IN OFFICIALDOM

Management changes were unprecedented in number during the last 12 months, but there's no indication that these will continue in any comparable volume next year. Departing from their functions for one reason or another have been the government directors of tourism of Argentina, Ceylon, Chile, France, Gibraltar, Italy, Mexico Morocco, Portugal, Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Singapore, Switzerland, Tunisia, Turkey, Venezuela, Vietnam, Yugoslavia, and the United States—18 in all. And in the U.S. family there can be added three more—Alaska, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico. Many of these were veteran laborers in the vineyard. Such changes bring inevitable loss of continuity in contacts and experience, but the hope is strong that new blood will produce new ideas and energy.

THE BIG QUESTION

The imponderable in the United States for 1960, as it has been for several years past, is one of national policy: Should the Government take a larger part in the future expansion of international travel, both inbound and outbound—or should it continue to depend on private enterprise to foot the bill? Is the promotion of travel to be classed with the sale of automobiles and refrigerators—or does travel have certain social and cultural aspects which tie it closely with the national interest? Has the time now come to give more weight to the successful experience of all important foreign governments in selling their travel attractions to the U.S. market, and useful lessons be drawn therefrom.

Only Congress can now answer these questions. That there's a growing awareness of them is clear, and the election year of 1960 may bring them into even sharper focus. On this point, two final facts: Potential presidential candidates in the Democratic Party have recognized travel as a factor in international relations; and the 1959 report of the Republican program committee contains this noteworthy statement. "One of the greatest hopes of eventually gaining peace with justice is in the free exchange of ideas by travel and cultural exchange among all countries."

Peace Offensives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. C. GATHINGS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, we have learned that the marvelous faculty called woman's intuition is generally good common sense accelerated by the spark of inspiration, and a splendid example of this is found in the editorial written by Mrs. Dorothy Stuck, coeditor of the Marked Tree (Ark.) Tribune, entitled "Peace Offensives."

Mrs. Stuck, who is a distinguished editor and civic leader in eastern Arkansas, points out a lesson each of us should have learned from recent history and calls to our attention the continuing need to keep up our guard.

It is a pleasure to call to the attention of Members Mrs. Stuck's thoughtful editorial:

PEACE OFFENSIVES

(By Dorothy Stuck)

As we move into 1960 there is more talk of the possibility of easing world tension and a more comfortable peace than at any time in the last decade. Impetus for this talk comes, of course, from the olive branch gestures of Nikita Khrushchev in his American visit and in the obvious success of President Eisenhower's recent tour.

Now more than ever before from the men in the street to some places of important Government responsibility there is an undercurrent of feeling that perhaps "Russia really doesn't want war."

This may be true—we doubt that Russia does relish the prospect of nuclear war; but there is no doubt in our mind that the Kremlin overlords would trigger that conflict if they thought they had the West thoroughly duped and unprepared for it.

This can be the only reason for a Communist dominated nation talking sweetly of peace. They are waging an effective "peace offensive." It is a well planned and conceived offensive designed to lull adversaries into a sense of false security and an offguard position. This done, the Communists sit higher in the bargaining chair and can force dangerous concessions from weakened nations, who by virtue of their unpreparedness must concede.

Twenty-five years ago this week, on January 2, 1935, daily newspapers carried this small news item:

"Berlin—Reichsfuhrer Hitler gave diplomats of world powers assurance yesterday of Germany's peaceful intentions under an international golden rule and then received the homage of Nazi storm troopers and hundreds of civilians. He said that no country wants peace any more than Germany."

How true that was. Germany did want peace while it built a stronger army and strengthened its defense industries. It wanted peace to delude its avowed foes into unwary attitudes. Then came Munich, the rape of Austria, and, finally, a war that caught Europe and the rest of the Western World with every flank exposed.

History is supposed to teach us valuable lessons. The trouble with those lessons is that human nature does not alter enough with the passage of time and history's lessons. Give men a period of peace and security and they forget the discipline of self and government necessary to protect that peace and security. They want to take more than they give; they want to ignore the veiled threat and take the sugary phrases that hide it.

We can look now for more talk about cutting down on our foreign aid. The Russians are hoping for this, they'll step in where we step out to take over underdeveloped nations. We will hear calls for lower taxes—and heaven knows we could use those—but if they mean weakening our defenses so the Communists can push us over we'd better do without a shiny new car or mink stole—neither would last very long before an exploding hydrogen bomb anyway.

We'll hear more talk about "The Russians don't want war." That's true, neighbors, the average Russian doesn't want to be cannon fodder any more than the average German or American of any age or time. But, unfortunately, the average man doesn't push the button that starts a war—he never has or will. The men who push those buttons are the Napoleons, the Hitlers, the Stalins, and the Khrushchevs who want to rule the world—all of the world.

That includes you and me, our children and grandchildren. The only time we can have a part in stopping them, short of dying, is in times like right now. We can urge our own American peace offensive mounted on a strong platform of preparedness and sold through a continuing program of aid and friendship across the world.

Congress is going into session. The time to let it know how you feel about peace offensives is now.

The Federal Highway Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an exchange of correspondence between the Secretary of Commerce, the Honorable Frederick H. Mueller, and myself, in regard to the Federal highway program.

There being no objection, the correspondence was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OCTOBER 21, 1959.

Hon. FREDERICK H. MUELLER,
Secretary of Commerce,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: The law requires you to make a new estimate of the Federal highway program situation in all its aspects and report your findings and recommendations to Congress immediately after it is convened in January 1961.

This letter is in anticipation of that report. My observations are based on long experience in positions closely connected with the Federal highway program since its inception and 50 years of work for sound progressive highway systems.

I have operated toll roads at a profit when that was not easy. As a Governer, I have planned public highway systems, financed them and administered them. I have helped legislate for them at all levels of government—local, State, and Federal.

Congress in the recent session enacted legislation increasing the Federal gas tax and diverting general revenue to the highway trust fund. As chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, I was called upon to help steer this bill to passage.

I want you and the country to know that I did this job reluctantly; there were two reasons:

1. The legislation was essential to preserve the fiscal integrity of the Federal Government which had been impaired by reckless highway financing policies recommended by the administration and enacted by Congress in 1958; and

2. Both the 1-cent gas tax increase and the general fund diversion were for temporary periods—the gas tax increase to July 1, 1961, and the diversion from that date for 3 years thereafter.

Anticipating your report, I trust you will find: This temporary gas tax increase should not become permanent or the introduction

to further increases, temporary or permanent; this temporary diversion of general revenue to the highway trust fund should not become permanent or the introduction to further raids on general revenue taxation, temporary or permanent; that these are special assessments to pay for the sins of profligacy which should come off fully and finally when they expire, if not before; and that with maximum efficiency and economy and a minimum of nonessentials and profiteering, continuing sound progress can be made in meeting our highway transportation requirements on a pay-as-we-go basis.

To me hard experience has proved two fundamental guides to sound, progressive public highway development; they are separate but complementary; they are:

1. No highway system in this country will ever be perfect, or even complete. Highway transportation requirements are not static; they change continually, sometimes rapidly, in terms of location, use, speed, structure, safety, etc., and

2. It is wise to build highways to developing needs on a pay-as-we-go basis. This is the best way to keep abreast of continuing change and build the most modern roads for highway dollars.

I have seen the hazards in trying to anticipate requirements too far in advance and build whole systems too fast on borrowed money. Such practices use highway funds to pay interest instead of building roads, open up wasteful crash program pitfalls, and produce highways which are obsolete before they are paid for.

Mindful of recent experience, I should hope your report will follow these guides. Your Under Secretary, Hon. John J. Allen, Jr., on October 8, said "* * * Past legislation made it possible, unwisely, for us to incur more liability than we have resources to pay;" and "* * * We have just been through the 'morning after' the 1958 binge."

He was referring to the fact that last year, in the name of recession, Federal spenders abandoned the highway pay-as-we-go policy and gorged themselves on authorizations and allocations knowing full well they were exceeding the ability of the trust fund to meet the bills.

No one involved with the suspension of the highway pay-as-we-go policy or the exploitation of the suspension can escape blame for what was done. The administration approved it. Congress enacted it. States were amenable and let the contracts. Contractors bid on the proposals. They all knew they were bankrupting the fund.

Our great highway programs were never before precipitated into such an inexcusable mess. The trust fund was broke and the integrity of the Federal Government was impaired. State highway programs all over the country were seriously disrupted and threatened with chaos.

In further anticipation of your report: I hope it will search out any troubles building up in our Federal-State highway programs as the result of the Interstate System legislation with its 90–10 matching formula—the Federal Government putting up $90 for each $10 supplied by the States.

This is in contrast with the 50–50 matching formula for construction on the so-called ABC system, the backbone of American highway transportation facilities. The temptation to take $90 for $10 is great and the evils of this temptation may be devious.

This is temptation gilded with tremendous Federal funds available to the Interstate program. More than $9 billion has already been made available in 5 years for 90–10 matching. The program now seems to be of indefinite duration. And to date the Interstate activity has shown many of the loose and wasteful characteristics of a crash program.

It would be unfortunate if some States, seeking more Federal dollars for less State money, yielded to the temptation to divert their funds from 50–50 ABC roads to 90–10 Interstate projects. Among other considerations, this could overlook the high cost of many Interstate projects where 10 percent may exceed 50 percent of the cost of many ABC projects.

In addition, the States forever must bear the full cost of maintenance for these expensive and complex Interstate System roads. And this is a big permanent cost item which must be calculated in the use of State highway funds in the future.

Rights-of-way acquisition costs are proving to be a tremendous item, running to billions of dollars in the Interstate program. The temptation to grab land, hike prices and profiteer is inherent in such a multibillion dollar, multiyear, 90–10 program. And there is the possibility of collusion and fraud.

Witnesses took the fifth amendment more than 200 times in Senate hearings on land-grabbing on only a few projects in one State. There is evidence in some cases elsewhere that courts have been at least generous with 90–10 money in condemnation cases.

The Comptroller General of the United States has found need for better rights-of-way acquisition policies and better application of existing policies by both the Federal and State Governments. In a program of this magnitude this is especially important for the protection of both the public and the property owner.

Highway engineers generally are highly competent in their profession. They are usually dedicated to building the best if not the ultimate in good roads. But there is temptation to regard this mutlibillion-dollar, multiyear, 90–10 interstate program as a windfall and a license to go all out with dream designs without limit on expenses.

The Comptroller General has reported that "examination in 11 selected States disclosed considerable variation in design." I suspect this is the Comptroller General's cautious way of saying he has found what he regards as extravagances in so-called geometric design.

I understand geometric design, loosely defined, in contrast with structural design, embraces everything in the highway area which can be seen. In a program of the Interstate System dimensions this is a vast field for expensive highway gingerbread and nonessentials.

There is reason to exercise closest vigilance over all possibilities for irregularity in such a vast undertaking as the interstate program offering so many opportunities for lucrative practice. The need for such vigilance becomes even greater when the program is rushed.

I am sure you are aware of the comment and advice of the Comptroller General on such matters as qualification of bidders, advance information on engineering estimates, overpayment on bond-financed projects, etc. And there is need to watch overlapping with the urban renewal program involving another set of Federal grants along with loans.

Administration of the Federal-State highway programs is extremely complex. Jurisdiction, financing, and engineering frequently are split at all levels of government—State, local, and Federal.

I hope your report will deal frankly with the size and expedited schedule of the Interstate System and the possibility of overtaxing the financial, technical, and administrative facilities at all three levels.

I hope strengthening financial control throughout all levels of government will not await your 1961 report.

I am advised there is good working relationship and cooperation between the Bureau of Public Roads and the U.S. General Accounting Office, and between both Federal agencies and the State governments. This is encouraging. I hope it will be maintained and increased. Otherwise, I fear for the entire program.

I am writing to you in this manner and at this time because I have deep interest in our highway system, and as matters now stand I have deep concern.

I sincerely hope that you and the States will get on top of this interstate program, shake all excessive costs, planning and crash aspects out of it, and report in January 1961 that reasonable progress can be made at reasonable cost.

You will recall that the Clay Commission in 1954 estimated the Interstate System basically would cost $23 billion. This estimate was revised to $27.6 billion in 1955. Now the program has been revised and the estimate raised to $39.9 billion to complete 40,000 miles in the system.

This is an increase of $16.9 billion, or more than 73 percent in 5 years. And State highway officials have testified that only about a fourth of the increase has been due to the 12-percent rise in costs of materials and labor. The rest has been due largely to change in designs and expansion of the program.

On the basis of the kind of experience we have had with the Interstate System to date, it is not difficult for me to foresee costs rising to a point in excess of $50 billion by 1975, the presently scheduled completion date.

The present estimate is too much. I trust you find it can be reduced.

With my high personal regards.

Faithfully yours,

HARRY F. BYRD.

NOVEMBER 13, 1959.

DEAR SENATOR BYRD: This is in further reply to your letter of October 21 which I acknowledged briefly on October 22 expressing my general accord with your philosophy of highway policy. I take this opportunity to comment further on your very fine letter.

The events of the past year have taught many of us a great deal about highway problems, and have shown us the need for more thoughtful consideration of the fundamental background of highway policy. These considerations, of course, have been common knowledge to you for a long time, and as I read your letter I began to realize fully the depth of experience from which you speak on highway policy; an experience that spans the entire period of Federal highway aid at the three levels of our American system of government.

During the past year, as you have observed, our main problem was to get out from under the chaos resulting from the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1958, an act which suspended your provision for pay-as-you-go financing and which raised authorizations for highway aid far beyond the revenue capacity of the highway trust fund. You will recall the sponsorship of that legislation by members of the majority party of the Congress, against your advice and the warnings issued by spokesmen of this Department during the hearings. You will also recollect the misgivings of the President when he finally decided to approve the bill, in order to avoid the greater evil of not having any highway legislation. Early this year the administration promptly sought to put the highway program on a sound financial basis through a tax increase proposal. A part of what you describe as an inexcusable mess was caused by the procrastination of many responsible leaders of Congress in facing the highway issue. It was only the determination of the administration and the support of conservative leadership including your own valued support that finally brought about a change in attitude in the final days of the session.

We cannot afford to allow another such highway crisis. To avoid another such affair we must bend every effort to improve the direction of highway policy and to revamp the entire system of financial management. The entire administration is dedicated to an effort to bring about these improvements in the highway program.

From our experience of the past session we all realize that the highway program has become so big that the former methods of highway policy determination no longer suffice. It cannot, as in former years, be considered exclusively the affair of one committee in each House, or of one Bureau in the executive branch. Highways and Federal highway expenditures touch the fiscal policy of the Nation in a major way, they touch the basic formulation of Budgets and appropriations, and they affect our national transportation policy as well as our whole manner of national living.

In the Congress highway policy has become a major concern of the Committee of Finance and Ways and Means, the Appropriation Committees, and from these important committees the concern of the leadership of the entire Congress. In the administration, highway policy has claimed an increasing share of the attention of the Secretary of Commerce, the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, the Secretary of the Treasury, the White House staff, and the President himself. Each major development in highway policy is a serious public issue for which our national leadership is now held responsible.

In the narrower field of management there is also a new factor which affects highway administrative actions, including the historic Federal-State relations in this field. The new element is Trust Fund financing.

Whereas in former years, a small highway program was guaranteed by the vast resources of the General Fund of the Treasury, the present large highway program is guaranteed by a rather limited group of special tax revenues. Inherent in such a financial arrangement is the need for a tighter process of financial controls in which the scope of programs of construction is geared specifically to forward estimates of available cash in the Highway Trust Fund. The Circular Memorandum which I attached to my previous letter may serve as the first step in the development of such a system of financial controls, in addition to its present function of meeting the immediate crisis in the Highway Trust Fund. This Department is cooperating with the staff of the Bureau of the Budget in perfecting this "controllership" system of financial management.

In addition to the financial management improvement just noted, the Department and other parts of the administration are doing important work in the broader field of highway policy evaluation with the objective of putting our national highway system on a sounder basis.

I should first mention the study provided in section 210 of the Federal-aid Highway Act of 1956, which is in addition to the cost estimate for the Interstate System which you noted in your letter. The section 210 study, due in March 1961, is intended to provide recommendations for a sounder policy for financing highways, including the appropriate amounts, the distribution among jurisdictions, the types of revenues, and the equity of their assessment among groups of taxpayers. This study was intended to overcome the most serious deficiency in the 1956 Highway Act, the lack of an adequate financial structure for the augmented highway construction effort. The revenue structure thrown together in 1956 has not been adequate to carry us through even this initial period, and even without the added difficulties posed by the 1958 Highway Act, we would have had to reduce Interstate apportionments this year. The 1961 report will raise serious questions, not only with respect to financial resources, but also of program emphasis due to financial requirements and proper responsibility among jurisdictions and user groups for highway costs. Some of these problems are being reconsidered in the administration even now.

The White House staff, the Bureau of the Budget, and this Department are engaged in a general progress review of the interstate highway program, seeking to determine if the present program emphasis is in line with the original intent or if new factors have developed which require modification of the program. We are concentrating in the difficult area of urban construction. Here we are looking both at the responsibility of the 90–10 interstate program for specified types of construction and the engineering standards and criteria that are being used. Out of this administration study we hope to gain some insight into the problems you raised in your letter, whether there are extravagances in geometric design and whether some of the costs of specific designs are more properly chargeable to other programs than the Interstate System.

While we are busy with our evaluations of strictly highway matters, we in the Department are not unmindful of our responsibility for national transportation policy in the executive branch and the relation of highways thereto. In his last budget message the President charged the Secretary of Commerce to make a fundamental study of national transportation policy to assure that none of our activities in the transportation field are working at cross-purposes. One of the important phases of that study, now nearing completion, is an evaluation of the methods used in programing public investment in transportation facilities, both from the standpoint of sound methods and relation to general transportation needs. You should be pleased to know that our principal consultant on this phase of our project is from the University of Virginia.

The field of transportation policy, particularly the part where public investment is essential, requires an unrelenting effort in behalf of sound management. The sums involved are a constant temptation for self-serving ends, while the technical nature of much of the activity tends to remove it from the immediate attention of the legislative leader or the administration policy leaders. I believe that the Department of Commerce is in a unique position to make a contribution to sound management in these fields, being specialized enough to supervise the technical aspects of these programs and yet concerned enough with the general policy to see that the public interest is served. As Secretary of Commerce, I hope to be able to perfect our departmental machinery to serve both ends.

This coming session of Congress may see many attacks made on the objectives of sound policy in the highway field. With the preparations I have described, the administration and the Department of Commerce will not enter this expected battle unarmed. From your past record in behalf of sound management, I know you will join with other stalwart supporters of sound policies to fend off the attacks on our solvency, regardless of the odds. Let us hope that our combined efforts can be used effectively to preserve a sound highway policy.

Sincerely yours,

F. H. MUELLER,
Secretary of Commerce.

Baiting the United States—Now Panama Joins the Game

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article which appeared in the U.S. News & World Report of December 14, 1959. Once more I am sorry I can say to my colleagues I told you so. I predicted this in 1956 and again in 1957 and 1958.

The article referred to follows:

BAITING THE UNITED STATES—NOW PANAMA JOINS THE GAME

BALBOA, C.Z.—Serious trouble for the United States is building up now over the Panama Canal—the biggest, most important single U.S. investment overseas.

Two recent attempts by Panamanian mobs to invade the Canal Zone are viewed here as symptons of bigger troubles to come.

Extreme nationalists—abetted by Communists and followers of Cuba's Fidel Castro—are gaining more and more influence in the Republic of Panama. They are talking openly of grabbing the canal from the United States sooner or later.

The present government, headed by President Ernesto de la Guardia, Jr., apparently prefers that the canal remain in American hands. But De la Guardia is under mounting pressure not to be outmaneuvered by the extremists—so he is demanding costly concessions from the United States.

THREAT OF NATIONALIZATION

The way many people here see it, any further concessions that the United States makes will only whet the Panamanian appetite for more. And in the background, there's always the threat of nationalization. Those who advocate grabbing the Canal are only a noisy minority now. But the feeling is that they will grow in strength.

Panama is a gnat-sized country—but it is proving to have a real bite. The Panama Canal is the lifeline of the United States, not only as a main artery of American commerce, but as a key bastion in the U.S. defense.

Current agitation here in Panama has brought together some strange bedfellows—right-wing conservatives, Communists, rich merchants, left-wing students, and others.

A large share of the unrest is blamed on politicians. Canal-baiting is an old tradition in Panama. It's a sure road to public office—and to the wealth that public office brings in this country. Said one American with long experience here: "The politicians have always been successful in diverting the people's attention from the sordid conditions of their lives by playing up the Canal problem."

Many Panamanians are touchy over the fact that the Canal, ruled by a foreign power, cuts their country in two.

To the poor and unemployed, the Canal has always stood out as a shining island of prosperity in their midst.

Part of the agitation is traced to just plain greed. Americans living here say that some Panamanian merchants are seeking by one way or another to turn the Canal Zone into a "captive market" for their wares. But there is a new twist to the current unrest, a new element.

A NASSER-LIKE GRAB?

Nasser's successful grab of the Suez Canal in 1956 touched off widespread repercussions here. One nationalist, asked if he thinks Panama eventually might succeed in grabbing this waterway, said: "Why not? Egypt got Suez."

Castro's influence, also, is being felt here. Placards praising the Cuban dictator were carried in the most recent of the two riots. Two visiting newsmen from Cuba were accused of lending a hand in stirring up the mobs.

Castro is considered here as something of an old hand at grabbing U.S. property.

Along with everything else, the Communists are involved in the current unrest. Known Panamanian Reds and fellow travelers were spotted egging on mobs during both of the November riots.

Panama's Communist Party is regarded as weak and poorly organized at the moment. But Moscow is pouring millions of dollars into subversive activities in Latin America. For Moscow's purposes, the Panama Communist Party is the most strategically situated of them all. Many people here feel it's only a matter of time before the Soviet Union pours financial and other help into Panama's Communist Party on a big scale.

MASSED ATTACK

The United States is under fire right now from just about everyone in this country of 1 million people. Even De la Guardia's government, though conservative in makeup, used the left-led mobs in its campaign to wring more money out of the United States.

When the mobs gathered along the border of the zone on November 3 for the first of the attempted invasions, American officials pleaded in vain with the Panamanian Government for troop protection. For most of the day, American troops and Canal Zone police were left to battle the rioters alone.

Eighty persons, including many U.S. soldiers and police, were injured. Much property was destroyed. One mob marched on the U.S. Embassy, tore down the U.S. flag and hoisted the Panamanian banner in its place.

When the second mob erupted on November 28, the Panamanian National Guard was out in force and dispersed the demonstrators. But by then things had changed. The United States had agreed to discuss the Panamanian complaints. Said one American: "They accomplished their purpose, so they gave us protection at last."

Panama holds that the United States has only the right to maintain the canal it dug. The United States, however, stands by the 1903 treaty which gives the United States, in perpetuity, all rights and powers in the zone "as if it were the sovereign" and specifically excludes Panama from the exercise of such rights there.

WANTED: PARTNERSHIP

What the Panamanian Government now is seeking is a bigger slice of the pie, plus an acknowledgement by the United States that Panama is a partner in the canal.

The demands include a greater share of canal revenue, higher pay for the canal's 10,000 Panamanian workers and the granting of more purchasing contracts to Panamanian firms.

Other demands include that Panama's flag be flown alongside the Stars and Stripes in the Zone, that Spanish be made the official language there, and that some sort of joint administration be set up.

As far as the demand for more revenue is concerned, canal officials point out that, in 1955, the United States raised its annual payment to Panama to $1,930,000 a year. It had been $430,000 a year.

Officials add that Panama and its citizens receive directly and indirectly an estimated $63 million a year from the payrolls and other expenditures by the Canal Company and U.S. military installations here. The canal, in addition, draws an estimated $10 million worth of tourist business to Panama each year.

The current budget of Panama, the highest in history, comes to only $60 million.

U.S. WAGES HIGH

Government demands that the Canal Company, which is owned and operated entirely by the U.S. Government, should pay higher wages to Panamanian workers drew sarcastic comments from U.S. officials. They pointed out that the company pays 20 to 180 percent higher wages than either the Panamanian Government or private Panamanian employers. No employee in the zone makes less than 50 cents an hour. Some employees of the Panamanian Government are reported to earn as little as $15 a month.

Panama's National Assembly recently adopted a law setting the minimum wage for the country at 40 cents an hour. The Assembly acted after demonstrators occupied its chambers during a hunger march. Panamanian business groups now are planning to fight the 40-cent minimum wage in court on the ground that it is unconstitutional.

Said one U.S. citizen here: "They don't want to raise their own wages, but it's fine as long as Uncle Sam pays."

There is also an argument over the purchase of food and supplies for sale to zone residents in stores operated by the Canal Company. Panamanians say the company does not give them a fair share of the business. U.S. officials, in turn, say Panamanians want to make the zone a vast captive market.

The official organizers of the demonstrations that became riots last month were two Panamanians, Aquilino Boyd and Ernesto Castillero. Boyd, 38, a handsome lawyer, and a former foreign minister, is running for president as a candidate of a small right-wing party. Castillero, 40, is a professor at Panama University. Both men came from aristocratic families; both studied in the United States. Both want the United States to give Panama a 50–50 split of the gross revenue of the canal—which would mean about $23 million a year more for Panama.

Said Boyd: "The canal helped make the United States the world's richest country. The United Fruit Co. pays Panama $4 million in taxes, but from the canal we get only $2 million a year. Panama shouldn't have to subsidize the richest country in the world."

The Boyd-Castillero team has little chance of winning the forthcoming elections. But it has no monopoly on the business of denouncing the United States. Clearly, in this country, the United States faces long and serious trouble, with no end in sight and the canal itself at stake.

National Advisory Council on Education Could Provide a Vigorous National Educational Effort

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, the Washington Sunday Star on December 6, 1959, published a very thoughtful and informative article entitled "Need Is for More Prestige—A Council on Education?" The article discusses the fact that since the passage of the National Defense Education Act in 1958, broader education legislation has foundered on the rocks of economy, segregation, and religion, encouraged by public apathy and some confused thinking. The article refers to a proposal by the New York Commissioner of Education James E. Allen, Jr., and the distinguished senior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] creating a permanent National Advisory Council on Education by the President, which would be somewhat similar in character to the Council of Economic Advisers.

Mr. President, today we are short some 135,000 classrooms. Over 200,000 teachers are paid less than $3,500 a year, with a yearly average of $4,500. Thousands of local school districts have reached the end of their taxing resources as they attempt to solve financial problems created by a public school enrollment of 36 million children, rising 4 percent a year. Only the Federal Government has both the ability and the wealth to correct this situation. It is our responsibility to insure that this power is effectively utilized, and that this urgent need by the States in the field of education is met.

CONTINUING IMPETUS NEEDED

In the past there have been numerous commissions, committees, and conferences to study our educational needs and recommend methods of dealing with the crisis in our classrooms. These groups have prepared a multitude of surveys, studies, and assessments indicating problem areas and possible solutions. The work of these groups has been extremely valuable in pointing out the pressing demands and presenting corrective programs. But the worth of such efforts has become largely academic because they have not been followed with adequate and effective action. Creation of a permanent council of educators and leading citizens would give continuing high-level impetus, guidance, and direction which could lead to a vigorous national effort required to bridge the deficiencies in our educational system.

Mr. President, such a council on education would: First, make an annual assessment of the goals, progress, and deficiencies of education in the United States, and its findings would be submitted to the President and Congress; second, would recommend to the President legislative proposals to be enacted by the Congress; third, would propose action that could be taken by the States in order to carry out its general recommendations; fourth, would act as a high-level body to coordinate all Federal departments and agencies concerned with education; and fifth, it would utilize the prestige of the White House to keep public attention focused on improving our educational system.

SCHOOLS ESSENTIAL TO OUR PROGRESS

Education is vital for the preservation of our democracy; it is essential for keeping our industry and economy sufficiently strong; and it is basic to the de-

velopment of our human resources. It is needed to prepare our youth to be participating members of our social order, as well as to inspire our youth to the higher things of life. Education is the important tool in developing the skills and abilities of our youth which is vitally needed by our communities, States, and the Nation.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that the article in the Sunday Star, written by George W. Oakes, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Evening Star, Dec. 6,

NEED IS FOR MORE PRESTIGE—A COUNCIL ON EDUCATION?

(By George W. Oakes)

Since the pasage of the National Defense Education Act in September 1958—a measure designed for specific purposes—broader education legislation has foundered on the rocks of economy, segregation and religion, encouraged by public apathy and some confused thinking.

Yet the problem remains and the basic facts are well known:

A public school enrollment of 36 million children, rising 4 percent a year.

One hundred thirty-five thousand too few classrooms.

Too few qualified teachers serving on too low a pay scale ($4,500 a year average).

In the prevailing public attitude, which Dr. James Bryant Conant describes as lacking a "sense of urgency," many educators believe that the President could take a step that might help bridge the gap between what is being done and what most authorities agree is required.

New York Commissioner of Education James E. Allen, Jr., and Senator JOHN SHERMAN COOPER, Republican of Kentucky, have proposed recently the creation by the President of a permanent National Advisory Council on Education, somewhat similar in character to the Council of Economic Advisers. Many leaders in education consider that such a top Government group could spur us to raise our national sights on education. Senator COOPER makes the point that this device might make us move faster to translate our national educational requirements—economic, defense and cultural—into action in local school operations.

CONTINUING IMPETUS NEEDED

Although there have been many temporary Presidential committees in recent years which have made significant studies and recommendations, no permanent council of educators and leading citizens exists to give continuing high-level impetus, guidance and direction to a vigorous national educational effort in order to put these ideas into effect.

The addition of another permanent Presidential council to the ever-growing Federal bureaucracy would be justified, in the opinion of its proponents, by the following unique functions it would perform:

1. It would make an annual assessment of the goals, progress, and deficiencies of education in the United States—in our public and private schools, colleges, and universities. Its findings would be submitted to the President and Congress and would be published. For example, it might point out the need to maintain a balanced curriculum in the schools by emphasizing the importance of the humanities as well as increasing study of the sciences. Or it might stress the view held by top educators that raising the level of teaching may be even more essential than the addition of more classrooms.

2. The Council would recommend to President legislative proposals to be enacted by Congress.

3. The Council would also propose action that could be taken by the States in order to carry out its general recommendations.

4. The Council would act as a high-level body to coordinate all Federal departments and agencies concerned with education.

5. Finally, the Council would utilize the prestige of the White House to keep public attention focused on improving our educational system as an urgent national problem. Leading educational organizations, as well as Government officials, feel the need for national leadership to stimulate public awareness of our educational deficiencies.

ANOTHER GROUP AUTHORIZED

Legislation enacted in 1954 authorizes the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to appoint an Education Advisory Committee. There are reports that Secretary Flemming may do so soon. However, such a committee could not command the respect and attention even within the Government itself or throughout the country that would be shown a higher level Presidential Council on Education.

Both Commissioner Allen and Senator COOPER would oppose the establishment of a national curriculum or administrative control over education. But the Senator would expect the Council to work with State and local education officials to raise academic standards and the quality of teaching. In fact, the Council could encourage State education officials to prepare a number of specific plans to improve the curriculum which might stimulate changes by local school boards.

Such a council would require a membership of 12 to 15, perhaps two-thirds leading citizens with recognized cultural interests representing varying points of view and the remainder educational statesmen like Dr. Conant.

To be effective it is essential that the President be sincerely committed to the principle of a top level group selected not for political reasons but on the basis of understanding of our educational requirements. A council determined to provide national leadership with genuine White House support could attract the highest caliber membership. It could exert an influence not only on administration policy but on education activities of Government departments and agencies much more successfully than a departmental committee.

WHITE HOUSE GROUP FAVORED

For some time the American Council on Education has favored a White House group that would advise the President on all levels of education. Annual Federal expenditures on higher education alone now run around $2 billion and affect more than 20 departments and agencies. Some observers claim that there is little coordination among these programs and there is now no Federal agency capable of achieving coordination of policies and procedures. Education is somewhat submerged in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare because the great preponderance of personnel and funds are devoted to its other two activities.

Some proponents of a national advisory council are convinced that its functions would expand as Federal involvement in our educational system increases. They would favor a National Board of Education with supervision over the Office of Education and power to appoint the Commissioner of Education, somewhat similar to the board of regents in New York State.

In any case it might be desirable to place the Office of Education under the Council in order to avoid administrative confusion and to provide necessary staff support.

Although the Office has gained status in recent years and has attracted higher caliber personnel, especially since it was given responsibility for the National Defense Education Act a year ago, it does not rank with an independent agency like the National Science Foundation, also deeply engaged in scientific education. In addition, it is worth noting that its top pay scale is lower than the education departments of several States or even large cities.

Political Science and Physical Science

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address to the Third Industrial Nuclear Conference at Chicago, Ill., by Hon. CRAIG HOSMER, member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy:

POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PHYSICAL SCIENCE

In commencing a talk, the usual order of things is a salutation of some kind. Most commonly "ladies and gentlemen" suffices. Perhaps semi-unrelated circumstances at this particular time might indicate I should start out by addressing you as "comrades." But I cannot bring myself to that.

Possibly the most accurately descriptive salutation I could use today, to this group, would be "pioneers and adventurers," since in the true and large sense—and both in relation to the economics of peaceful applications of atomic energy and the vast horizons for man's betterment just beginning to appear from the light of new knowledge—you are, indeed, and in the true sense, this modern day's "pioneers and adventurers."

Before discussing it, however, I would like to express my appreciation to the directors of the conference for permitting me, representing the membership of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, to express my personal views on these matters of mutual concern. And, particularly, to thank Dr. Alvin Weinberg for so graciously exchanging our speaking dates here to accommodate my schedule to be with the Joint Committee at the International Atomic Energy Agency's General Conference. Al's stimulating analysis of the problems of "Burning the Sea Versus Burning the Rocks" is a treat for which I apologize for your having to wait 2 more days.

His discussion—this Industrial Nuclear Conference—in fact, any real awareness of the nonmilitary applications of atomic knowledge were not grasped by a stunned world when in 1945 this great new force burst so explosively and destructively to public view.

It came not in a gradual, evolutionary manner as have other vital forces which are part of our civilization—in a manner which man could prepare his institutions and his thinking to control, direct, harness, and accept as part of his culture—it came, rather, as a full grown technology—suddenly, from behind a secrecy curtain—to confront a vast audience—a world, which was more prepared, even, to accept a man from Mars as reality, than the apparently terrifying monster it found before it.

Fortunately, the so-called monster, for the first 5 years of its public life, at least, had a kind and benevolent keeper—the United States of America.

During these years the world knew that its destructive power would not be irrespon-

sibly unleased upon it. During these years the awareness gradually grew that this great new force need not necessarily be a monster unless man made it so.

During these years—and since—man's "political scientists" have had opportunity to develop doctrines and philosophies which may fit this great force developed by man's "physical scientists" into our civilization and its cultural patterns as a factor for great good, rather than one for great evil.

I have emphasized the words "physical scientists" and "political scientists" because ask a physical scientist the question: "Where are scientific discoveries taking us?" and he will say he does not know. Often as not, he will tell you, "Ask the statesmen, the legislators, and the politicians."

Science can inform the culture to which it belongs, can contribute the tools to enhance understanding, can constantly remind of the universal nature of knowledge and of knowledge's refusal to be fettered. But it cannot take over control of a democracy without destroying the democratic spirit. The rules and regulations have to be worked out, in the main, by students and practitioners of the law, the political scientists.

Underlining this point of view—and in pleading both for public understanding and for public courage as our power over nature increases—Teller and Latter, in their book "Our Nuclear Future," explained it thusly:

"The real source of important decisions in our country is the people. We believe that this is rightly so, and we believe that it is not proper if scientists take over any essential part of these decisions."

And so, as it has been enunciated in theory—so has it been put to practice in our country.

Hardly had the wraps of military secrecy been taken off the atom, when in 1946 the Congress of the United States, representing the people, created within itself the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy as the legislative instrumentality to deal with the task of interweaving nuclear science and political science.

The task has proved both constant and complicated in the past. Undoubtedly it will continue to merit those same adjectives for many years to come.

Without exhausting, but merely hinting at some of the factors which make it so, let me list now—and later examine—just a few of them.

First, proper allocation of responsibilities between Federal, State, and local governments.

Second, adequate provision for health and safety.

Third, maintenance of proper economic relationships in a competitive society.

Fourth, protection of the public's stake in the Government's investment.

Fifth, the necessity for accelerating peacetime uses of atomic energy.

Sixth, considerations of defense and international relations.

And, incidentally, let me caution, that although these and many more factors may be conveniently listed as separate items, they are, in fact, often as numerous, interdependent and interrelated as the parts and pieces of a nuclear reactor.

The political scientist in conceiving workable legislation and policies often faces a task in his work comparable in complication and exactitude to that of the naval reactor designer about which Capt. R. V. Laney told the Joint Committee:

"Each naval reactor project has a specific end in view. Because the building time for the ship and for the reactor, and the reactor plant components are different, the ship is partly built when the plant and its components are still being designed. The ship's characteristics are frozen in advance. Her power requirements are very sharply defined. The myriad of part, pieces, controls, and equipment must, the first time they operate in unison, operate correctly. There is a very high premium on success."

And so, indeed, there is a very high premium on success for the highly complicated operations in the field of political science carried on by the Joint Atomic Committee.

It was for this reason, combined with necessary weapons security that the committee was established as a Joint Committee of both the House of Representatives and the Senate, composed of nine members from each body, rather than as separate committees of each body as is the normal procedure. These considerations also had something to do with the size of the Joint Committee, which is about half the number of members of the usual congressional committee.

This kind of organization has led to infrequent changes in committee membership and has permitted the buildup of a tremendous reservoir of knowledge and practical experience amongst its membership, five of whom have served on the committee since its inception.

Our chairman, Senator ANDERSON of New Mexico, combining position, knowledge, long experience, seniority, and legislative skill is one of the world's acknowledged leaders in this field. And, I can pay him this tribute sincerely, since we are members of opposing political parties.

By law, the Joint Committee is required to make continuing studies of the Atomic Energy Commission and of problems relating to the development, use and control of atomic energy.

The committee also has a duty to investigate and report to the Congress—and thus to the people—recommendations with respect to matters within its jurisdiction. It is in compliance with this requirement that the Joint Committee regularly holds hearings which, to the greatest extent possible within the bounds of security, are open to the public—and thus give the public at large an opportunity to become knowledgeable of the available facts and special problems in the atomic energy field.

Not all of our hearings can be open, of course. Security requirements necessitate that about half of them be held behind closed doors in executive session. In most instances, however, when executive sessions involve major policy decisions, after deletion of classified information, a record of the committee's deliberations is published and distributed.

Realistically, the Joint Committee would still perform an invaluable public service if it performed no further function than such dissemination of authoritative information to the American public and to the people of the world—information which permits laymen to stabilize their hopes and their fears at some realistic point between the depths of utter despair and the heights of unreasonable expectation, which, too often, have alternately characterized the public approach to problems of the nuclear age.

At this point—after such a buildup for the Joint Committee—I would be less than candid if I did not make the frank admission that neither is the Joint Atomic Committee's chambers a latter-day temple for 18 living gods—nor do the committee's 18 members regard themselves as such—at least, there is an honest division of opinion on the matter.

The ground to be covered in exercising the committee's responsibilities is of such magnitude that, in carrying out other legislative duties, members may be well informed, although they may not always be as expertly informed upon particular matters at hand for action as they would like to be.

This gap is filled reasonably well in two ways: By the breaking down of the committee into several subcommittees, allowing certain specializations amongst members, and, by the assistance of an able committee staff, supplemented from time to time by outside consultants and experts from various government departments and agencies.

Although the Joint Committee has often exercised remarkable vision and imaginative leadership in formulating national nuclear policies—an outstanding example of which was its insistence upon development of nuclear fusion—it has sometimes overlooked action on more mundane and less dramatic problems, which, nevertheless, deserve attention.

In this category—and purely as a personal opinion—I submit the organizational problem of the Atomic Energy Commission itself, as well as the Joint Committee's relationships with the Commission.

Perhaps I am wrong, and again I emphasize it is my own, and not the committee's opinion, but possibly we should be thinking in terms of an atomic energy agency, or even a department—rather than an Atomic Energy Commission to direct the executive department's administration of atomic energy functions.

From the management standpoint, multiple membership bodies generally have proved less able to direct effectively than where a single head is provided, with perhaps an advisory board to assist in policy matters as distinguished from sharing exercise of administrative authority.

Again, expressing personal opinion, I sometimes feel that as between members of the Joint Committee and members of the Atomic Energy Commission, there exists only a shadowy and blurred understanding of which policy matters are to be decided by the committee and which by the Commission, even sometimes as to what are matters of policy and what are matters of administration. This needs clarification by force of law rather than force of personalities and custom.

A need also exists for a clearer definition of the relative precedence between the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, various ad hoc committees, advisers and others in speaking with and advising the President on atomic energy matters.

Unfortunately, my criticism as to these points, and other which I have not mentioned, are subject to a fatal fault—I do not have the authority of pat solutions at hand to backstop them. But perhaps, the validity of the criticism, as well as the solutions if any are needed, could become apparent if our committee finds time to delve into the matter by way of its usual complete and thorough hearings procedure.

The process of these hearings is a somewhat interesting one. Some of you have testified before the committee—always with skill, but often with trepidation—others may have been in one way or another influenced by their outcome.

Annual hearings are held in connection with the AEC's yearly expenditure authorization. Also, the Atomic Energy Act requires during the first 60 days of each session of Congress hearing to receive information concerning the development, growth and state of the atomic energy industry. These are the so-called "202" hearings named for the section of the act requiring them. It is the chairman's prerogative to select additional subjects of inquiry, either in support of particular legislative proposals, or of a more general nature.

The committee staff carefully lines up the panel of witnesses. It aims at obtaining the best informed experts who should be heard, as well as permitting those who insist upon being heard to testify.

The somewhat anomalous position of the Joint Committee—being a creature of neither House, but of both—has thus far prevented it from obtaining a regular room for

public hearings. As a consequence rooms must be borrowed from other committees, accounting for your inconvenience and ours in shifting between numerous rooms during the course of any extensive hearing.

Usually, before the hearing starts, the committee meets in executive session for a preparatory skull session. During the hearings, those of you who have attended, have noted that seldom does a witness proceed very far before he is interrupted by questions and possibly even a longwinded discussion among the committee itself.

This may be either on the subject at hand, or all too often—being the political animals we are—on something more related to the day's political headlines. Nonetheless, it is usually a fairly well informed discussion, irrespective of the subject.

I can assure you that the Member of Congress is not—repeat, not—a member of our committee—and this really happened—the one who listened very intently to a learned briefing on atomic energy—then, being the question period, asked:

"Doctor, what is the native habitat of the atom?"

Following a hearing, the staff prepares a draft report summarizing the information obtained and setting forth the committee's proposed conclusions and recommendations. I believe you would be amazed to see the care and attention committee members devote to this document. Many, many long hours are spent refining them around the green-clothed table in the somewhat shabby committee executive room in the Capitol at the base of the cornerstone laid by President George Washington.

Every effort is made to write a report that is acceptable to all members, that is fair, knowledgeable, and of benefit to some phase of our nuclear effort. Only when a somewhat fundemental divergence of philosophical opinion arises, do we issue a report containing separate or supplemental views to those expressed by the majority of members.

Well, so much for the processes of these political scientists—I would like to turn now to those complicated factors with which they deal that I listed earlier.

The first two I mentioned concern problems of health and safety and the proper division of responsibilities between Federal, State, and local governments under our constitutional system. These I will discuss together, both because of their interrelation and because discussing them together is a particularly forceful way to emphasize that solving most problems of the nuclear age is not a matter of totally new concepts, but rather, one of adapting old institutions and old cultural patterns to new forces.

In their wisdom and their fear of power concentration, the Founding Fathers not only split and divided the functions of Government between legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the Federal Government, but made a further division of power between the Federal Government and the States.

Development of nuclear weapons was clearly a function of the Federal Government under its constitutional responsibility "to provide for the common defense." Under conditions through 1945, it was clearly a Federal responsibility to corral and nationalize every gram of fissionable material going into these devices, from mining the ore to the finished product.

All aspects of the production flow, including the health and safety of workers and the public at large, were thus clearly an exclusive function of the Federal Government.

With the advent of peace and the projection of atomic matters into the civilian side of our life, this clear-cut delineation of exclusive Federal authority faded—and faded fast.

If nuclear materials were to be utilized in civilian pursuits, they had to be placed in civilian hands. The law had to be changed, and it was changed to permit this.

In civilian hands, health and safety consideration pertaining to fissionable material came to an area where the States and other subdivisions—not the Federal Government—commonly exercised the major health and safety responsibilities. Pressures built up for such a shift of responsibilities to the States.

In order to exercise them, State and local authorities had to acquire knowledge and techniques that theretofore had been a Federal monopoly. This was permitted.

On the other side of the coin, certain factors appeared mitigating against this transfer to the States. American business and industry, seeking to employ the new technology throughout the country, could not stand a burden of complying with 50 separate, differing State health and safety regulations, let alone the multitudinously complex situation if all America's town councils were to come up their own unique ideas of what is safe and what is not safe conduct with regard to atomic energy—and each town cop could, in his turn, decide whether or not industry was complying.

It seems almost impossible that an answer could be found adapting our old institutions to this kind of situation. Yet, it is being found, gradually applied, and, I think, rather successfully.

Congress has just passed enabling legislation and today—at AEC headquarters in Germantown—groundwork is being laid for the initial transfer of regulatory authority over AEC licensed isotope applications to the States as rapidly as each State can show it is equipped to do the job and agrees to do it.

In order to avoid nonuniformity, it is required that a State's regulation must be either identical or compatible with AEC's. There must also be an adequate, trained staff at the State level, which AEC will help to prepare through recruitment and training programs. Once an official transfer is accomplished, there will be no dual, Federal-State jurisdiction in the field covered.

From this pattern of responsibility shift in the field of isotope application, it is easy to project similar shifts in the future with respect to reactors, fuel processing and in other appropriate areas.

Turning now to two more of the difficult factors faced by the political scientists in adjusting our lives and institutions to the nuclear age, we again find that discussing them together is more valuable and more feasible than trying to analyze them separately. They are the economic relationships of nuclear industries in a competitive society, and, the protection of the people's vast investment required to bring about the nuclear age.

To date, some $25 billion have been invested in nuclear science by the people of America. This does not include other billions buried in related Government programs. It is just the money appropriated to date to the Manhattan District, and its successor, the AEC.

How, and in what manner can the knowledge and the hardware so expensively acquired be utilized so that the people receive back the maximum return on their public dollars?

Can, and should, this return be made in dollar amounts, or is it better and more practical that it filter back, somehow, through improved living standards, better food and medical care, better and possible cheaper products of industry, and in other ways?

Should the Government seek to monopolize, say, the nuclear-electricity production field, and recoup those $25 billion by a surcharge over the cost of power production?

Could it do so if it wanted to?

How, and in what manner, can this Government pass on to competitive American industry knowledge and technology of nuclear application in a manner that gives no one corporation a practical monopoly, but stimulates amongst industry the normal competition basic to a free enterprise economic system?

These questions open up a Pandora's box of problems that make the Federal-State jurisdictional question elementary in comparison. Yet they are the questions that inhere in—and require either the answering or the ignoring—each time Congress deals with almost any aspect of industrial development of atomic energy by free, competitive enterprise.

In these regards, applications involving radioisotopes have been amongst the easier with which to deal.

Cost of production, plus capital and overhead price tags can be calculated and affixed to products supplied by Government installations. Thus a fair return to the public treasury can be assured.

Although general industrial, medical and other peacetime isotope applications are expensive, their price in relation to most of American industry's ability to pay is not exorbitant. There is also the practical assurance that when it is paid, the investment will make a profit. Thus, in this field, the factors exist which stimulate competition and stifle monopoly, all to the good of the American public which enjoys the fruits of this remarkably productive economic system.

But when you get over into other atomic energy applications by American industry, the situation changes. For instance, economic production of electricity from nuclear fuels. It is a tremendously expensive proposition, not only in the research and development stages, but in capital plant costs. Some of the needed research and development already has been done in Government laboratories or under Government contract. Industry may build on that—but how—and how much should it pay for it?

Even if some one industrial giant could carry the whole accomplishment from beginning to end—with its own capital—acquiring its own patents, the result would be that giant's monopoly, which is contrary to the interests of a competitive society. How is this to be avoided?

I have raised more questions than I have answered on these points—simply because there seems to be no universally applicable solutions that can be painted on with a legislative brush. Each time Congress has dealt with the subject, whether it has been on the question of patents, of the various reactor demonstration rounds in the nuclear power program, or otherwise, it, too, has had to leave to time the answer to parts of both the economic competition and the protection of the public's stake questions.

This has not been wholly because those problems are, in and of themselves, insoluble. But often because—in a broad view of the national interest—their solution has deserved a lesser priority than the fifth complicating factor I listed in the political scientists' labors—that involving a necessity to accelerate peacetime uses of atomic energy.

That point needs no belaboring before a group such as this. There is not only a humane necessity that mankind be brought all the peaceful benefits of the atom at the the soonest possible moment, but there is a vitally compelling necessity to do so in this era of deadly competition for survival between us, the inheritors and beneficiaries of Western civilization, and those behind the Iron Curtain to whom freedom, liberty, and justice are evils to be ruthlessly exterminated.

Thus it is that many of our programs, much of our public expenditures, and an overriding consideration in our approach to peaceful atomic energy application, stems

from this basic, though regrettable fact of international life. These positive and peaceful applications of nuclear force are as fundamental to ultimate victory as is the effective capability to use that power in weapons configurations if should ever the need arise.

My mention of the committee meeting almost half its time in executive session is ample indication that defensive weaponry and international relations deserves a major position in the list of complications confronting the political scientist dealing with nuclear science.

What precise part the Joint Committee plays in the weapons program neither can—nor should—be discussed outside its constantly guarded committee room. It is suffice to say that not only is the membership currently and fully informed of all developments—technical, tactical and strategical—but it also exercises a considerably inventive leadership as regards them.

There is full appreciation that without the added power of nuclear weapons capability the free world cannot match the Communist bloc's overwhelming manpower superiority in the use of conventional weapons.

It was upon this premise that the committee took the leadership in suggesting—and assumed the burden of obtaining public concurrence—to the recent exchange of information with NATO allies which will allow them effectively to use nuclear weapons supplied by the United States if hostilities should break out. Yet, which does not afford the nonnucular power technical information which might permit them to join the Nuclear Club.

At the same time ,the committee has exercised its influence with respect to test-ban negotiations, and related disarmament negotiations, so that within the requirements for sufficient strength to resist either nuclear or conventional blackmail by the U.S.S.R., this Nation cannot only follow, but as well proudly lead in the effort to relax world tensions.

In conclusion let me say this: I have dwelt long upon the political scientist's place and responsibilities in this modern age of unique opportunity and unique danger. I have done so simply because I lack the technical background to discuss with you, the physical scientist, your own work, on your own terms, in your own language. Your work—the physical scientist's work—is that which is true and basic to mankind throughout the ages past and the ages to come.

My work—the political scientist's—is more transitory in effect, and as a consequence less meaningful to mankind.

I salute you for your accomplishments—I thank you for your dedication.

The Versatility of Jennings Randolph

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDMUND S. MUSKIE
OF MAINE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, last summer I had the privilege and pleasure of visiting the great State of West Virginia as the guest of our distinguished colleague, JENNINGS RANDOLPH. I enjoyed a weekend there with him among his constitutents, and had the privilege of addressing a great gathering of Democrats at a Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner.

I was impressed by the high esteem in which our colleague is held among his people. At the time I was in West Virginia I met the editor of the Fairmont Times, a distinguished gentleman who obviously also held a high opinion of our colleague. I note in the January 11 issue of the Fairmont Times an editorial paying tribute to our colleague's qualities as a public servant. I think it is appropriate, in this year when he will be seeking reelection, that there be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD a copy of this editorial, and I make that request.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE VERSATILITY OF JENNINGS RANDOLPH

In many years of public service and in private business close to the seat of the National Government, U.S. Senator JENNINGS RANDOLPH has made himself a man well informed in a wide variety of fields. His ability has long been well known, but his range of interests struck us in two speeches he made in Fairmont within a period of 3 days.

Appearing at a luncheon to launch a new television station in central West Virginia, RANDOLPH, although a member of the company's board of directors, did not devote himself to platitudinous best wishes. He gave a thoughtful analysis of television's responsibility to the viewing public.

Had more people in high places accepted the responsibility of which Senator RANDOLPH spoke, the chances are the entire industry would not have found itself in its present plight, with public confidence shaken by revelations of payola, rigged quizzes and the like.

Then, to a different audience, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Senator spoke on the theme of communism. He warned that the United States is still the prime target for Soviet espionage and suggested some principles for combating the menace.

It is knowledge such as the senior Senator has exemplified in these two instances that, among many other reasons, has prompted widespread support for his candidacy for a full 6-year term. The Clarksburg Exponent heralded his announcement with the statement that West Virginia needs the services of the distinguished resident of Elkins.

The exponent goes on to say: "As he did when he was a Member of the House of Representatives, JENNINGS RANDOLPH as a U.S. Senator has demonstrated his interest in affairs of Government with particular emphasis on matters of Government which affect West Virginia. His efforts for betterment of West Virginia have been reported regularly in the public press and his work in this respect has been influential in helping the State's economy.

"JENNINGS RANDOLPH understands West Virginia's unique problems as do few people on the Washington scene. He has visited the various parts of the State so often that he is at home wherever he goes, and he has a corresponding understanding of the problems of each particular area.

"Senator RANDOLPH is one of the Nation's best orators and on numerous occasions since he entered the chambers of the U.S. Senate he has argued for the needs of West Virginia.

"We feel confident that JENNINGS RANDOLPH will receive the Democratic nomination and that he will be reelected by an overwhelming majority of the votes cast. West Virginians know that he has represented them faithfully in Washington and that he will battle diligently for their best interests. The State's need for JENNINGS RANDOLPH as one of our U.S. Senators is far greater than Senator RANDOLPH's need for the job, and we feel that the Mountain State residents will vote accordingly."

Happy 93d Birthday to You, Dr. Townsend

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. OLIVER
OF MAINE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. OLIVER. Mr. Speaker, today, Wednesday, January 13, marks the 93d birthday of Dr. Francis E. Townsend, the father of the Townsend plan for retirement pensions for our senior citizens.

It has been my privilege to know and work with this great American over the past 25 years. These years, Mr. Speaker, have found him working tirelessly and courageously for justice for our elderly people. Many congressional leaders over the years have attributed to Dr. Townsend substantial credit for the Federal recognition through congressional action of the principle of social security for the American people. Knowing of his great contribution to the action and work necessary to arouse the people in support of any proposal in the general welfare, I can personally testify that this contribution of his has been even more than substantial. The elderly citizens of America owe Dr. Townsend a debt that can never be repaid.

It is only rarely that a man crusades as he has crusaded for a cause in the interests of people without hope of personal gain for himself or family. Dr. Townsend has been this type of a champion. He conceived of the idea that the great resources of America could and would support a social dividend for the retirement income of all of our citizens. He believed that this income, since it would be immediately and fully expended by its recipients, would serve as the continuing stimulus which our economy needs to employ our full resources, both human and material. In part, his idea has been proved during the recent recession. Many economists have stated that the built-in stabilizer of social security payments made a great contribution to the stability of personal income, thereby acting as a cushion for the decline in our economy, during 1957–58. Certainly, more stabilization through the larger pension payments of the Townsend plan would have been even more effective.

Having been one of the 97 Members of Congress who voted for consideration of the Townsend plan in the 76th Congress, I feel that Dr. Townsend has been justified in every way in making the efforts which he has made and in the observations which his organization has made available over the years to the citizens of the Nation, as well as the Congress of the United States.

Sincerity, strength of one's convictions, sympathy for one's fellow beings and dedication to a basic cause in the interests of the American people, together with devoted and unwavering action to reach the objective, symbolize the crusading stature of a man.

Dr. Francis E. Townsend measures up to these specifications and far beyond in my estimation. I have been and am

proud to have been closely associated with him and his work. On his 93d birthday, I extend my warmest personal regards and rededicate myself to his goal.

Happy 93d birthday to you, Dr. Townsend, and may there be enough years left for you to see the realization of your dream; namely, justice for all of our senior citizens.

Edwin F. Chinlund

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I invite to the attention of the Senate the passing of Edwin F. Chinlund, a distinguished businessman, lay religious leader and civic leader in New York. We must take note of so useful a life as a model to every citizen. He is honored especially in New York for his perceptive leadership in the modernization of our courts.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the article published in the New York Herald Tribune of January 12, 1960, regarding his passing.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EDWIN F. CHINLUND DEAD, MACY'S FINANCE CHAIRMAN

Edwin F. Chinlund, 69, chairman of the finance committee of R. H. Macy & Co., Inc., died yesterday in his home at 45 Gramercy Park.

Mr. Chinlund retired in 1956 as vice president and treasurer of Macy's. Since 1942, he had headed up the nonmerchandising activities of the company. These included acquisitions, leases, new ventures, mergers and financial matters. He played a key role in Macy's postwar expansion program, including the development of shopping centers.

In 1939, he became president of Postal Telegraph when the company came out of receivership. He was mainly instrumental in bringing about the merger of Western Union and Postal Telegraph in 1942.

HEADED COURT GROUP

Mr. Chinlund was chairman of the Committee for Modern Courts, which worked for the passage by the 1959 legislature of a constitutional amendment providing for a reorganization of the State courts. This must be passed again by the 1961 legislature and voted on in the election of 1961.

Born in Chicago, Mr. Chinlund began his career as a certified public accountant. He was a partner of Arthur Anderson & Co. in 1925 when he left to become controller and later vice president of International Telephone and Telegraph Corp. In 1937, he returned to partnership in Arthur Anderson & Co. but left again to become president of Postal Telegraph.

Mr. Chinlund was a member of the board of directors of the General Public Utilities Corp., General Telephone & Electronics Corp., Scandinavian Airlines System, and Western Union.

He was a member of the boards of directors of the Foreign Policy Association, the Gramercy Park Association, the Jackson Laboratories Association, the Public Health Research Institute, the National Urban League, the Hudson Guild Settlement House, and Roosevelt Hospital.

IN RETAIL GROUP

He was a member of the New York State Retail Merchants Association, the Citizens Budget Commission, the American Institute of Accountants, and the Controllers Institute. He was a member of the Century Association, the Union League Club, and the Blind Brook Country Club.

For the last 28 years, Mr. Chinlund had maintained a summer home on Martha's Vineyard. He was a member and former commodore of the Vineyard Haven Yacht Club. Last summer, he organized the Martha's Vineyard Boat Line Committee, which had as its objective the bringing of adequate and low-cost steamship service to the island.

Last month, Mr. Chinlund was honored by King Gustav Adolf VI of Sweden, who designated him as a Knight of the Royal Order of Vasa for his contributions as a director of the Scandinavian Airlines System.

AIDED GRAHAM CRUSADE

During the Billy Graham crusade in New York in 1957, he was treasurer and a member of the executive committee. He was a member of the Middle Collegiate Church and a member of the board of directors of the Protestant Council of the city of New York.

Surviving are his wife, Mrs. Helen Chinlund; four sons, Edwin C., Harold C., Thomas J., and Stephen J. Chinlund; a daughter, Mrs. Arnold K. Brown, Jr.; three brothers, Dr. Emil, Theodore, and Victor Chinlund, and four sisters, the Misses Mildred, Anna, and Ruth Chinlund, and Mrs. Ellen Sanblom.

A funeral service will be held at 10 a.m. tomorrow in Grace Church, Broadway and 10th Street.

TV and Honest Advertising, Testimony of Mr. Philip Cortney Before Federal Communications Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, on January 7, 1960, Mr. Philip Cortney, president of Coty, Inc., New York, N.Y., appeared before the Federal Communications Commission and testified about the need for honesty in TV broadcasting and advertising. During the course of his statements, Mr. Cortney made reference to the fact that the Federal Trade Commission is undertaking, lately, a number of cases in which it is charged that some persons involved in the TV and radio scandals are engaged in false and misleading advertising. However, he pointed out that according to the Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, there is a difference of opinion on the staff level of the Commission as to the Federal Trade Commission's jurisdiction of sponsored TV shows if the show was deceptive but the commercial was not. In that connection, he called attention to the fact that the same agency, whose duty it is to fight unfair competition, is accusing record manufacturers of giving illegal payolas to radio diskjockeys, but is not proceeding against other parties to the same transactions. In other words, in these agreements and other actions resulting in illegal payolas, the Federal Trade Commission has seen fit to proceed against only some of the persons who have entered into the payola agreements and transactions. These partial proceedings have been undertaken despite the fact that the Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission has acknowledged that:

> These payoffs are unfair methods of competition forbidden by the FTC Act because they have the capacity to suppress competition and to divert trade unfairly from respondents' competitors.

Mr. Cortney appropriately has inquired why the Federal Trade Commission has proceeded against only the record manufacturers and failed to include in the same proceedings other parties in agreement with the record manufacturers in the making of illegal payolas.

Mr. Speaker, in view of the importance and timeliness of this subject, I wish to extend and revise my remarks by including in the RECORD at this point the testimony he presented to the Federal Communications Commission, January 7, 1960.

STATEMENT OF PHILIP CORTNEY, PRESIDENT, COTY, INC., BEFORE THE FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION

I greatly appreciate the opportunity to appear before you in these hearings on the question of how we can best guarantee that radio and television will fulfill its vital responsibility to the American people.

The television quiz scandal may prove to have been a blessing in disguise, if it should lead to a real change in the television industry. It would be unforgivable if the occasion to give the right answers to some of its fundamental problems were lost. Television is the most powerful medium of mass communication and of extreme importance to our Nation.

The impact of television on our Nation is so considerable that it can influence our morals, our thinking, and our culture for good or for bad. It is up to us to make certain that this greatest medium of communication is made to serve the public interest.

It is being asserted that we get our television broadcasts free. Is this true? I doubt that we obtain anything in this world without paying a price for it. Who is paying the billions of dollars of advertising to the TV stations if not the American public? The degrading of our taste, the corruption of our morals, the juvenile delinquency to which many of the TV programs make such an outstanding contribution are too high a price to pay for the so-called free television. In a recent remarkable speech on the subject "What More Is Left To Accomplish?" Gen. David Sarnoff, chairman of RCA, stressed the point that the only valid achievement of science and education is its effect on the individual human being. He warned us that we run the danger of confusing democracy with mediocrity, and that we may grow softer, more pleasure-loving, content to squander our increasing leisure on the trivial if not on the harmful. General Sarnoff admonishes us to embrace heroic goals and dedications and to accept the hard disciplines of the good life. We better heed his advice if we wish to respond successfully to the material and ideological challenges surging from the East and the Far East. Because of its terrific impact, TV will have a considerable influence, for good or bad, on the kind of men we are bringing

up to defend our moral values, our heritage, and our way of life.

Let me now tackle the fundamental problems of TV as I see them.

(1) The TV stations obtain operating licenses on the condition that they defend the "public interest." However, as far as I know, the words "public interest" in this context are not clearly defined. As long as advertising remains the only source of income of the TV stations, we cannot leave it to them to interpret the meaning of the words "public interest." Some definite guidepost would seem to me essential.

(2) The second question or problem is: "What are our people entitled to expect from its radio and television systems?" What is the public interest in this respect? It appears that television considers entertainment, or what goes for entertainment, as its main duty and purpose. Worse yet, under the guise of entertainment, TV is glamorizing violence, corrupting our youngsters through an abundant diet of sadism and crime, and is degrading the public taste.

Do our people really need so much entertainment or so-called entertainment as it is being made available by TV stations nowadays? Is quality not sacrificed to quantity, or rather to trivialties and many variations on the same few themes, often deplorable?

Would this national resource called TV not be put to better use on providing programs of information, documentaries, education, good art and civilized entertainment? Would this kind of programing not serve better the public interest? President Eisenhower recently remarked at Gettysburg that people in democracies must develop understanding of basic issues. Indeed, a democracy means a choice, and choice presumes education if we are to act as enlightened citizens and rise above our own selfish short-term interests, so that free government may survive in our country. TV could make a great and valuable contribution to the understanding of the basic issues and toward the goal of making our people act as enlightened citizens.

Entertainment is a legitimate part of life to relieve us, from time to time, from the pressures of reality and from thinking. But let me ask again whether we need as much so-called entertainment as is being fed to us and particularly so much cheap entertainment, which is debasing our taste. Defenders of "freedom of taste" contend that we should give people what they want. First of all, how do we know what the people really want? Desires are created and then satisfied, and this process is spoken of as if it actually gave the viewer a choice. Those responsible for the programing of television would do well, and it is their duty, to find a way for the public to express its inward wants. But even if we assume that the TV industry is right in its opinion that the taste of great masses is a low one, is it not their duty, is it not in the public interest that they utilize a great deal of the TV time and effort to elevate the public taste? If we are to be guided only by what the people want, or presumed to want, we may have to feed many youngsters and adults with pornographic or obscene programs. Would such programs have a worse influence on our people than the constant exhibition on TV of violence, sadism and crime?

We should keep constantly in mind, when discussing these problems, the unique power of TV, not comparable to any other medium, and as is the case with any exessive power, its capacity for corruption.

The public interest clearly requires that we make TV an influence for a good society and not an evil one. At this point some people may wonder whether I am advocating control of the programing by the Federal Communications Commission, or blasphemy, even censorship. I share the opinion that the FCC has the power and the duty to make certain that the public interest is protected in the way the television facilities are used. As to censorship, I am opposed to Government censorship. But Mr. John Crosby is right in maintaining there is now complete censorship of the airways by the advertisers. The truth is that television is dominated and controlled by a handful of advertisers with the largest advertising budgets.. So long as the advertisers have direct control over the programs it is not easy to scare the people with the danger of censorship.

(3) This brings me to the core of one of the TV problems. The only source of income for the TV stations is advertising. Broadcasting is a business dedicated to acquire the largest mass audience in order to sell profitable advertising to the sponsors. For all practical purposes television is operated primarily for private profit. As Mr. Walter Lippmann so aptly said, television has become the servant, the prostitute of merchandising. Worse yet, the major networks have surrendered the control of their facilities to substantial advertisers whose main criterion for presenting a program is what is supposed to be most popular. This situation leads to programs of low taste or to fraud in the case of advertisers whose acquantance with the moral law is very remote.

I admire Dr. Stanton's statement to the effect that his network will accept the entire responsibility for both content and quality of the programs. Until the TV scandal we were living in a kind of irresponsible world. A shocking fraud was perpetrated on the American people, huge dishonest profits were made by means of what District Attorney Hogan called a fraud, and yet our Government seemed unable to call anybody to account. We punish a hungry man who may be tempted to steal a loaf of bread, and we seem helpless against people who make big money by fraud and deceit. This is a perfectly unjust and intolerable situation, because cynicism breeds cynicism and dishonesty breeds dishonesty.

It seems to me that the position taken by Dr. Stanton is a very sound one. The licenses are granted to the stations which accept the unqualified responsibility to defend the public interest. This responsibility cannot be delegated to anyone. Hence it is up to them to control the programs and to bear the entire responsibility for both content and quality of the programs.

My recommendation, therefore, is that the advertisers should take their hands off TV programs. Businessmen who buy advertising in newspapers and magazines exercise no control over the editorial and entertainment sections of those media. Let's adopt this same practice for radio and television and let the networks and stations be responsible for entertainment and editorial content. The businessmen should limit themselves to honestly selling their products and services. I would urgently recommend that the Federal Communications Commission consider the advisability of an amendment to the Communications Act of 1934 which would specifically make it illegal and punishable by law for any advertiser to exercise control over programs.

The aforementioned statement by Dr. Stanton and a similar one made by Mr. Kintner, president of NBC, should reassure us that the networks will endeavor to improve both the quality and the contents of their programs. Yet, I can't help feeling that if they were to do all that is expected of them in defense of public interest, they would find themselves in conflict with their economic interests which require mass audiences for the advertisers.

Therefore, I also propose that the following suggestions made by various persons should be given careful consideration as means of defending the public interest:

(a) The creation of a National Advisory Board on Radio and Television. The main purpose of such a board will be to examine whether the industry is adequately serving the public interest, and to issue recommendations or reports whenever they think these to be necessary.

(b) Pay-TV network. It is worth trying.

(c) I am also in favor of a TV network which should be operated for public service and not for profit. Such a network would have to be subsidized and endowed. In its program of information, education and entertainment it should be concerned with quality and good taste and not with making profits.

Only by constant vigilance and experimentation shall we find the right answer to the basic question on how to utilize the broadcasting resource for the good of the Nation.

(4) Another broadcasting problem is the honesty of advertising. Too many advertisements make exagerrated or even false claims. Too many commercials are in poor taste, when they are not an offense to both taste and intelligence. It is up to the stations and networks to watch the quality of their commercials, as they should do on the quality of the programs. It is up to the Federal Trade Commission and to the Federal Communications Commission to fight deceit and fraud in advertising.

District Attorney Hogan called the rigged TV quizzes a form of fraud which indeed they were. Yet the FTC took the position that they were helpless against this form of fraud. A strange situation indeed. Apparently the Government is able to fight small deceit but not a big fraud.

Mr. Kintner, Chairman of the FTC, has indicated that there was a difference of opinion on the staff level of the Commission as to the Federal Trade Commission's jurisdiction over sponsored shows if the show was deceptive but the commercial was not. Yet the same agency, whose duty is to fight unfair competition, in accusing record manufacturers of giving illegal payolas to radio diskjockeys, made the following statement: "These payoffs are unfair methods of competition forbidden by the FTC Act because they have the capacity to suppress competition and to divert trade unfairly from respondents' competitors." But, Gentlemen of the Commission, isn't this comment equally applicable to TV and the rigged TV quiz shows?

I was therefore happy when your Chairman recently stated that governmental power to control deception would be broadened and that a new law could be written to declare that the buyer of the product advertised has been cheated by such things as rigged shows even if the advertising itself was not deceptive. However, I respectfully submit that a real offense in the case of the rigged TV quiz shows was unfair competition, and I was interested to read in the report to Attorney General Rogers that the Federal Communications and Trade Commissions appear to have authority adequate under existing law to eradicate most, if not all, of the deceptive and corrupt practices in broadcasting which have been disclosed.

(5) I wish to draw attention to one more problem, created by TV, which has so far been ignored or neglected. I am referring to TV as an instrument of monopoly or restraint of competition. There is no doubt that vigorous competition is a matter of public interest. Let me make clear at the outset that I am not against bigness in business. I only wish to draw your attention to the tremendous power of TV in affecting the sale of merchandise. The use of TV has become a "must" in mass-merchandising. But not only is TV extremely costly but the best hours of TV, which enjoy the largest audience, are

naturally preempted by those able to spend the greatest amount of money on advertising. The air channels which constitute a network are scarce and therefore the number of good hours for advertising very limited. The competitive situation and capabilities of the small advertisers were much more favorable before the era of TV.

I don't know the remedy to this situation created by TV. My only hope is that the Government will face the issue squarely and not dodge it. I regret to state that at times some of our Government agencies show a zealousness completely in disproportion with the importance of the infringement of a particular law. Yet, to cite just one example, there is, and the Government knows about it, a real monopoly for the use of nail polish in the beauty shops of America, and the authorities seem helpless to put an end to it. Why this should be the case is not very clear to me.

Attorney General Rogers stated in his report that the spectacle of corruption in the broadcast industry presents a larger issue which is beyond the area of legislation or law enforcement. Indeed I doubt that honesty and morality can be obtained by legislation. The fundamental remedy is in our homes, schools and churches.

However, a caveat to my fellow businessmen seems to me appropriate. Business is central in our society. Precisely because business is central in our society, the businessman have a great role to play as active guardians of the free market economy which is being challenged today as never before. Money gives them power, which implies a great sense of responsibility, because money without morality and honesty can corrupt. The businessmen should have the good sense and character to face their responsibilities toward society; otherwise it will disintegrate and free enterprise will perish. The right answers to the TV problem depends as much on them as they depend on the Government and the public at large. This is why I am pleased that I was invited to appear at these hearings to express the views of at least one businessman and advertiser.

Stevenson and Red China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH SCOTT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, this is in the nature of a plea that American public figures be aware of the impact of their statements upon our friends and allies abroad.

Last month, the United Daily News of Taipei, Formosa, carried an editorial commenting on Mr. Adlai Stevenson's recent article in the magazine Foreign Affairs. Mr. Stevenson suggested recognition of Red China, if the Reds grant certain concessions.

These suggestions have shocked the people of the Republic of China, and the newspaper asks whether his utterance is a reflection of his personal opinion or that of the American Democratic Party. I think Mr. Stevenson owes the people in free China at least that much explanation.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the text of the editorial.

To clarify my own position in this matter of recognition of Red China, I ask unanimous consent that an article which I wrote recently and which appeared in the Philadelphia Bulletin and other newspapers, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A COMMENT ON STEVENSON'S RECOMMENDATIONS CONCERNING U.S. POLICY TOWARD THE FAR EAST

Mr. Adlai Stevenson, leader of the American Democratic Party, recently published an article in Foreign Affairs, a quarterly magazine, dealing with the current American foreign policy. In this article, the two-time U.S. Democratic Presidential candidate, aside from making an overall review of the present American foreign policy, advanced some absurd recommendations concerning American policy to be pursued in the Far East.

Mr. Stevenson said: "World peace appears an unattainable goal as long as Communist China is barred from international society." "It is clear that no general control of disarmament has any value unless it includes Communist China, and it is difficult to see how Red China can accept international control when it is not formally a member of international society." He further suggested: "The West, through Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev, explore the possibility of peace in the area threatened by Red China through a broad settlement of issues—including Formosa—by negotiation, not by force." As to how this goal can be reached, he suggested that both sides make concessions. The concessions he expected the Chinese Communist regime to make include the following: (1) Accept the international disarmament control; (2) end the threat of force against Formosa and infiltration and subversion in southeast Asia; (3) accept a peaceful settlement on border controversy with India; (4) agree to a free election under UN supervision in Korea; and (5) agree to a plebiscite held under UN supervision for the inhabitants of Formosa to determine their own destiny. In exchange for these Communist concessions, he suggested that the West: (1) End American embargo on Red China's admission to the United States (not to confused with diplomatic recognition); (2) persuade the Chinese Nationalist Government to evacuate from Quemoy and Matsu; and (3) include Korea and Japan in the atom-free zone and area of controlled disarmament. In other words, Mr. Stevenson's recommendations imply a sacrifice of Quemoy and Matsu, of the government of Free China in Taiwan and of our right of representation in the United Nations as a means of inducing the Peiping Communist regime to give up its expansion policy and achieving an over-all settlement in the Far East.

Back in September of 1952 when Mr. Stevenson first took part in the American Presidential election, he proposed in a speech he made in the State of Oregon that, upon cessation of the Korean war, the United States accord diplomatic recognition to Red China. In another speech he made in a Democratic Party meeting held in Chicago on September 16, 1953 upon his return from a global tour, he said: "If we are to negotiate with Communists, we must have sincerity." Since then, we have not heard Mr. Stevenson utter any strong opinion in regard to China. We presumed that he, after he had been twice defeated in the American Presidential election, must have realized the true desire and wish of the American people, and that he therefore refrained from making any further utterance on the China problem. The fact that he made the above-mentioned recommendations in a recent speech shows that he still adheres to his appeasement policy toward the Communists. It also shows his lack of farsightedness and personal prejudice toward China. His recommendations are even worse than the contents of the much-criticized Conlon Report recently published by U.S. Congress.

We do not wish to evince our disrespect toward a prominent party leader of our most close ally nor shall we criticize him with stinging words. Nevertheless, we do regret that Mr. Stevenson as a leading figure in American politics should have advanced such absurd recommendations of policy toward a nation to which his own country is allied by a mutual defense treaty. Whether his utterance is a reflection of his personal opinion or that of the American Democratic Party as a whole, we solemnly say that such opinion is erroneous, unrealistic, and impracticable.

SENATORS DEBATE FOREIGN POLICY—SCOTT SUPPORTS STAND ON CHINA

(By Senator HUGH SCOTT, Republican, Pennsylvania)

The foreign policy of the United States is a continuing thing. Its principal objective—and it may seem strange that this needs saying—is to protect and further the best interests of the United States.

The vast body of Americans and most leaders of both political parties have supported the basic objectives of American foreign policy as they have been enunciated by President Eisenhower over the past 7 years.

But our foreign policy has its critics and they come bubbling to the surface most vigorously during election years when some candidates are forced to reach far out into left field in order to create issues.

Since we have very important elections scheduled for November of 1960, all citizens would be well advised to observe carefully criticisms which do arise on foreign policy and judge the statements accordingly.

I remember when I was running for election to the U.S. Senate last year I had to defend some administration policies which by now are generally accepted as being the wisest that could have been followed at the time. "The island of Quemoy is threatened but the issue transcends the value of one island off the China coast," I said in one Pennsylvania address, "The issue is whether the Reds will be able to shoot their way into all of Asia. The Communists understand strength and we are showing that in the Formosa Straits."

Those who, a year ago, urged that we yield the tiny island of Quemoy to the Red Chinese because it was a "liability" are very silent today. Our policy of meeting force with force sobered up the trigger-happy Communists.

Instead they turned their guns and saboteurs on countries like Tibet, Laos, and India where opposition was not so certain nor so dangerous to the Communist aims.

IN DIFFERENT FORM

The Red China issue is coming up again, but in a different form.

Some people are urging our Government to grant diplomatic recognition to Red China (which we have not done since that regime came into power after a bloody revolution in 1949), and to agree to admit that country into the United Nations. (The Republic of China on Formosa, not the Red regime, is a U.N. member.)

These people maintain that recognition of the Red regime in China would tend to bring it into the "family of nations," that this would exert some control over the Reds' actions, that evidence of good will on America's part would tend to encourage good will on the part of the Reds, that the Russians would begin to "come around" and why not the Red Chinese?

All of these arguments are false and I am strongly opposed either to admitting Red China into the U.N. or to granting them diplomatic recognition.

Red China is still at war with the United Nations. It still has not yet accounted for some American prisoners. In addition to barbarism against its own people, it has been guilty of grossly immoral international actions. If we did swallow our moral and ethical principles and grant recognition to the Red Chinese, what would we be accomplishing?

We would enhance their prestige. We would be delivering a body blow to the Republic of China on Formosa. We would shake the confidence of those independent nations in Asia which still have the courage to resist the Communists.

When Great Britain recognized the Red Chinese regime, this did not stop the Communists from confiscating immense British investments. And India, which has been scrupulously neutral in the East-West disputes, has for its good intentions only a growing border conflict and dead Indian soldiers.

GREATEST THREAT TO PEACE

The Red Chinese regime today is in no mood for negotiation. It wants conquest.

This regime, because of its expansionist aims and fanatical policies, constitutes probably the greatest single threat to peace in the world today.

When the leaders of a nation—any nation—act like civilized human beings our Government is ready to cooperate. President Eisenhower has said repeatedly that he is willing to go anywhere at any time—if by so doing he could promote the cause of peace.

In the past several months we have seen considerable evidence of that policy. When Mr. Khrushchev indicated that he wanted to talk over some problems which are causing international tensions, the President immediately invited the Russian Premier to visit the United States.

General Eisenhower now plans to visit Russia himself in the near future. But we need real evidence of good intentions and the Red Chinese leaders have only to indicate their sincere desire to negotiate and they will not have to look far to find our representatives.

PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

We must understand that just as there is continuity to American foreign policy, so is there continuity to international problems.

The "cold war" with which we have lived for some 14 years will probably continue in one form or another for many years more.

This is not a pleasant thought. It is like being told by a doctor that we have chronic bronchitis.

We could disregard the condition or we could seek fast cure-alls. Either course of action would be foolhardy and might kill us.

Or we could learn to live with the condition and put our minds and energies to work in an all-out effort to solve the problem over whatever period of time it might take. This is the philosophy of the Eisenhower administration and I subscribe to it.

When we examine the record of President Eisenhower's two terms of office—which American voters will be doing intensively during the coming year—we must list his success in preserving world peace and justice as perhaps the greatest accomplishment of his years as President.

General Eisenhower extricated this Nation from the Korean war, kept us at peace while not yielding at any point to international communism, and now has brought the world closer to a realistic settlement of major international issues than it has been at any time since World War II.

Address by Hon. John W. McCormack, of Massachusetts, Before the AFL-CIO Legislative Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, this House of Representatives has been blessed by having many good and great Members.

The mark of a great public servant is the ability to be able not alone to think and act in the public interest but even more so to be able to so express himself that little doubt is left as to his position on any public subject or under any given circumstance.

Recently I was privileged to be in attendance at a meeting where the great bulk of American labor was represented.

Many speakers graced the speakers' list and all of them were capable, able, and articulate. However, it remained for a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives to make the greatest contribution in oratory, in facts, in logic, and finally in sound commonsense.

I speak of our esteemed, able, and forthright majority floor leader, the Honorable JOHN MCCORMACK, Democrat, of Massachusetts.

His speech is so full of the kind of advice and information so badly needed in today's confused atmosphere of politics, labor, and the people's problems that, under the unanimous consent of the House, I include it in the RECORD in order that all the Members can have the same privilege granted to all of us who heard Mr. MCCORMACK deliver it at the conference held at the Willard Hotel, this city, January 11, 1960:

ADDRESS BY HON. JOHN MCCORMACK, DEMOCRAT, OF MASSACHUSETTS, BEFORE THE AFL–CIO LEGISLATIVE CONFERENCE, WILLARD HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D.C., JANUARY 11, 1960

President Meany, my fellow Americans and outstanding leaders of labor from the various sections of the country, ladies and gentlemen and friends. I have a great admiration for Congressman FORD and he and I are personal friends, so that any remarks that I make, of course, have no direct application to him, particularly on the level of friendships. I just want to make a few observations before making some brief remarks about his speech of admonitions to labor and his very fine general platitudes about rededicating ourselves—everyone here is a dedicated American—and also about the modern Republican philosophy of government. If any exists, I fail to see it.

I do not feel strange in this gathering because I come from a working district and a working family. I think the philosophy of government and practical operations that you entertain and I entertain are the same. I think an examination of my voting record would show that fact. My voting record is the result of my own thoughts and considerations about our Government in practical operation. For years, I stood shoulder to shoulder with the late Franklin D. Roosevelt agreeing with him and his philosophy of government and also a great former President Harry S. Truman.

Broadly speaking my philosophy of government is to strengthen the family life of America. I think that's the dedicated duty of a legislator and I did that as a member of the Massachusetts Legislature and in my 31 years as a Member of Congress. The very strength of any government or any society is based upon these little units called the family life. Your family, my family, the other person's family, and the strength or weakness of a government is dependent upon the strength or weakness of family life, those little units that collectively make up the very broad foundations of any government and in our case of American government and American society.

I can go back to when I first came here, when 5 cents an hour was paid to human beings in wages in certain sections of the country. I can go back to the dramatic fight of minimum wage, when we tried to get a minimum of 25 cents through and it was riddled to pieces on the floor of the House under the leadership of Mary Norton, great legislator, great girl, recently passed away. It was riddled so badly, we voted to send it back to committee, rather than pass it. Then a couply of months later we got another bill out and finally got it through, struggling to get something on the statute books that represented progress. I can remember social security; I was one of those who drafted it. I remember all those fights. In many of these fights—damaging amendments, that's where the damage is done. The thing to watch in Congress are the amendments that are offered. And the motion to recommit with an amendment which, if adopted, would destroy, practically destroy the bill and let only a title go through.

My philosophy of government in practical operation is that government functions for the weak. The strong don't need it. That doesn't mean we destroy the strong, but we lift up the weak. And the weak is a broad class. It isn't only those out of a job. It might be the small and independent businessman, if he is discriminated against by too many contracts being given by the Defense Department, for example, to a certain large group of companies. It might be the failure to pass an adequate small business administration act.

The philosophy of the government of Roosevelt and Truman was to look forward, to recognize that government is not a status quo institution, because when government becomes status quo it begins to decay and disintegrate. With all regard to my dear friend, the record of the Democratic Party shows that we're the party of the people. I can't say that for every member of the Democratic Party—I wish I could—but I can say it for the great majority of the Democratic Party. We are the party of the people and the party of progress.

The record of the years that have gone by clearly show that fact. Minimum wages, starting at 25 cents, now a dollar; and when President Eisenhower recommended the last increase to 90 cents, we made it a dollar. I am confident we can get another increase through this session, if there's teamwork all around.

My dear friend talks about the national economic growth. I agree with him. I remember, not too many years ago, when Harry Truman said the goal is a $500 billion national economy and my Republican friends laughed and stomped him. It is now up to $485 billion. And if we didn't have the tight-money policy carried on to the extent that it is, the high-interest policy, the tight-money policy, our national economy today would be $550 billion, in my opinion.

My dear friend didn't talk about business. I don't know many businessmen who vote Democratic. They have a right to vote Republican, but when my friend admonished, particularly labor in Michigan, for supporting the Democratic Party, I didn't hear my dear friend make any references to the big businessmen throughout the country who

vote Republican. They have a right to do so as individuals. Nevertheless, whatever is goose for the gander is also goose for someone else.

I think you are more interested in knowing—coming down to 1960—about this session of Congress. Knowing some of the things that might happen, some of the things I'd like to see happen and without proper assistance might not happen. Now the Republican Party has its responsibility. The Republican Party owes an obligation to the people to act constructively, to constructively oppose, constructively propose, and constructively criticize. That's the role of a minority party under the constitutional role of the Government, not to be a blind party of opposition. Each individual Republican is elected by the people of the district they represent, Republicans, Democrats, and independents in the Congress, and they have their individual responsibility to vote and not hide behind the cloak that this is a Democratic Congress. Whenever they pass over their responsibility, they are simply adopting the roles of a party of blind opposition, not the role properly that should be adopted by a minority party, not under parliamentary government, not under constitutional government such as we enjoy.

The most important question confronting us is the survival of America. What good is a constitution, what good is anything, if we have Communists in control of our country? We got to have an America not only for ourselves but for the generations to come, the youngsters who are walking the streets now. Their fate is involved in what is being decided today. Not only you and I of today, but the generations to come, that of young Americans, their fates and their lives. The kind of life they are going to lead—your children, your children's children—is being decided today and history is being made while you and I are sitting here. The first thing we've got to do is to preserve America; to be sure we maintain this government of laws of ours and it doesn't turn into a government of men. That depends upon human leadership, wisdom, sagacity, ability, foresight, vision, courage.

So far as I am concerned, if I'm going to err in judgment, in the world of today, I'd rather err on the side of strength and on the side of wisdom. And I'd have felt happy if the President, in his message of a few days ago, had recommended more taxes for greater national defense. I think that would have appealed to the American people to make sacrifices and certainly it would have been the wisest thing to do, because America is second best in the world today. We are certainly second best, particularly in the field of outer space.

One of the things we can bring up this session—one of the things we should bring up is civil rights. The Democratic leadership is determined to bring up a bill this year. The President recommended it strongly in his message. In all our hopes and plans for a better world, we all recognize that provincial and racial prejudice must be combated as it goes along. He says "I hope there will be among the matters to be seriously considered in the current session—civil rights legislation."

While I am talking on civil rights legislation, let me make this observation which cannot be contradicted. The first civil rights bill that ever passed Congress since the Civil War, close to 90 years, was passed by the 85th Congress, a democratically controlled Congress. We had a split in our party. You know it; I know it. But it put it through just the same with the democratically controlled Congress. Yet only 4 years before in the 83d Congress, controlled by the Republican Party, both in the House and the Senate with President Eisenhower in the White House, complete control of our Government, not divided control, complete control, the Republican Party did not even report a civil rights bill out of committee in the House and the Senate.

So we have the fact that the 86th democratically controlled Congress put the first bill through, even with a division. The Republican Party, 4 years before, with their promises contrasting with their performances, failed even to report a bill out of committee.

Civil rights is now out of the House Committee on the Judiciary before the Rules Committee. You and I know the practical situation. There are eight Democrats and four Republicans, four Democrats from the North and four Democrats from the South; there are Republicans from the North. The Republican Party is a sectional party. If we get three Republican votes in the Rules Committee and they ought to give them to us, we can get that rule or resolution out of the Rules Committee. And if that resolution comes out of the Rules Committee, Speaker Rayburn and I will bring it up immediately thereafter for consideration by the House of Representatives. The Republican Party has their responsibility, we have ours. If they don't give us those three votes, we will have to resort to a discharge petition.

Only this morning JOHN BYRNE, who is the chairman of the Republican policy committee, said he was confident there would be civil rights legislation this session, but he held there was no reason to rush special tactics. The old delay. What they want is to try to have the Senate act on the bill. I know what they want. They know if the Senate acts first on the bill, the Democratic leadership has more difficulty in bringing that bill out under Senate rules than if the House passes the bill. If the House passes the bill first, the Democrats, under the rules of the Senate, have much more freedom in calling it up for consideration of the Senate than if they are forced to take the Senate bill.

Another important bill we expect to get up this year is an increase in the minimum wage and an extension of its coverage. We'll get it out of committee, but again when it goes to the Rules Committee, we need seven votes. On that bill, the Democratic leadership does not ask the Republicans to give us three votes. All we ask is that they give us one Republican vote on the Rules Committee. On that we have six Democratic votes. We are sure of six Democratic votes. Another bill is the depressed area bill. That bill has passed the Senate. We brought it out of the House committee. It's now before the Rules Committee and all we ask our Republican friends who have a responsibility, is to give us one vote, just one vote in the Rules Committee. That's all we want.

Another housing bill is to be reported out. You remember the housing episode of the last session. The President vetoed the bill we put up to him. It wasn't as broad as I would like, but we didn't want to put something before him that would be vetoed. Then nothing would go through. So we tried to consider the thing practically. But the President vetoed the bill, so we put another bill up to him which he signed. It was identically the same as the first bill he vetoed with one exception. We deleted $50 million in loans for classroom facilities in colleges and universities of our country. We put that in there so that they could borrow money from the Government at reasonable rates of interest in connection with the scientific field in particular in connection with this great race in science that is going on now between our country and the Soviet Union.

We are going to have a housing bill and all we need is one vote from the Republican members of the Rules Committee. That housing bill will include urban rehabilitation and community facilities. We are going to bring up a school construction bill. We will try to improve the social security law. But we need one vote—one Republican vote—in the Rules Committee. We've got six Democratic votes. I can state that with confidence. All we ask JERRY, again, is one vote—one Republican vote on the Rules Committee.

Water pollution, important to many parts of our country, purifying the streams and rivers of our country, not only connected with business but with the health of our people, the bill has passed the House, passed the Senate, come back to the House to go to conference, objected to in the last session. We have to go the Rules Committee to get a rule out to take to the Speaker's desk to send to conference. We have six Democratic votes and all I ask of our Republican Party is to assume their responsibility to the people. Show their good faith by performance, not by promise, and give us one Republican vote on the Rules Committee.

We are going to increase the money for a revolving fund for small business administration. Well, I think we might get one or two votes, Republican votes, in the Rules Committee on that. Another bill is the unemployment compensation standardization bill. We are going to try to get it out of committee. We need your help. We would like to get 2 Republican votes in the Ways and Means Committee out of 10.

Is that asking too much? Are there not two of them that feel that they represent the people? Are there not two of them that come from laboring districts? Or districts where the people are essentially workers? We need two votes—Republican votes in the Ways and Means Committee. We could have gotten it out last session if we had gotten two Republican votes. Again when the bill comes out we are going to do everything we can, but we need your help. We need the teamwork we have a right to. We would like to get two Republican votes in the Ways and Means Committee, and when it comes to the Rules Committee all we ask is that they give us one Republican vote. Is that asking too much? You, the people, that's the minimum they should give us.

There is going to be health legislation, extending the Hill-Burton Hospital Act. Additional hospitals are a crying need of our country. The Hill-Burton Act has done immeasurable good and should be broadened. Furthermore, we are going to try to increase the appropriations—and in this I say Jerry fought shoulder to shoulder for the increases—increase the appropriations for medical research in the field of medical research.

Last year, we increased the President's budget, I think about $75 million. We have as chairman of the Subcommittee on Appropriations one whom I consider one of the greatest Americans I've ever met, one of the greatest legislators I've ever met, one of the finest gentlemen I've ever met, and thank God we have him there. I refer to JOHN FOGARTY of Rhode Island.

JOHN FOGARTY's name will go down in history as a man who has done more to contribute toward increased appropriations for further medical research, beneficial to the health of our people here and people abroad, unfortunate human beings who are sick, holding out to them the hope of the future. He has made a greater contribution than any Member of Congress that I have ever served with. JOHN FOGARTY's name, in my opinion, will go down in the legislative history of our country as making one of the greatest contributions in this field than any legislator in the entire history of our country.

Now, I want to make another observation, on the broad scale. I'm alarmed, my friends, at the complacency and the apathy that exists among our people. It reminds me of the days before Pearl Harbor under Hitler. When you talked about Hitler then, they thought you were a warmonger. Now if you

talk about communism, some people look at you blankly. I'm capable of interpreting the thoughts of people from my years of experience. Oh, they give me a polite hearing when I talk about communism. I'm not talking about labor, I'm talking about the people generally, they listen to me with attention but I cannot get across an idea to the great majority of those I'm addressing. They're living in a dream world of hope. That was the world we lived in before Pearl Harbor. When we tried to put a bill through to extend the selective service 3 months before Pearl Harbor, it passed the House of Representatives by a vote of 203 to 202. Every Member who voted against that bill was just as good an American as John McCormack who voted for it, who led the fight for it.

I wouldn't want to see another day like that come in the history of my country where the margin was so close on a bill that it might involve the very preservation of our country. Complacency and apathy existed widespread, you know that as well as I do, in the days of Hitler before Pearl Harbor. We find in America today the same spirit. Complacency and apathy, dangerous because that's construed by the dictator as weakness and fear just as Hitler did. When they allowed him to get away with the Ruhr they said they hoped he would be satisfied. He wasn't. Then he moved into Sudetenland. Oh, he will be satisfied, we hoped so. He wasn't. Then he moved into Austria. They said they'd let him get away with it, they hoped he would be satisfied with it. He wasn't. Then he moved into Czechoslovakia. They let him get away with it. Then Munich, and after that, the raping and the invasion of Poland. I hope we don't take that journey again.

Throughout the country there is today that complacency and apathy, and it's growing. Right at our back door we find communism attacking us in the Caribbean. If you think there's nothing to that, you'd better awaken. The situation is very acute there. I was one who opposed Khrushchev addressing a joint meeting of Congress, and I think that's one of the finest things I did during my 31 years as a Member of the Congress. I'm not afraid of him.

I say negotiate them and negotiate them. I've told the Assistant Secretary of State to keep on negotiating with him, but I didn't think Khrushchev should be permitted to travel the country, using the United States as a sounding board for the circulation of Communist propaganda throughout the world. I said it before the fact. I'm not saying that now after the fact, I said that before the fact.

We have to realize that the only thing that the Communists respect is what they fear. The one thing they fear is military power greater than they possess themselves. There's the record. You know the record of the Republican Party. There are some progressive members in it and I take off my hat to them. But the progressive element of the Republican Party is liquidated for political purposes. They have no influence. As a matter of fact, I think one of the contributing factors in Rockefeller's announcement—I said so last January—I said then he wouldn't let his name go into the convention because I knew the Old Guard was in control of the Republican Party though the great rank and file of the Republicans throughout the country in spirit supported the Old Guard. Last January I expressed the opinion because Rockefeller was too progressive, and would not be accepted. I think that's one of the main reasons that he made the decision he did because in his trips throughout the country, he couldn't separate the professionals in the party, the Old Guard from the people—the rank and file of the Republicans. He realized he was running up against a stone wall. You have the record of both parties. I'm not appealing to you to be Democrats. It's a matter of which party serves the American people the best. With all of our weaknesses, the great majority of the Democratic Party are representing the people. The great majority of the Republican Party represent the vested interest in big business. I'm not saying all of them do, it wouldn't be fair, but the great majority does. I see it on the floor of the House. You see it. We have the record of the past.

We are not going to confine ourselves to the program I have just stated to you. We need help, we need one Republican vote in the Rules Committee on most of these measures with the exception of civil rights, where we need three. We need a couple of Republican votes in the Ways and Means Committee on the unemployment compensation standardization bill. We need help from you, we need help from other interested Americans who are interested in progressive, visionary, forward-looking government. We also need help from the American people.

America is strong. If the day ever comes when the Soviet Union can hit us, and we lose our retaliatory power they'll not wait for us to catch up. We are already 3 to 5 years behind in outer space. We might be 5 to 7 years behind when they unfold what they plan in the Pacific.

We've got to preserve America—not as Democrats, not as Republicans, not as independents, but as Americans. We have much to do; we must work together and when we come on to the legislative level, the best interests of America calls for progressive government. The record of both parties shows that the Democratic Party is the party of progress.

Sincerity in the White House

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PRESCOTT BUSH
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. BUSH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Sincerity in the White House," which was published in the Bridgeport Post of January 12, 1960.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SINCERITY IN THE WHITE HOUSE

There are certain things worth noticing about President Eisenhower's career in high office as he enters the last full calendar year in office. Despite the fact that he won twice by tremendous popular majorities, he has been recently subjected to sharp criticism in opposite political quarters.

Although some complaints of administration program and policy are made, Mr. Eisenhower is often personally assailed for an alleged failure of leadership. Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY says this frequently, though he does not state where and when the President's leadership failed. There are others who hold he delegated too much authority, failing to exercise inherent powers of the Presidency.

To weigh such attacks is the job of future historians. Mountains of evidence will have to be considered, all of which is not yet available to them. And there is much evidence on the other side of this view, too.

Whatever the reactions to his career may be, there is wide acknowledgement that he has always operated from a high sense of duty. There can be argument over what his duty includes, but little if any with the idea that he performs his duty as he sees it, faithfully.

After he was stricken with a heart ailment in 1955 he told the voters frankly that if they elected him again he would have to spend much time away from his desk recovering his strength. His recuperative powers worked speedily, and while he has been careful of his health, he did not remain away as much people thought he would.

His recent 22,000 mile trip abroad and the coming trip to South America indicate his complete willingness to take certain health risks in the interest of the cause of peace which is so firm in his mind. He has confounded the prophets of doom who saw his second term election as a virtual death sentence. Few men who have gone through his ailments would find themselves able to do the work of the Presidency.

Historians will tell us and future generations how well or how badly he performed as President. But one thing all know today—he seeks as earnestly as he knows how the security and welfare of close to 180 million Americans entrusted to his leadership. It is going to be difficult for anyone campaigning to succeed him to prove that he did not lead during his two terms in office.

We do not have to wait for future historians to tell us of Ike's sincerity.

Divisive Hatemongers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON H. SCHERER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Speaker, in view of the current deplorable anti-Semitic activities it is my feeling that all Members of the Congress should have the benefit of an article appearing in the December 3, 1959, issue of the American Israelite.

This timely discussion of the Federal Bureau of Investigation's fight on divisive hatemongers was written by one of Cincinnati's outstanding citizens and lawyers, Mr. Irwin S. Rhodes. He is a prolific writer in the field of law. At the present he is chairman of the Committee for Preservation of Historic Legal Documents, Cincinnati Bar Association; chairman of Committee for Preservation of John Marshall Papers; and director of legal documents section, American Jewish Archives.

The article follows:

Anti-Semitism, as we all know, aims to destroy the civil, religious, and political rights of Jews.

Little wonder then that, during the last year, the professional anti-Semitic pamphleteers, with few exceptions, have attacked the Federal Bureau of Investigation as Jewish oriented or Jewish controlled.

How else can they explain that the Government has called on its most dependable and highly prized investigating agency to ferret out the facts of law violation in the field of civil liberties?

This is also the anti-Semites' method of getting new followers in areas not directly involving Jews.

These gentlemen, by shrewdness or instinct, know their enemy.

They know that on their road to destruction of civil, political, and religious rights

of the Jews, as well as other minorities, stands this gallant corps of public servants. To destroy the Jew, they must discredit and destroy the FBI. They attack from the right; the Communist and leftist oriented elements from the left. Together, they converge upon the FBI with their battle cries.

The Thunderbolt (September 1959) prints a letter in which the FBI is referred to as a "Jew controlled, Red, race-mixing outfit"; to Mr. Hoover as "that obnoxious traitor" who "praises these Jewish groups (ADL, NAACP, AJC, etc.) in his book, 'Masters of Deceit.'"

Mention is made of the "FBI-ADL combine," and of "the hatemongering Jewish ADL" as Mr. Hoover's "boss." Elsewhere, the Thunderbolt speaks of "the Jew B.I. frame-up," and refers to Mr. Hoover as the "NAACP-ADL stooge."

Right (February 1959) states that "the once-respected Federal Bureau of Investigation has joined the criminal Zionist underground."

Women's Voice (October-November 1958) prints an open letter to Mr. Hoover stating that "the communist-Jews have used you to the point of no return," and that FBI men acted "like communist-Jewish secret police."

The Sun Work Shop and the Broom (June 1959) headlines an article "FBI works for Jew rackets," calls FBI agents "Edgar Hoover's secret police," designates the U.S. Commissioner as "Jew-owned," and Mr. Hoover as "America's No. 1 master of deceit." It advertises the free pamphlet of the National State's Rights party entitled "FBI Gestapo Exposed."

It has been my good fortune in pursuit of an interest in law enforcement and legal history to meet quite a number of FBI men, from the highest echelon to the messenger. I feel proud to feel that I can class many of them as friends.

Never in my contacts with organizations in other fields, legal, scholastic or business, have I encountered a more uniformly qualified, diligent and devoted group, yet imbued with the human instincts of courtesy, friendliness and decency. There is an espirit de corps reflected in every man and woman in the organization which combines all these qualities.

It is often said that an organization reflects the character of its leader. If such is the case, no man could have a finer living tribute to himself than John Edgar Hoover has in the daily operation of the FBI. Mr. Hoover has the unswerving trust, admiration and affection of every person far enough advanced to look above his immediate superior.

But above and beyond personal loyalty, one senses in FBI personnel a devotion to a cause—the ideal of a law-abiding community.

The FBI man is on the more active and intense level of human contact, constantly investigating and exploring on the human level.

To him there is the constant challenge of meeting and often anticipating the criminal, of finding the facts of law violation, and of sifting them not as a judge, but with a sense of fairness and truth. His immediate task is to detect lawlessness, but his ultimate goal is to make lawlessness impossible.

Crime reports, improvement in investigating methods and detection techniques, cooperation with local law enforcement and judicial agencies, education of personnel and the public, all point in this direction. The cause is public in nature, and it is great. The FBI men know it, respect it, and are devoted to it.

The FBI, though enmeshed in a welter of work, is mindful of the public it serves. The doors to its regional offices are open for any citizen to enter. Those who have complaints of law violations are courteously interviewed; those with helpful information to offer are welcomed and encouraged.

There is in the FBI an intense group loyalty. The pressures from without, of the criminal and subversive elements, naturally leads to cohesiveness and mutual coperation. The FBI knows that it is on its own against tremendous forces of evil. It is terribly outnumbered. As one FBI man puts it, "We are a minority group ourselves."

Its entire task force is a mere 6,000 special agents. Office clerks number some 7,300. This handful of people must spread its services over the entire United States, continental as well as insular, in the varied and arduous phases of Federal law enforcement and preservation of national security. With mobility and efficiency, the men operate from headquarters in Washington and 53 field offices scattered strategically in principal cities of the United States and Puerto Rico. In one way or another, they serve daily everyone of us. These 6,000 men enable us 180 million Americans, to go about our daily lives in far greater safety and security than would exist without them.

It must be remembered that the FBI, wide though its duties may be, is limited to the law enforcement and internal security tasks which we wish them to have and delegate to them. Theirs is strictly a limited jurisdiction to act only where Congress has passed a law requiring them to act, and then also under the supervisory control of the Attorney General.

Because of growing need and in recognition of its ability, the FBI has been delegated tasks of law enforcement in some 150 investigative matters. These vary from bank robberies to antitrust matters, from kidnaping to crimes on the high seas, from escaped prisoners to selective service, from Indian reservation affairs to espionage.

The FBI's job is a constantly widening one, not due to its own desire or action, but because of the public need.

Thoughtlessly enough, the resulting need for increased means is often overlooked. The FBI personnel remains comparatively limited, and the job of the FBI man is constantly more complex and exacting. This sturdy group, however, seems to thrive under the pressure.

These men are highly selected from a constant flow of prospects who wish to join their ranks. Qualified men may enter as special agents. What is inspiring, however, is the attention given youths of 18, high school graduates, who may enter the ranks often as messengers, and fit in a thorough education by night through college and graduate school.

At 25 they may be qualified to become special agents. This process is encouraged.

Every FBI man must be not only physically fit but mentally trained. Physical requirements are approximately those of West Point. He must be able to meet at any time the most rigorous experiences. He learns the art of self-defense and straight shooting, together with the other specialized sciences in the field of crime detection, at the FBI Academy, and keeps himself proficient throughout his career.

Educationally he must be a graduate of a State-accredited resident law school and also possess at least an associate in arts degree, or its educational equivalent, from a resident college.

FBI men are universally well groomed and self-respecting. They are mentally alert, interested in people, and, for the most part, good conversationalists. They are men who can meet a criminal at his low level, or a captain of industry with ease.

Regularity of work hours, and accountability to superiors are strict needs of the tightly knit organization. On the other hand, no man's time is his own. He is constantly on call; and an emergency, of which there are many, may put him on 24-hour duty.

The public gets its ample money's worth in services performed by the FBI. In fact, it gets back more in dollars each year than is spent on operations plus valuable services not measured in money.

For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1959, the cost of operations derived from direct appropriations to the FBI was approximately $112 million. During the same period, the fines, savings, and recoveries in cases in which the FBI expended investigative efforts were over $135 million. To this gain must be added the immense value of free services rendered by the FBI to local law enforcement agencies, in police training at the FBI National Academy and at local police schools, the aid of its laboratories and files in identification, the coordination and training at local levels in regional enforcement conferences.

Salaries to officeworkers and similar routine personnel are at the level of other Government workers, and probably competitive with industry. In the higher echelons, however, starting perhaps with special agents, the compensation is meager for the services performed and the abilities required.

The FBI, however, holds its men. More than one-half of its special agents have 10 or more years continuous service, and the monthly turnover average for investigative personnel in fiscal year 1959 was less than four-tenths of 1 percent. To these men, the FBI is a way of life which most of them would not trade for any other.

A predominant trait among FBI men is a warmth of human feeling. These men are pressed for time and must avoid contacts with antisocial persons, or those who may hope for unjustified favors. They seek and are happy with the friendship of all of us who live normal lives.

They are for the most part family men with problems of housing, children, schools, and home life. Their wives must adjust themselves to the vagaries of uncertain hours, and periodic shifts from one city to another.

The FBI in personnel is a cross section of origins and faiths. Religious affiliation has no part in its selection or advancement. No man seems to know or care if his fellow worker is a Jew, Catholic, or Protestant. Personally, I know of a Jewish agent, well regarded and of long service, graduate of a leading law school, and connected with a Jewish family of high standing. The fact that he is a Jew is either not known, or is of no particular interest to his superiors and his coworkers.

As a Jew, however, I am pleased to know that one of the eight assistant directors of the FBI is a Jew. He is a man of outstanding ability and has held this position of trust for many years.

Jewish organizations have recognized the importance and value of the FBI in their struggle for human rights.

Philip Klutznick, then president of B'nai B'rith, in his report to his board of governors for 1959, expressed the views of Jewish organizations generally.

"Over the years B'nai B'rith has carefully followed the work of this Federal law-enforcement agency (FBI). Invariably, in our contacts with it, we have noted the steadfastness of Mr. Hoover and his associates to protect the liberties of all individuals, without distinctions of race or creed. Nothing can be more representative of the institutions of democratic government at work."

"B'nai B'rith and others in the Jewish community therefore have cause to appreciate that in troubled times such as these the Nation possesses an effective public servant in Mr. Hoover, and the agency he heads, the FBI. Their proven record is a guarantee that those civil liberties which have made our Nation great will continue to command respect and observance in the years to come."

The criminal would seek to destroy the FBI by the gun; the anti-Semite would destroy it by the word.

The gun, dangerous though it be, can be met and bested by the training and marksmanship of the FBI men themselves. The word, however is more insidious; it undermines determination, creates doubts, saps the energy.

The evil word of propaganda can be met only by a wide and sympathetic understanding of the FBI and the giving to it of moral support and encouragement in its mighty work. This must come from the public generally, but from no group more especially than the Jews.

I have no fear for the fate of the FBI. Its men, however, should not be forced to spend, for defense of themselves, the time and energy which is so sorely needed for the defense of the rights and liberties of all.

Federal Participation in Higher Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH S. CLARK
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, as we approach consideration of education legislation this year, including aid for construction of college and university classrooms, laboratories, libraries, and other academic facilities, it may be of interest to Senators and Members of the other body to note the extent of Federal participation in higher education at the present time. This participation has been summarized in an article by George W. Oakes in the Washington Sunday Star of November 22, 1959, which I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. SCIENCE AID AS HIGH AS 90 PERCENT IN SCHOOLS

(By George W. Oakes)

More than half of the operating budget of some of our leading private universities is now financed by Federal funds because of the great scope of Government-sponsored research programs.

Since the war the Federal Government has assisted the universities—State and private—to expand their scientific and medical research in the national interest to the point that 70 percent of all university research is being federally financed.

The great preponderance of these funds goes into research projects for national defense required by the Air Force, Navy, and Army as well as the Atomic Energy Commission. They involve programs as diverse as antimissile missiles and new methods of training troops in the use of the rifle.

Aside from the military importance of rerearch, millions of dollars of Federal funds are channeled into the universities for basic scientific research required by the National Science Foundation. In addition, there has been such an increase in federally sponsored medical research that more than two-thirds of all university medical reeseach is paid for by the Government.

These vast amounts of Federal funds—about $450 million was spent on all forms of university research in 1958—have created a revoluntionary change in the relationship of the Federal Government to higher education. This is true for research in the physical sciences—chemistry, physics, geology, geophysics, etc.—where the Federal Government pays about 90 percent of the bill.

THIRTY PERCENT FEDERAL FUNDS

Here is the way it works at a private university like Princeton:

Thirty percent of the total operational budget comes from Federal sources. This excludes millions spent on the costly construction of elaborate scientific equipment and facilities, essential to the conduct of basic research, which most universities would find it extremely difficult, if not impossible to finance on their own.

Half of the Federal operational funds go for the maintenance of the Forrestal Research Center, mainly concerned with thermonuclear research, such as attempts to harness the hydrogen bomb and high energy physics. The Forrestal Center, an integrated unit of the university, contributes to the scientific departments by attracting outstanding faculty members to Princeton, by helping shape the scientific course of study and by training graduate students.

In addition, another 15 percent of Princeton's operating budget, also derived from the Federal Government, is used for scientific research programs in physics, chemistry, astronomy, biology, and mathematics.

In universities such as MIT large-scale federally sponsored special research projects, which have only an indirect relationship to the university proper, are responsible for the fact that Federal funds probably account for considerably more than half the university's operating budget. For example, MIT's project Lincoln—a highly classified defense program—may be responsible for perhaps 70 percent of all the professional staff employed by the university.

USEFUL TO UNIVERSITIES

Although such projects are mainly undertaken for patriotic reasons, they are useful to the university in several other ways than prestige. The MIT teaching faculty derives benefit from contacts with the Project Lincoln staff because much of the special work is necessarily of a nonclassified nature concerned with basic and applied research. Also the university may use these facilities to train its graduate students at least on a part-time basis. The scientists working on such a project benefit from the university library, intellectual contacts with other faculty members and the general academic atmosphere.

At Johns Hopkins University, about $25 million out of a total 1958 expenditure of almost $40 million came from Federal research contracts and grants. Most of this was spent on two major projects—the Applied Physics Laboratory and the Operation Research Office—both of which are virtually specialized programs and in fact are located apart from the main university in Baltimore. The $14.3 million for the Applied Physics Laboratory financed a Navy project concerned with guided missile technology and aerodynamics, while the Operation Research Office enables the Army to study defense techniques. A total of $2.3 million of Public Health Service grants were given to the university for biological and medical research in its own medical school.

Here at George Washington University 90 percent of the $4 million available for research in 1958 was federally financed. However, only about one-quarter was spent on direct support of the university's educational program, mainly for the medical school.

Most of the Federal funds—$2¼ million—were used by the university-administered Army human resources research office. In this program psychologists are developing better training methods. Through their work, for example, the Army saved 6 weeks in training men to operate a missile radar system. Most of the advantages to the university of such a special project are peripheral—some of the psychologists employed on them teach part time at the university and graduate students can consult some of the project's leading scientists. Also successful administration of a special project helps build the university's national reputation and attracts other Government research grants, like those from the National Institutes of Health, which are directly integrated into the medical school.

A major problem raised by the extensive federally financed research programs operated by the universities is the question of cost. Many universities are convinced that on balance they lose money because the Government does not adequately compensate them for their overhead expenses. It is extremely difficult to allocate the cost of heat, light, janitor service, library facilities, etc., that are fairly chargeable to special research projects conducted on the campus. This is one reason why it is felt that the more Federal research projects, the greater the drain on other university funds.

After the war a number of universities located large Government research projects in vacant buildings. Then when sizable increases in enrollment began to develop, the universities had a shortage of classrooms and had to construct new buildings to compensate for those filled by Federal research programs.

Nevertheless, the universities are under competitive pressure to accept Federal research projects because the Government usually makes the offer to a distinguished professor. If the university to which he belongs refuses the project, he will threaten to resign and take the project to another university. For example, the Defense Department offered a large university a half-million-dollar synchrotron if it built a $750,000 building and provided a high-priced staff. The physics department threatened to resign in a group unless the offer were accepted and the university's finances did not get into balance again until a private donor agreed to pay for the already completed building.

COMPETITION FOR MANPOWER

In the case of the large federally financed research centers, the high salaries they offer tend to compete for the scarce outstanding scientists and trained manpower thus weakening many educational institutions.

One of the biggest questions now troubling both university and Federal officials is whether, as the universities accept more responsibilities, such as Government research programs, in an uncritical manner they may lose the ability to control their own destinies.

Recently Dr. John W. Gardner, president of the Carnegie corporation, warned university officials that "If the university is to avoid the more obvious hazards—of scattering its energies, of accepting trivial assignments, of playing technician when it should be playing statesman—then it will have to take the lead in appraising its outside responsibilities and in formulating a clear conception of its own role."

Payment in Lieu of Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my re-

marks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution from the Board of Supervisors of Siskiyou County, Yreka, Calif.:

Whereas Siskiyou County, in the State of California, is an area in which over two-thirds of the land is Federal property; and

Whereas the economy of the county is vitally affected by this large amount of territory which is not on the tax rolls; and

Whereas a bill known as S. 910 has been introduced and will soon go to the Senate floor, and House bills H.R. 5731 and H.R. 6073 have also been introduced, in an attempt to secure relief for hard-pressed counties by payments in lieu of taxes on Federal property: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by this Board of Supervisors of Siskiyou County, Calif., in regular session this 8th day of September 1959, That the board strongly urges the passage of this vital bill; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to Senator THOMAS H. KUCHEL, Senator CLAIR ENGLE, and Mr. HAROLD T. (BIZZ) JOHNSON, Member of the House of Representatives.

Dated this 8th day of September 1959.

W. C. EALY,
Chairman of the Board of Supervisors.

Attest:

RACHAEL N. CORDES,
Clerk of the Board of Supervisors.

Jack Lotto Continues To Unmask Communist Apparatus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON H. SCHERER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Speaker, over the years Jack Lotto has done a magnificent job in regularly and accurately reporting to the American people the current program and activities of the Communist apparatus and its front organizations. As a result of his fine efforts the general public has gained a broader understanding of the operations and machinations of the Communist conspiracy.

His recent column, which appeared in the Cincinnati Enquirer on Sunday, January 3, and in other papers throughout the country, is of particular importance to the Members of the Congress since it deals with the current efforts of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities of this Congress. I am, therefore, including it in the RECORD so that the Members of the House may have the benefit of Jack Lotto's research and conclusions:

REDS PLOT TO SHACKLE EFFORTS OF HOUSE COMMITTEE THAT PROBES THEIR ACTIVITY IN UNITED STATES

(By Jack Lotto)

Pro-Communist wreckers are teaming up in a unified campaign to kill or shackle the House Un-American Activities Committee.

The cooperative Operation Abolition is the most ambitious knifing job ever devised to destroy the antisubversive congressional committee.

The program is being guided by Frank Wilkinson of Los Angeles. Wilkinson, an identified Communist Party member, is executive secretary of an organization called the Citizens Committee To Preserve American Freedoms.

He and other known pro-Communists are now working to weld all separate and scattered kill-the-committee groups into one carefully coordinated operation.

Wilkinson is one of the organizers of the notorious leftist Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. He is out on bail pending appeal to the Supreme Court on his conviction and 1-year sentence on a contempt of Congress charge. The charge stemmed from his defiant refusal to tell whether he ever was a Communist Party member.

The U.S. Congress describes Wilkinson's so-called citizens committee as a "major adjunct * * * of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee."

Wilkinson recommended recently that a cooperative venture by various pro-Communist groups would be a more effective way to sell the American public its "abolish the committee" pitch.

Plans already have been drawn up to work together with a new civil liberties group which held its first rally in New York last month before taking the show on a nationwide tour.

The pretext: "Defending" the civil rights of 30 defendants in congressional contempt cases who refused to talk about Red affiliations.

Among the proposals by the Wilkinson group is establishment of a Washington lobby operation, where the pro-Communists could coordinate abolition activities nationally and maintain constant contact with Congressmen.

Another activity pushed by the citizens committee:

Sending delegations to see Congressmen while they are home during the congressional recess. The lawmakers will be urged to introduce resolutions to abolish the Un-American Activities Committee. They also will be asked to speak on the House floor against the committee and its alleged repressive methods.

Finally, the legislators will be harangued to vote and speak against additional appropriations for the committee when Congress reconvenes.

Committee Chairman FRANCIS E. WALTER, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, said he considered Operation Abolition an attempt to "cripple the antisubversive programs of Congress * * * and create a general climate of opinion against the exposure and punishment of subversion."

Hubert Ellis

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, I deeply regretted the death of our good friend and colleague, Hubert Ellis, of West Virginia. He was a rugged American patriot, who served his country well in both war and peace. Serving overseas as an artillery lieutenant in World War I, he was closely associated with veterans' affairs. Following his election to Congress in 1943, he was elected to membership on the Committee on Veterans' Affairs where he rendered outstanding service. He believed our country had a continuing obligation to the men who fought to defend American and was intensely interested in their welfare. He was deeply devoted to the progress of West Virginia and was an able advocate wherever its interests were concerned. In the death of Hubert Ellis, West Virginia and the Nation have lost an outstanding citizen. Those of us who were privileged to serve with him have lost a dear friend. I extend my deepest sympathy to his family.

Our Economy and How It Will Affect Our Banks in 1960

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, an address made by Mr. Harold G. Brown, president of the Shenadoah Valley National Bank of Winchester, Va., before the Rotary club of that city.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR ECONOMY AND HOW IT WILL AFFECT OUR BANKS IN 1960

(Address by Harold G. Brown),

As part of today's program I have been asked to discuss our economy and how it will affect our banks in 1960.

This report must be brief because of the time allotted.

May I preface my remarks by saying frankly that I do not know what our economy will be for the whole of 1960, nor do I think anyone else knows. One set of conditions will produce one set of results; another set will produce entirely different results.

Many of you have already read the numerous prognostications that have been made for our national economy for 1960. Practically all are most optimistic on their face. A detailed study, however, brings out the "ifs" and "ands" that might change their predictions. But we must realize that no report is worthwhile without considering all angles that may affect the final results.

Locally, I think business will be good by normal standards even though our agricultural and horticultural interests are not what we desire. We have strong diversified industries and businesses with satisfactory payrolls. We have outstanding stores that attract customers from a wide area. Our hospital and our medical center are a great asset to Winchester and our trade area. Our new college is expected to open in September and will add to our cultural assets. We have good churches, schools and a fine community in which to live. A good newspaper and radio station supply us with the news. Our utilities requirements are amply provided. We have an aggressive chamber of commerce.

Due to our strategic location, and history, and the national advertising we receive from our Apple Blossom Festival, we have a growing tourist business, as well as an increasing number of desirable people who are retiring and coming here to live.

Our banks are in a strong condition and offer excellent facilities and services. They have ample funds to take care of all reason-

able credit requirements. Locally and nationally banks should have a good year in 1960. I think it is important, however, to discuss our economy as a whole and how it will affect all of us this year and in the year to follow.

Nationally, all forecasters say business will be good for the first 6 months of 1960. The majority say it will be good for all the year. Recently we have read and heard about the Roaring 60's, the Sizzling 60's, and the Prosperous Decade of 1960 to 1970. In fact, there is so much optimism from so many people that thoughtful men are beginning to ask the question: "Can it be true that we have only a few problems in Government, in labor, in business, in finance, and in our lives, and that all of them can be solved quickly and easily?" I do not think so. All of my business life of 40 years has been spent in banking. If my experience has taught me anything it is that you cannot follow the crowd in everything if you want to be right. There is too much optimism today for all of it to be warranted. The present optimistic enthusiasm reminds me of that prevalent in the spring of 1929.

If you will study the 1960 edition of "Business Trends and Progress," which shows in easily understandable charts the ups and downs of business in this country from the time Andrew Jackson was President in 1835, through 1959, you will understand what I mean. This chart is available at our bank if any of you would be interested in examining it.

Is it not true that the most all of us learn in life is learned through experience? What happens to our national economy in 1960 and subsequent years will affect all of us locally in time. Therefore, we are much interested in what will happen. Let us mention some of the things that we must consider when we discuss our economy as a whole.

The favorable factors mentioned in all newspapers, magazines, on television and radio are:

(1) The settlement of the steel strike. (May I say in passing that the Republican administration bought 16 million labor votes in making the settlement.)

(2) Larger employment, higher wages, and more borrowing will give consumers a record buying power.

(3) The expanded investment by business firms in new plant and modernization of equipment.

(4) The buildup in inventory which was reduced during the steel strike.

(5) Postponed production in the last part of 1959 that will come in 1960—since the steel strike is now settled.

(6) Technological advancement and rising national production.

(7) World economic improvement and increased foreign trade.

(8) The liquid condition of most corporations.

In studying our economy as a whole, we find the unfavorable factors are:

(1) The settlement of the steel strike on the basis on which it has been settled. The highest-paid workers in the world will receive a substantial increase in wages and other benefits, thereby causing an increase in the price of steel. The rise in the price of steel will mean increased cost of many things the public buys.

(2) The National Labor-Management Foundation stated last week that the labor union monopoly is one of the greatest threats facing the American people. Two unions practically control the transportation of our country; another, steel production.

(3) The labor unrest and strikes that will continue to plague us in 1960.

(4) The inflation spiral will take another upward turn this year.

(5) The continued erosion of our dollar which has decreased in purchasing power from 100 cents in 1939 to 47 cents now.

(6) Our national debt is at its highest point in history.

(7) The U.S. Treasury faces another year of heavy debt refinancing and continued deficit financing.

(8) U.S. Government and other high-grade bonds are selling at prices to give the highest yields in 30 years. Bond prices and yields reflect the growing demand for borrowed money. Interest rates are likely to increase during the year.

(9) Stocks are selling at prices that give the lowest yields in 30 years. Many stocks are selling to yield less than 2 percent, while U.S. Government bonds today are selling to yield 4½ percent or better. These conditions do not make financial or commonsense. Nineteen hundred and sixty may be a year of danger for investors in the stock market. A great number of people are trying to outguess other people.

(10) A presidential election—with all that politicians do and say that make or hurt business.

(11) The foreign situation with all its uncertainties.

(12) The loss in our exports and the increase in our imports—causing a great reduction in our gold reserve.

(13) Keener competition both at home and from abroad—making it more difficult to make profits.

(14) The largest debts in the history of our country now owed by the U.S. Government, State and local governments, businesses, and individuals—with the large cost of carrying these debts.

(15) The continued drop in the prices of farm products—now at a 19-year low.

(16) The large tax burden which continues to increase.

History has a way of repeating itself. If we study our financial history, we will find that once again we are at a crossroad.

The year 1960 is a year of decision. The most prosperous country on the face of the earth is faced with the largest debt in its history and there are more deficits to come. Our dollar is gradually losing its purchasing power. Inflation continues to grow. We have sinking foreign trade, dwindling gold reserves and a Government that continues to spend and give away like a drunken sailor.

If you have not already done so, be sure to read Sylvia Porter's article in yesterday's (Wednesday, January 6) Richmond Times-Dispatch, entitled "How Long Will Boom Last?" It will be most enlightening to all of you, but particularly to those of you under 40 years of age.

Babson has said there are two fatal mistakes to avoid. One is becoming convinced that prosperity will never return. (It always does.) The other is thinking that prosperity will never end. (It always has.)

Gentlemen, I say to you, consider all the facts and do some hard thinking of your own. It will help you in formulating your plans and in making decisions for 1960 and 1961.

Poor's Investment Advisory of January 11, 1960, says:

"Steel setlement: The steel settlement was made on terms stated to have been 'proposed by Vice President NIXON and Secretary of Labor Mitchell.' In other words, it was made under political pressure. It was not the economically justified noninflationary settlement that the steel managements strived so hard to get. They took it rather than face the risk of faring worse under possible congressional legislation invited by a renewed strike. The basic problems posed by abuse of monopoly union power remain unchanged. In the effort to halt wage-price inflation in this key industry the retreat by the managements was in effect dictated by politics.

"Who won? If there is anything for the public to rejoice about it is that uninterrupted steel production is assured by a 30-month contract, and that the settlement could have been worse. It is at least less inflationary than the long series of previous steel settlements. As pointed out by Roger M. Blough, chairman of the United States Steel Corp., the industry's hourly employment costs as a whole had for 20 years been rising at an average of about 8 cents a year, or four times as fast as shipments per man-hour; whereas under the new agreement they will rise a little less than twice as rapidly as man-hour shipments. Steel prices are expected to rise later on. That will not be good for the economy or the industry, which must meet competition from other materials and from lower cost foreign steel. The union proclaims a victory for itself. It will not seem so to steelworkers who would need continuous employment for some years just to make up their wage losses during the strike."

International Court of Justice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. NORRIS COTTON

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, the Senate may soon be called upon to reconsider the reservation which was attached in 1946 to the ratification of the Statute of the International Court of Justice. The reservation gives this Nation the power to detremine whether a matter lies essentially within our domestic jurisdiction rather than within the jurisdiction of the Court.

I recently received an interesting memorandum which discusses this question and sets forth the principal arguments on each side. It was prepared by Robert H. Reno, an attorney, of Concord, N.H., who is a member of the American Bar Association's special committee on world peace through law, and I believe it will be of value to Members of the Senate and the public. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent to have the memorandum printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the memorandum was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MEMORANDUM ON THE SELF-JUDGING ASPECT OF THE U.S. DOMESTIC JURISDICTION RESERVATION WITH RESPECT TO THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

In 1946, when the United States adhered to the statute of the International Court of Justice, it did so with the reservation that the statute would not apply to "disputes with regard to matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States of America as determined by the United States of America."

By virtue of the last eight words, which were added to the reservation as a result of action on the floor of the Senate, it has been left to the United States itself, rather than to the Court, to determine whether any dispute to which it is a party involves a matter within its domestic jurisdiction. Even though we might not ever do so, we have

thus asserted the right to use, as a complete defense to any case brought against us in the International Court, the fact that we ourselves had determined the case to be a domestic matter. In other words, we have reserved a veto power with respect to the jurisdiction of the International Court.

This is the so-called self-judging domestic jurisdiction reservation. Five other nations, of the 38 which currently accept the Court's compulsory jurisdiction, have adopted this same reservation. They are Mexico, Liberia, Pakistan, the Sudan and the Union of South Africa.

The reservation creates, as a matter of law, a reciprocal right, on the part of any country against whom the United States might bring an action in the International Court, to use as a defense a determination by that country that the case involved a matter within its domestic jurisdiction.

The problem is not as great as it might seem. By the terms of the statute of the Court of International Justice, the Court's compulsory jurisdiction is limited to international legal disputes. Therefore no reservation is necesary to avoid consideration by the Court of political or sociological disputes. Furthermore the statute of the Court itself excludes domestic disputes.

The problem has nothing to do with whether domestic disputes should be within the Court's jurisdiction. Clearly they are not intended to be; and they should not be. The problem is limited to whether the United States should continue to reserve to itself the right to judge for itself, after it has become involved in a Court proceding, whether the dispute is with regard to matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States.

ARGUMENTS FOR THE SELF-JUDGING ASPECT OF THE DOMESTIC JURISDICTION RESERVATION

Arguments that have been or might be advanced in support of the self-judging aspect of the reservation include the following:

(a) It is unclear how the Court would decide a close question as to whether a dispute is essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States. This is especially true in view of the dependence of the meaning of "domestic" on the development of international law, and, in turn, the uncertainty of international law as to many doubtful questions.

(b) The United States frequently has a different point of view from most other nations as to what is essentially domestic. The difference in outlook between the United States and less developed countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America is frequently sharp. The difference between its outlook and that of Iron Curtain countries is usually fundamental. This cuts both ways.

(c) The United States, as a party before the Court, is in the hands of 15 judges, of uncertain quality, 14 of whom reflect other judicial philosophies or systems of law, and might be subject to political pressures.

(d) The United States needs some form of veto power in order to prevent vital political and economic disputes from being regarded as legal disputes.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE SELF-JUDGING ASPECT OF THE DOMESTIC JURISDICTION RESERVATION

Many able scholars have severely criticized the reservation ever since it was first under discussion. It is logically offensive to most lawyers, jurists, philosophers, and statesmen because it violates the age-old precept that no man, no nation, should be the judge in its own case.

There are also practical objections, some of which are:

(a) Because of the reciprocal nature of consent to the Court's jurisdiction, the self-judging domestic jurisdiction reservation enables any other party to a suit brought by the United States to determine that the matter is within its domestic jurisdiction and thereby prevent the United States from utilizing the Court.

Thus, the United States, which has a larger stake in investments abroad and in military bases abroad than any other nation, has prevented itself from utilizing, in its own behalf, the International Court of Justice. This does not seem to make good sense. It is especially damaging to the United States, at least potentially, with respect to countries which take a far more expansive view of their domestic jurisdiction than does the United States.

(b) The reservation served as a precedent for six other nations which filed similar reservations, thereby crippling the Court and very likely causing other nations not to adhere to the optional clause at all.

Moreover, as stated by the Secretary-General of the United Nations in the introduction of his annual report for 1956–57, the attitude represented by this type of reservation may render the whole system of compulsory jurisdiction virtually illusory." The legal adviser of the Department of State himself said, on April 26, 1958:

"There can be little doubt that reservations of this type have tended to minimize the number of disputes determined by the Court, particularly in view of the possibility that a state which does not have such a reservation may, when sued by one which does, invoke the doctrine of reciprocity."

(c) The reservation, according to at least two of the judges on the Court, may be held to nullify the entire United States declaration under article 36. The pros and cons of this have been much discussed.

(d) The self-judging reservation has also become the prototype for similar U.S. reservations in numerous treaties, thereby not only:

(1) Afflicting our treaty practices with a creeping paralysis, but also

(2) Weakening substantially, by our own precedents, our bargaining power with other nations.

This is exactly opposite to the course recently espoused by Vice President NIXON.

(e) Because of such considerations as those listed above the executive branch of the United States Government finds itself in the difficult position of being obliged (vis-a-vis the legisaltive branch) to assert at least the possibility of a determination of domestic jurisdiction as a defense, rather than leaving that determination to the Court, even in cases such as Interhandel. As any litigator knows, such a technical defense frequently weakens the position before the Court of the party making the defense and may even decrease its standing before the Court in future cases.

(f) In view of the United States veto power, under article 27(3) and 94 of the United Nations Charter, over ultimate enforcement by the Security Council, the really vital interests of the United States are protected regardless of any action the Court might take.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

It is the conclusion of the American Bar Association Section of International and Comparative Law Special Committee that the self-judging domestic jurisdiction reservations have impaired the effectiveness of the International Court of Justice, and the reservation of the United States has impaired its leadership of the free world. The special committee feels that complete withdrawal of the self-judging reservation would not expose the United States to undue risks. Although the committee believes that the self-judging reservations should be withdrawn at the first favorable opportunity, it recognizes that its withdrawal would have broad international ramifications involving problems beyond the competence of the special committee. Without expressing an opinion as to the manner and timing of the withdrawal, the committee has suggested the possibility of (1) having all nations with self-judging reservations withdraw them at the same time, and (2) obtaining as many new adherences as possible to article 36 of the statute of the International Court to be deposited simultaneously with the withdrawal of the reservations.

The views of the Special Committee on World Peace Through Law, and of a large majority of the lawyers who attended its regional meetings in 1959, are substantially the same.

The American Bar Association itself has consistently advocated acceptance by the United States of broad compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice under article 36 of its statute. Therefore the recommendations and conclusions of the two special committees are consistent with the position of the association as a whole.

(This memorandum is based on a "Report on the Self-Judging Aspects of the U S. Domestic Jurisdiction Reservation With Respect to the International Court of Justice," published in August 1959 by a special committee of the American Bar Association Section of International and Comparative Law. Members of the special committees were Eugene D. Bennett, Harry LeRoy Jones, Richard F. Scott, John R. Stevenson, Sedgwick W. Green, and Lyman M. Tondel, Jr., chairman.)

ROBERT H. RENO.

Member, 1958–59, American Bar Association, Special Committee on World Peace Through Law.

CONCORD, N.H., *January 4, 1960.*

Proposed New Veterans' Housing Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a veterans' housing bill which I hope will revitalize the veterans' housing program.

The bill which I am introducing makes substantial changes in the veterans' housing program. These changes have become necessary since the veterans' housing program is becoming inoperative as a result of the administration's hard-money policy. Last year the Congress raised the interest rate on veterans' home loans from 4¾ percent to 5¼ percent. This action did very little to improve the supply of mortgage financing for veterans' home loans. The rapid rise in interest rates resulting from the policies of the administration exceeded the increase in interest rates authorized by the Congress. Very little additional mortgage financing became available as a result of the interest rate increase. The situation has become progressively worse. High discounts are being charged throughout the country in connection with veterans' loans. These discounts range upward to 12 points and increase the interest yield to the lender to rates of 6 percent and above.

Interest rates have increased rapidly as a result of the administration's hard-

money policy, and are now in conflicting with the usury laws of the various States. Suits are now pending in local courts to determine whether the high interest rates being charged, together with large discounts, are a violation of State usury laws. This has resulted in many institutional lenders withdrawing from the mortgage financing field until the issue is settled. The administration has offered, as its only solution to the shortage of mortgage financing funds for veterans' home loans, increases in interest rates. It is apparent this is not the solution, since lending practices based on present high interest rates are now being questioned in the courts as violations of State lending laws.

In a recent survey by the committee, the loan guaranty officers of the Veterans' Administration in offices throughout the country have estimated that if the current tight money condition continues the Veterans' Administration will make only about 150,000 home loans in 1960. These same offices estimate that if mortgage financing were available, with moderate or no discounts, the veterans' home loan program would increase to 368,000 loans during 1960.

There is no prospect that there will be a change in the near future in the Administration's hard money policy and there appears to be little likelihood an increase in interest rates would produce the desired result. The bill which I have introduced makes several major changes in the housing program and seeks other sources for veterans' home loans.

This bill authorizes the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to issue debentures for sale with maturity varying from 10 to 30 years at an interest rate of not less than 4½ percent. These debentures will be offered for sale to the general public; however, they are designed to appeal to the major private trust funds of the Nation, such as union trust funds, welfare trust funds, private estate trust funds, and trust funds developed through the retirement programs of the various States and municipalities for public employees. The debentures to be issued by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs will be guaranteed both as to principal and interest by the U.S. Treasury. The funds obtained through the sale of debentures will be utilized by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs for veterans' home loans.

The bill provides that the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs may loan these funds any place in the United States where a shortage of mortgage financing exists. The maximum loan is to be $17,500. Discretion is left with the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs as to downpayment; however, 100 percent loans are permitted under the bill. The bill authorizes the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to charge the veteran borrower a 1-point fee at closing. Builders or sponsors who receive a commitment will be required to pay a 2-point fee for a fund commitment or fund reservation under the bill. These funds will be deposited by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs in a revolving fund to protect the Government from loss. The bill provides that the Administrator may sell debentures at 4½ percent. The interest rate for the veteran's loan will remain the same as provided in the existing program—5¼ percent. The Administrator will have available the margin of three-quarters of 1 percent to offset his administrative costs in placing and servicing the loans.

The bill provides that the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs may sell not to exceed $5 billion in debentures in any one fiscal year. It provides that the Administrator may invest not to exceed 25 percent of the national service life insurance fund in the debentures. The bill extends the housing program for World War II veterans until February 1, 1965, so that the World War II program will be scheduled to expire on the same date with the program for Korean veterans.

This bill does not alter the guaranteed home loan program in any way. Private lenders may continue to participate in the veterans' guaranteed home loan program. It is intended that the program of home loans to be made by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs through funds obtained by selling debentures will supplement the guaranteed home loan program which is presently operating through private lenders for World War II and Korean veterans.

It is expected that early hearings will be scheduled on this legislation since the outlook for mortgage financing for veterans' home loans is very bleak for 1960 unless a solution can be found. The direct loan program, which has depended on appropriations directly from the Treasury, will not be continued past its scheduled expiration date of July 25, 1960. It is not expected that this program will be necessary if funds become available through sale of debentures.

The Late Honorable Richard M. Simpson

SPEECH
OF
HON. VICTOR A. KNOX
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. KNOX. Mr. Speaker, the passing of our good friend RICHARD M. SIMPSON, is a great loss to the Congress, to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and to our Nation. That he has left our midst is a tragedy to the causes of good government, human liberty, and economic opportunity.

DICK SIMPSON was characterized by his integrity, commonsense, and an unswerving devotion to the principles in which he believed. Those principles are better principles today because of the fact that this American lived.

During the past 7 years that I had the opportunity to know this great patriot, I found him to be a public servant who was devoted to the concept of responsibility; responsibility in office, politics, and in his personal life. It can be truly said of DICK SIMPSON that he thought more of his obligations than he did of his privileges. No finer quality could any man possess.

As a member of the Committee on Ways and Means and the Republican congressional campaign committee, I became closely associated with DICK, and I profited time and time again by his wise counsel and by his high courage.

I realize full well the futility of our words at this time to alleviate the sorrow of the Simpson family; however, I want to bring my humble words of condolence to them in the hope and belief that their faith in the will of our Heavenly Father will fill them with the spirit of acceptance and peace that join the faithful now and in eternity.

Some Comments on Stabilization and Economic Cooperation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD L. JACKSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by the Honorable John Davis Lodge, U.S. Ambassador to Spain, before the members of the American Club, Castellana Hilton Hotel, Madrid, October 15, 1959:

SOME COMMENTS ON STABILIZATION AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION

In an exchange of letters with Generalissimo Franco early last month, President Eisenhower stated:

"I should like, also, to congratulate you on the bold new economic program already auspiciously begun and on your membership in the OEEC. This constitutes another important link in forging the European unity to which you refer."

If Spain's stabilization program is so important that it can be a matter of keen interest at the high level of our Chiefs of State, I hope you will not mind if I give you some of my comments on Spain's economic evolution, although I know that you heard a talk at your last meeting by our friend Juan José Rovira on the same general subject.

Incidentally, since I have referred to the exchange of messages between Generalissimo Franco and President Eisenhower, which took place at the London meeting of the President and Secretary Herter with Foreign Minister Castiella some 6 weeks ago, I should like to take a moment to tell you a little about that London meeting which, as you may know, I attended.

President Eisenhower, who was in fine health and spirits, received Mr. Castiella at the London residence of our Ambassador to Great Britain, John Hay Whitney. The Foreign Minister handed Generalissimo Franco's letter to the President, and the President read it with evident satisfaction. The opening words of that letter were particularly thoughtful and welcome to our President and to Americans generally, for they expressed thanks for the President's "sacrifices and efforts to assist our Western World and lead it along the path of peace and understanding, and in particular for the aid and benefits which Spain is receiving from the United States under your administration." He was also particularly pleased with the

letter's expressions of understanding and support for the President's decision to meet with Mr. Khrushchev in the United States.

The President shortly afterwards gave his reply to Generalissimo Franco, to which I have already alluded, and which was carried to the Spanish Chief of State by Mr. Castiella.

The tenor throughout the talks both between the President and Mr. Castiella and later between our Secretary of State, Mr. Herter, and Mr. Castiella was most cordial. While they ranged over a wide field of world problems of concern to both countries, the accent was upon mutual understanding, friendship and confidence. I was delighted, as were all concerned, in the evidence thus manifested of the long strides which have been taken in recent years toward Spain rejoining the family of Western nations in furtherance of our common objectives and in defense of our common cause.

Mr. Castiella then left for the rest of his series of top level talks with Western statesmen, which included meetings with British Prime Minister Macmillan and Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd, and with French President DeGaulle and Foreign Minister Couve de Murville. I saw him again, some days later, back in the summer capital of San Sebastian and he was delighted with the obvious success of these talks.

The "bold, new economic program" to which President Eisenhower referred is a course of action which is intended to have far-reaching consequences of a highly beneficial nature for the Spanish economy and for the people of Spain. So important is the new economic course recently charted in this ancient and storied land that many clearheaded Spaniards say it marks the most significant single step taken by the Spanish Government since the civil war.

It is a course which bids fair not only to restore Spain's economic equilibrium, which was shattered by the civil war and whose recovery was retarded by post-civil war events, but also to reorient Spain into closer alinement with the main currents of Western thought and action.

Spain's involvement in the post-war effort toward European economic cooperation augurs well for the achievement of Western European unity. This unity is one of the major objectives of Western diplomacy and will, as it becomes a reality, constitute a mighty bulwark in defense of our common cause.

The U.S. Government and private banks have had a major part in making possible this new course. The organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) were also major contributors. Accordingly, it would appear highly important that we all have a clear understanding of what this new economic program means for Spain, not only domestically, but also with respect to her international position.

SPAIN'S EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE ECONOMIC RECOVERY

First of all, let me recall to you that American aid to Spain started sometime before 1953. Actually, the American Congress voted its first aid to Spain in 1950. This aid together with that provided under the subsequent agreement of 1953 gave the Spanish people their first opportunity since the war to try to achieve some of the progress which was already well underway in other European nations. For, while economic development is primarily a country's own responsibility, it has been amply demonstrated that at certain times most countries, including even major powers, require outside assistance. I like the apposite reference to the effects of the aid program made by my friend José María de Areilza, the Spanish Ambassador at Washington, in his admirable speech in Bilbao on September 10. He compared the Spanish economy to a ship at drydock, checking its hull and repairing the damages that the war and the post-war had left in its structure. For that ship, he said, American aid was like a powerful tugboat, pulling it to the river mouth and allowing the ship time to get underway with its own boilers. As a result of this combination of the efforts of the Spaniards themselves and American aid, the period from 1951 to the present has been one of great economic growth in Spain.

While still chronically short of funds and raw material resources, Spain concentrated on the improvement of basic industry and transportation. Many millions of dollars in both foreign exchange and pesetas were poured into powerplants, railroads, steel, cement, and other factories which are basic to industrialization. The growth of industrial production and the improved standard of living were reflected in the increase in the national income of approximately 4.25 percent per year, a rate somewhat higher than that achieved in the United States during the same period. However, as a normal concomitant of rapid economic growth in conditions of insufficient capital resources and production, Spain experienced the same type of inflation which hit many countries in similar circumstances. Since a high level of imports is required for rapid industrialization, Spain also suffered from an unfavorable balance of payments and its foreign exchange holdings dwindled away despite the sizable grants of aid from the United States.

INTRODUCTION OF STABILIZATION PLAN

Although the Spanish economy had not reached a crisis stage and though its external and internal debts were far lower than those of many another country, the Government decided to take corrective action before an extreme stage was reached. What made it possible for Spain to consider measures for economic stabilization was its recent membership in the International Monetary Fund, and the willingness of other western European nations to help Spain and accept her as a full member in the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC). In February 1959 the Spanish Government undertook formal negotiations with the IMF and the OEEC which culminated in the economic stabilization program announced on July 20 of this year.

Both the IMF and the OEEC provided economic assistance to Spain to help her through the inevitable economic adjustments incident to a stabilization program. The IMF provided a credit of $75 million; the OEEC made available a credit of $100 million. In addition to this help from these two multilateral organizations, several European nations agreed to grant Spain several years to pay back some $45 million owed them for trade debts. At the same time Spain was negotiating loans from U.S. private banks for another $70 million, and the U.S. Government announced that our assistance to Spain in the form of economic aid grants, sales of agricultural surplus commodities for Spanish pesetas, and development loans from the Export-Import Bank would total $130 million in the year beginning July 1, 1959. An additional $5 million was voted by the U.S. Congress so that, altogether, Spain was able to count on some $425 million in foreign assistance to help her reestablish her economy on a sounder basis.

The IMF, like many multilateral economic organizations, came into being in 1946 largely through American initiative. Its funds, some $9 billion which will soon be augmented, were provided by all the member nations for several purposes, among them, to facilitate the balanced growth of international trade and to provide members with the opportunity to make readjustments in their balance of payments without resorting to measures destructive of national or international prosperity. This organization provides not only financial assistance but, perhaps more important, technical advice. These are now available to Spain.

The assistance of the Organization of European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) was not available to Spain until it was voted into membership on July 20 of this year as a major step in the stabilization program. On that day, after long and careful consideration, Spain was unanimously accepted as the 18th member of the OEEC and the first new member since that organization was created 11 years ago, to strengthen the non-Communist world through economic cooperation. Like the IMF, the OEEC received a heavy proportion of the funds made available to Spain from the United States.

RISK AND STAGES IN THE NEW PROGRAM

Any fairminded person must, it seems to me, give Spain great credit for agreeing to undertake the difficult and perhaps, as in the case of some member nations, politically unpalatable measures which were worked out with the IMF and the OEEC. Other countries better endowed than Spain with natural wealth have recently stated their unwillingness to take the risks involved in the readjustments which must be made. All countries are aware of the problems which may arise from the relaxation of economic controls, the elimination of subsidies, the budget balancing, and the other sound economic measures which are required. It can be considered remarkable that so shortly after its admission into the IMF, Spain was able to complete a program for stabilization which received not only the approval but the financial support of the IMF and the OEEC.

Immediately after the program was announced, the Spanish Government began to issue the many degrees required to bring about the changes desired. There is no need to recall to you the measures adopted, with which you are all familiar, and which are already beginning to be reflected in Spain's foreign exchange balances. Internally, the reduction of subsidies, together with reduced spending, will permit Spain in the near future to have a truly balanced budget. An important feature of the liberalization undertaken is the elimination of discriminatory practices against the United States in international trade. Instead of working under bilateral trade agreements, most Spanish imports will now represent purchases in the best market available on a worldwide basis, in terms of quality and price, regardless of the currency of payment.

NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR FOREIGN INVESTMENT

In what may be a historic step, Spain has changed its law of 1939 which generally limited private foreign investment in Spanish industry to 25 percent of the capital of the firm concerned. The new law generally permits foreign investment of 50 percent in Spanish industrial enterprises, and establishes improved conditions for foreign investors in respect to the repatriation of capital and earnings. Together with the petroleum law adopted in December 1958, which authorizes 100 percent foreign ownership of oil exploitation enterprises and which accounts for the presence here today of a number of new members, the foreign investment law, if properly implemented, may help change the industrial and commercial pattern of the entire country. In terms of international relations, these two new laws indicate the abandonment of the policy of economic self-sufficiency which was the keystone of the present administration's economic policy in its earlier days and was one of the factors which prevented Spain from becoming a greater trading partner of the United States and Europe. Internally, too, Spain has undertaken to eliminate or reduce many of the controls over the econ-

omy and to curb monopoly practices and price fixing, so as to encourage renewed growth from a wider and a sounder economic base. Another change which appears to be implicit in these actions is the shift to greater reliance on private initiative rather than on state-run enterprises to meet consumed needs.

SIGNIFICANCE AND PURPOSE OF THE NEW PROGRAM

What is likely to be the significance of all this new internal and external economic activity. If the program is successful the implications for Spain and for the free world can be enormous. The adoption of the economic stabilization plan in itself is an expression of mutual confidence between Spain and the leading western powers. This bold new departure which eschewed the more bizarre solutions proposed for similar problems in some countries, could be based only on satisfactory experiences of the recent past and the hope of even greater economic cooperation and trade expansion in the western pattern.

We can thus look forward to Spain's eventual complete integration into European-American economic cooperative arrangements, from which it has been separated by attitudes and ideas rather than by geography or lack of mutual interest. Indeed, it is becoming increasingly clear that economic frontiers no longer coincide with political boundaries. In this vein, it is to be anticipated that Spain will some day adhere to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Some eventual adjustment to the Common Market or the "Outer Seven" economic arrangements also appears to be likely. There is in Western Europe today an inexorable current toward closer economic and political cooperation among nations and toward the formalization of this cooperation in terms of international organizations and multilateral treaties. Spain is now riding this current and it is to be hoped, for the sake of all concerned, that Spain is on the road to full and equal partnership in the western European community of nations.

With a determined execution of the plan, after what may be a brief though intense transitional period of readjustment, the Spanish people should be able to foresee increased production, a sound currency, stable prices, a higher standard of living and a shift from an economy of scarcity to one of relative abundance. The collateral consequences of such an economic result may well be historic in terms of the increased general health, vigor and welfare of the gallant Spanish people.

The purpose of the new funds recently provided to Spain is to furnish the necessary cushion for this interim period of readjustment. Of course, it is too early to predict how successful the entire program will be, as Minister of Commerce Ullastres pointed out recently in Washington. The Spanish Government is in the process of issuing implementing regulations which will further the objectives of the stabilization plan. It must come to grips with the problem of increasing agricultural and mineral production, at least to the point of meeting internal demands and reducing import requirements. The production of exportable goods must be increased to enable Spain to earn more foreign exchange. Something more can be done to increase foreign exchange earnings from tourism. This is a magnificent country for tourism, not only for its splendid monuments of the past but also for its warm and friendly people. The former protectionism and controls which acted as a damper on the expansion of production and trade may tend to disappear as the benefits of a freer, more competitive economy begin to be enjoyed. Almost all countries which have gone through stabilization plans have experienced difficulties which could be met only by internal flexibility, sound judgment, international good will and mutual confidence between the people and the government.

It is to be hoped, therefore, that a climate of confidence will prevail until the Spanish program has borne fruit. It is also to be hoped that Spain will at last be enabled to emerge once and for all from its relative isolation of recent years and assume the international responsibilities to which it is entitled, not only because of its historic participation in the development of western culture, but also because the noble and friendly Spanish people have much to contribute to the massive effort which must be made if we are to meet the common—the stirring—challenge to our generation.

Accomplishments Under the New Education Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, during the congressional recess an article appeared in the Washington Sunday Star of October 18 which I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress and to readers of the RECORD.

This article, written by Mr. George W. Oakes, is an excellent progress report on the accomplishments resulting from the first year of operation under the Defense Education Act. I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A STUDY OF ACCOMPLISHMENT: OUR FIRST YEAR UNDER THE NEW EDUCATION ACT

(By George W. Oakes)

Appraisal of the accomplishments under the National Defense Education Act, in its first year of operation, finds educators and officials agreed that considerable progress has been made.

In brief the act, signed in September, 1958, has resulted in:

More emphasis on language study.

Improvement of science and mathematics instruction.

Stimulation of the abilities of talented school children.

Easing the financial burden of college students.

Increasing the numbers of qualified college teachers.

"Better teaching of foreign languages probably is the biggest single step forward under the act," according to Office of Education officials. Various programs now in operation will help considerably to correct the decline in foreign language instruction which, oddly enough, has occurred during the last 40 years, just at the time this country rose to a position of world leadership.

LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION

School and college foreign language teachers are learning new methods of instruction, in such ways as these:

1. Last summer 925 elementary and secondary school teachers of French, German, Spanish, and Russian attended 12 special six or eight week institutes on the campuses of universities in Michigan, Texas and Colorado. They concentrated on the latest audiolingual methods of teaching modern languages which involve first hearing the language through audio aids, then speaking it and finally writing it. Foreign language teachers have been particularly lacking in modern methods of instruction.

Most teachers took French and Spanish. The demand for admission to the institutes was so great that 5,000 teachers who applied could not be accepted. As a result, next summer 35 courses will be held for 2,200 schoolteachers in the same languages, plus Italian. In addition, full academic year institutes are now being held in four universities for 95 schoolteachers of French, Spanish, and Russian to offer them a more concentrated course of study.

2. Audiovisual laboratory equipment is being installed in public elementary and secondary schools. Federal funds are made available on a maching basis to the States who—with the local school authorities—determine how and where the money is spent. A foreign language laboratory for beginners in a junior high school costs between $3,000 and $4,000. State allocations of Federal money are decided on the basis of the number of students and the average income per child of school age. Consequently the poorer States with large school populations benefit the most.

ENCOURAGING THE STATES

3. The stimulus of Federal activity has had the additional benefit of encouraging the States to speed up their own efforts to improve foreign language teaching. Only four States had supervisors of foreign language instruction before the act got underway. Now 27 States have 32 supervisors.

4. Several research projects are being financed by the Federal Government to develop new methods of teaching foreign languages. For example, the University of California is experimenting with new visual aids on basic grammatical problems of Spanish.

5. The act is encouraging the study of unusual languages not commonly offered, but required by persons in Government, industry, and education. There are 50 languages spoken by millions of people in various parts of the world that are not even taught in the United States.

CENTERS ORGANIZED

Nineteen university language centers have been organized on a full academic-year basis. The six highest priority languages to be studied in these centers are Arabic, Chinese, Hindustani, Japanese, Portuguese, and Russian. Related area studies are also included. Fellowships for advanced study in the same six languages have been awarded to 171 graduate students planning to enter college teaching.

Badly needed new science and mathematics equipment is being installed throughout the public-school system. Probably more than $50 million to $60 million of Federal grants will be spent before next June by probably every State and Territory. These new facilities should raise the level of science and mathematics teaching considerably and supply most of the required modern equipment during the next 3 years of the act.

This money is provided on a matching basis for the purchase of new (and remodeling of old) science and mathematics equipment, including laboratories and instructional materials.

A general science laboratory for 28 junior high school students costs between $8,000 and $10,000 for furniture and equipment; $18,000 to $20,000 is needed for a new high school chemistry laboratory.

As an indication of the scope of the program in Washington, District school officials believe that their science and mathematics equipment requirements will be covered

adequately during the 4 years of the Education Act.

Only 8 States had 11 supervisors in science before the act took effect. Now 24 States have 34 science supervisors. An even larger percentage increase took place among State staff members whose duties are to consult with local school authorities in mathematics instruction. The States also have set up courses to train teachers in the use of new science and mathematics equipment.

In addition, teaching of the sciences in the private schools has been substantially aided by Federal loans for the purchase of science and mathematics equipment.

One of education's problems has been to prevent the waste of talent by finding outstanding students in the Nation's 25,000 public schools. Through proper guidance, these able students can be persuaded to exert their best efforts in school by taking challenging courses and then they can be encouraged to seek a college education.

A major reason why approximately 100,000 topflight high school students do not continue their education is that probably less than half receive adequate guidance and counseling. Dr. James B. Conant's recent report on the American high school stressed the importance of correcting this situation.

FOR HIGH SCHOOL AIDS

Last summer, under the Education Act, 50 short-term institutes were conducted by various universities for 2,200 high school counselors. This experience in improving the qualifications of these counselors for their specialized duties was so successful that next year 70 summer institutes will be held.

The $60.5 million of college student loan funds in the new act and already allotted by the Federal Government, is likely to have an explosive effect by converting students to pay for their education on credit. Although the detailed figures are not yet available to substantiate this view among educators, they expect that the 1,400 recipient institutions, representing 88 percent of our total college population, will drain this new source of loan funds.

Money is given to the States according to their full-time college enrollment and, in a revision of previous policy, will be granted to each college on the basis of need. The Federal Government puts up $9 for each $1 from a college.

The program's popularity has surprised many educators for only 4 years ago the total lending operations of all colleges and universities was less than half the amount the Federal Government supplied in the past academic year.

It remains to be seen whether the $1,000 a student may borrow at 3 percent for 5 years will influence poor but able students to seek a college education rather than to go to work in order to support their families. Many educators believe it will mainly reduce the large number of good students who drop out of college for financial reasons. In addition, a loan will enable college students to spend more time on their studies rather than taking so many part-time jobs in order to meet expenses.

FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

The act's graduate fellowship program, aimed at reducing the shortage of qualified college teachers, got underway last month when 1,000 fellows out of 6,000 applicants took up residence in 123 graduate schools. Each fellow receives $2,000 plus $400 for each dependent. The students are intentionally spread throughout the country in order to strengthen the smaller graduate schools and take the pressure off the large universities.

At present only 10 graduate schools grant 38 percent of all Ph. D.'s; $2,500 per graduate student is granted to each institution to help finance the additional expense. Although the program is not directed toward science, nearly half of the graduates are working in scientific and technical fields.

In administering the act, the Office of Education has attracted as many educators of national reputation as its pay scale, in many cases below comparable jobs in some States, would permit. The Office's personnel was increased by 300 to a total of about 1,000 in order to operate the program.

The Republican Nominee for President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH SCOTT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the Wall Street Journal which appeared in the Washington Post on Wednesday, January 6, 1960.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FROM THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

When Governor Rockefeller withdrew from the race for the Republican nomination, the tenor of some of the comments was that the people's candidate had been run over by a juggernaut of professional politicians manipulated by Vice President NIXON.

This was nonsense. If professional politicians have any common binder it is a devotion to realism; they want a winner. They would have come to Mr. Rockefeller's side if they had detected any enthusiasm for him among the people. They stuck to Mr. NIXON because they think him a better candidate to put before the people next November.

Nevertheless, the comments are interesting. They reflect, perhaps unconsciously, the prevalent line among certain intellectual liberals, regardless of party, that nothing about Mr. NIXON can be good.

Now this phenomenon, too well known to need laboring, is in a way curious. For none of the explanations usually given seem to fully explain it. One possible reason for the dislike of Mr. NIXON is his personality. He is rather introverted, self-contained, and plainly studied in his efforts to make friends with people. This may make it difficult to warm up to him. But it is a quality that should, if anything, draw sympathy from other intellectuals who, as a group, tend to share it.

Another reason often given for disapproving of Mr. NIXON is the memory of that famed TV appearance with the dog. Yet a bit of corniness is not held against a Stevenson pictured with a hole in the sole of his shoe, and anyway all that was so long ago that only an irrational emotionalism could recall it against the mature man of today.

A more plausible explanation is Mr. NIXON's role in the anti-Communist drive, and especially in the Hiss case. Certainly it is true that a large part of the intellectual community interpreted the attack on Alger Hiss as an attack on the whole intellectual community. That it was successful made it only the more unpardonable. Yet that, too, was years ago, and though some resentment remains, it can hardly account for the present vehemence against Mr. NIXON.

The reason usually given in public by the liberals is that Mr. NIXON represents the "Old Guard" of the Republican Party, the diehard conservatives who would supposedly turn back the clock.

Yet Mr. NIXON is in fact no darling of the conservatives, in the Republican Party or elsewhere. Twenty-five years ago the Whittier College yearbook labeled him "always progressive and with a liberal attitude" and if there be such a thing as the "Old Guard" in the GOP it would find Mr. NIXON today far too liberal on such matters as foreign aid, international involvement, and welfare legislation.

Sometimes the accusation is that Mr. NIXON has no political convictions whatever. This hardly squares with the accusation that he is too conservative. But beyond that, it is unconvincing because the same people will turn to any rival of Mr. NIXON's although even less may be known about the newcomer's political philosophy.

We suppose these things can explain some of the dislike of Mr. NIXON by the liberal left but something more seems needed to account for the prolonged campaign—it is almost a vendetta—to discredit him in the whole intellectual community. For dislike to be so virulent it must be tinged with fright. Whatever else Mr. NIXON may be he is one of the most capable and experienced men on the political scene. And in spite of everything that has been said about him, he has managed to survive and to grow steadily in public stature. His whole career has shown him to be intelligent, tough, and durable.

Now Mr. NIXON may not be a conservative in the usual sense. He may even be quite liberal on individual political issues. But he is definitely not a liberal of the familiar stripe, always ready to join whatever is the liberal crusade of the moment.

Indeed, his political stature with the public does not rest so much on political ideology, liberal or conservative, as simply on the impression he gives people that he will bring a wide experience and a tough intelligence to the practical problems of politics and government.

So the suspicion grows that the real reason RICHARD NIXON frightens the liberals so badly is precisely because he may well win the next election. And the fear is that if he does, then this practiced politician may prove to be, far more than any philosophic conservative, a formidable foe of the liberal left.

The Case of the Vanishing Farmers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit for inclusion in the RECORD the following editorial which appeared in the December 8, 1959, edition of the Omaha Daily Journal-Stockman:

THE CASE OF THE VANISHING FARMERS

Politicians should have a field day over the case of the vanishing farmers after results of the agricultural census, currently being taken, are revealed to the public. Of course, farmers have been vanishing, if you choose, for years, and the politicos have never shown any reluctance to make what capital they could over that fact. But this time they may figure they've really got an issue that can blast the opposition out the door, down the hill, and right off the political map.

Why? Well, farmers are going to "disappear" in wholesale lots in this census, we learn, though long-time trends to fewer farmers will have continued at about the usual rate. The difference will come, however, from the Census Bureau's new definition of what constitutes a farm and what constitutes a bona fide farmer.

The old definition of a farm for census purposes, as readers may recall, was a place of more than three acres that produced commodities worth at least $150, whether these products were sold or not; or, if less than three acres, it had actual total sales of products worth $150.

In recent years, census officials have become increasingly unhappy with this catch-all definition. Citizens who worked in cities but established country homes on a few acres near town suddenly found themselves classified as farmers, even though they sold none of the eggs or vegetables grown for their own use. The old definition also failed to mirror statistically the growing number of rural people who now have full or part-time jobs in town.

The Bureau's new definition now being used boosts the acreage qualification and requires that a rural resident actually sell something. In place of the old 3-acre, $150 production minimum, property must now be 10 or more acres in size, with actual farm product sales of at least $50 a year. Or, if the place is smaller than 10 acres, actual sales must exceed $250 a year.

The expected result is that farms will total only about 4 million or so, down some 500,000 from the original estimate for 1959, plus about 100,000 more dropouts which represents the annual toll taken by long-term trends toward bigger and fewer farming units.

So far as farm people are concerned under the new definition, Federal statisticians believe the new total will drop to about 16 million (farmers, wives, children, grandparents, and the like)—a hefty 4 million or more below the estimate under the old definition.

Well, this should enliven, if not enlighten, the campaign just a bit, especially among politicans with a special flare for figures and percentages. Lo, the poor vanishing farmer can be publicly mourned and bereaved in great numbers and laid to rest amid downpours of vote-shed tears—and all because of a definition.

Views on Indian Termination Legislation of Ex-Gov. Charles A. Sprague, of Oregon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, a very thoughtful and informative column on the whole question of Federal termination of Indian tribes was published in the Salem (Oreg.) Statesman of January 5, 1960, under the byline of ex-Gov. Charles A. Sprague, who is one of Oregon's most distinguished journalists.

Because of the interest in Congress regarding the termination legislation which affected both the Klamath Indian Tribe of Oregon and the Menominee Indian Tribe of Wisconsin, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the column by former Governor Sprague.

There being no objection, the column was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

(By Charles A. Sprague)

Klamath Indian termination proceedings have claimed little space in the news since Congress passed the bill recommended by the Department of the Interior committing the Government to acquire forest and marshlands from the withdrawing members. The Fish and Wildlife Service will take over the marshlands next year. Some parcels of grazing land have been sold, Indians themselves purchasing most of the offerings. Four forest land units to be operated on a sustained-yield basis will come up for bid-opening on January 20. It is reported that three corporations have submitted plans for sustained-yield management, as required under the law, to become eligible as purchasers. That three companies have submitted plans is proof of the interest of private corporations in these forest lands. If their bids match or exceed the base price as determined by the appraisal they will acquire the land and the Government will not have to make the purchase.

Some 23 percent of the tribesmen elected not to withdraw. Their property, chiefly forest, is being managed by the trust department of the U.S. National Bank of Portland. It makes sales of timber, but not of land, which is retained in Indian ownership. The nonwithdrawing group has appointed a subcommittee to work with the trustee, also an educational committee to encourage children to prepare themselves by education so they can earn a living and not depend on per capita distributions of revenues from tribal assets.

Thus it appears that, after a great deal of discussion and some contention, the termination process is moving along so that sometime in 1961 the Federal Government can withdraw its special services to the Klamaths.

Likewise termination of the Menominees, an Indian tribe in Wisconsin, ordered in the act of 1954 along with the Klamaths, is working out far better than was deemed possible. There the tribe owned valuable forest lands and operated a sawmill. As with the Klamath timber it was realized that forced liquidation of the timber would damage the economy of the tribe. Wisconsin's Legislature created a special study committee which worked for 4 years to prepare a plan which would suitably bridge the change from government supervision to tribal management.

The legislature enacted special legislation creating a Menominee county embracing the tribal lands, and granting a special tax subsidy to make it possible for the forests to be operated on a sustained-yield basis. The Indians have set up a corporation to manage the tribe's business. Indians receive certificates of ownership, but the voting of shares is held to a voting trust for a number of years. Provision is made so that absentee members can turn in their stock certificates for payment after a term of years.

One individual who deserves great credit for the success of the Menominee program is George Keyote, a Menominee himself, who left his good position with the Bureau of Indian Affairs to guide the tribe in establishing itself as an independent going concern. His leadership offers a good example for the Indians in other tribes which are looking forward to independence from Federal supervision.

Experience with the Klamath and Menominee termination has shown the inadequacy and shortsightedness of the plan prescribed by the act of Congress ordering the termination. The government just can't pull up stakes and leave a tribe with assets to its own devices. Careful planning is required, in cooperation with State and local governments, and with the Indians themselves. Threatened catastrophes were narrowly averted through congressional action in response to local insistence in the case of the Klamaths, and through State action in the case of the Menominees. This experience should serve as a lesson for future terminations so they may be worked out with better coordination.

Inflation—Smoke or Fire?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, I was particularly struck with the logic of a paper by Yale Brozen, professor of economics at the Graduate School of Business, University of Chicago, on the subject of inflation.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include this paper:

INFLATION—SMOKE OR FIRE?[1]

(By Yale Brozen, professor of economics, Graduate School of Business, University of Chicago)

What is the record on inflation? Inasmuch as the inflation problem is an issue in the political arena, let us look at the record in terms of the last 6 years of Democratic national administration and the first 6 years of the present Republican national administration. From January 1947 to December 1952 the consumer price index rose by 24.4 percent. From January 1953 to December 1958 the rise was only one-third as large, amounting to an 8.6 percent increase. While the record of this administration has not been good, it is a better record than that of the previous administration.

The issue of monetary policy and inflation was supposed to have been removed from the political arena when the Federal Reserve Board was established as an independent agency. Members were appointed for 14-year overlapping terms in order to insulate them from political pressures. The Board was given great powers which could be used to control the quantity of money in circulation.

By controlling the quantity of money, it controls the price level. From January 1947 through December 1952 the manner in which the Board used its powers resulted in a 19 percent increase in the quantity of money. From January 1953 through December 1958 it used its powers to restrict the rate of increase in the quantity of money. From January 1953 through December 1958 it used its powers to restrict the rate of increase in the quantity of money to 9 percent. As a result, we had less inflation in the last 6 years than we did in the preceding 6.

In order to better understand the relationship between the quantity of money and inflation, a simple tool of analysis economists use to link up the various factors controlling the price level is helpful. This tool, known as the equation of exchange, is usually written in the following form: MV = PT.

The symbol M stands for the quantity of money in the hands of the public. It in-

[1] Address delivered before the Aurora (Ill.) Chamber of Commerce, Jan. 23, 1959. Reprinted in the Wall Street Journal, Mar. 30, 1959; Appraisal Journal, July 1959; Graduate School of Business Association Newsleter, autumn 1959.

cludes both demand deposits and currency outside of banks and the Treasury. The symbol V stands for the income velocity of circulation. Income velocity is defined as the average number of times a year each dollar is spent for final goods (goods which are sold to a final purchaser in a given year). Obviously, the total number of dollars multiplied by the average number of times a year each dollar is spent for final goods equals the total amount of spending for final goods. The quantity MV is the total amount spent by all people for the things they buy and keep in a year (or in whatever time period is used for calculating V).

The symbol P stands for the average price at which final goods are sold, and T stands for the number of final goods sold in all transactions occurring in the course of a year. The average price for which each item is sold multiplied by the number of items sold in all transactions is the total amount received by all sellers of final goods. The quantity PT is the total receipts in a year of all such sellers.

Whenever a dollar is spent it is received. Expenditures of dollars, therefore, must equal receipts of dollars. Since MV is the total amount spent in a year for final goods and PT is the total amount received for final goods, the two are equal. Amount of dollars spent—Amount of dollars received, or MV=PT.

As we can see from the equation, increases in the price level can result from increases in money (or its velocity of circulation) or from decreases in the volume of goods offered for sale. Since, aside from a slight decline in production in late 1957 and early 1958, and other temporary dips, the volume of goods offered for sale has been rising, we would expect the price level to decline if there were no increase in the volume of money or its velocity. The price level has not declined because the volume of money (and velocity) have been rising more rapidly than the output of goods.

For example, in the period from 1940 to 1950, the volume of goods offered for sale rose by 54 percent. But the price level rose by 84 percent. It would have dropped had there been no rise in the quantity of money in the hands of the public. The quantity of money increased in this period from $39 billion to $110 billion, an increase of 180 percent.

We might well ask, "Why did the quantity of money increase so much, and why did we allow it to do so if we were truly interested in avoiding inflation?" Or, to rephrase the question into a more pertinent one, "Why, did the Federal Reserve Board pursue a course of action which pumped 70 billion additional dollars into the hands of the public from 1940 to 1950? Were they not interested in preventing inflation?"

Some people would argue that the inflation was caused by unions pushing wage rates up and by businessmen passing on the cost increases to the public in higher prices. However, our studies at the University of Chicago indicate that it was the increases in the quantity of money which came first. (See Milton Friedman, "Studies in the Quantity Theory of Money.") With more money in their pockets, consumers tried to buy more goods. Since the stock of money they had could purchase more goods at current prices than could be produced, shortages developed or prices were bid up to levels which absorbed all the money consumers wanted to spend. Some of you certainly remember those days in the late 1940's when you attempted to buy an automobile and found that your name would be placed on a list and you might get delivery in 18 months to two years. In these circumstances, some of us bet dealers $500 they could not deliver a car next week. We gladly lost those bets. In effect, we bid higher prices to obtain the goods we wanted to buy with our larger stock of money.

With higher prices offered by consumers for goods, manufacturers were eager to produce more. They tried to hire the men to do the job, but shortages of labor developed. In non-union industries, employers offered higher wage rates in order to attract additional men. In unionized industries, employers offered wage increases in their bargaining sessions. You seldom heard of an employer asking a union to accept a decrease in wage rates, although that was common practice in the bargaining sessions in the early 1930's. As a matter of fact, you will find that, in the post-World War II decade, non-union industries raised wage rates more than unionized industries.

The answer to the question of what caused inflation is really the answer to the question of "Why did the Federal Reserve Board follow the course it did in the 1940's?" The primary reason was that the Federal Government had a large deficit in this period. It offered bonds for sale to the public to finance the deficit. Because the interest rates carried by the bonds were very low, ranging from three-eights to 2½ percent, insufficient funds were obtained to cover the governmental deficit. In these circumstances, the Federal Government turned to the Federal Reserve for help in its financing. Rather than offer higher interest rates or increase taxes to pay its bills, the Federal Government, in effect, asked the Federal Reserve to buy the bonds and to provide banks with more funds so that they also could buy them. Since the Federal Reserve banks are fiscal agents for the U.S. Government, and, also, since they felt it was their patriotic duty to assist with the financing of the war, they responded. In doing so, they undertook actions which increased the stock of money from $39 billion in 1940 to $94 billion in 1945.

They might have stopped increasing the stock of money in 1945 since the war was over. However, the U.S. Treasury had become accustomed to selling bonds at low interest rates. It did not want to raise rates to the point where the public would find purchases attractive. The administration, therefore, exerted great pressure on the Federal Reserve to keep buying bonds and to keep manufacturing money to buy the bonds. As a consequence, the quantity of money continued to rise, by another $16 billion, to $110 billion in 1950. And the inflation continued.

Marriner Eccles, the former Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System (and still a member), and other members of the Board constantly protested against this policy. They felt helpless to change the policy in the face of pressure from the administration. Finally, a blowup came in 1951.

Secretary of the Treasury Snyder, in a January 18, 1951, luncheon speech, announced that refunding of U.S. debt would continue at the 2½ percent long-term rate. The attempt to maintain this rate in the last 7 months of 1950 had made necesary Federal Reserve purchases of Government securities which increased bank reserves and, consequently, brought on an 8-percent increase in the stock of money. It was becoming obvious that the Federal Reserve had become an engine of inflation. With Snyder presuming to speak for the Federal Reserve, the System had either to declare its independence or continue as a subservient arm of badly managed Treasury policy. Eccles presented the Federal Reserve's case in testimony on January 25 before the Joint Committee on the Economic Report.

In an unprecedented move, Truman, on January 31, asked the Federal Reserve Open Market Committee to meet with him at the White House. The next day, the White House announced that the Federal Reserve would continue to peg the Government bond market. Since the Open Market Committee had not agreed to this policy, Eccles released the minutes of the White House meeting, giving the lie to the White House statement.

A final result of all this was an accord between the Treasury and the Federal Reserve in March 1951. The Treasury agreed to the dropping of the Federal Reserve pegs in the Government bond market. The Federal Reserve agreed to maintain an "orderly" market (whatever that may mean).

Since March 1951 inflation has proceeded at a very moderate pace, compared to the earlier pace. But it has continued, however moderate the pace may now be. The Federal Reserve has continued to pump money into the economy in its attempt to maintain an "orderly" bond market and to ease the Treasury's problems in raising funds to pay off maturing issues.

Now what is the moral of this experience? First of all, inflation is not possible and will not occur without an increasing quantity of money. Second, the quantity of money will not increase unless the Federal Reserve either provides extra money or makes it possible for banks to increase the stock of money by providing them with more reserves or by cutting required reserve ratios. Third, the Federal Reserve increases the stock of money primarily as a result of the pressures exerted on it to assist in financing governmental deficits and, secondarily, to assist the Treasury in refinancing maturing debt when the demand for funds is strong and the Treasury would have to offer more attractive interest rates to get the money from noninflationary sources.

In essence, the only way we are going to avoid inflation in the future is by avoiding deficits in governmental budgets. Even in the absence of deficits, there will still be moderate inflationary pressure from the roll-over in Government debt unless the Government runs a surplus in order to ease the Treasury's problem in handling the roll-over.

A surplus in the budget is desirable for two reasons. It would ease the upward pressure on interest rates in capital markets. The Treasury's refinancing problems in connection with maturing debt would become less pressing and the heat would be off the Federal Reserve to manufacture more money to assist the Treasury.

A second virtue of a surplus is that the flow of funds for financing the purchase of new, more productive machinery would be increased. The holders of maturing bonds would use the funds to invest in the securities of business firms. The more available funds are to these firms (from noninflationary sources), the more rapidly they will modernize their plants, and the sooner they will rehire high-priced labor not worth employing on low-output, obsolescent equipment.

The more rapid growth in our stock of capital which would occur with a surplus in the Federal budget (assuming it is not created by raising taxes which reduce the rate of saving) would lead to a more rapid growth in production. This, too, would help restrain the rate of inflation.

To turn back to the question of the prospects for continued inflation, we should examine the prospects for balance or surplus in the Federal budget. The President has proposed a balanced budget for the fiscal year ending June 1960. The President may propose, but Congress disposes. The mood of the current Congress is evidently in favor of a conglomerate of spending programs beyond those in the administration's proposed budget. Even the proposed budget contains programs whose required outlays will be rising in the future. The various benefits accorded to veterans in the form of pensions will be rising from $1.1 billion next year to $3.6 billion a few years from now. Additional obligational authority has been asked

for the International Development Fund which will result in increasing outlays. Outlays on the highway program will be rising. Outlays on the urban renewal program will be rising because of commitments already made.

The only way the Federal budget can be kept in balance is by preventing new programs and discontinuing old ones. The proposed budget does not eliminate programs; it only nibbles at the expenditures for a few of the existing projects.

Many of the programs now in the budget and additional ones proposed to the Congress are political frauds which are designed to institute spending programs for which people would not vote if the proposals were presented separately on the ballot. The electorate has already provided, and will continue to provide funds on a local basis for those parts of the proposed programs which they feel are worthwhile.

The proposed Federal aid to education program is typical in this regard. A bill calling for $2.5 billion has been dropped into the congressional hopper. If passed, this will be but the beginning of further Federal encroachment in an area which is being adequately handled by State and local governments.

The presumed excuse for Federal aid is the lack of money for education in the poorer States. Under the proposed program, money will be taken from the wealthier States and funneled to the poorer States. But the greatest need for funds is in the very States from which the money will be taken. School age populations have increased by 46 percent since 1940 in the 12 highest income States which would pay the largest part of the Federal-aid program. In the 12 lowest income Staes, which would receive the Federal aid, schoolage populations have risen by only 9 percent since 1940. In other words, the money will be taken from the areas that must expand school facilities and will be given to the arees that need much less expansion. The Federal-aid-to-education bill embodies a most shameful political hypocricy.

The cry of inadequate local funds to provide adequate teachers' salaries and school construction is based on myth. Average salaries for schoolteachers have risen from 12 percent less than the average of all wage and salary earners in 1946 to 13 percent more in 1958. Expenditures for school buildings have risen from $230 million in 1946 (and $934 million in 1949) to $3.4 billion in 1958. Annual outlays for the Nation's schools have risen from $4 billion in 1945–46 to $20 billion in 1957–58, an increase from 2 percent of the national income to 5¼ percent. In 1954, the U.S. Office of Education reported that restrictions on bonding power and tax rates limited available resources of State and local governments for school construction to less than $5 billion. Somehow, with all these supposed limitations, $13 billion worth of school construction has been undertaken in the 1954–58 period.

The proposed housing bill, and Federal aid to airports bill, as well as the education bill are beyond the proposals of the President and must be stopped if the proposed balanced budget is to become an actuality. Furthermore, many Federal programs must be discontinued if we are to avoid deficits in the future. Federal Government grants for vocational education have accomplished their purpose. There is no need to continue this program. The proposed expenditure of $9 billion for improving navigation on inland waterways is in large part a boondoggle which should be killed. The justification for this expenditure is largely in terms of facilitating barge movements of petroleum products. We have found, in our research program at the University of Chicago that most of these products will move by pipeline, which is cheaper than barging, and that the expenditures are not justified by a realistic examination of traffic which will actually materialize on the proposed improved sections of the waterways. (See C. Haver and E. Renshaw, "The Future of the Illinois Waterway.")

The public power bloc is still trying to get a $490 million Hells Canyon dam built by the Federal Government although the job is already partly done by the Idaho Power Co. at a cost which will amount to only $130 million at its completion. The Idaho project will do a better job for recreation, downstream navigation and irrigation, and conservation than the Federal project, yet the doctrinaire advocates of public power are opposed to it. They prefer no project to a nongovernmental project built by a regulated public utility. The same group is trying to force through Congress a $1 billion appropriation to build large atomic plants, although these would be great, costly, white elephants producing power at double the cost of power from other sources.

If we are to prevent inflation, we must get sanity into the making of the Federal budget. If we are to provide the funds necessary for the capital formation required to raise our productivity in the race with Russia and win the cold war, we must stop draining the capital markets to finance deficits. We can reduce Federal outlays, increase the rate of growth in productivity, wage rates, and personal income, and reduce the rate of inflation if we prevent unneeded and economically wasteful Federal programs.

Rehabilitation Inventory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the Nation, today faced with a great threat to its security and challeges to its progress posed by Communist advancement, requires the services and capabilities of all its citizens.

Fortunately, the average citizen in 1960 is a stronger, healthier individual than ever before in history.

Regrettably, however, there are large numbers of our people, approximately 24 million, who in one way or another have suffered physical impairment. As a result, they face special obstacles in reaching their goals in life.

To the credit of these individuals, as well as to fraternal, volunteer, and other organizations and agencies, and the Government, an increasing proportion of these folks overcome their handicap through rehabilitation programs. Daily they are proving that an individual, though suffering a partial handicap, can, by faith, a courageous spirit, and a willingness to work, develop his abilities to provide himself and his family with a substantial degree of independence, as well as make a constructive contribution to community life.

The Nation, I believe, can be proud of these individuals who are making a success of their lives.

With an estimated 24 million suffering impairment, however, the challenge is still great. Throughout the country, efforts must be encouraged to continue and expand programs to provide the facilities and opportunities for these folks to overcome handicaps and lead successful, fruitful lives.

Recently the New York Times published an informative article titled "Rehabilitation Inventory," by Harold A. Rusk, reflecting the scope of the challenge in this field. I request unanimous consent to have the text of the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Jan. 10, 1960]

REHABILITATION INVENTORY

(By Howard A. Rusk, M.D.)

NATION'S ACHIEVEMENTS IN YEAR HAILED, BUT IMPAIRMENTS STILL PLAGUE 24 MILLION

In rehabilitation, as in other fields, the first of the year is a logical time for inventory taking.

As we compare the debits with the credits this year, we find our resources have grown, but our needs have risen even more rapidly. This January we have the most complete and accurate figures that have ever been available on the extent of disability.

The collection and collation of incidence statistics on communicable diseases are long-established and precise procedures. Based on the weekly reports it receives from State health departments, the United States Public Health Service on any given day can provide fairly accurate and late statistics on the national, regional and State incidence of any of the major communicable diseases.

Up-to-date data of this type is essential to modern epidemiology and control of communicable diseases.

In contrast to our precise reporting methods for communicable diseases, prevalence rates of chronic diseases must be based on estimates, for it is not required that such conditions be reported.

If you develop arthritis or heart disease, this fact is a matter of concern primarily to you and your physician. Neither you nor he is required to report to any public agency the fact that you have this illness.

Until 1957, most of our statistics on diseases, injuries, and impairments in the general population were based on the National Health Survey carried out in 1935–36.

These figures were supplemented by additional data from a number of community studies in Hagerstown, Md.; Pittsburgh; Hunterdon County, N.J.; Kansas City, Mo.; New York City, and California. Some information was added also by supplements to the Census Bureau's Current Population Survey.

CONTINUOUS STUDY CITED

Since 1957, the Bureau of Census has been engaged in a continuous U.S. National Health Survey, gathering data through nationwide household interviews. As a result, we have far more accurate information on many health factors than ever before.

The survey, for example, shows that nearly one out of every seven Americans has a chronic or permanent health impairment. The impairments include such disabilities as paralysis, deformity, and total or partial loss of hearing or vision.

Significantly, these figures do not include persons in mental or long-term-care institutions. Nor do they include the healthiest segment of our population, our military personnel.

Blindness (defined as inability to read ordinary newsprint even with the help of glasses) was reported for 960,000 persons, a rate of 5.7 for each 1,000. In addition, 2,064,000 persons were reported to have significant visual impairments less severe than blindness.

About 109,000 persons were reported to be totally deaf, a rate of 0.6 for each 1,000. Other hearing impairments affected 5,714,000 persons.

Between 12 and 13 million impairments were reported involving some form of limited motion, including paralysis and other abnormalities of the bones, joints, or muscles of the limbs, back, and trunk.

A miscellaneous group of almost 1,400,000 impairments included such conditions as abnormalities of structure of the face, jaws, and skull; mental retardation; marked deviation from normal body weight and size; and absence of organs and sites other than eyes or extremities.

The impairments increased with advancing age from 52.9 a thousand persons at ages under 25, to 615 at ages 75 and over.

For all the impairments, the proportion caused by injury was 33 percent—41.8 percent for males and 22.2 percent for females.

REHABILITATION GAINING

Of the 24 million individuals with impairments, 82.2 percent had been attended by a physician at some time. Paralysis and loss of limbs and extremities had been medically attended in practically all cases.

This year the Nation could take some pride in the fact that the number of persons rehabilitated into employment through the State-Federal vocational rehabilitation programs reached a new high of 80,720. This was an increase of 9 percent over 1958.

These 80,720 newly rehabilitated persons will increase their annual rate of earnings during their first year of employment from about $25 million to about $156 million and will contribute about 121 million man-hours of work to the Nation's productive effort.

On the asset side of the ledger, the rehabilitation achievement is laudable and significant. Measured against the liability side of 24 million impairments suffered by Americans, it is not quite so impressive.

Congressman Charles Boyle

SPEECH
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1960

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, the news of the tragic, untimely passing of Congressman CHARLES BOYLE struck us all a stunning and a crushing blow.

Only a short time before that fateful night, we had seen him in our midst—on the floor and in the halls of this great representative body—vibrant, vigorous and in the full bloom of health and spirit—filled with the zest of life, immersed in his dedicated tasks and duties which he invariably faced and carried through with a seriousness of purpose, a wealth of knowledge, a driving determination, a gifted capacity and a lofty idealism that commanded the respect and admiration of every Member of the Congress and won for him widespread gratitude of the very many he had loyally served with such unfaltering zeal and effectiveness.

CHARLIE BOYLE was beloved by all his colleagues. He was instinctively kind and generous and intuitively responsive to the needs of the people.

Devout in religious beliefs and practices to which he was profoundly devoted, he possessed a broad, tolerant mind which encompassed and harbored in a very unusual degree love of his fellowman. In his generous heart he was the true, practical exemplification of the deeper, hidden meanings of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

A sound thinker, an eloquent talker, an articulate forceful advocate of forward-looking, humane causes, a brilliant lawyer, a painstaking, indefatigable worker, Congressman BOYLE during his tenure in the House served with conspicuous ability, sincerity and effectiveness.

CHARLIE BOYLE was stricken down at the very height of his powers, with the larger portion of a great and promising career still before him. His lamentable demise has left a deep void in this body and has brought genuine sorrow and sadness to all of us.

We cherished his noble character, his congeniality and warm, good fellowship just as we admired his ability and devotion to duty.

A great American and a great Christian gentleman has been called to his heavenly home. We join his bereaved family and many friends in mourning his loss.

But he has left a legacy of devoted service, and goodness, and kindness and warm fellowship here that will long be remembered, that will leave a deep imprint upon the memories and the annals of this great legislative body.

To his bereaved family, his friends and all those dear to him, with a heavy heart, I tender my deepest and most heartfelt sympathy. In their truly irreparable loss I pray that the Good Lord may solace them and bring them strength and courage to bear his passing with resignation to the divine will.

And may our beloved and dear friend and esteemed colleague, CHARLIE BOYLE, rest in heavenly and eternal peace.

Area Redevelopment Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, the flight of industry from many of our larger cities is a problem of increasing proportion. If we are to sustain these cities as healthy and profitable economic and industrialized complexes, it will be necessary that we establish programs for modernization and rehabilitation of facilities which have long since outlived their usefulness.

Unless we do this, we may find that before too many years these cities with their large populations will have reached the point of industrial decay where they will be unable to support the large number of our citizens who continue to live there.

These facts demand a prompt and realistic program such as would be authorized by the area redevelopment bill.

I am hopeful that this bill will be brought to the floor for a vote in the very near future.

The Academic Library and the Educated Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, increasingly we are being made aware of the central role which our educational institutions will occupy during the coming decade. More and more it is becoming apparent that progress in vital areas of the Nation's life rests upon the academic disciplines provided by our schools and colleges. One of these disciplines—the habit of serious book reading—was recently emphasized in an address by Mr. Ralph M. Besse, executive vice president of the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Co. and chairman of the Cleveland Commission on Higher Education.

Speaking at the dedication of Ritter Library, Baldwin-Wallace College, Berea, Ohio, on October 15, 1959, Mr. Besse observed that far too few of our college graduates acquire and retain the book reading habit. Without this discipline, he asserts, an education cannot survive in the midst of modern forces continuously adding to the complexity of human knowledge.

Believing that Mr. Besse's perceptive comments deserve wide reading, I am privileged to insert his address "The Academic Library and the Educated Man" at this point in the RECORD.

THE ACADEMIC LIBRARY AND THE EDUCATED MAN

(By Ralph M. Besse)

Dr. Bonds and members of the Baldwin-Wallace family, I am happy indeed to share with you today the thrill that comes when a quality improvement is achieved by an institution. And surely a library improvement is a quality improvement for any college. It is more than that—it is a quality improvement for the Nation, for improvement of our national culture depends on improvement in education.

The impact of education has been a dominant factor in shaping the course of civilization at every great turn of history. It has varied in content as the need required. Sometimes it has been religious education, sometimes political, sometimes social, sometimes scientific. But always the great steps forward in man's incessant climb have been firmly planted on the paths of education.

Our great church organizations recognized this in designing our religious foundations in America 300 years ago. Our constitutional fathers recognized it as a fundamental of democratic government. And our international competitors today are stressing education as the basis of both military and economic supremacy.

Education, indeed, has become a key factor in national survival—and survival is threatened by uncontrolled worldwide population expansion, by unlimited demand for limited resources, and by scientific developments that seem to have outpaced our ability to manage them.

In such a matrix we must either solve our problems of education or we will solve nothing.

It would be naive to infer that there is any single solution. The problems are vast, multiple, complex, and changing. If they are to be solved at all, the approach must be piecemeal in order to keep the scope of every improvement project within the grasp of its task force.

The dedication of this fine new facility, therefore, presents an excellent opportunity to examine one severable educational problem—the problem of optimizing the contribution of the academic library in the process of education.

The solution of this problem is magnified by three rampant forces which affect all educational problems:

The first of these forces is the increasing complexity and the increasing degree of difficulty in almost every field of knowledge. This is axiomatic in science. It is also true in other fields. Sociology must solve the problem of explosive growth of urban centers; economics is confronted with managed money, business cycle control and automation; history has in one generation added a world depression, a world war, and a world revolution in governmental philosophy. And so it goes through all ranges of thought and action.

A second force directed at our educational problems is the everincreasing additions to our total volume of knowledge. Someone has estimated that our total fund of knowledge is doubling at the rate of once every 11 years. Whole new fields are being added and the process seems to accelerate.

The third great force is the increasing rate of change in fundamental concepts and basic factual situations. It is a current application of Henry Adams' law of acceleration. More people in the world are now contributing to the world's knowledge than ever before. Much more money is being spent on all kinds of research than ever before. More trained scientists are now living than have lived in all previous history. Travel is faster. Communication is more widespread and international competition is more intense than at any time in history. The result is an acceleration in the development of the fundamental principles and theories in every field of thought. Knowledge of these developments is essential to a good education.

The existence of these forces makes the acquisition of the academic portion of our education more difficult each year. But it has a vastly greater impact on the problem of maintaining an education through the long stretch of after-college years when less time and less formal techniques are available for the process. In spite of the difficulty, the college graduate will produce an optimum result as a parent, a professional practitioner, and a community leader only if he leaves college with the skills, habits, and attitudes which enable him to remain an educated man.

How are we doing in this area of education?

The resident college attacks the problem of teaching on a triple front. It deploys its forces in three overlapping but distinct and severable areas of academic learning. These may be defined as the universe of the classroom, the universe of campus people and the universe of books.

The universe of the classroom involves the curriculum selected by the students, the grouping of students relative to courses selected, the faculty specialists assigned to teaching these courses, the laboratories, the textbooks and the required course reading. The universe of campus people involves the faculty as a body, the administration personnel, the student body somewhat stratified by class level and sex, and the miscellaneous activity programs, athletic, social, and cultural.

The educational performance of American resident colleges in the areas of classroom teaching and campus relations has ranged from poor to excellent. Even where the performance has been at its best every facet of activity in these areas is encumbered with baffling problems and challenging opportunities incident to the current forces playing on all educational functions. These are beyond the scope of today's subject.

In the dedication of an academic library we are properly concerned with the problem of the resident college in its approach to education through the universe of books.

Here the educational result measured by its postgraduate consequence has been poor. It continues to be poor. It probably offers as great an opportunity for educational improvement as any facet of resident college education.

First, let us define the area of our subject. The universe of books in the academic learning process includes the course textbooks, and the required course reading. But it also includes the massive collection of written information additional to textbooks and specific course material. This latter collection is the academic library. This is the portion of the universe of books which does not overlap the universe of the classroom. It is what Carlyle called the true university. It is the only one of the three universes of academic learning which can survive college residence.

If knowledge of the importance of the library, skill in the use of the library and an established habit of reading the books in the library are not acquired by students during college residence, it is not likely that they will ever acquire them. It is the responsibility of the colleges to meet this challenge.

We are all familiar with the surveys which invariably show that many college graduates read no books at all after graduation. Most of them read too few books. Many who do read select their books poorly. And only a faint fraction of our college graduates have either a well-planned program or a well developed habit of continuous reading of good material.

Let me quote just one authority in support of these statements. He is Douglas Brush, writing in a recent issue of Daedalus, where he says:

"It is a painful fact of American life and education that, after leaving college, the majority of people virtually give up serious reading; and that, of the minority who do not, only a fraction pays any attention to literature new or old. At the time a survey was made in 1956, only 17 percent of American adults were found to be reading books, as compared with 31 percent in Canada, 34 percent in Australia, and 55 percent in England; 57 percent of our high school graduates and 26 percent of our college graduates had not read a single book during the preceding year; of the college graduates, 9 percent could not name the author of any 1 of 12 famous books in English, and 39 percent could not name more than 3; 45 percent could not name any recently published book."

These statistics sadly demonstrate that many who retain their degrees do not retain their education. An education can survive in the midst of the modern forces already described only if it is continuously maintained. It cannot be maintained without the book reading habit. Our resident college graduates do not have this habit. And, therefore, they have failed in their approach to learning through the universe of books. The colleges who sought to teach them have failed. The great facility of the academic library has not and is not being effectively used.

What's to be done about it?

The statement of the objective is simple—it is to so develop the student use and understanding of the academic library that the college graduate will carry a quality-book-reading habit through life.

What is needed to do this?

Step 1 is clear: The function of the librarian must be expanded to embrace a teaching responsibility in the universe of books. It is not enough to acquire, catalog, index, shelve, and account for the mere physical volumes. To paraphrase Archibald MacLeish, librarians have done well getting books for readers; they must learn now how to get readers for books.

This requires that librarians adopt the philosophy that they are teaching experts in the world of books, charged with the responsibility of making students effective and habitual readers and library researchers.

It requires that libraries be fully staffed so that time can be given to students as well as to books.

It requires that librarians have suitable professional training in order that all of their responsibilities may be fulfilled at the level of their highest potential.

And, finally, to get students to read, some continuous promotion is required. This involves time and money as well as skill. It is a selling process as well as an educational process. If the colleges want their students to read books, they must ask them to read them, generate their interest in reading them, explain the benefits of reading them, and help identify what they ought to read. This cannot be done effectively until the librarians of the academic libraries accept their share of responsibility for getting it done and their libraries are adequately staffed and financed to enable them to do it.

Step 2 in developing students' reading skills and habits is also clear: The teachers themselves must improve their library usage.

In the truly great graduate schools of this Nation there is a well recognized tradition that the graduate teacher must either publish or perish. Oddly enough it is not the material he publishes which makes him a qualified teacher. It is the fact that he must continue to learn in order to publish that produces the real result. An unchanging pool of knowledge grows stagnate just as surely as an unchanging pool of water. Teachers must improve their learning or it deteriorates. Graduate schools know this. Undergraduate schools have been slow to adopt it although many individual teachers are avid scholars as a matter of self-motivation.

But, too many college teachers are not good book readers although reading is essential to good teaching and the academic library is conveniently provided to make reading research possible. The library is a prime tool of teacher refreshment in every area of education. What is even more important relative to our theme is this: when the use of the library is a habit with the teacher, his practice tends to become contagious among his students. He is in position to infuse his courses with the love of books and the course value of their use. He is a persuasive example of the educational value of continuous reading.

If, however, a teacher does not use the academic library, there is a poor prospect that he will persuade his students to do so. And there is a good prospect that his teaching will be deficient.

So, the first step is to convert the teachers.

How can this be done? The publication technique has already been defined. It is a good one but it is not universally available. Other techniques should be developed. I do not purport to know what they should be. This is a problem which the faculty of every college might well undertake to answer for itself. If the analogy of industrial management is applicable, the answer will lie in

some combination of measurement of results accompanied by a reward or recognition proportional to the achievement. If teacher performance were in some way measured by the library use they stimulate in students, I suspect more library use would be stimulated.

The possibility of stimulating student library use opens a specific line of investigation. How can this be done? Again this question should be answered by teachers. And the teachers of any good college are capable of developing such answers.

There are several approaches that offer reasonable prospects of success.

First, students ought to be taught the importance of a good lifelong habit of good reading. A good many college graduates are never even told that this is a requisite of the educated man. Every teacher of every course should tell them—not once but often. The philosophy should become a campus tradition. It should become a kind of educational commandment. The reading habit should be known as the mark of the educated man.

In order to do this I suggest that at least four techniques be investigated.

First, every college student should be taught—specifically taught—both the values and techniques of good reading. If this is to be his basic method of maintaining his education for the rest of his life, he is entitled to know the best way to accomplish it.

Second, every course in college should include some library research assignments which involve the student in library processes and teach him that fields of knowledge tend to be vastly broader than his textbooks and specific reading assignments are likely to reveal. He should be examined on some things outside the covers of the textbook and the special reading list. He should carry from his classroom the concept that his teacher became versed in his subject only after the study of vast numbers of books and articles written by others.

Third, he should be taught how to use a library effectively as a tool of learning. The classifications, arrangements and indices which make a library useful are unknown to a shocking percentage of college graduates. This can and should be taught.

And, finally, techniques which make it easy and inviting to use the academic library should be developed.

Access to books is one of these techniques. Adequate library study space and the open stack are basic to this purpose. But they are not enough. I believe that a part of the academic library ought to be circulated among the places where the students and faculty spend their time.

When a teacher can point to a book in his classroom, the inquiring student is more likely to take it home and read it than he is if he must go—later on—to a library and search it out.

Books in the lounge room of a dormitory will be picked up. Books in the waiting room at a dining hall will be examined. The fear of losing books has been a great deterrent to the optimum use of books. We should consider books as expendable in the educational process. Some of them will disappear like the chemicals in the laboratory. But if they are made available the use will increase and the idea will grow that books are a vital part of education.

These are but suggestions. You who are charged with the education of our Nation's leaders are also charged with doing it well.

The men and women you release to the Nation must have more than the temporary ability to pass a senior comprehensive examination. They must have the ability and desire to keep their comprehensive knowledge forever current in the face of an ever increasing complexity of knowledge, an ever expanding volume of knowledge, and an ever accelerating rate of change in knowledge. These they will not have until you have solved the problem of promoting both better appreciation of the universe of books and more lasting skills and habits of teachers and students alike in the use of the academic library. Until this is done the belief that the baccalaureate degree is the symbol of the educated man remains in part a myth. If it is done, this fine facility we are today dedicating to the processes of education will take its proper place in making the symbol true. You have the tool; the product will be yours if you use it.

John H. Kraft's Great Contribution to the Nation, Farmers in Particular, by Developing Production of Sesame Seed and Popularizing New Sesame Product, Important Day in History of Texas

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, sesame chips, as a new snack food, was introduced at the Texas delegation luncheon today to a group of about 50 individuals, including the 24 Members of the House and Senate from Texas.

Presentation of the sesame chips represents an important day in the history of Texas. Sesame seed are grown in the districts in Texas represented by Speaker SAM RAYBURN and Congressmen ROGERS, MAHON, IKARD, and PATMAN.

This new and flavorful snack food highlights a development of an increasingly profitable sesame seed crop for Texas farmers. There is a new pioneering development of a substantial sesame food processing industry in our State of Texas. The sesame chips that were served for the first time in Washington at the Texas delegation luncheon today came from Sesa-Kraft, Inc., at Paris, Tex., which is said to operate the world's largest processing sesame seed plant. There are other large fabricating and processing plants at Honey Grove and Muleshoe, Tex.

Mr. John H. Kraft is the president of Sesa-Kraft, Inc. Following is an interesting and informative article, which appeared in the September 1959 issue of Food, International Store Door Institutional Distributors' journal, entitled "John H. Kraft Popularizes Sesame Chips as New Taste Sensation":

JOHN H. KRAFT POPULARIZES SESAME CHIPS AS NEW TASTE SENSATION

When John H. Kraft retired as chairman of the board of Kraft Foods in 1956, he immediately started a second business career. He began to devote an increasing amount of time to a longtime favorite subject, sesame seed and the great benefits to mankind that could come from its proper cultivation and product development. Rapidly moving events prove that, in this specialized field, he is writing a new and brilliant chapter in the history of food merchandising.

He knew that sesame seed represented an ancient food of the Orient, a plant crop which, until recently, had been grown only in the Far East, then in Central America, and, subsequently imported into the United States. His research, until that time, had emphasized the fact that sesame seed had a unique flavor and a high protein food value.

According to the "1957 Yearbook of Food and Agriculture Statistics," published by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, sesame oil is listed as No. 9 in tonnage movement of food products, an indication of its great and growing acceptance in various parts of the world.

Actually, it was some 12 years ago, that John H. Kraft first became interested in sesame seed, first became impressed with its fabulous potential as the basis for a host of food products. It was with this knowledge that he began acting as a spearhead in the rediscovery of sesame seed throughout the United States, and as a forecaster of its tremendous sales potential.

He was attracted to the sesame seed growing experiments which were being conducted by the Texas Research Foundation. This group was carrying out a search for a new and profitable crop that would help make for a more diversified type of farming, which could be substituted for some of the acreage then being devoted to production of cotton.

About that time, John H. Kraft came in contact with Roy H. Anderson, an agronomist for the Liberty National Bank of Paris, Tex., who was actively engaged in furthering research work of the Texas Research Foundation. Subsequently, Mr. Anderson joined up with John H. Kraft in the latter's new business venture, in the capacity of vice president.

As Mr. Kraft's interest in sesame seed and its new horizons grew, he organized the American Sesame Products Co., of Paris, Tex., and, later, changed this name to Sesa-Kraft, Inc. This change was made for one very important reason, so that the names of various food formulas, which were developed, could include the word "sesa" as an automatic "sesame" identification and association. In the case of the Sesame Snack development, which is the highlight of this article, the name "Sesa-Teez" was finally trademarked because it carried an automatic association with the name, Sesa-Kraft, Inc.

Substantial investment was made in a new Sesa-Kraft plant, and in the development of specialized machinery to accomplish new-type milling processes which overcame the age-old problems presented by the usually difficult dehulling and cleaning processes. The first milling operations were slow because there was no precedent or experience for production processing of sesame seed with modern machinery. In fact, up until then, all sesame seed used in this country was imported.

The immediately marketable sesame products are whole seed, oil and meal. Whole seed is used in making a variety of breads, cakes and candies. The oil, pressed from the seeds, is used as a salad or cooking oil, as well as in the manufacture of shortening, margarine, cosmetics and medicines.

Working with nationally known independent food laboratories, Mr. Kraft developed a unique process which brings out a distinctively pleasing sesame flavor and texture. This process, for which a patent has been applied, imparts a nutlike character and a crunchy texture to the seed. It served to broaden the field of application immediately, because pressing the seed in this manner made for broader usage by many branches of the food industry, as well as greater acceptance by the public.

Sesame seed has long been well regarded by food experts because it contains a high percentage of good-tasting, well-flavored protein. As such, it is a natural in the processing of many high-protein food products

and special high-protein diet foods. It should be pointed out that sesame seeds contain more of the valuable body-building proteins (referred to in medical circles as "body-building blocks") than any other seed grown.

A quick review of the great strides made by Sesa-Kraft, in its specialized fields, shows that it is today's prime factor in expanding domestic sesame seed production—is the principal purchaser of this new American farm product—is serving as a miller and converter of bulk seed to be used in food processing—and is becoming a substantial marketer of sesame seed, of sesame chips—as well as pioneering the development of a wide variety of sesame-based food products.

As a highlight of the research work being conducted by Sesa-Kraft, Inc., a report became available in 1957, which covered several years of fundamental nutritional research by the National Research Council of the United States and the Committee on Protein-Rich Foods of the World Health Organization. The report covered a study conducted in Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama.

It presented the findings of food-formula tests which were conducted among young children in certain underdeveloped areas where there was known to be a great protein deficiency. This, coupled with the lack of the right amounts and proportions of amino acids, was found to constitute a major nutritional problem. These tests conclusively demonstrated the value of sesame seed and sesame meal as high sources of protein. To this, is the added plus of an oil containing nonsaturated fats, which, medically, is reportedly of great value. This is the first diet study available where sesame seed was scientifically demonstrated to be a prime source of vegetable protein.

With this information, a completely new concept of sesame potential in the United States became apparent. First, products using a substantial amount of sesame seeds or sesame flour could capitalize on quick protein availability. Second, sesame would add new flavor, and new taste-plus values to baked goods, confectionery—could be used to intensify the basic flavor of other foods. Third, sesame oil contains nonsaturated fats, which medical research workers are coming to believe offers great possibilities in combating high cholesterol levels in the blood stream, said to be a contributing factor to heart trouble.

On the basis of this conclusive evidence, John H. Kraft authorized his Sesa-Kraft organization to develop information for food industries and, particularly, on food products where this new information about the health benefits of sesame would be of paramount interest * * * where volume usage would permit expanding the sale of sesame seed and its byproducts * * * and, where, of course, Sesa-Kraft, Inc. could become a prime supplier.

It was then that Sesa-Kraft, Inc. began to develop basic food formulas which they would own, control, and market—with the marketing to be done either by Sesa-Kraft, Inc., or by exclusive franchising arrangements with various manufacturers and distributors in the food industry who could assume the producing, marketing, and selling functions.

Mr. Kraft determined that four basic volume food categories were ideal for this new-ingredient approach. His indication of the compass course to be followed was supported by the size and extent of retail sales of basic foods like these in this country: $8 billion—baked goods (breads, rolls, pies, sweet goods, etc.); $2 billion—confections (candies); $1 billion—salad and cooking oils; $1 billion—corn chips, pretzels, etc.

The great and rapidly increasing demand for potato chips, for corn chips, for all types of snack foods, suggested that a sesame seed chip could quickly become a major contender in the snack field, that such a specialized food item had great sales potential.

Accordingly, a formula for a sesame-seed chip was developed and carefully tested in selected territories across the country. The enthusiasm evidenced by the public for the intriguing sesame flavor, together with the fact that 8 out of 10 buyers indicated their determination to buy them regularly, led to a decision by Mr. Kraft to market sesame chips on a national scale as quickly as possible. His initial plans called for setting up franchised territories and establishing his own sesame-chip processing plant. He planned to complete his distributing program by enlisting the interest and cooperation of service distributors.

A comparison of prepared snacks indicated that John H. Kraft's "Sesa-Teez" brand of sesame chips not only made delicious eating, but that they were extremely healthful, as a result of offering quick energy. Comparative tests proved them to be lower in calories, higher in protein, richer in iron and higher in calcium than most prepared snack foods.

In fact, comparisons made by a leading food laboratory pointed out that the "Sesa-Teez" brand of sesame chips contained more than four times the iron, six times the calcium and twice the protein of any other prepared snack. These figures served as the basis for advertising themes that the "Sesa-Teez" brand of sesame chips, which contain over 25 percent toasted sesame seed, were an "open sesame to extra energy" and that they were a "bonus to weight watchers".

Because Mr. Kraft's Sesame Chips were regarded as a "natural" supplementary-sale item for their regular line of potato chips and other snack foods, franchise agreements were quickly entered into with several regional chippers.

The Wise Potato Chip Co., of Berwick, Pa., whose products are carried by over 1,200 trucks, quickly secured distribution of "Sesa-Teez" sesame chips in its 16-State marketing area. A substantial advertising program was launched, and plans are ready to invade the New York metropolitan market in approximately 4 weeks from the time this article appears.

Nally's, Inc. of Tacoma, Wash., a manufacturer and distributor of a large line of food products, is responsible for the distribution of "Sesa-Teez" sesame chips in the States of Washington, Oregon, Idaho and Utah.

Jack's division of Raymond's Nut Shop, Kitchener, Ontario, has "Sesa-Teez" rights for all of Canada, as well as export to British commonwealths. Their Canadian setup includes distribution through regular food channels as well as store truck delivery routes.

A number of potato chip producers are completing plans to merchandise 5-ounce bags of "Sesa-Teez" sesame chips in their marketing areas. These concerns include Guy's of Kansas City, Golden Flake of Birmingham, Famous Foods of Detroit and Blue Star of Rockford.

According to Grant Smith, sales manager for Sesa-Kraft, Inc., territories not serviced by the above-mentioned potato chip producers are open to service distributors. He pointed out that these specialized distributors and wholesalers are being offered Sesa Kraft's 5-ounce bag of sesame chips, retailing at 29 cents, as well as the 6-ounce "expresso" carton which retails for 39 cents. Their distribution of these approved-by-consumer packages, he stated, is producing quick sales volume, new plus business, and repeat profits for store struck delivery wholesalers.

"It is important to note," Mr. Smith pointed out, "that Sesa-Teez sesame chips stay fresh much longer than potato chips." The reason for this, he stated, is due to the fact that Mr. Kraft's sesame chips "Contain a rare, natural, built-in antioxident * * * and that additional antioxident has been added * * * a happy combination which keeps the contents of the bags fresh for literally weeks longer than might be expected of many processed snack foods." He indicated that this stay-fresh-longer advantage represents a tremendous plus for service distributors who, for the most part, need only see to it that their retail outlets are regularly supplied with replacement merchandise, because any unsold bags or cartons are merely moved up to the forefront of display racks or shelves.

The new "expresso" carton used by Sesa-Kraft, Inc. (pictured in this article) [not printed in RECORD] is so called because of a new and revolutionary packaging principle, which is termed "expresso." This Swedish-developed packaging principle makes it possible to produce an air-tight and moisture-proof carton which greatly prolongs the shelf life of its sesame chip contents. It is said to be the most airtight and moistureproof carton ever developed for shelf display.

When the question is asked, "How can 'expresso' cartons be so completely air tight and moisture proof," the answer goes somewhat like this: The carton is made of 16-point board that has polyethylene laminated to its inside surface. The sealed edges are wax coated to prevent "bleeding" and to serve as an additional barrier to moisture. The carton is sealed at both ends by a combination glassine and polyethylene laminated film which is heat sealed to the inside flaps of the carton. Then, the ends are locked to prevent the film from being damaged as the carton is handled. The four-color, gloss printing is coated with varnish, a procedure that serves as an additional moisture-protective coating.

This type of packaging represents a new first in product protection. This comment is made because "expresso" construction makes the carton resistant to dampness, protects the Sesame Chips from drying out, maintains their crispness and freshness for an exceptionally long period of time.

Mead Packaging, Inc., of Atlanta, Ga., is producing the Sesa-Teez four color carton. The Mead organization also serves as the exclusive United States representative for "expresso" machines. Its engineers helped install this new-type packaging equipment in the Sesa-Teez production line.

Emmet J. Martin, former founder and executive vice president of National Distributors' Association, is serving the Sesa-Kraft organization as a marketing consultant.

The Sesa-Kraft seed processing plant is in Paris, Tex. The food plant is located at 8931 South State Street, Chicago. National sales offices are in the London Guarantee Building, Chicago, Ill.

Will E. Neal

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, those of us who had the privilege of serving in this body with the late Dr. Will E. Neal have been saddened by the news of his death. A distinguished physician, he carried on the general practice of medicine in his home community of Huntington for more than 50 years. A deep interest in public affairs led him to stand for election as mayor of his city, an of-

fice which he held for 3 years. Further service in the West Virginia Legislature led to his first election to Congress. He served with distinction in the House for two terms. During this time his associates learned to appreciate his sterling character, his fine abilities and his devotion to the work of the House. West Virginia and the Nation have lost a fine citizen, and we, his former colleagues, have lost a good friend. I extend my deepest sympathy to his widow and family.

Gordon Canfield

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to record my affection and high regard for our distinguished colleague, Representative GORDON CANFIELD, of New Jersey. I insert the following statement which appeared in the Paterson Evening News, Paterson, N.J., Tuesday, December 15, 1959:

CANFIELD WON'T RUN FOR CONGRESS AGAIN—ENDS BRILLIANT REIGN—FOR HEALTH REASONS, HE'LL RETIRE AT CLOSE OF 1960

Representative GORDON CANFIELD, dean of the New Jersey congressional delegation and veteran of 19 congressional campaigns, today announced his intention to retire at the end of his 11th term, on January 2, 1961.

In a brief statement announcing his retirement plans, Congressman CANFIELD said today:

"I shall not run for reelection to Congress in 1960. I plan to retire at the end of my 11th term on January 2, 1961.

"While rapidly recovering from my recent illness, I must conserve my health. I will seek some association with private enterprise in the months ahead.

"One year hence I will have worked on Capitol Hill 37 years, my congressional service embracing periods of great war and severe strain.

"I have been thrilled to represent in the world's greatest free legislature one of our country's finest constituencies—Republicans, Democrats, and independents who have been very kind to me.

"In my work I have been fortunate to have a very loyal and efficient office staff headed by Walter P. Kennedy, of Paterson.

"I am very grateful to Lloyd B. Marsh, my party, all my friends and supporters. I shall continue to be an active party worker in the cause of good government."

SURGERY, THEN ILLNESS

Congressman Canfield in 1958 underwent surgery for a stomach ulcer, at the beginning of that year's election campaign. After a brief hospitalization, he returned to the hustings and carried on a vigorous campaign which won for him election to his 11th term and resumed his congressional duties.

The indispositions, however, convinced him and his family of the need to conserve his health.

FIRST ELECTED IN 1940

Congressman Canfield was elected to his first term as Republican Representative of the Eighth New Jersey Congressional District in 1940. He succeeded the late Congressman George N. Seger whom he had served as secretary for 17 years.

MADE FINE RECORD

Over the years he has forged a reputation for statesmanship and has been given wide recognition for his leadership as a parliamentarian. He has been noteworthy as a stanch supporter of programs aimed at strengthening the Nation's defense posture, a strong civil defense and an effective task force in the U.S. Treasury Department's Bureau of Narcotics and Customs Offices.

Canfield long has been an outspoken advocate of civil rights. One of his first acts was to drop into the hopper bills calling for an antilynch program and the abolition of the poll tax, on the first day of his first term in the House.

He has sponsored legislation to provide low and middle income housing and urban renewal programs and has played an important role in securing generous appropriations to provide low income housing and urban renewal projects in this district.

Legislation with a humanitarian accent has been Congressman Canfield's forte as a legislator.

Typical was his sponsorship of the Nation's first Federal Flammable Fabrics Act, introduced after a number of children lost their lives or were seriously burned by "exploding" cowboy suits. Once passed, he fought a dogged and successful campaign against industry moves to weaken this legislation.

ON HEALTH MATTERS

He was a forceful spokesman for measures affecting the health and welfare of the Nation and backed bills to provide funds for research into the dread ailments of mankind, such as cancer, mental illness, and others that baffled medical science.

Canfield often has remarked that in his early days on Capitol Hill he was "shocked to find the U.S. Government was spending more money on research into the ailments of cattle and hogs than it was for human beings." He has been credited as one of those most helpful in having this ironic situation corrected. Early after the first atomic bomb was dropped on Japan, he contacted President Truman, advocating a program of research into the uses of atomic energy in man's fight against disease.

Congressman Canfield's contributions in the war against illicit narcotics are spoken of with enthusiastic appreciation wherever narcotics fighters gather. He was successful in obtaining the first funds to permit the U.S. Bureau of Narcotics to send its agents out into foreign fields to cooperate with local police forces in halting the flow of illegal drugs into this country.

He has been given recognition by Dr. Harry J. Anslinger, U.S. commissioner of narcotics, in public statements and in various books and publications.

DEFENSE OF "THE LITTLE MAN"

As chairman during Republican control of the House and as ranking majority member under Democratic control, of the House subcommittee on Treasury-Post Office appropriations, Canfield has been a leader in the fight for improved postal service, better working conditions for postal employees. He fought a strong battle on the floor of the House during the 85th Congress and was successful in preventing drastic cuts in Post Office appropriations; cuts that would have curtailed service and would have brought the dismissal of hundreds of employees.

Through his efforts numerous families in this district have been reunited with loved ones after long separations, in concentration camps or kept apart by immigration restrictions. He has gained a reputation for championing the "little fellow." During one election campaign his political opponent attacked him as a legislator who only "did little things for little people." The charge backfired and the "little people" Canfield had helped, resentful of this attack on a man they esteemed, came storming to the polls to return him to office by a whopping majority.

The security of the Nation, the well being of the men and women under arms have been another of Canfield's special concerns.

HIS TRIPS ABROAD

In 1946, Canfield with a fellow Congressman Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, gave up their between-sessions recess to make an incognito trip to Europe to learn firsthand how American troops were faring.

Canfield shipped as a seaman aboard a tanker carrying 470,000 barrels of high octane gasoline across the submarine-infested North Atlantic to Europe. He arrived in London during the height of the robot blitz and his was the first voice to bring to the world, via a BBC broadcast, that London itself and not merely southern England was being made the target of Hitler's buzz bombs.

In Europe he visited military installations where local servicemen were on duty and brought personal messages to them from loved ones at home boosting their morale immeasurably. Returning he carried back good news from their boys abroad to waiting and anxious parents.

In 1945 at the invitation of the then General Eisenhower he was with the first Congressional group to visit the infamous Nazi camps at Buchenwald, shortly after their liberation by General Patton's army. He was one of the first legislators to visit the Pacific Theater during World War II, and in January 1946 visited American troops in China and Japan. In 1950 when the Korean war was at its height, Canfield visited American troops on front line installations, within the range of enemy bombers and artillerymen. During his visit to servicemen stationed at Peiping he learned that inferior food was being served to American troops and took prompt official action to have this condition immediately corrected.

WARNED OF COMMUNISM

In 1946 after visiting Europe he returned to sound the alarm that "communism is on the march in Europe." He was among the first to sense this rising threat and was attacked by numerous well meaning individuals and some newspapers for what they considered "warmongering." Later events proved him right, as they did again in 1958.

It was that year, Congressman CANFIELD stood alone in the House to vote against slashing the Nation's defense budget. He saw these cuts as endangering our missile research programs and declared them to be dangerous for the Nation's security.

He fought unsuccessfully to stave off the slashing of the defense budget in appropriations committee hearings and fought a last-ditch action on the floor of the House. When his fellow legislators refused to listen, he stood alone, 1 against 395 Members of the House, to register his protest. Four months later Russia launched its first sputnik, simultaneously announcing to the world its superiority in the race to outer space.

FOUGHT FOR COAST GUARD

CANFIELD fought for and secured the first funds to activate the Coast Guard Reserve program, arguing that the U.S. Coast Guard is the Nation's first line of defense. For this he was dubbed the "Father of the Coast Guard Reserve," and has been honored by Coast Guard units both locally and on the national.

Two years ago he was awarded one or two citations, given by the Reserve Officers Association of the United States, for his contributions to the national defense.

He fought for Civil Defense funds and cooperated with the local CD unit (called the State's most outstanding) in obtaining equipment and funds for Civil Defense programs.

He has worked toward better conditions for the elderly through social security improvements and has backed legislation aimed at providing benefits for veterans and their families, and the handicapped.

He has been honored by being selected to serve on the boards of the military academies, the Air Force Academy, West Point, Annapolis, the Coast Guard and Merchant Marine Academies. He was appointed by House Speaker SAM RAYBURN, as a delegate for three successive years at the NATO Interparliamentary Conferences, twice in Europe and once in this country.

OFFERED HIGH POST

During the tenure of Republican JOSEPH MARTIN as Speaker of the House, CANFIELD was often called on to preside over House sessions when the Speaker was forced to be absent.

Several years ago he was offered a high executive post in the Federal Government. He declined, saying that he felt he could serve his party and country best by remaining in his congressional office.

CANFIELD was born in Salamanca, N.Y., the son of the late Carl A. and Florence Canfield. After graduating from high school he enlisted in the Signal Corps and served with the Regular Army in World War I. He worked as a newspaperman in New York State and with the Passaic Herald-News, from which he moved to become Congressman Segar's secretary. He studied law at night and completed his legal studies at National University, Washington. He is a member of the District of Columbia Bar Association.

The Paterson Congressman is married to the former Dorothy E. Greenwell, of Washington, D.C., and has two sons, Carl, a Paterson school teacher, and Allan, recent graduate of Rutgers University and first lieutenant awaiting assignment in the U.S. Army.

Douglas Gibbons Honored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, a distinguished New Yorker, Mr. Douglas Gibbons, was recently honored by the Eloy Alfaro International Foundation of the Republic of Panama, which conferred upon him a citation of honor for his philanthropic and humanitarian services in behalf of international world peace. The citation was presented to Mr. Gibbons by Lt. Gen Willis D. Crittenberger, U.S. Army (retired), on December 8, 1959. At the ceremony a personal message from Olmedo Alfaro, secretary-general of the foundation, was read.

The presentation speech was made by Dr. Herman Bayern who is the American provost of the foundation. Dr. Bayern spoke of Eloy Alfaro and of the foundation which was organized in his name. General Crittenberger conferred the Aloy Alfaro Grand Cross on Mr. Gibbons.

The award made to the Honorable Douglas Gibbons includes the motto, "Thus one goes to the stars," a most appropriate one in this case. The award reads as follows:

"Eloy Alfaro International Foundation—'thus one goes to the stars'—recognizing the special value of the services rendered by the Honorable Douglas Gibbons in support of the objectives of this institution, he has been awarded the Cross of the Eloy Alfaro International Foundation.

"In witness whereof, this diploma, with the seal of the foundation is presented in the city of Panama, Republic of Panama, on the 28th of January 1959."

Statement by Rabbi Eisendrath at Hearings of Federal Communications Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to commend to the attention of our colleagues a statement by Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, before the Federal Communications Commission on December 15, 1959.

The hearings were called to adduce testimony on the state of American television and ways to improve standards.

Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish religious leaders, in addition to experts and specialists from within the broadcasting industry, appeared at the invitation of the FCC.

Rabbi Eisendrath's statement points up the fact that individuals and nations are fast losing the fundamental concepts of ethics and morality, without which none can long survive.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT TO THE FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION AT HEARINGS IN WASHINGTON, D.C., BY RABBI MAURICE N. EISENDRATH, PRESIDENT, UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen of the Commission, my name is Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath. I am the president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the parent body of Reformed Judaism in the United States, embracing nearly 600 Reformed Jewish synagogues with a total combined membership of approximately a million persons. In my remarks here today I do not presume to speak in behalf of the members of our temples. I speak as an individual, although I will strive to reflect the concerns and anxieties which have been expressed to me increasingly by rabbis and other Jewish leaders in all parts of the United States. Neither will I presume to speak as an expert on television and on the many specialized, technical questions which fall within the purview of the FCC. I am a rabbi, a religious teacher, and I will seek to bring to bear the insights and the ethical ideals of the Judaeo-Christian heritage which ostensibly, at least, underlie our American way of life.

Permit me to express to you my profound appreciation for this opportunity to present my views to this important body. I take it that you have not invited religious leaders in order to put a sermonic froth on these hearings. I am confident that you would prefer—and my own definition of religion demands—a frank, unvarnished analysis of the situation as I see it and an equally frank set of proposals for what, in my judgment, must be done to rectify the wrongs which command our attention today. What follows then is not expert testimony but the soul-searching of a deeply troubled American who is anguished, as millions of Americans are anguished, by what we are becoming, and whither we are drifting.

In a sense it is fortunate that the television scandals have broken out. The quiz shows opened a Pandora's box in our national life and jolted a slumbering, complacent public into at least temporary attention. The question is: Where is the hope that is supposed to emerge from that legendary box at the end? Needless to say, these much-publicized quiz scandals, and now the disc jockey investigations, are mere symptoms, mere signals of a moral sickness which has pervaded the bloodstream of our national life. The Hebrew prophet Hosea, thousands of years ago, excoriated his contemporaries with words which are burning in their relevance to our Nation in its self-indulgent sleekness, depicting so prophetically and literally the plight of TV today.

"Hear the word of the Lord. For the Lord has a grievance against the people of the land. There is no fidelity. Only false swearing and lying, murder, stealing, and adultery. Bloodshed follows bloodshed. Therefore the land mourns and all that dwell in it languishes."

Where does responsibility lie for this slackness of spirit, this deterioration of the moral fabric which plagues so much of our land? We cannot isolate television and make it the scapegoat for all our national ills. We must all confess our complicity, our silence, our indifference to the truth that throughout our contemporary society men in high places and low mock at ethical standards and lie and cheat and steal in great things and small—on income tax returns, at congressional hearings and in political campaigns, as well as amid the councils of nations.

We talk of God, but the American people now worship at pagan idols of money, success, status, and comfort. We exalt individualism, but we have allowed individualism to be converted into a mean and narrow doctrine of the "survival of the slickest," "me first and the devil take the hindmost." We have prostituted the doctrine of "love thy neighbor as thyself" into the commandment "caveat emptor" (let the buyer beware). And implicit is the assumption "my neighbor is a dope."

What has happened to us? It seems to me that we have lost that sense of national purpose which, alone, can bind all Americans together through the ties of mutual responsibility. What are these national purposes today? Our greatest present goals seem negative in character—to stop the Communists, to beat them to the moon, to launch a bigger and better missile, to balance the budget. Is this the vision worthy of so historically and potentially great a nation? We seem somehow to have lost our sense of positive, dynamic mission in the world—the mission of changing the world in the direction of God's kingdom, of eliminating poverty and sickness and racism, of translating our religious principles into broad-visioned action throughout the earth, here and abroad; we have grown flabby, unwilling to make sacrifices, afraid of discipline, weary of the demands of a frightening and swiftly changing world. And so we lower our sights and our TV sets virtually scream at us the priorities of material comfort and private gain. And the only sin in securing all these mundane goals seems to be not lying, or deceiving, or demolishing a competitor, or defrauding the public—the only sin is in getting caught.

Frankly, I am less concerned about the scandals in television than I am with the fact that American television itself is a national scandal. The moral lapses of Charles Van Doren and others like him are of minor significance compared to the moral

bankruptcy of American television itself. With some noteworthy exceptions here and there, I submit that television has not been a formidable, positive force for good in American life. Too often, when the balance sheet is struck, it has been a varitable invincible factor in the widespread exploitation of crime and violence. It has glamorized patterns of behavior which are antisocial. It has contributed to the cheapening of human life and the desensitization of the American people. It has pandered to the lowest and meanest tastes and emotions of the public. It has encouraged the American people to squander our leisure in a sodden, bleary-eyed stupor and to wallow in sticky sentimentality, sadism, callous cynicism, in violence, vileness, and vice. Again, with an admitted minimum of notable and noble exceptions—notable primarily because they have been so exceptional—it has exalted the shoddy and has beamed its message at the moron. Above all, at a time when America faces the gravest, most crucial and decisive ideological contest with a resourceful opponent, our mass media have failed to project the highest aspirations and ideals of the democratic spirit—the ideals which alone distinguish us from the totalitarian foe.

If this is a severe indictment—and it is—it is not as I have already implied, because I am unaware of the many fine efforts of high creative quality and the religious programs of significance which have appeared from time to time on each of the major networks. But I contend that the overarching evils I have recited are due to the absence of a standard which has yet to be set on the national level—a standard to which the aspiring might repair. Consider commercial television as it is presently practiced in the United States. The concern of the advertising agency and the sponsor is not thus to lift the moral and cultural standards of the public. Rather, in selling a product which, because it is not much different from the product of some competitor, no hawking, huckstering hard-sell representation—or misrepresentation is spurned to sell one's wares through exaggeration, fantastic claims, and counterclaims, through downright deception and flagrant denigration of another's product. So long as advertisers are the kings, cutting up, like so many apple pies, the airwaves which the American people have extended on public franchise to the television networks and stations, just so long will television cater to the lowest common denominator, and fill the screen with banalities which bespeak a contempt for the intelligence and integrity of the American public.

What can be done? I do not know any easy answers, but I would like to propose the following for your earnest consideration:

1. In 1951, as you know, a bill was introduced in Congress to create a national citizens' advisory board for radio and television, to be appointed by the President, to serve as a watchdog and to issue annual reports for the guidance of the President, the Congress, the FCC, and the public. Such a board, it seems to me, is urgently needed, not so much to ferret out specific abuses but to make a comprehensive survey examining the entire broadcasting system in this country. Further, it should aim at raising the cultural and educational levels of both television and radio. Its goal should be to make our broadcasting system a better vehicle of public interest than is presently the case.

2. In any such survey as I have recommended above, I would plead for a bold willingness to abandon the old and to confront the new. For example, prior to my coming to the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in 1943, I served for some 15 years as rabbi in Toronto, Canada. During that decade and a half, I derived much intellectual nourishment, as well as solid entertainment, through the programs made possible by both the Canadian Broadcasting Corp. and the private Canadian stations. While to suggest the establishment here of such a counterpart of the Canadian Broadcasting Corp. or of similar vehicles established by our sister democracies in Great Britain, France, and elsewhere would seem to some to be too drastic a departure from existing patterns, we dare not freeze our minds against the possibility that a U.S. Government-sponsored network might well be created in America to supplement our existing networks and to provide, as a public service, educational and cultural programing freed from the blight of commercials and the trauma of Trendex ratings. Shall the "Voice of America" be heard in every land but our own? Programs of quality are beamed throughout the world but, God forfend, we would call down upon our heads the shrieks of creeping socialism were we to target our own programs to our own people. We do not need to be propagandized into acceptance of our own way of life. But in creative terms, do we not deserve one network at least that we can call our own? Perhaps what the American people need, is not just a choice between tweedle-dee and tweedle-dum on channels 2, 4, or 7 or 9, but a genuine and meaningful choice made possible by the creative competition—or shall we say constructive supplementation?—of a Government network.

Of course, it will be necessary to study this possibility in all its many-faceted complexities, and it may turn out to be unfeasible or even unwise. I do not know. But I do feel strongly that we must be more adventurous in our planning and vaster in our vision than we have been thus far. Divested of all vested interest, we should consider seriously all means, including public subsidies, pay-as-you-go television—any and all proposals which might make good-quality programs consistently available to the public, by night as well as by day. May I say parenthetically I deem Government subsidies to playwrights, poets, and producers as valid as to pigs.

3. And, lastly, I would like to submit, with all due deference, that the Federal Communications Commission has started late to discharge the high responsibility entrusted to it by the U.S. Congress. It seems to me that the FCC has not been nearly vigorous enough in exerting the substantial powers already vested in it. At the very least, the FCC should make broadcasters responsible for what they broadcast and no longer permit them to hand over control to sponsors, producers, and advertising agencies. The FCC should insist that networks sell their programs on their merit and not, as is presently done, through forcing purchase of an entire block of programs in order to secure the one they want. The FCC should enforce the rules and standards set down in its own codes and regulations and should compel stations and networks to allocate their time to public service, religious programing, and other worthwhile facets of American life. And if the codes cannot effect these things, then let us strengthen them. Charles Van Doren has been pilloried and discharged for what happened on television. Many diskjockeys are now being burned in the oil of witch-hunting publicity. But has the FCC refused to renew the licenses of television stations which by sins of omission, if not commission, by negligence if not by complicity, have been at least equally culpable; stations which have been guilty of breach of contract by slipping 4 or 5 commercials into a single station break, which have filled the screen with bang-bang, pistol-packing, shoot-em up westerns? And might I ask further, has a single cent of advertising been refused from those who, wittingly or unwittingly, have perverted public idols and disillusioned a whole generation of youngsters, youngsters perverted not so much by Van Doren nor by payola-plagued diskjockeys, as by this whole miasma of what Walter Lippmann recently and rightly called the "prostitution of merchandising" which is dispatching our youth on to the skiddy road to juvenile delinquency? Regulation is not a panacea. But surely some stronger Federal regulation is now urgently required to save television from itself, to restore the public interest and to redeem American morality and morale. I congratulate you, ladies and gentlemen, that moves are now being made in this direction.

At the risk of abusing your gracious invitation to testify, I must confess, however, that I was not impressed with the statement that the FCC must avoid control of television programing because that would mean censorship and that would interfere with the constitutional protections of free speech. I, too, despise censorship, and I do not believe that those religious organizations which advocate censorship are serving us well. Yet, the truth is that we already have censorship in television—harsh, rigorous, and destructive. It is the censorship of the dollar, unchecked by the public interest. It is the censorship of supercautiousness and timidity which, because of this dollar dictatorship, stifles most controversial social ideas. We must be as troubled about what does not appear on the screen as about what does. Just last week it was revealed that Playhouse 90 had canceled a dramatic program about the Warsaw ghetto because the sponsor felt the subject was too depressing. In this same manner the whole question of Negro rights and race relations has been virtually blacked out in our national dramatic programs for fear of offending one geographical section in our country. It is the censorship of blandness which has sullied over the sharp and rebellious spirit which was once the quintessence of American genius. It is the censorship of vested commercial interests whose motif is: Thou shalt not offend a single viewer, because even the lowliest and the dullest can buy our toothpaste or our deodorant.

4. In utter frankness, and in the spirit of indignation which I believe is shared by millions of Amercans of all faiths, I have been sharply critical—of the networks, the advertisers, and the Federal Communications Commission. In fairness, I must not exclude myself from this indictment. Religious organizations must share in the general blame and guilt. Religious bodies have contented themselves too long with a negative and carping role, too often giving aid and comfort to those who believe censorship is the only solution. We have not sufficiently encouraged the good and creative programing of some brave producers. We have not been imaginative enough nor sufficiently generous with our admittedly limited funds in our own radio and television programing. We have not come forward with our own constructive ideas and suggestions about what should be done. We have not transcended what divides us to unite in beaming our common spiritual values to those who hunger for moral guidance. It should be a part of our high calling as religionists, of all faiths, to summon the moral stamina which will help the American people to put its own house in order—and to make the television screen worthy of a place of honor and dignity in that house.

In this task of making our broadcasting system and the magic of our mass media worthy of the best in ourselves, we—all of us—have work to do. Clucking over the salacious scandals and savoring the details of the onrushing drama of muckraking—these are human tendencies. But there is a great work that waits to be done. An ancient rabbi once said: "It is not incumbent

upon us to complete the task. But neither are we free to desist from it."

I thank you most sincerely for this opportunity to speak on matters which have long concerned and disturbed me and my coreligionists, as well as my fellows of all faiths.

Award of the Eloy Alfaro International Foundation to Gen. Anthony C. McAuliffe, U.S. Army, Retired, Now Vice President of the American Cyanamid Co.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I insert some of the proceedings of the award to Gen. Anthony C. McAuliffe of the Eloy Alfaro Grand Cross and Diploma by Lt. Gen. Willis D. Crittenberger, U.S. Army, retired, and Dr. Herman A. Bayern, American provost. This honor was conferred on General McAuliffe, who resides in my congressional district, in recognition of his many contributions to the common good, both in war and peace, and more particularly for his unselfish services to the public, especially his leadership in the domain of civil defense. Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller appointed him to be chairman of the New York State Civil Defense Commission.

General McAuliffe has heretofore been awarded the Distinguished Service Cross, Distinguished Service Medal, with Oak Leaf Cluster, Silver Star, Legion of Merit, Bronze Star Medal with Oak Leaf Cluster, and two Presidential Citations. His foreign decorations include the British Distinguished Service Order, with Bar; the French Legion of Honor, and Croix de Guerre; the Belgian Order of Leopold, Croix de Guerre, and Fourragere; and the Dutch Order of William and Order of the Golden Lion.

This award was made at Squadron A Armory, New York City, on Thursday evening, February 22, 1959, by the representatives of the Eloy Alfaro International Foundation, Messrs. Crittenberger, Bayern, and Laurie. The presentation speech was made by Dr. Herman Bayern, American provost, who described Gen. Eloy Alfaro as the Abraham Lincoln of Latin America.

The award made to General McAuliffe includes the motto, "Thus one goes to the stars," a most appropriate one in this case. The award read as follows:

Eloy Alfaro International Foundation—"Thus one goes to the stars"—recognizing the special value of the services rendered by Gen. Anthony C. McAuliffe in support of the objectives of this institution, he has been awarded the Cross of the Eloy Alfaro International Foundation. In witness whereof, this diploma with the seal of the foundation is presented in the city of Panama, Republic of Panama, on the 28th of June 1959.

American Merchant Marine May Vanish

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under the permission heretofore granted by unanimous consent of the House, I include the following statement issued yesterday by Joseph Curran and Paul Hall, cochairmen, seafarers' section, Maritime Trades Department, AFL–CIO:

RESOLUTIONS FOR THE NEW YEAR

As the sixties begin, we look back and realize that if there is a continuation of the fifties, the American-flag merchant marine will vanish long before the sixties end.

There are many things that are needed that will prevent the continuing disappearance of our merchant marine. We offer the following as New Year's resolutions for anyone interested in the future of our merchant marine:

Carrying out of the 1936 Merchant Marine Act which states that a "substantial portion" of our waterborne import-export commerce will be carried in American-flag ships.

Establish a long-range ship replacement program for private U.S. shipyards designed to prevent block obsolescence of our merchant marine and to retain skilled workers in our private shipyards in conformity with the intent of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936.

Proper administration of Public Law 664 so that our ships carry at least 50 percent and up to 100 percent of our Government-generated cargoes. Push legislation that would eliminate all ships from participating in the carriage of this cargo that are not U.S.-flag or the flagships of the recipient nation.

Eliminate the so-called effective control concept which is the instrument of long-range destruction of the American-flag merchant marine.

Proper administration of present laws and where necessary, enact new legislation to prevent the transferring of American-flag ships to foreign flags and to bring under the American flag those flag ships owned by Americans.

Curtail the Military Sea Transportation Service's maintaining a merchant marine in competition with our privately owned and operated merchant marine.

Continue the operating and construction subsidy provisions contained in the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 in order to enable our American merchant marine to compete effectively with low-wage foreign competitors.

Improve and coordinate the Government methods of studying and acting on maritime problems with the goal of acvhieving a continuity of long-range maritime policy.

Initiate a program specifically designed to realize at least 50 percent of our ore and oil imports in U.S.-flag ships.

Establish a program that will rehabilitate our coastal and intercoastal shipping.

Enactment of legislation that will promote the American-flag merchant marine and our foreign commerce through the adoption of a single-rate system.

Amend the 1936 Merchant Marine Act so as to prevent any company from receiving aid from the U.S. Government that has foreign flag affiliations.

Establish a program to assist our U.S. flag tramp fleet.

Establish an adequate public relations program operated by the Maritime Administration to sponsor the American merchant marine.

Define through legisaltion the specific authority and responsibilities of the Federal Maritime Board and Maritime Administration under present legislation, and make the Federal Maritime Board and Maritime Administration direct arms of Congress thereby removing these functions from the Department of Commerce.

Cuban Land Reform?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, there has been much discussion in this Chamber and throughout the world concerning the Cuban revolutionary regime of Dr. Fidel Castro, now entering its second year. Attention has been drawn particularly to the regime's agrarian land reform policies and programs.

In an editorial January 7, 1960, the Key West Citizen, publishing in the city of Key West, Fla., comented on the observations of Wolf Ladejinsky, a leading expert on land reform. Mr. Ladejinsky responded to a request of our colleague, CHARLES O. PORTER, of Oregon, to comment on the Cuban land reform law. A former U.S. official, Mr. Ladejinsky presently is chief economic adviser to the Premier of South Vietnam.

According to the editorial, Mr. Ladejinsky views the Cuban land reform program as not well conceived and capable of doing harm rather than good.

I wish to insert in the RECORD this complete editorial, which I believe deserves the attention of this body:

ADVICE FOR CASTRO

Premier Fidel Castro of Cuba is not a man to seek outside advice. Most especially, he is not a man to seek advice from citizens of the United States. This country has become his whipping boy, a convenient object of blame for the troubles that beset his regime after a year in power.

Castro and his associates would do well, however, to pay close attention to the comments of Wolf Ladejinsky on the present Cuban land reform law. Ladejinsky, a former U.S. official, now chief economic adviser to the Premier of South Vietnam, is a leading expert on land reform. In his view, solicited by Representative CHARLES O. PORTER, of Oregon, the Cuban law is not well conceived and may do harm rather than good.

Ladejinsky notes especially that he does not believe the helter-skelter distribution of well-managed sugar estates will redound to the benefit of the peasantry and the state. He thinks that unless really effective land reform is undertaken by Cuba's leaders they will harvest political, social, and economic chaos. Castro ought to heed this wise counsel, whether or not he acknowledges it.

Let's Bring Social Security Up to Date

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, statistics tell us that 8.8 percent of our national population will be over 65 years of age this year. That percentage means 15,805,000 men and women.

In my State of Oregon the percentage of the population over 65 will be 9.2. Of a total of 1,863,000 persons, 172,000 will have passed their 65th birthdays.

These cold statistics concern human beings who have given generously and warmly of themselves. They have fought for democracy. They have helped pull our Nation from the depths of depression. They have unstintingly paid for improvements for all of us.

They have done more than their share. What have we done for them?

It is too easy to condemn the older citizen for not having saved enough money to retire. Well, how many of us have enough money to retire?

We forget that costs have jumped higher and higher. The adequate pension of the thirties and forties is hopelessly inadequate in the sixties, just as it was in the fifties. How much can the woman retiree at age 62 who receives $26.40 buy? How much can the man receiving the minimum retirement of $33 at age 65 purchase?

These questions should not have to be asked.

I believe there are inequities in the present social security laws. These laws are important and complex. It is vital that the system be operated on a sound and fair basis. The system must be under constant study. Here are some changes I believe should be made:

First. Elimination of minimum age for persons receiving disability insurance.

Second. End of discrimination in hiring and paying of persons because of age.

Third. Enactment of the Self-Employed Individuals Retirement Act of 1959 which passed the House March 16, 1959, and is now pending in the Senate.

Fourth. Removal of restrictions as to the amount of outside earnings a person receiving social security may have.

Fifth. Passage of the Forand bill for hospitalization for retirees.

Sixth. Increase in minimum social security payments at ages 65 and 62 which now are inadequate.

Seventh. Reexamination of the payment system under social security, bringing it up to date to meet current costs.

Throughout the country citizen groups are organizing to help improve existing conditions. In Oregon there are at least two such organizations.

I have never endorsed the program of any particular group. I do believe citizen groups can help point up inequities and can help the Congress write better legislation. I favor any steps through which citizens can inform themselves more fully and organize for political action.

I am concerned, however, when I receive letters such as was written to me last month by a constituent in Mapleton, Oreg. To set the record in order I am, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, placing in the Appendix the communication from Mrs. Laura Atterberry, State secretary for the Social Security Clubs of Oregon, Inc., along with my reply to Mrs. Atterberry.

Changes in the existing law are needed. I am hopeful the Congress will be able to start making them this session.

The letters follow:

SOCIAL SECURITY CLUBS OF OREGON, INC.,
Mapleton, Oreg., December 14, 1959.

Hon. CHARLES PORTER.

DEAR SIR: The United Social Security, Inc., are going over the State showing letters supposedly written by yourself, WAYNE MORSE, and RICHARD NEUBERGER, endorsing their program to those who have a great deal of respect for your views.

——— ——— is now working the Florence area with copies of these letters, saying the original is with the president, Grover Slayter, at 1185 Chambers Street, in Eugene, Oreg.

We of the Social Security Clubs of Oregon, Inc., would like to know if you endorsed their program for $150 a month at age 62 and gave them permission to use it as they are really making money off our elderly people by getting them to join up at $10 a year membership for the first year, dues are not yet set for 1960, but their bill according to the letters are to get real consideration from our Oregon lawmakers in 1960.

——— ——— told, and we have it in writing also, an agent selling memberships receive $4 for from 1 to 10 memberships in a week, from 10 to 20, $4.50 each, and from 20 on they receive $5 each, ——— ——— told sold over 600 memberships in the month of November, we know the older people join because of the letters shown them as well as they are supposed to have a Washington, D.C., office.

Our organization, the Social Security Clubs of Oregon, Inc., would like to know if they have such letters from our Oregon lawmakers or if they have the right to use your good name among our voters to rob our old folks of $10 they cannot afford. Would you send me an article with your written permission to have it published in the Register-Guard and Siuslaw Oar on this matter.

Mr. PORTER, please have this stopped if untrue, for your sake and that of our elderly people, we need a more adequate social security, but not at the expense of our people who need every dime they now receive. I have worked with trying to get better benefits for our aged people for several years. I've yet to receive a dime for my services, our dues are $2 a year and we do not show letters from important people to receive the several hundred members we do have.

The United Social Security, Inc., is advertised as a nonprofit organization but the president gets a wage and each agent receives his commission, is that nonprofit? Please let me hear from you on this matter.

Respectfully yours,
LAURA ATTERBERRY,
State Secretary for Social Security Clubs of Oregon, Inc.

JANUARY 13, 1960.

MRS. LAURA ATTERBERRY,
State Secretary, Social Security Clubs of Oregon, Inc., Mapleton, Oreg.

DEAR MRS. ATTERBERRY: Thank you for your recent letter relative to the United Social Security, Inc.

I have talked with members of the Social Security Clubs of America, Inc., and with members of the United Social Security Organization, Inc., which I believe you referred to in your letter. As you know, I am doing all within my power to correct existing inequities in the social security laws.

These laws are important and complex. It is vital that the system be operated on a sound and fair basis. It must be under constant study. Here are changes I believe should be made:

1. Elimination of minimum age for persons receiving disability insurance.
2. End of discrimination in hiring and paying of persons because of age.
3. Enactment of my Self-Employed Individuals Retirement Act of 1959, which passed the House March 16, 1959.
4. Removal of restrictions as to amount of outside earnings a person receiving social security may have.
5. Passage of the Forand bill for hospitalization for retirees.
6. Increase in minimum social security payments at ages 65 and 62, which now are inadequate.
7. Reexamination of the payment system under social security, bringing it up to date to meet current costs.

You mention in your letter that a campaign is underway to sell memberships in one organization and that my name is being used to endorse the program of this group. I have never endorsed the program of any particular group.

Citizen groups can help point up inequities and can help the Congress write better legislation. I favor any steps through which citizens can inform themselves more fully and organize for political action. Please let me know whenever I can be of any assistance.

Sincerely,
CHARLES O. PORTER,
Member of Congress.

The Late Thomas A. Jenkins

SPEECH
OF
HON. J. EDGAR CHENOWETH
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. CHENOWETH. Mr. Speaker, I was greatly saddened when I learned of the passing of our former colleague, the Honorable Thomas A. Jenkins, of Ohio. I knew that he had been ill and that his passing was not unexpected. However, we are never ready for news of this kind.

I first met Tom Jenkins when I came to this House in the 77th Congress. At that time he was looked upon as one of the outstanding leaders of the House, due to his long and brilliant service. I came to rely upon him for advice and counsel and always found him anxious to be of any help possible.

He had a brother who had formerly lived in Colorado, and who served as manager of the chamber of commerce in Pueblo, which is in my district. He was always interested in Colorado and matters affecting our State.

Tom Jenkins was a real friend and I shall cherish happy memories of our association together in Congress. I had the highest respect and admiration for his character and ability. He was a

genial person and I have greatly missed his presence with us.

I consider Tom Jenkins one of the most distinguished Americans it has been my pleasure to meet. It was a real privilege to serve with him in the House. His passing is an irreparable loss to all of us.

I extend my sincere sympathy to Mrs. Jenkins, the sister, and the other members of the family.

Dr. Edward Teller, Father of the H-Bomb, To Teach at the University of California

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. GEORGE P. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Edward Teller, father of the H-bomb, is a dynamic individual who gets things done.

I commend to my colleagues for reading an article that appeared in the San Francisco Examiner on January 10, 1960. I wish there were more people who had the courage that Dr. Teller exhibits.

The article follows:

DR. TELLER TO TEACH "SIMPLE" PHYSICS AT UC

Dr. Edward Teller, father of the H-bomb, will teach a freshman course in physics at the University of California next semester in an attempt to present complex scientific developments so simply they will be understood by the "man on the street."

Teller, director of UC's radiation laboratory at Livermore, is stepping down from his pinnacle of advanced nuclear research to teach in a science kindergarten because he is convinced there is a great need, he said yesterday.

OWN ADVICE

"I have talked a lot about what we should be doing, and finally, I made up my mind to take my own advice—that is, to interest more of our young people in a thorough look at science," Teller explained.

"In this technological age, the man on the street regards science as something mysterious and the scientist as something of a magician.

"Important decisions with technical aspects are being made by people who are uninformed—by politicians who are uninformed and who sometimes don't even listen intelligently to scientific advice."

Teller plans to make his course so elementary that "even persons who have not had high school physics can take it," he said.

RAPS SCHOOLS

His announcement was made in connection with remarks on teaching methods in scientific fields. Summed up, he said, educators are producing bookeepers, not mathematicians in American secondary schools and colleges.

"That youngsters should be required to do examples quickly under pressure is not mathematics," Teller declared. "Elimination of all numerical errors is not mathematics either. That is why I say that instead of making mathematicians we're making bookkeepers."

DEEP CONCERN

The square-shouldered, Hungarian-born scientist repeated his deep concern about the ignorance of Americans in the fields of science, mathermatics, and foreign languages.

"We have very terrible shortcomings in these fields," Doctor Teller declared, in an interview in his home near the Berkeley campus, "and there could be very sad consequences."

"There is good evidence," he added, "that in Russia books on math and science outsell such books throughout the rest of the world. It's been an important part of their plan from the beginning. We're up against very tough competition."

He observed that American education is troubled by the inability of the many math and science teachers to kindle a spark of interest in students.

Too often, he said, they are content just to assign boring exercises. Many textbooks, he pointed out, are guilty on the same score. He criticized much of the homework given students as being designed just to keep them busy.

One way to expose more students to truly inspired teachers, Doctor Teller said, is through educational television. He called this a "powerful tool" by which one outstanding teacher can instruct hundreds of children at one time.

Thomas A. Jenkins

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, an intimate association of more than a third of a century ended last month with the death of the late Congressman THOMAS A. JENKINS, of Ohio. We entered the House at the same time, the beginning of the 69th Congress after being first elected on the same day in November 1924. During the 34 years of his service, TOM JENKINS became one of my closest and most beloved friends. He was a man who possessed great talents, yet never lost the common touch.

TOM JENKINS came up the hard way. As a boy, he worked in his neighborhood coal mines to earn money for an education in college and law school. He understood the problems of the ordinary citizen and was ever mindful of their needs. His schooling for the public service was obtained as prosecuting attorney and as a State senator before being elected to the House. During his long service in this body, I watched his progress up the ladder of experience. He became a high ranking member of the great Ways and Means Committee and in the latter part of his service, I was glad to select him for service on the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

He was a plain man. He cared little for the tinsel of social life. The completeness with which he devoted himself to his work for his constituency, the State of Ohio and the Nation was an inspiration to many of the younger Members of the House.

A great public servant has gone to his reward. To his beloved wife and his sister, I extend my deepest sympathy.

The Suez Canal and the World Bank

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, in this, a year in which many critical issues face the Congress of the United States and in which there will be less time than usual for consideration, there exists a danger that many important questions will not get the attention they deserve.

One such important question deals with the $56 million loan recently granted the United Arab Republic by the World Bank. The money was sought for the widening and deepening of the Suez Canal, and was granted despite the UAR's flagrant disregard of the Constantinople Convention of 1888 and other agreements whose purposes are to guarantee freedom of use of the waterway to the vessels of all nations.

There is widespread concern in the Nation today over this loan and the State Department's favorable attitude to it. There is concern because the State Department's posture in this matter seems to contradict the February 20, 1957, statement of President Eisenhower which said that if Egypt violates the U.N. armistice agreement or other international obligations, "this should be dealt with firmly by the society of nations."

The fact today is that Egypt will not allow passage of Israeli shipping through the canal. And, in return for its illegal blockade, the UAR receives $56 million from an international lending agency in which the United States is one-third owner.

Now, we all are aware that the Government of the United States has no direct relationship with the World Bank. U.S. participation in the Bank was authorized by the Congress and the United States holds about one-third of the stock; but the Bank is an independent institution, and there really is nothing the Congress can do with regard to the granting, or refusal of a loan.

At the same time, however, it would have been possible for the Eisenhower administration to make a realistic appraisal of the implications of an attitude favorable to the loan. The State Department has defended its attitude by saying that to inject noneconomical considerations into the World Bank's assessment of credit worthiness of an applicant would endanger the Bank's integrity.

This is a debatable proposition. However, I cannot help but believe that many people in the world find it difficult to square the United States announced

position of upholding the principle of freedom of transit through the Suez Canal with a position of no resistance to a loan of this size made to the nation that restricts freedom of passage.

Startling Example of Mail Subsidy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, I believe the Congress must look to areas where postal deficiencies occur if it is to curb the postal deficit now before it.

I am now preparing a bill which would increase second class mail rates. I hope to introduce the bill soon and make comment as to the reasons for the suggested increases at that time.

Meanwhile, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared in the December 13, 1958, issue of Labor:

STARTLING EXAMPLE OF MAIL SUBSIDY

The huge mail subsidies which wealthy magazine and daily newspaper publishers get from the Government are illustrated by a news report. It says that the weekly Life magazine, one of the immensely profitable Luce publications, may have to pay $1 million additional postage because it included a cook book order card in its issue of last October 20.

The report says the Post Office Department has served notice on Life that the inclusion of the card made the magazine ineligible for the low second-class postage rate for magazines and newspapers, so the issue should have paid the higher parcel post rate, which is not subsidized.

Here is just one issue of only one magazine, yet the subsidy amounts to $1 million. This would indicate that Life magazine may get as high as $52 million a year from the pockets of the taxpayers who provide the subsidy money.

Congress should consider this seriously next time postage rates come up for changes.

I asked the Post Office Department earlier to comment on the facts surrounding the October 20, 1958, issue of Life magazine for the mailing of which the Post Office Department is claiming from the publisher approximately $1 million in additional postage.

The January 29, 1959, reply from the Department's General Counsel, Mr. Herbert B. Warburton, follows:

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
Washington, D.C., January 28, 1959.

Hon. CHARLES O. PORTER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PORTER: The Postmaster General has asked me to respond to your communication of January 9, 1959, in which you ask to be notified of the facts surrounding the October 20, 1958, issue of Life magazine for the mailing of which the Post Office Department is claiming from the publisher approximately $1 million in additional postage.

Life magazine, of course, is entered as second-class mail. Under the provisions of 39 U.S.C. 225, all matter of the second class can be examined at the office of mailing to determine whether it contains matter which is subject to a higher rate of postage If such matter is found, then the entire mailing is charged the rate of postage applicable to the improperly enclosed matter. The same law, however, provides that this particular provision is not to be construed as prohibiting the insertion in second-class periodicals of advertisements which are attached permanently to the issue in which they appear. The October 20, 1958, issue of Life magazine contained an advertising card offering for sale a cookbook published by Life magazine. This card did not meet the regulations of the Department in that it failed to be paged with the other pages of the issue. The Postal Manual, 132.49, provides that page numbers are not required in periodicals, but when numbers are not carried on pages of advertisements and the other pages carry numbers, whole numbers in sequence must be allowed for the pages of advertisements. In this particular case, the card was considered to be a page and did not comply with this regulation.

The matter is still pending before the Department. The attorney for the publisher has challenged the right of the Department to issue this regulation. The entire legal question is before this office for solution.

As requested by you, the clipping accompanying your communication is returned herewith.

Sincerely yours,
HERBERT B. WARBURTON,
General Counsel.

Anti-Semitism—Prank or Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to add my voice to the ever-mounting chorus of protest to the widespread and deplorable acts of anti-Semitism and/or vandalism which have sickened responsible people throughout the world.

Since the Christmas Eve desecration of the Synagogue of Cologne, Germany, the world has been witness to a series of actions which has touched the shores of this Nation and penetrated to the District of Columbia, the seat of freedom and democracy in the world today.

Some of our colleagues already have risen in this Chamber to lend official volume to the sickness at heart we all feel at these actions which deny the existence of morality.

On Friday, January 8, 1960, there were reports in the Miami Herald, Miami, Fla., and in the Washington, D.C., Daily News concerning acts of vandalism and of anti-Semitic natures. In Miami, Tampa, and Jacksonville, Fla., 14 painted Nazi swastikas were found; and in Miami 2 bomb threats were made against a synagogue. Four swastikas were splotched crudely on the same Jacksonville synagogue that was damaged by a bomb blast in April 1953.

In Washington, swastikas were smeared on the walls of two buildings in the Northwest section.

Now, it is not for me to say which of these despicable actions were planned to harass and deprecate, and which were acts of vandalism motivated by widespread publicity given preceding incidents.

However, it is for me and for all my distinguished colleagues to take note of these happenings, to protest against them and to explore thoroughly the problems they create with an eye toward answering the question, "What can be done about it?"

Address at Graduation Exercises of the U.S. Coast Guard by Fred C. Scribner, Jr., Under Secretary of the Treasury

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON CANFIELD
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I am very proud of the U.S. Coast Guard and Reserve and I desire to call to the attention of my colleagues in the House an address made by Mr. Fred C. Scribner, Jr., Under Secretary of the Treasury, at the graduating exercises of the U.S. Coast Guard Officer Candidate Class No. 3-59, at the Reserve Training Center, Yorktown, Va., on December 18, 1959. Mr. Scribner's remarks are most interesting and informative and they pertain to a service of which every American must be proud.

The address follows:

For personal as well as official reasons, I am grateful to you for your invitation and the privilege of participating in these exercises.

The presence of members of the Treasury Department on this program emphasizes once more the importance of your service and its training programs in Treasury tradition and operations.

The Treasury Department, of which we are all a part, has been quite properly described as responsible for more varied and diversified activities of major importance than any other governmental department in this or any other country.

As you are well aware, we collect the revenue. This means the collection of income taxes from more than 60 million Americans, as well as the collection of excise, employment, estate and gift taxes. Last year Federal taxes paid into the Treasury totaled nearly $80 billion. Through the Customs Service we grant clearance to all persons and commodity shipments entering the United States. In 1958 more than 150 million people, a record number, were cleared through Customs. We have the duty and the heavy responsibility of managing the public debt, which now stands at approximately $290 billion. Formulating and executing policies and programs in the international financial and monetary field is a Treasury function.

The Secret Service guards and protects the President of the United States and his family, and the Vice President, one of our most responsible duties. We operate the mint, the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, which prints all paper money and major items of a financial character issued by the United States, issue the checks for payment of Government bills, and keep the accounts of the United States. We do our best to

prevent the use and distribution of narcotics, we search out and prosecute counterfeiters, and carry out hundreds of other functions.

Through your Service we have responsibility for the enforcement of maritime laws and the provision of marine safety. The Coast Guard, from its earliest days, has been a strong enforcement arm of the Treasury which each of you now serves.

The Revenue Marine Service was authorized by the First Congress at the urging of the first Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton, whose bicentennial we celebrated just a few months ago. That Service was essential in 1790 to guarantee the solvency of the new Nation by the prevention of tax evasion through smuggling. The Marine Service, with 10 cutters, the largest with a length of 50 feet and a beam of 17½ feet, did its job well. Ever since then the Coast Guard has been called upon to do difficult and essential tasks. It always responds.

Many changes have come to this Service since its first vessel slipped into the water, nearly 170 years ago. With admirable skill, this organization has met and adjusted to the changes that have come its way.

This Service has grown and remained vital because, through the foresight of its officers and those responsible for its course, it has, to a remarkable degree, kept pace with the needs and demands of those who travel by sea and in the air. It has adopted quickly those scientific developments which would enable it to function more effectively. From sail to steam, from wood to steel, from shore patrol and rowboat to radar and helicopter, from the sea to the air, you have rapidly and effectively adopted progressive changes which have kept the Coast Guard in the forefront of this country's military and service forces.

A vessel of the Lighthouse Service was the first service ship to use wireless. A revenue cutter, the *Grant*, was the first U.S. ship to employ wireless for tactical purposes. Radar was quickly and effectively adopted by the Service at the earliest possible date.

You played a permanent part in the development of the famous electronic system known as loran or "long-range aid to navigation," born shortly before our entry into World War II. Loran was of inestimable value in that effort. It now provides essential peacetime navigation assistance. The Coast Guard operates 59 loran stations in key spots around the world, with several additional stations due to become operational this year.

Since the undeclared war with France in 1798 through the hostilities in Korea, the Coast Guard has been an important part of the country's fighting forces. Vessels and men of your Service have written distinguished records wherever they have been called upon for combat duty. During the First World War, the Coast Guard suffered the greatest loss in proportion to numerical strength of any of the armed services. In World War II the Coast Guard participated in every amphibious operation by our military forces.

Equally great is your record of service to humanity in times of peace.

In the coastal areas of our country—yes, in all sections of our Nation—when disaster strikes, our people think at once of the United States Coast Guard and you are there promptly. You are there if the call is for a dangerous rescue far at sea. You are there when word comes that one of the hundreds of planes that daily approach our shores is in trouble and needs an escort. You are there if major floods require the rescue of marooned men, women and children. You are there when a helicopter is needed to bring a sick or injured seaman or fisherman from the sea for hospitalization. You are there when a small sailboat caught in a gust of wind dumps its amateur sailors into the sea.

One cannot live on the shores of New England and be very far from a Coast Guard Station. Your installations and men are known to us as neighbors and admired and respected as we admire and respect all who follow the sea. We know from first-hand observation your daily service to those who travel by sea and we witness your many rescue operations—some dramatic—but most unheralded and unnoted although of equal importance to those involved. Most significant of all, we know, too, that your aid does not ask the nationality or the religion of those who need your help. Perhaps more than anywhere else, the brotherhood of man is practiced at sea.

One can find no better example than the mission undertaken in April of this year by the cutter *Storis* dispatched to evacuate an injured seaman from the Russian refrigerator ship *Pischavaya Industriya* then 140 miles north of Dutch Harbor, Alaska. A successful rendezvous took place and the injured seamon was taken to Cold Bay and thence to the Elmendorf Air Force Base Hospital. This was another Coast Guard mission which made no inquiry concerning nationality or political belief.

You can take pride also in the world-wide service which you have rendered to others.

In the last decade the Coast Guard has assisted many foreign nations in establishing, developing and training organizations similar in purpose and scope to our own. Foreign representatives have studied at Coast Guard schools, training stations and installations and there learned new techniques and new programs to take back and put into effective use in their own lands. Vessels from your Service have been supplied to many foreign countries.

At the request of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Coast Guard provided officers and men to aid the government of South Korea in the creation of a Korean Coast Guard.

Last year officers of the Indonesian National Police were trained in the United States in search and rescue, port security and anti-smuggling measures. The next class at this candidate school will include three officers of the Indonesian National Police.

A Coast Guard detail served in Liberia to train native personnel in the operation of 40-foot patrol boats furnished to that country by the United States.

Assistance from this Service has gone to Portugal, Formosa, the Philippines, Thailand, Brazil, Argentina, Costa Rica, Sweden, Norway, Spain, Greece and many other countries. Inter-governmental cooperation of this type puts into active practice our President's desire to strengthen the friendly bonds between the peoples of all the world.

Not only do we of the Treasury take the utmost pride and satisfaction in the Coast Guard's contribution to this Nation both in time of peace and in days of conflict, but, in like fashion, the American people have a tremendous and deeply-felt affection and esteem for this sea-going Service. Yours is indeed a unique organization—a military organization fully functioning and in active status in peace as well as in war; a highly-specialized technically-trained Service which each day brings to the American people and to the visitors to this land the many essential services which you and you alone are trained to provide.

Now, comes this class to be graduated by the officer candidate school here at Yorktown—the first to have served here and to have benefited from this new installation put into service only a few months ago. You add your names to the roll of Coast Guard officers and will carry, for you, new responsibilities and, for us, an old tradition in the fields of service at peace and at war, at home and abroad, which I have so sketchily outlined.

We are proud of this class of officer candidates and you have every reason to share this pride.

Nearly a thousand young men asked for the privilege of membership in this small class which graduates today and presented themselves for examination. One in six was chosen. Your records of accomplishment demonstrate that those who selected this class ably performed their responsibilities. You have successfully completed a course of study and discipline which has tested and measured capacities and abilities which I am sure were not tested by the courses of study pursued in your undergraduate or service days. Your records, which have brought each of you through the vigorous competition of the last few weeks, justifies my personal confidence in the capabilities and the future achievements of those who constitute this class.

It is a rewarding privilege to have the opportunity to come for a time from civilian life to Government service. With the demands of our times, with the complexity of our present governmental institutions, the United States and its various political subdivisions will, I believe, be governed best if we can always provide a combination of dedicated, well-trained, and well-qualified career public servants, and those who for a few months or years step out of chosen fields of civilian service to make a contribution to their country through public service.

We need the strengths, the abilities, the accumulated knowledge and the continued dedication of those who in our Armed Forces and in our civil services make a career of Government service. We need, too, the new ideas, the challenge of new methods, the differing viewpoints and the enthusiasm to try the impossible brought to Government by those who for a limited period put aside civilian careers.

Those of you who are in the Reserve, by the very nature of things, cannot bring to the service some of the qualities and strengths a military service must have and which can only be provided by those officers who have decided on lifetime careers as Coast Guard regulars. You will be dependent on the knowledge, leadership and support of these men for many of the things which you may hope to accomplish. We could not operate the U.S. Coast Guard without the dedicated lifetime service of the Coast Guard regulars, several of whom are distinguished members of this class.

On the other hand, those of you who are members of the Reserve—many with an intention only to serve on active duty for a few months or a few years, through the very fact that the Coast Guard is not to be your life's work—can bring and will bring to this service a difference in perspective and a variety of experiences and points of view which will be your own unique contribution to the Coast Guard program. With a proper blending and correlation of the abilities brought to the service by both career and Reserve officers, we will have a stronger, a more vigorous, and a more responsible organization, better able to meet the challenges of the fast-moving, scientific age in which we exist.

Each year hundreds of Coast Guard officers, both Reserves and regulars, go from active duty to civilian life. They will bring to civilian life new skills and increased capacities developed in this service. They will bring to the daily interchange of civilian activities personal knowledge of the fine men and women who make the U.S. Coast Guard the equal in training, direction and service of any of the military services of this or any other nation. If they have done their tasks well and if the service has properly brought home its greatness to them, theirs will be

the privilege and opportunity to make certain that the people of the United States know and understand the significant daily contribution this service makes to the welfare of the American people.

Today, in this ceremony your country hands to you with pride the indicia of leadership each of you has earned. These visible signs of selection, however, only certify the qualities you individually brought here and which each of you must, with dedication, give to the tasks you now undertake.

We do expect far more from you than was demanded from many who served honorably in decades past. No longer is it sufficient to know and do well the daily tasks of your appointed rounds.

My generation has discovered the means whereby man can destroy himself and perhaps the very world on which we move and have our being. This Nation and other nations now hold the almost incomprehensible power developed by atomic and nuclear scientists. Like it or not, we leave this awesome heritage to you. It is for you, our leaders of tomorrow, to make certain that man's ability to live with man catches up with man's ability to destroy himself.

This calls for concern by all Americans—in service or out—with world events everywhere. We must now know and sympathetically understand not only the hopes, the urges and ambitions of our own people, but of the peoples of Asia, of Africa, yes, of the world. This is not a knowledge for someone else to acquire. This is not a problem for someone else to solve.

By your presence here you indicate some awareness of the responsibilities we face as we lead the free world. You have demonstrated a willingness to strengthen this Nation through personal service. This contribution by you, however, does not entitle you to turn away from the demands of the larger problem. It is your problem as well as my problem.

Force must be replaced as a means of settling international disputes. To meet this challenge we must be concerned with the stirrings of people who today seek for themselves the privileges they have now learned can be held and treasured by free men everywhere. We are indeed one world. We are called to the labors which this fact entails. Our people must fully realize the burdens this Nation—the leader of the free world—now carries as it strives to lead all people everywhere to the ultimate goal of lasting peace with freedom.

We can all wish this burden was not ours. Such wishing will solve no problems. It will ease no tensions. Every American shares the burden. He must be alert to developments everywhere in the world. He must, to the best of his individual abilities, do that which he can to solve the problems of this nuclear age.

It is because men of the sea have always known and understood the need to cooperate with other peoples and with other men of the sea coming from distant lands, and because in serving humanity your predecessors have not been concerned with race, creed or color but only with the needs of those in peril, that I have discussed with you this new and heavy burden which my generation is passing to you.

The problems are not easy. The solutions are not readily at hand. The way we must go is but dimly marked, but the job can and it will be done.

I voice here to you the hope which our great President so eloquently expressed in his second inaugural address. He then said:

"So we voice our hope and our belief that we can help to heal this divided world. Thus may the nations cease to live in trembling before the menace of force. Thus may the weight of fear and the weight of arms be taken from the burdened shoulders of mankind. This, nothing less, is the labor to which we are called and our strength dedicated."

Shortly, you will take the time-honored and traditional oath administered to commissioned officers of the proud Service in which you serve. You will then join the ranks of thousands of brother officers, past and present, who, coming from varied traditions with every possible background of education and experience, have stood with pride and pledged "both their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor" to this Service and to our country.

In the months and years of your service in this vigorous, progressive, hard-hitting and closely integrated organization, we shall depend on your support and assistance in the common tasks which we shall undertake. I bring you the congratulations and best wishes of Secretary Anderson. Wherever you may serve, whatever duty you may undertake, you are officers of the U.S. Coast Guard and of the Treasury Department of the United States. May you always be worthy of the great tradition of this honored Service. Good luck and Godspeed.

Senator William Langer

SPEECH
OF
HON. QUENTIN BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1960

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, the Nation lost a distinguished Senator and North Dakota a great champion on November 8, 1959. On that day, the State's senior Senator, WILLIAM LANGER, died in his sleep at his home in Washington at the age of 72, ending a 45-year political career.

WILLIAM LANGER, who was born on a farm near Casselton, N. Dak., on September 30, 1886; served as States attorney for Morton County between 1914 and 1916; as North Dakota attorney general between 1916 and 1920; and as Governor for two terms between 1932 and 1934 and 1936 and 1938. In 1940, he was elected to the U.S. Senate and for three terms thereafter.

In 1918, he married Miss Lydia Cady of New York, who stood by his side during his career. She died only 3 months before her husband.

WILLIAM LANGER's name virtually became synonymous with that of the Nonpartisan League, the reform movement known as the political prairie fire. In 1916, he was the league's first successful candidate for North Dakota attorney general.

BILL LANGER, as he was affectionately known by his constituents, had a deep compassion for the underdog. Consistently, throughout his long political career, he carried the standard of the poor and the oppressed against the rich and powerful, without regard to the consequences.

The small farmer, the working man, the small businessman had no better friend.

With BILL LANGER in Washington, North Dakotans knew they had a friend at court, for he conscientiously considered the problems, no matter how trivial, of all his constituents—friends and foes.

For many, BILL LANGER's humanitarianism is best remembered in the troubled 1930's, when as Governor, he took bold action to relieve the terrible burden that depression and drouth had brought to the people.

This vital, interesting personality will be sorely missed but dearly remembered by thousands of people.

People's Capitalism Taking Fire

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT R. BARRY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. BARRY. Mr. Speaker, for those few who have any remaining doubts about the importance of continued worldwide public relations efforts by this Government, I invite your attention to the following speech given by Theodore S. Repplier, president of the Advertising Council and a member of President Eisenhower's Advisory Committee on the Moscow Exhibition who accompanied Vice President NIXON to the opening ceremonies. Mr. Repplier, a native of Yonkers, N.Y., spoke at the Fifth Annual Worldwide Information Service Seminar in New York City, held under the sponsorship of the Air Reserve on November 6, 1959:

ADDRESS BY THEODORE S. REPPLIER

Before focusing on the image of America, it might be useful to give a passing thought to this matter of images and their relationship to the object they are supposed to reflect.

Consider first, if you please, the common American barn owl. This bird is the accepted symbol of wisdom. He is the image of all that is wise. Every cub advertising copywriter who writes his first headline saying, "Be Wise," invariably wants to illustrate it with an owl, either in cap and gown or au naturel.

Now what is the fact about the owl? The fact is, according to ornithologists, that the owl is one of the dumbest birds who ever wore feathers. He is even stupider than the hen. Yet I will give you 20 to 1 that 50 years from now the owl will still be the symbol of wisdom.

The moral of this tale is, first, that an image is seldom a completely exact reflection of the original and may be as much as 180° wrong. And second, that an image, once well established, usually dies hard.

Take another example—the case of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. To one part of the citizenry, President Roosevelt was a saint; to another segment, he was the Old Nick himself. The same identical man, in the same relatively homogeneous country, but two utterly opposed images. Hence, when F. D. R. initiated the social security laws, to some Americans it was evidence of his humanitarianism; yet the same action, to other Americans, was an obvious manifestation of a crafty politican seeking votes.

So we have moral No. 2: actions tend to be interpreted to confirm existing prejudices. This tendency of fallible human beings is so strong that it is not at all strange that Mr. Khrushchev saw nothing in

the United States to alter by one whit his neat arrangement of Communist prejudices. Nor, for that matter, did I see anything in Soviet Russia this July that changed my own.

This makes the job of the propagandist or the information man seem pretty rough doesn't it? (Incidentally, when I use the word "propaganda," it is in its nonsinister and classical sense, meaning "to propagate" or "disseminate.")

If national images can be so wrong, and are so hard to change, and if actions so often only serve to strengthen existing prejudices, isn't information and propaganda a waste of time and money?

Yes, it certainly can be. I'm sure you will think of cases in your own experience when you yourself would say that an information campaign had been a flat failure. But contrariwise, if applied with intelligence, an information program can be a thrilling, magnificent success.

In fact, in my opinion, this is a time when anyone concerned with public information is a keyman, in a position of great leverage. For a potent idea, launched at the right time, can have an explosive force greater than a dozen H-bombs.

If you doubt it, consider that one-half the world has been set against the other half by an idea in a single book. I refer, of course, to "Das Kapital," by Karl Marx. No physical bombardment in history has ever brought about such a fantastic conquest of territory and people.

Let me now consolidate what I have said into a few ground rules for propagandists that we all know, but nonetheless occasionally forget.

(1) Don't direct your fire against the strongest entrenchments. Don't aim at those whose prejudices are deepest. If you are a Republican propagandist, for example, don't aim at the dyed-in-the-wool Democrats, or vice versa. You will have to keep at it "from hell to breakfast" to do much opinion-changing. It is like sending Christmas cards to Moslems, and may even be counterproductive.

It seems to me it makes good sense, in any public relations situation, to determine what group may be most easily won over and make a start there. You have seen this principle applied many times, and perhaps you have applied it yourselves, in encouraging GI's to care for Korean orphans, or in outfitting teams of German youngsters with sports equipment. Children seldom have the deep-rooted prejudices of their elders. Yet elders are reached by them.

(2) Never forget that actions have priority over words. This is hard for people who love words to remember, and I must constantly remind myself of its truth. Words are essential to interpret, to clarify, and to persuade, but the actions they relate to invariably speak louder.

For example, a poll among Turkish university students not long ago revealed bitter hostility to American troops quartered in their city. Yet another poll among the same university students showed the friendliest feelings toward America, the country. Why this apparent paradox?

Simply because, although the image of the land across the sea called America was a favorable one, this was in a different mental compartment from the students' feelings toward the cocky young men in khaki, who seemed to have a fortune to spend, who walked away with their girls, and who monopolized the best seats in local restaurants.

If you had the job of altering Turkish opinion in a case like this, would you start with actions or words? I think you would conclude that, if any lasting improvement in international relations was to be brought about, our GI's would have first to amend their manners. The words could follow.

Incidentally, such ambivalence toward America and Americans is not uncommon. It seems quite possible to approve of a country and dislike the people thereof simultaneously.

I recall seeing an article from Paris Match several years ago, which was widely quoted, entitled "Why Does Everyone Hate the Americans?" The article cited the usual faults attributed to us—boastfulness, immaturity, bad manners, and lack of culture, and said we were universally disliked. It got a chorus of amens from Match readers. Yet a poll conducted among Europeans at about the same time asked the question: "If you were not a citizen of your own country, what would be your next choice as your native country?" The United States came out, not at the bottom, but very close to the top.

A running poll has been conducted for several years in Europe by private researchers aimed at charting a curve of American popularity. People are asked a question which is purposely rather vague, along the lines of "Generally speaking, how would you rate the following countries—very good, good, fair, bad, very bad?" The favorable answers were given various positive ratings, and the unfavorable answers negative ratings. From these results it was possible to plot a popularity curve for America in each of the countries where the polling took place.

It is interesting to see from this curve that for the past several years American popularity has, with one brief exception, stayed well up on the positive part of the chart, while Soviet Russia's popularity in the same countries has consistently stayed down in the minus section. The one exception was at the time of the British-French invasion of Suez, when American popularity took a dive on both the British and French charts, but dipped clear down into the minus area only on the French chart. And in a month, both curves were safely back on the side of the angels. The British, by and large, like us better than do the French. But the French are the greatest individualists and nonorganization men ever created, and seldom like anything very much, including each other's political parties.

At this point, I think I should express the opinion that it is not critically important whether people overseas like us or not. It is, of course, pleasant to be liked, and psychiatrists tell us that this represents a strong emotional craving. But working over every quiver of public esteem abroad is, I think, a manifestation of our relative newness as a world leader, and is in many ways a symptom of our immaturity. This whole question of national likes and dislikes is wrapped in so many mantles of self-interest and local prejudices that it seems to me it is easy to attach too much importance to it.

What does count, however, is whether or not America is given respect. We can still be the leader of the free world team without the ardent liking of all our teammates, but we can never hold that post or wield any real authority if we are held in contempt. Fortunately, we are almost universally respected.

Now let us get on with taking a good close look at the American image as it appears overseas; and perhaps we should even emulate the Russians vis-a-vis the moon, and take a look at its backside.

What are the elements of which the American image overseas is composed? What are the factors which make us look the way we do to the Italians, the Iranians, the Indonesians and the Indians? In no two cases do we look the same; it is like a succession of distorting mirrors in an amusement park, where the original is reflected in varying degrees of grotesqueness and fantasy. What makes good, old, homely Uncle Sam appear such a caricature overseas?

Many, many things. The ingredients which shape a national image are so varied as almost to defy listing. But here, in my opinion, are some of them:

First, there is the factor of how our foreign policy of the moment goes with that of the subject country. Example: Our military aid to Pakistan pleases the Pakistanis but galls the Indians.

Second, the factor of how our policies conflict or harmonize with strong national emotions—such emotions as desperation at a vanishing empire, the fierce pride of a newly liberated people, the lust for an easier life and envy of the more fortunate, which is characteristic of the poorer countries.

Third, the effectiveness and volume of Communist propaganda, which constantly endeavors to attribute bad motives to every American action.

Fourth, the effectiveness and volume of our own American counterpropaganda—both official via the U.S. Information Agency and unofficial via Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberation.

And fifth, the cumulative effect of all of the private, strident voices of America.

All of these factors are vital, but for potency as an image maker, the last shall be first. Consider, for a moment, the impact of these private, unofficial voices of America.

First, there are the American tourists whose influence for good or ill is great. These are the only Americans many foreigners will ever see.

Second, there are the U.S. military and diplomatic personnel abroad, who, unlike the tourists, take up temporary residence in foreign nations.

Third, there are such American cultural exports—some fine, some shabby—as books, magazines, jazz music, comic books, and Coca-Cola.

Fourth, there is a day-by-day flood of American news, with the great wire services reporting and interpreting many facets of the U.S. life to the world. And since sin is news and virtue is not, our sins travel farther and faster than our virtues.

Fifth, there is the potent influence of the hundreds of American businesses who operate enterprises in every corner of the world.

And lastly, there are our American movies which daily girdle the globe and stamp an imprint on millions of minds which are not knowledgeable enough to distinguish between American fact and fiction, or between Hollywoodian fantasies and the realities of Main Street.

Scramble all of these complex and potent factors, toss in the heightened tensions of the dangerous times in which we live, and is it any wonder that the image of Uncle Sam seldom survives an ocean voyage without a sea change?

Much of the distortion of the American image we, as propagandists, can do absolutely nothing about. Nor would we want to do anything about it, since it is the nature of a democracy to speak with many voices. If it did not, it would not be a democracy for long. It is as impossible for Americans to have a party line as it is for cows to fly. This is a handicap we must accept, but it does make our propaganda job far more difficult than the Russians'. The Soviet presents one face to the world, and that face is artfully shaped and carefully made up. We present to the world a thousand faces and many of those faces—our race prejudices, our juvenile delinquency, our urban criminality, for instance—are seamed and ugly.

Anyone playing any part in information work overseas, military or civilian, must of necessity be a propagandist for America. There is no easy way that I know of to become a good one, short of the painful process of becoming really well informed about your own country.

To rebut the charges leveled against us, often Communist inspired, one must have

a knowledge of America's history, foreign policy, and our political and economic systems. This is hard work, but nothing less will give the propagandist the equipment he needs.

Yet I think it is possible to figure out the chief theme in the Communist symphony of propaganda and begin to checkmate it. It is a theme which recurs endlessly and which weaves in and out of the zigs and zags which occur after each turn of affairs for good or ill, be it Camp David or Quemoy and Matsu.

The chief Communist theme is a very simple one and is the essence of Marxism. It is that capitalism is dying and will be succeeded by communism. I should like to take the balance of my time to examine this claim, because it is the backbone of the Communist argument.

First, let us review quickly the major points in the doctrine of Karl Marx, much oversimplified.

Marx was influenced by the philosophy of Hegel (which, as he stood, he "stood on its head") and by the evolutionary theories of Charles Darwin. His teachings he regarded as the statement of scientific laws, and they are so solemnly accepted by all good Marxists.

Society, he said, is itself in a process of Darwinian evolution. Each form of society in the past, he claimed, contained two opposing forces, which he called the thesis and antithesis. These two warring forces eventually produced a synthesis, which constituted the next higher forms of human society.

Thus, he said, the early societies founded on slavery were succeeded by feudalism, and feudalism was in turn succeeded by capitalism.

Capitalism, the Marx-Engels doctrine pointed out, also contains two built-in opposing forces. These are what Marx calls the modes or means of production and the owners of production. These forces will produce a conflict which in turn results in increasing exploitation of the workers until they will finally rebel. At which point, capitalism will fall and be succeeded by communism, which in its initial stage is manifested as socialism.

Now offhand this sounds like abstract philosophy. But note one very important point, and one which I think is often overlooked. The Marxian doctrine is also moralistic. It predicts the triumph of the oppressed, the throwing off of shackles, and the victory of good over evil. Therein, in my opinion lies its enormous strength. Moralism makes for crusades and holy wars. This is why this improbable pseudoscience has the power to draw to it millions of devotees who embrace it with all the fervor of religious converts.

The Marxian case was made stronger by the fact that in Karl Marx' day and for 60 years thereafter, capitalism was indeed marked by social injustice. And American 19th century capitalism, as it developed, was no improvement. It, too, was marred by exploitation, sweatshops, child labor, and robber barons. No sensible person could deny its glaring faults.

But as the 1900's wore on there came the big change. Beginning with Teddy Roosevelt, reforms followed thick and fast. One of the most significant revolutions in history was triggered by Henry Ford, not so much because he pioneered mass production, but because he doubled wages and shortened work hours, and expounded a corporate philosophy which set a lasting pattern. The antitrust laws and the later reforms which grew out of the great recession continued the big change. What finally emerged was a form of capitalism so different from that of the Old World as to be virtually a new social invention.

Largely by happenstance, there has grown up in this continent a new kind of society which provides the ordinary man with more comforts, more freedom from want, and more opportunity to develop mentally, culturally, and spiritually than any other society in history.

And is it not irony that the country which is the most dedicated to the capitalistic system has produced the nearest thing to a classless society that the world has ever seen? No more complete contradiction of Marxism could possibly be imagined.

So in place of the bad capitalism indicted by Marx we have a complete new form of capitalism marked by social justice—truly the capitalism of the common man.

These are the facts. How should the propagandist present them?

Some people argue that the thing to do from a propaganda standpoint is to sweep the word "capitalism" under the rug. They point out, and rightly, that capitalism has acquired such a bad odor in many parts of the world that it should never be associated with the United States. In fact, many U.S. information people go to great lengths to avoid the use of the word entirely, and use such substitutes as "free enterprise" and "consumerism," which neither translate well into other languages or have any meaning at all outside the United States.

This line of thinking is, to me, astonishingly naive. Capitalism is the name of an economic system. We have this system, and there is no use pretending we do not. The world is engaged in an epic struggle between communism and capitalism, and it is childish to make believe that anything else is going on. The whole gigantic apparatus of Communist propaganda will never let the world forget it, no matter what our side might say or what semantics we use.

We will never get very far, in my opinion, until we meet this issue of communism versus capitalism head on; and—most important of all—until we stop allowing ourselves to be cast as the blackhearted villian in a morality play.

What is needed, I believe, is to make it crystal clear that a new kind of capitalism has been born in which the working man is king. Only in this way can we become the good guys instead of the bad guys.

The masses of the world, to use a Communist term, yearn for a system under which the masses will have a good life. To the extent that we can make it clear that they are more likely to find that good life under our system than under communism, we will win the idea war. To the extent to which we fail to make it clear, we will lose it.

It is essential that we use the word "capitalism." And it is essential that it be quickly apparent that it is good capitalism because it elevates the many. Semantics here are important, because the right words can save our side years of time, and we do not have years to waste.

This is why, a few years back, the Advertising Council suggested that one name for our unique economic system might be people's capitalism, thus reclaiming one of Abraham Lincoln's favorite words which the Communists have debauched. We chose this term deliberately over such alternatives as common man's capitalism and worker's capitalism because by so doing we turned one of the Communist's guns against them.

We held a round table discussion in cooperation with Yale University in which the matter was thoroughly discussed. It was pointed out in this discussion that under our system, the people themselves furnish the capital, not so much through the purchase of common stocks, as through supplying huge pools of capital via savings bonds, life insurance policies, building and loan associations, etc. And also that the people themselves are the beneficiaries of our economic growth because the benefits of this growth are widely shared.

When the term "people's capitalism" began to be widely used by Government officials and the U.S. Information Agency the whole Communist propaganda machine began to quake with alarm. No U.S. propaganda theme ever produced such a Soviet reaction. The Moscow radio and the radios of the satellite countries attacked the idea violently. The Soviet Foreign Minister said that people's capitalism was as impossible as "fried ice."

The Communists assigned their top economists to write articles in various Communist journals proving that American capitalism oppressed the workers and could not possibly benefit the mass of the people. The University of Moscow staged a learned symposium, in flattering imitation of our Yale Round Table, in which their professors rebutted the whole idea that capitalism could ever be anything but the few exploiting the many.

A whole procession of Russians was sent by the Russian Embassy in Washington to the headquarters of the U.S. Information Agency to get every scrap of dope on people's capitalism.

The Communist nervousness over this theme continues to the present day.

It is significant that when Khrushchev was in New York recently he said he could see no difference between people's capitalism and any other kind of capitalism. He could hardly say otherwise. For if Mr. K. admits that people's capitalism is an accurate description, he admits the fallacy of Marxism.

Already this idea—or at least some idea—has had such an effect that the Communists are new beginning to abandon some of their most cherished Marxian ideas. They are beginning to say that, anyway, socialism is less wasteful than our capitalism.

I hope I have made my point clear that what we have here is a morality problem. We cannot tolerate continuing to be pictured as the leaders of a system of oppression and economic slavery. We must show ourselves as we are—as the real champions of the common man, as the true revolutionaries, as the riders of the wave of the future, and as the dynamic leaders of the coming—not dying—society.

Despite our disturbing faults—from Little Rock to TV quiz shows—we have much to give the world. To the extent to which we as propagandists can make that clear we will be clarifying that distorted image of America.

The Late Will E. Neal

SPEECH

OF

HON. EDWIN B. DOOLEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. DOOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I express at this time my condolences to Mrs. Neal, the wife of our former colleague, Dr. Will E. Neal and to say that it was with sadness and regret that I read of his passing.

Quiet, meditative, gentle and compassionate, he typified that combination of human qualities so seldom found in one person, namely the characteristics of the statesman and the physician.

Keen of mind, sound of judgment, and rich in years, he served his constituency and his country with dedication and devotion.

I shall miss his friendly presence in the House and I shall think of him often for he was a fine gentleman who one long remembers.

Inaugural Address by the Honorable Richardson Dilworth, Mayor of Philadelphia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM A. BARRETT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, on January 4, 1960, in the Academy of Music, Philadelphia, Pa., I attended one of the most unique inauguration ceremonies ever held in the history of our city.

The inaugural program was flawlessly managed under the leadership of my colleague, the Honorable WILLIAM J. GREEN, Jr., who superbly carried out every minute detail to the satisfaction of the 5,000 invited guests; the president and members of the city council; the judges of the various courts; and the top officials of the city government.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the inaugural address made by our wonderful mayor of Philadelphia, the Honorable Richardson Dilworth:

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

(By the Honorable Richardson Dilworth)

I would be less than human if I were not proud that the people of Philadelphia have approved our work in such unmistakable terms.

We had what the press calls an electoral triumph.

Triumphs originated, of course, with the Romans. They heaped honors on their leaders in civic holidays, but took pains to make sure that the honors were accompanied by significant reminders that fame is fleeting, power transitory, and pride and vainglory inevitable forerunners to a fall.

We still have pledges unredeemed, such as city-county consolidation. And, we can fail in our obligation to those who have trusted lose their willingness to fight for the ideals of arrogance, or of complacency.

Arrogance and complacency may take many forms.

It can be an assumption that an office, a title, or the trappings of success, have raised us above our fellow man.

It can be bureaucratic, a devotion to regulation for regulation's sake, a concern with procedures to the detriment of objectives, a belief that the self-declared expert always knows best.

It can be political, a belief that victory is a goal in itself, that a political party can be indefinitely successful, without reference to the public services it renders just because of victories given to it. We must never forget that free men and women will soon seek other leadership if those whom they elect lose their willingness to fight for the ideals they profess to cherish.

So I ask on this day, when so many of us are confirmed once more in our responsibilities, that we retain our sense of values; that we remember always that the authority vested in us is altogether by the consent of others; that we remember how and why we came to be what we are, as persons, as public servants, as active participants in the Democratic Party.

I am not so naive as to believe that the millennium is upon us, or that we are likely to become a community of saints.

But I do firmly believe that by the work we do for our city and for our processes of self-government, we can become better men and women.

Many thoughtful people are concerned these days, because they believe America is losing its sense of national purpose. They see a smoldering of the fires which brought us independence as a nation, which maintained our unity as a republic, which broke each new frontier to settle our continent.

They argue that we have lost our initiative; that we worship the god of things as they are; that we are becoming increasingly materialistic.

They compare us to the French monarchy of the early 19th century whose only advice to its people was: "Enrich yourselves."

If such a national mood exists, I believe it is a mood of the moment only. I believe it is a brief interlude that waits only for a new, vigorous, dedicated leadership which will demand sacrifice of us and greatness of action and purpose.

Here, in Philadelphia, I believe our people have a sense of purpose.

The people of this city recognized 8 years ago what many people throughout America are just now beginning to perceive. They understood that one of the greatest challenges to our democracy is the problem of the metropolitan city. The people of our city have given us a mandate to abandon the old ways; to be creative; and to work ceaselessly to solve and overcome our problems.

We know that our city's problems require something more than the standard political recipe of a little grease for the squeaking wheel, a little tinkering here, and a little fixing there.

We know that our problems are big; and that the solutions to them require big thinking, great energy, and bold action.

Our problems will merely multiply if we are satisfied with what at the moment seems to be the safe and popular way, or with what is second best.

We know that we must continue to advance, without letup, on every front in the whole range of our life here in Philadelphia.

Philadelphia was the admitted center of leadership of our Nation when it was young.

It is within our power to bring again to Philadelphia that mantle of leadership, and to demonstrate that the urban civilization upon which we have entered can bring forth the finest in our people and in our democracy.

We must believe that here we can shape the future, break new ground, and lead the way for all of urban America.

This tremendous challenge makes me most grateful for the opportunity to be the mayor of such a city as ours, in such a time as this.

The Late Honorable Richard M. Simpson

SPEECH
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, in the passing of Dick Simpson the House has lost an honest and hard-working Member and the country a statesman of vision and courage. The accomplishments of this man will not soon be forgotten nor will his leadership and the force of his personality be soon dispelled from those of us in this body who were privileged to work closely with him.

This man was well chosen to carry out his responsibility as a public servant. His recognized abilities and his strength of character elevated him to positions of leadership in his community and then in the House and the Republican Party. His loss will be felt in each of these circles within which he was looked to for guidance and inspiration.

I give my deepest sympathy to Mrs. Simpson and to the late Congressman's children. The sorrow they feel at the passing of this loved one is echoed by the entire Nation.

State of the Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased by the President's recent state of the Union message; it was optimistic but realistic, hopeful but sound. He faced squarely the burning issues of defense, inflation, agriculture, civil rights, the emerging nations, and peace.

Many newspapers concurred in this evaluation and I would like to submit for my colleagues' attention an editorial published in the Buffalo (N.Y.) Evening News on January 8, 1960, entitled "State of the Union." The editorial follows:

STATE OF THE UNION

President Eisenhower's eighth annual state of the Union message to Congress Thursday was his next to last—and it had that "next to last" flavor all the way. It did not ask for much that was new or belabor Congress over quarrels of the past. It was the message of a President well aware that his time is running out. Yet it was not a valedictory, but a prevaledictory—an eloquent summons to Congress, to America, and to America's friends abroad to join him, in this year he has left, in getting on toward the common goal of world peace with justice.

It was an optimistic speech; indeed, how could it be otherwise? But it was not filled with pollyanna optimism. In the same breath he stated as a flat fact that "1960 promises to be the most prosperous year in our history," he noted that we continue to be afflicted by "nagging disorders"—in the realms of labor, agriculture, inflation, civil rights. And in very cautiously hailing recent "Soviet deportment" as suggesting a "somewhat less strained period" in the cold war, he warned again and again that Russia's more peaceful talk remains to be tested by actions.

The President was absolutely categorical, however, in warning the Russians—and assuring his legion of critics in Congress—that America's defensive strength is both enormous and wholly adequate to cope with any Soviet threat. His confidence on this must surely give pause to those who seek to make a major campaign issue of the claim that we are in danger of becoming a second-best power militarily.

For if the President—bearing the responsibility that he does, and knowing what he knows of the relative United States and Soviet military capabilities—had cause to share that fear, surely he would be asking this Congress for the wherewithal to breach the gap. That he does not do so is its own best

proof that he must be satisfied our defenses are in fact adequate; and if he is satisfied, which of his critics has better data to prove him wrong?

This year's state of the Union message, more than most, took selective aim at a variety of audiences, foreign as well as domestic, friend and foe, prosperous and hungry.

To Russia, it beamed both a warning and an invitation—to engage us in serious discussion on every subject leading to peace, but not to trifle with us, or to think we would relax our determination to defend ourselves and our friends against aggression, subversion, or false and phony propaganda.

To the underdeveloped Asian lands he has just visited, the President bore eloquent witness that he was deeply moved by their plight and by the free world's need to help them help themselves to a better life.

To our prosperous allies of Western Europe and Japan, the President hurled his strongest challenge yet—bidding them do with us, for the underdeveloped nations, what we, for so many years, did for them.

To Congress, his message was a plea—probably a futile one in a presidential election year—to waste no precious time in wrangling that can better be spent in intelligent co-operation to develop coherent policies for our national survival and progress.

Finally, to the American public, this was Ike's pledge to devote his full energies during the 12 months remaining in his term to the promotion of peace with justice abroad and progress with freedom at home. With the momentum he has achieved in recent months, this last one can be his most fruitful year in the White House.

Wheat Stabilization Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to call to the attention of this body a letter which I directed to the Secretary of Agriculture on January 5, 1960, calling for a wheat stabilization plan for agriculture. The letter is as follows:

LETTER TO THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE

During the congressional recess, it was my privilege to talk with hundreds of wheat producers not only in Kansas, but in other great wheat-growing States.

I returned to Washington with one definite and strong impression: Wheat growers believe that something should be done to help correct the present wheat situation, and at least 75 percent of them believe this can best be accomplished by the passage of a wheat stabilization program.

Many taxpayers are very unhappy with the present wheat surplus, which is stored in warehouses at a great cost to them. They want Congress to act.

I am convinced that wheat farmers will overwhelming and enthusiastically support legislation to put into effect a wheat stabilization plan such as that developed by the National Association of Wheat Growers, and introduced in the Congress last year.

In all honesty, I must also report that my talks with hundreds of farmers failed to uncover any significant support for your plan to abolish the parity concept and base supports on the average price of the past 3 years, resulting in a price of about $1.30 a bushel for wheat.

But farmers will fight hard for a wheat stabilization program which provides: (1) Quotas and allotments based on a bushelage basis; (2) full parity supports for wheat going into domestic consumption; and (3) no supports at all for all other wheat.

This plan has several advantages. It affords the farmer an opportunity to receive true parity for that part of his crop sold on the domestic market, where he must pay full parity for everything he buys. It enables him to sell on the world market at world prices. It curtails surpluses and sizable storage costs to the Government. And it should return wheat production to the historic wheat-producing areas.

The purpose of this letter is to urge you to support a wheat stabilization program. Congress will pass such a plan easily with administration support. I am sure the threat of a veto would be sufficient to kill the legislation.

We need wheat legislation. It is evident Congress is not going to approve a bill such as you have recommended. And the administration has indicated time and time again it will not accept a program based on high fixed supports.

Therefore, it seems to me the wheat stabilization plan offers the basis for getting together on a workable program. The National Wheat Growers Association and State associations throughout the wheat area have endorsed such a plan. I believe the National Grange will gladly support the program, as well as the Farmers Union. Unfortunately, officials of the American Farm Bureau Federation continue to oppose the plan, despite its strong support among rank and file members.

If you would recommend legislation of this type, I believe it could be passed by Congress in short order and we would dispose of a troublesome and vexing problem in a manner that would be fair to the farmers and to the taxpayers.

But if you insist upon recommending once more your plan for lower prices without any hope of great production in the near future, I am sure the present stalemate will continue. No one can benefit from a continued stalemate.

I urge you to give this proposal serious consideration. It offers one way of achieving positive results.

Magazines Seek Slanted Pictures on Farm Life

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MERWIN COAD
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I submit to my colleagues the following article which appeared in the Algona Upper Des Moines, one of the leading newspapers in my district. The article tells the story of a search for a stereotyped, legendary, nonexistent farmer and of the frustrated attempts of two national magazines, themselves heavily subsidized by the postal department, to perpetuate an unwarranted misconception of the excessively rich American farmer.

The article follows:

MAGAZINES SEEK SLANTED PICTURES ON FARM LIFE

While some county extension directors in Iowa have been contacted by Time and Life magazines for pictures showing how the farmer prospers from "government subsidy," no such contact was made here, Dean Barnes, Kossuth extension director, said Tuesday.

According to the Eagle Grove Eagle, such a contact was made with the Wright County extension office.

Time wanted a picture of a large pile of corn "going to waste" while the farmer lived on government subsidy.

The Eagle commented that "of course Time editors as well as midwest residents know that corn piled in the yard is not corn 'going to waste.' It is the corn being fed to livestock, and we have piles every year."

Life magazine, the Eagle said, had also contacted extension directors in that area asking for help in getting pictures of farmers who drive big cars, belong to country clubs, spend winters in Florida and California and piles of corn and cribs of corn that are "paid for by the government."

The Wright county extension director, the Eagle added, refused to give photographers help in lining up these slanted pictures.

Law Enforcement and TV Scandal—Address by Philip Cortney

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, frequently we experience long overdue law enforcement. In some instances law enforcement comes only after there is some dramatic incident calling attention to the fact that law enforcement has been neglected. Our colleague, the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. HARRIS], and the other members of the Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight, in exposing the TV scandals, have dramatically called our attention to neglect of the law and good morals in some quarters. As a result, we are now witnessing a substantial amount of activity to remedy a situation brought about by long neglect of the law and good morals.

Quite recently, President Eisenhower requested the Attorney General to inquire into the matters which gave rise to the TV scandals, and report on whether there were any laws violated and whether we should propose any new laws. As if by a New Year's resolution for 1960, the Attorney General caused to be released on New Year's Day a report replying to the President's inquiries. In doing so, the Attorney General stated that the laws as passed by the Congress are, on the whole, adequate, that these laws have been violated, and that the Federal regulatory commissions concerned with them—the one for communications and the one for trade—have, in fact, made no serious attempts to enforce the laws. For that candid, forthright report, the Attorney General should be congratulated.

In writing about this matter in the Washington Post on January 7, 1960, the widely and highly respected columnist, Mr. Walter Lippmann, under the title, "The Administration and TV," made reference to the report by the Attorney General, and in that connection stated:

While the Attorney General, perhaps rightly, did not deem it his business to say so, can it be denied that if the officials have failed to enforce the law, the remedy would be to appoint some new officials who will try to enforce the law?

Mr. Speaker, other prominent and highly respected persons agree with Mr. Lippmann and his expression of that thought. One such person is Mr. Philip Cortney, of New York, a prominent and succesful businessman. Mr. Cortney is president of Coty, Inc. Also, he was chairman of the U.S. Council of the International Chambers of Commerce at the time of his speech on this subject.

On November 6, 1959, Mr. Cortney addressed the Commonwealth Club of California at the Sheraton-Palace Hotel in San Francisco. The subject of his address was, "The TV Scandal and How To Defend Honesty and Morality."

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend and revise my remarks, I include in the RECORD at this point Mr. Cortney's address on this subject:

THE TV SCANDAL AND HOW TO DEFEND HONESTY AND MORALITY

The TV scandal is a serious symptom of moral decay of our society. It may well be that we needed this shock to awaken again our sense of indignation. Indeed, too often in recent times is it given to us to notice the apathy and indifference of people toward evil, toward wrong-doing. When recently a strike broke out in New York against the hospitals, which means against sick and helpless people, I was convinced that the people of New York would be in the streets to protest against this insane and inhuman act. However, nothing of the sort happened. At times one has the impression that many people have become incapable of distinguishing between right and wrong. History proves beyond doubt that when a country loses its capacity for indignation against wrong-doing, and its enthusiasm for good actions, its decadence is certain even though it may be slow and not obvious to the majority of the people.

Greed for money is the general denominator of the recent scandal. Money paid by the public for merchandise, earned by some manufacturers through deceit and cheating of the public, a form of fraudulent advertising, has served to lure and corrupt children, adults, intellectuals, and even clergymen.

Recently I was one of the guests at a dinner organized by the Journal of Commerce in Washington in order to give a group of businessmen the opportunity to discuss with Khrushchev the issue of trade between Russia and our country. I was particularly struck by the repeated dangling before our eyes and ears by Khrushchev of the missed opportunities to make money in trading with Russia. Somebody must have convinced Khrushchev that the businessmen are so cupid, so greedy for money, so money-mad, that by appealing to this instinct he will obtain their cooperation to induce our Government to permit exports of capital goods and forget all about the cold war and the Russian menace. At one time, when Khrushchev remarked that Ford had made plenty of money in the 1920's in helping them to erect the Gorki factory, I could not resist telling him that what is good for Ford is not always good for the United States. By the way, his answer was but there are many Fords in the United States.

The TV quiz fraud was so gigantic that it served to direct our attention to many aspects of television, and to make clear that we are confronted with a TV problem.

While television is suposed to be free, it has become in fact the servant or rather the prostitute of merchandising, as Walter Lippmann wrote recently: "There has been a conspiracy to deceive the public in order to sell profitable advertising to the manufacturers." Mr. Jack Gould of the New York Times said: "The fraud could not have been carried out without the constant involvement of representatives of networks, advertising agencies and sponsors."

The only thing which seems to matter in the choice of the programs is the rating, by which is meant the number of viewers which can be made to look and listen to the advertising. The desperate fight for high ratings has lead the TV industry to devote 24 hours a week during the scarce prime evening hours of the networks to so-called adult westerns. The only noise in the house during those hours is steady gunfire, or a fist crashing against someone's jaw. In order to capture the largest mass-audience some producers, with the money made available by the manufacturers, have resorted to fraud as in the case of quiz shows.

The deplorable choice of programs to get the highest ratings for the advertisers tends to destroy the moral fibre of our homes and to demoralize them. The juvenile delinquency is only a consequence of the adult delinquency. The following short story epitomizes the influence of our present TV programs: A young girl was looking at TV when her mother came to tell her gently and with many precautions that her grandmother had died. At this sad news the child remarked, "Who killed her?"

In an article published by the magazine This Week in its issue of November 1, 1959, the parents of three children tell the interesting story of why and how they turned TV off for a year. There was not much conversation in the house, little or no reading or studying beyond the small amount of homework the children got. The only thing which interested the children was the screen, the so-called entertainment.

TV has not had much better results for most of the adults. Forgotten is the art of serious conversation, and very few have any time left for serious reading. Like the children, the adults have come to expect to be distracted or amused without end. In many homes looking at television has become, as a practical matter, compulsory. Under these circumstances have the adults any time left to think? I wonder.

Apparently the manufacturers who choose and sponsor programs, the networks and the producers have decided that in order to capture the largest mass-audiences they must cater to the low taste of the public, which according to them is the taste of the great masses.

Do not forget that the air is public property and that the networks get their licenses with the proviso that they will defend the public interest. This will be obtained if we take measures so that the public taste should not be subverted, and that the networks give the public not what is considered most popular, but the kind of programs which inspire the desire for a good life. Contrary to what many manufacturers, and in their wake the networks and producers have come to believe, there is civilized entertainment, good news reporting, educational shows of art and music, which even the great masses will come to love if their taste is not subverted.

Much of the evil of TV is defended on the assertion that it is what the people want. We doubt the people want to be played constantly for suckers or for immature children. TV enjoys valuable privileges in the use of public property and it has therefore the obligation to educate and elevate public tastes, rather than degrade them. And it can be done, contrary to what many skeptics and cynics have come to believe. Besides, it has become obvious that the general protection of the society requires some restraints on TV. Let us not forget that the freedom of the press is limited by laws against libel and obscenity.

Our Nation is confronted with one or more powerful, intelligent, and shrewd enemies. A competitive battle is going on every day for the minds, ideals and dedication of many uncommitted nations, in Africa, Asia, and even in South America. How are we going to play our international role, and win for the side of freedom the uncommitted nations without a regeneration of intellectual and moral leadership? In this battle between freedom and communism the role of education is paramount. Television and radio have become in the field of mass communication and education a force more powerful than any other single force in its influence on the thinking and tastes of the people. We dare not let TV continue to be used for shoddy entertainment, or worse yet for perpetrating fraud and deceit on the American people, instead of for education and civilized entertainment.

Crooked business practices are destroying the very foundations of business. Most shocking is the fradulent practices exposed on TV quiz programs. As the President of the United States said: "Fradulent quiz shows are a terrible thing to do to the American people." Mr. Roscoe Drummond of the New York Herald Tribune said, "The quiz shows were devised with the sole purpose of gaining access to your living room by deception to make a sale." Some of the TV quiz shows were a fraud and a cheat to swindle the public and honest competitors. Such crooked strike at the heart and soul of the American free enterprise system. Indeed, these crooked practices kill sales. They may produce sales for awhile for those who benefit by these crooked practices. But these unfair practices destroy the confidence of the American people. The people can no longer believe what they hear and see. When that happens it is tough to make a sale. The callous disregard for elementary honesty toward the public casts doubt on the honesty and quality of the products. Unfortunately the dishonest business practices of some unscrupulous manufacturers hurt as well the decent, honest businessmen because of the loss of confidence of the public in the fundamental honesty and morality of business. Without honesty and morality, the very existence of the free enterprise system is put in jeopardy.

Who is responsible for this mess? The public has the right to know just how much was swindled and by whom. The dishonesty revealed by the rigged TV quiz shows will have a very damaging impact on the youth and children of our society unless those who committed the fraud and deceit get their deserved retribution. Otherwise they will come to believe that one can become rich by fraud and deceit. Immorality breeds immorality. Cynicism breeds cynicism.

We cannot live in an irresponsible society and be freemen. The first lesson which a free society must give to those who become adults is that they should have the moral courage to take the consequences for their actions.

Last April I addressed the 17th Congress of the International Chamber of Commerce of which I was president. I told the Congress that we cannot expect to remain freemen long if we are not ready to accept the consequences for our acts. Yet it is a fact that our free society behaves at times as if no one is responsible for manmade

situations which undermine basic freedoms.

In the present TV scandal those responsibilities are the manufacturers who sponsored the fraudulent programs, the producers of the shows, the networks, the advertising agencies, and the contestants. Of all the parties involved I consider the dishonest businessmen the most guilty ones. It is the manufacturer who is in the strongest possible position when deciding on the program to be chosen as a medium for his advertising. He can give or withhold. He can choose to have clean hands or dirty hands in selling his merchandise. The fixed TV quiz shows were made to happen for profits—undeserved profits that could not be made honestly. Those who profited must be made to answer to the American people for acts which our President describe as a terrible thing to do to the American people.

District Attorney Hogan put it well when he told the congressional subcommittee investigating the TV quiz shows, "It's hardly disputable that millions of viewers would feel shamefully cheated by a hoax which stole many hours of their time." District Attorney Hogan goes on to say that "the rigged TV quiz entertainment is morally, if not legally, larceny by false pretense and constitutes a fraud."

It is businessmen who made possible these fixed TV quiz shows by choosing these programs to sell their merchandise. They reaped profits from these fraudulent TV shows. It is time that they answered for their actions.

The TV scandal is a national scandal. Those who perpetrated it upon the American people must be exposed and punished, and we must do what we can to prevent anything like it from ever happening again.

Which of you here is not familiar with the zealousness of Government agencies—the FTC, the tax department?

The slightest, even imagined infringement, brings a round of investigations. But here we have an outright deception, deceit, and fraud staring everyone in the face, and yet the FTC and the FCC claim to be helpless, notwithstanding section 5A1 of the Federal Trade Commission Act which reads: "Unfair methods of competition in commerce, and unfair or deceptive acts or practices in commerce, are hereby declared unlawful." But if the judicial arm of our Government claims to be helpless, we can forget the moral law only at the risk of losing our freedom. A fraud is a fraud even though not punishable under the criminal law.

Ladies and gentlemen, let us not forget that business is central in our society. Precisely because business is central in our society the businessmen have a great role to play as active guardians of the free market economy which is being challenged today as never before. The businessmen assume, in the conduct of their own firms, great obligations and risk, but they are also the beneficiaries of the free enterprise system, at least moneywise, though their money benefits are too frequently assorted with heart troubles and ulcers. Money gives them power, which implies a great sense of responsibility, because money without morality and honesty can debauch. The businessmen should have the good sense and character to face their responsibilities toward society, otherwise it will disintegrate and free enterprise will perish.

Those manufacturers who sponsored TV quiz shows, and who contend that they were themselves victims of a fraud, can easily restore their prestige and prove their honesty. To this effect they should join the battle against immorality, and second, they should give to the hospitals and the Red Cross the illicit gains they have made by deceit of the public. This would be what our British cousins call "conscience money."

But to expose the wrongdoers is not enough. It is important to prevent a repetition of such immoral conditions. Here is my proposal to prevent such scandals in the future:

Businessmen who buy advertising in newspapers and magazines exercise no control over the editorial and entertainment sections of these media. Let us adopt this same practice for radio and television.

I propose that businessmen who utilize radio and television for their advertising adopt a hands-off entertainment code.

Let the businessmen be concerned only with honestly selling their wares. Let the networks and stations be fully responsible for the entertainment and editorial content. Businessmen who sell their products or services on radio and television must release all control, direct or indirect, on programs. When the stations and networks receive their licenses to broadcast, they are charged by the FCC to protect the public interest. They—the stations and networks—alone must therefore control program content and thereby assume full responsibility for protection of public interest.

It is a fact that TV advertising, which is very costly, has become a dangerous force for abnormal power and an instrument of monopoly. Therefore our Government must be extremely vigilant and make certain that this powerful force is not used abusively and particularly that it does not become an instrument for fraudulent gains in the hands of individuals without scruples and without conscience.

Censorship of programs is not the American way. However, if businessmen, advertising and TV executives do not clean their own house, the public will demand Government intervention.

Honest business cannot be legislated. In a responsible society, honest business is the responsibility of all businessmen.

We appeal to all business to adopt this hands off entertainment code. Adopt it in your various trade associations. It must be the concern of all chambers of commerce. And, finally, it must be the concern of every individual business organization—large and small—that makes use of radio or television.

We at Coty are placing a series of advertisements on this question which some of you may have seen in today's papers. These will appear in other cities. We will continue to fight immorality and corruption. We ask all who agree to join. The voice against fraud and for honesty cannot be too loud.

Thank you very much.

Crusade for Understanding

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the Miami Herald under date of January 6 very aptly outlines and discusses the renewed emphasis being placed upon the important relationship between the sentiments and ambitions of the people of the Latin American countries and our goals in foreign policy. The editorial reads:

CRUSADE FOR UNDERSTANDING

Happily, there is a sudden increase of interest in Latin American affairs among persons in high places.

President Eisenhower's long-discussed visit to South America now seems a certainty. Both Brazil and Argentina have announced officially they expect him next month. Uruguay and Chile anticipate being on his itinerary.

Adlai Stevenson, who may wind up as the Democratic presidential nominee, will pack his bags February 9 for a tour of 12 nations to the south.

Senator GEORGE A. SMATHERS, chairman of the Subcommittee on Latin American Trade, leaves next week for a journey to 11 countries.

All this indicates new awareness of the importance of Latin American friendship and trade for the United States. The three travelers, because of their official and party affiliations, are well able to further both.

It is the President, however, who can accomplish most.

His unprecedented trip will, of course, provide an opportunity for another display of the Eisenhower charm. The President has become one of the most potent and popular emissaries this country has ever sent abroad. Certainly he has been seen and heard by more persons, particularly as he made his historic pleas for peace during the recent tour of three continents.

Peace will not be primarily the goal of this mission to South America. It will be an occasion to renew ties of ancient friendship that may have become raveled by the pressure of events.

All four of the host countries were sparked to life by our own War of Independence and have constitutions based on our own. They are dedicated to democracy. But all are beset by the same ills which they are treating, with substantial U.S. aid, with varying degrees of success.

Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay have meat and beans economies. They are trying desperately to industrialize to raise living standards and meet the needs of growing populations. All must battle incessantly against the prairie fires of inflation and unbalanced budgets.

Sometimes South Americans feel that we do not understand the significance and seriousness of that fight. Some believe we are more preoccupied with Europe and more ready to give military aid to governments than means of existence to people. The great value of Mr. Eisenhower's tour will be to demonstrate that we do care.

Indeed, we want to help. The President will be able to report that Congress is in the mood to step up economic aid in this area of the world.

It is true that relations had deteriorated—a situation revealed with shock during Vice President NIXON'S visit in 1958. But there are signs of improvement.

Mr. Eisenhower's tour will contribute immensely to better feelings. From a journey such as this he should be able to turn to the fateful summit meeting next May with the assurance that there are no serious family misunderstandings in this part of the Americas.

Mr. Speaker, it is one of the most significant developments in this country's foreign relations that these fact-finding and good will tours are being scheduled at this time by the top-level representatives of this country's two political parties and two of the branches of our Government.

I share the hope of all the Members that out of these timely efforts will come an improved personal and economic relationship with these countries that will put teeth in the long-desired goal of hemispheric solidarity.

A Life Insurance Executive Underwrites World Peace Through World Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, during the recess of Congress I wrote to a number of leaders to find out their thinking on world law, specifically in connection with my House Concurrent Resolution 208. The other day I received a particularly fine letter from Mr. Henry E. Niles, president of the Baltimore Life Insurance Co. His letter is an excellent blend of reason and idealism, of practicality and dedication.

Mr. Niles has reproduced this letter and distributed it to a number of people. However, I believe it should be made available to all of my colleagues and therefore, under a previous consent, I am including it here:

DECEMBER 30, 1959.

Hon. CHARLES O. PORTER,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. PORTER: This is in reply to your letter of October 1, 1959, in which you ask me to give you, by the end of this year, my views with respect to the questions of U.N. Charter Review and world law in general, and with respect to your resolution in particular. These are subjects in which I am most interested, and I am glad to comply with your request. I shall start by giving some of the background of my views. This is a personal rather than an official letter.

Man's new power over matter, his new knowledge and his new techniques have created an era of new fears and of new vision. The new fears include the fear of atomic attack, without warning, by weapons of vast destructive power launched across an ocean and exploding within a quarter of an hour or less over our cities and spreading terrific destruction. We react to these new fears as we did to our old fear of military aggression—by building weapons of defense, and also a sizable number of weapons of offense, which we intend only to use as a necessary part of our defense. But the other side builds the same kind of weapons and neither side trusts the other not to be the aggressor. The new fears lead to actions which tend to make more likely the things feared—which tend toward the destruction of modern civilization.

The new vision is based upon many of the same facts as the new fear, man's ability to split the atom and to release tremendous energy and power, to send words across the oceans in a fraction of a second; to send objects across them in a matter of minutes, to cross them himself in a few hours, to seriously plan space travel. Today man has the technical knowledge to eliminate poverty in all nations. And man is learning more about the spiritual values as the scientists make a belief in old fashioned materialism less and less tenable.

Persons such as yourself, a Congressman charged with determining our country's policy, have to face practical realities, have to consider the fears and the vision and human inertia and traditions. In the words of the National Planning Association's Special Project Committee on Security Through Arms Control (May 1958) "Sweeping or oversimplified solutions, not feasible in the context of international political realities, will not solve the problem, and it would be irresponsible to solicit the hopes and faith of men for measures which are beyond the capabilities of society. The problems of arms control and disarmament are complex, and their solutions require a recognition of the realities of armaments, military science, and international politics."

In common with many persons in the life-insurance business, I am concerned about the tendency toward inflation in this country. But worrying about inflation and not about the elimination of war and the building of a peace seems to me to be like trying to economize on the use of fuel on a boat caught in the Niagara Rapids and headed for the falls. Furthermore, I believe the most effective way to prevent inflation would be to create a situation in which military expenditures could safely be reduced or eliminated. I say "safely" although I realize that absolute safety is not attainable. But we are not getting security or safety through our present build up of weapons, and a new situation could have far less risks than the present "balance of terror."

The gradual development of world law seems like the constructive reaction of man to his current situation of new knowledge and techniques. I believe that the plan recommended by Grenville Clark and Louis B. Sohn in their book, World Peace Through World Law, is practicable. I believe that the United States should promptly decide that we would be willing to adhere to such a plan (with perhaps minor modifications), and that we should assume world leadership in getting other nations to agree to it. We should clearly state that we are willing at any time to give up our sovereign right to determine when and whether we will wage war on another country in exchange for an international system which we could reasonably trust to prevent any other country from choosing to make war upon us. This does not mean giving up our right to direct our internal affairs, except as to military activity. It means a chance to use all our economic power for human betterment in ways of our own choosing without directing any of it into weapons of destruction.

The necessity for the development of world law has been pointed out by many leading citizens including President Eisenhower; Vice President Nixon; Generals of the Army Omar Bradley and Douglas MacArthur; Senators Robert A. Taft, Hubert Humphrey, and many others; Secretary Dulles; Adlai Stevenson, and Paul Hoffman. These persons are close to the problem—as are you, Mr. Congressman—of what actions to take for the long-term good of our country and of the world. None of them seems to be satisfied with the idea that military might alone will give us a constructive solution. As Mr. Arthur Larson says in the material which you sent me: "In the past the greatest mistake we made in our struggle for peace is to go at the matter too negatively. We have concentrated on getting rid of war, getting rid of tensions, and getting rid of armaments. But you cannot just get rid of them and leave a vacuum. You will succeed in getting rid of them only to the extent that you put something else in their place. What is that something? In the human story, it has always been law."

Each individual and each business should do its part toward building a secure and peaceful world. The life insurance business has a particularly strong interest in and obligation toward world security for the following reasons: (1) Even a small war could affect our mortality experience from losses due to direct casualties (which are covered by practically all life insurance contracts now in force) and losses due to the effect of atomic fallout. (2) Huge military expenditures may lead to inflation which will decrease the value of dollars in which we pay our policyholders or their beneficiaries. Too much inflation would be ruinous to our business. (3) A war which involved action against this country would probably cause great losses in our investment portfolios.

Extension of world law against international violence and provision for the elimination of the armaments of individual nations seems to me to be a kind of solution which our industry should back, because: (1) World law is an intangible idea, but so is life insurance and the companies are used to selling intangibles. Here is one which is necessary in order to preserve life on this planet. (2) The life insurance companies are accustomed to planning a long time ahead and to making contracts which may run 50 years or more. (World law won't come next month, but progress can be made.) (3) The life insurance industry is one characterized by good management, by cooperation between competitors, by strong industry associations which know the power to get things done if the objectives are clearly set forth. (4) The industry has public confidence, and its endorsement of a long-range plan for peace and security should have much weight. (5) The industry could reach millions of persons with whom it has contacts through the mail and through the thousands of agents who call upon persons in all walks of life.

I believe that enforceable world law is a realistic goal at the present time. I do not expect us to reach the goal within a year or two. However, constructive steps taken toward the goal will immediately reduce tensions somewhat and make further steps possible. A very important step to be taken now seems to me to be revision of the U.N. Charter, so as to strengthen the United Nations and the World Court and to provide for the establishment of international police and eventual world disarmament. I do not think this is visionary in a bad sense. I think it is using our imaginations to overcome a present situation which is fearful.

With best wishes for your success in your efforts,

Sincerely yours,

HENRY E. NILES.

Commemoration of October 12 at Compostela

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD L. JACKSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

TEXT OF THE SPEECH DELIVERED ON OCTOBER 12, 1959, BY HIS EXCELLENCY DON FERNANDO MARIA CASTIELLA, SPANISH SECRETARY OF STATE, IN THE ROYAL CHAPEL, HOSTAL DE LOS REYES CATOLICOS, IN THE CITY OF SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA, ON HISPANITY DAY

MEANING OF COMPOSTELA

We are not here by chance. Our coming to Santiago de Compostela has a deep meaning, because this matchless city has much to tell us, Americans and Spaniards alike, on this day of Hispanity which we are fraternally celebrating today.

Santiago, the heart of Jacobean and boundless Galicia, is one of the great symbols of our Christian faith, of our European nature, and of our missionary and transcendent impetus. The road to Santiago, the road that used to be known as the French road, was the great European highway which kept us in spiritual touch with the continent to which we belong while we

fought against, and lived with, Islam. At the end of that highway, this most beautiful Compostelan stone shrine, due to its prodigious condensation of beliefs and culture, was and is the best justification of our American undertaking, the purest root of our historical, Christian, and European nature, the spot whence inherited faith started in order to cross the ocean and to become apostolically rekindled in a continent where the name and the image of St. James are continuously heard and seen, as if echoing the voices of the pilgrims that sounded here for centuries.

OUR EMIGRANT—A SPANISH AMERICAN

It is, however, the whole of Galicia which, looking seaward, is wholly inspired by the call of the ocean, by the things of the sea, and she is, therefore, irresistibly drawn to an American destiny. Galicia, who knows no limits to adventure, for whom the sea is a mere lane, looks toward America from here and has sailed for centuries, carrying her saint in her heart, bound for the beloved countries where Spaniards are sometimes endearingly called Galicians (gallegos).

The Second Congress of Spanish Emigration closes now. This should make us realize that the trend of communication between America and all the Spanish regions continues to flow, that the old impetus has not ceased and that the emigrant who goes to people of the plains or the hills or the cities of Latin America carries within him the essence of the Creole and later of the American. Because he himself, by the mere fact of going there has become somewhat American. Because this Spaniard of America or American from Spain is a pledge of our permanent brotherhood, we should all take care of him and help him.

CONSCIENCE OF UNITY IN NEW TIMES

The world is stretching its limits and releasing anew dormant stocks of energy. New countries appear, and those which are mature throw themselves into the conquest of new space, material or spiritual. New and serious problems become apparent. Placed, as we are, in this disquietening situation, we the Ibero-Americans must tackle these problems, as well as our own, with a realistic policy of mutual understanding and friendship, that policy of which an Argentine thinker said: "it becomes obligatory, under threat of death, to Spanish-American countries."

We Ibero-Americans form a community whose natural unity stems not only from a shared inheritance in one of the noblest spiritual patrimonies in the history of mankind, but also from the fact of our present collective interests. Either we save our common personality, or we shall flounder in more powerful and sonorously rushing currents of history.

Everybody who has thought passionately and with insight about the future of American nations, from the great Bolivar to Luis Alberto Herrera or José Vasconcelos—the two great American thinkers whose recent deaths fill us with sorrow—has perforce agreed with the Bolivar ideal of continental unionism.

That conscious unity, however, can only spring from what is Spanish. The Indian element may constitute in some American countries a reinforcing life stream, a motive for pride in ancient and splendid civilizations, a racial factor which through cross-breeding is giving to the whites new and human shades of remarkable personality. To adopt a purely indigenous outlook, however, can only result in a local and concrete nationalistic movement harmful to Hispanism, and Hispanism is the true common factor, the supreme link that joins together all the countries south of the Río Grande. South of Río Grande. We are apt to use this expression, thereby turning into a frontier a river that is such politically, but cannot be so spiritually or in our memories. How can we forget the projection of Hispanism northwards beyond the Río Grande, when even the U.S. Americans nobly refuse to do so? Beyond that river, from Los Angeles to San Agustin, the old "caminos reales" cross one another, and along those highways the people of the United States preserve as a valued inheritance the imprint of Fray Junípero Serra's Franciscan sandal or Coronado, De Soto and Ponce de Leon's heroic and martial steps.

TO UNDERSTAND THE CONQUEST AND INDEPENDENCE

It has been rightly said that spiritual community of the Hispanic nations would be realized when we Spaniards shared in the glory of America's emancipation and when, at the same time, Americans came to look upon the discovery, the conquest and the civilization of America by Spain as the only historical foundations of the independent nationalities.

Amongst us, as Guillermo Lohman has stated—and as I myself have reminded people at times—it was Menéndez Pelayo who showed the way towards the fruitful understanding by Spaniards of the great achievement of America's Independence. Miguel de Unamuno too, in his essay "Don Quixote and Bolivar", commended the poetry contained in the history of the emancipation of Spanish-America and wrote that "we should feel pride in the courage of those men who faced the troops sent by the incompetent peninsular governments and we should consider as our own racial glory the glories of American independences".

Victor Andrés Belaunde—now chosen for the presidency of the highest world assembly, to the great satisfaction of all Ibero-Americans—goes even further when he writes in his oft reprinted study on Bolivar that "the old quarrel about the Spanish-American revolution is now settled to the honor of the mother country. Spain was a joint author of our revolution, because we inherited from Spain our 'Cabildos'—units of sovereignty—and because the revolution was the work of our national spirit, forged by Spanish culture, that gave us the best it had."

Yes, Bolivar and San Martín, the glorious Creoles, are ours, as Cortés and Pizarro belong to you. Tepoztlan and Cuzco are ours, as Salamanca and El Escorial are yours. And if the independence was, basically, the work of Spaniards from America, a family matter, the conquest was the work of your direct ancestors, of your Spanish forebears, who as soon as they landed on American shores, started to belong to them.

HISPANIC FRATERNITY AND ITS INSTITUTIONAL FORMS

Today we can say that the mutual and deep understanding between Americans and Spaniards is a reality and that the fundamental intellectual unity that binds us is expressed now through juridical means in concrete measures, such as the Double Nationality Agreement subscribed to by Chile, Peru and Paraguay, together with Spain, and that promising idea of the supercitizenship of Ibero-Americans that was defended by Jesus María Yepes, the illustrious Colombian internationalist a year ago, during the meeting of the Institutes of Hispanic Culture in Bogotá.

Spain interprets that fundamental unity as a fraternal link, without any privileges for the first born, without any subordinations. These ties that join us so equally, if they do not entitle us Spaniards to intervene in the private affairs of Spanish-American countries or in those of the Philippines, do entitle us to have, as brothers, a sincere, deep and constant interest in the destiny of a world that covers a whole continent and then leaps as far as the distant and beloved archipelago of Magellan, a Hispanic outpost where, between Corregidor and Cavite, the Spanish light is still burning.

THE PORTUGESE-BRAZILIAN COMMUNITY—SPANISH GRATITUDE

It is to give full meaning to the great association of the peoples who share a common peninsular origin, that we have Portugal and Brazil among us today. The ocean-minded Portugal of the Descobertas, the American Portugal of Corte Real and Alves Cabral, the great Portugal of Camoens, who once summed up tenderly the oversea desires of a whole nation in a simple quatrain written in Spanish:

"I want to sail, mother,
In a galley
With my sailor boy
To become a girl sailor."

And next to Portugal, Brazil, young, strong and the hope of America; colossal and rich, not because of its vast territory and the wealth of its soil, but because of the impetus of its children and the vigor of its national spirit. Both countries are joined together by traditional links and by their present vigor that offers a splendid future to the Portuguese-Brazilian community. Their presence among us is proof of their belief in the parallel roads of the destiny of all Ibero-American countries and makes us feel sincerely and deeply grateful.

THE PRESENCE OF THE UNITED STATES

We also have among us the representative of the great North American Republic, whose customary participation in these celebrations has a meaning that cannot be unknown to anybody. It is personified by a great ambassador, who is particularly aware of all matters American and Spanish, as is to be expected from a man who bears a name belonging to a family illustrious in American history.

I should like to express my country's satisfaction regarding the recent efforts that have been made in favor of inter-American cooperation, and Spain's sympathy toward those efforts and, if possible and necessary, her willingness to cooperate with enthusiasm toward that end.

INTER-AMERICANISM AND THE HISPANIC IDEAL

Spain does not see the Inter-American movement as an instrument of competition against the common Hispano-American ideals. In the times in which we live—a good example is to be found in the Spanish stand, halfway between her fundamentally European nature and her American calling—relations between countries can take place on different levels, without paying homage to the incompatilibities and rigid exclusivisms of the past.

Summing up the words of Mario Amadeo, former Chancellor of the Argentine and at present his country's Ambassador to the United Nations, let us remember that it is necessary to improve upon the anachronistic ideas of those who, when confronted by the United States, either abdicate their personality or raise the standard of resistance.

Spain can only feel happy about the cooperation and understanding of all the countries in the double American continent, in such a measure as may be beneficial to the cause of peace and the welfare of nations.

"THE WEIGHT OF THE PURPLE"

That cooperation will be perfect when the United States decides to give constant, careful, and efficient attention to Ibero-America. Attention which has due respect for its spiritual being and for its actual personality, the conservation of wsich is vital to the destiny of those countries, and by remembering the fact—admitted during the Santiago de Chile Conference—that economic underdevelopment generates political inl stability in a large measure.

The Spaniards have heartfelt gratitude for the generosity of the United States, which has been amply proved in other continents. I loyally called upon that generosity two

years ago and on other occasions, saying that such generosity could find no better employment than to cooperate with decision and largesse to reinforce materially that important reserve of strength that Ibero-America means to the West, thus fulfilling once more the great historic mission that has fallen to the United States, that majestic and grave mission that carries with it, as Agustín de Foxá, whose death we mourn, defined with great intuition as "the weight of the purple."

REASONABLE CAUSES FOR UNEASINESS—THE COMMUNIST THREAT

It is impossible not to be aware that there are today in Ibero-America real causes for uneasiness. It is necessary to consider them, however, to determine in what measure they are born of troubles stimulated from abroad and in what proportion they are due to inner and absolutely justified desires.

There is no doubt that there are foreign elements decidedly plotting against peace and prosperity in the American countries, the rearguard forces of our free world. The Communist ferment, ably exploited by its proselytizing agents, poisons a not unimportant proportion of the political movements that frequently shake life in America. But it is also true that many times the restlessness is born out of unsatisfied demands for justice, for respect, for adequate representation in international affairs, and above all, for the means to participate in due measure in the material achievements of our present civilization.

The President of the Republic of Chile, Dr. Jorge Alessandri, has referred to this in his opening speech of the Vth Consultative Meeting of Foreign Ministers of the OAS, when he said, "we are living in times when the aspirations of the people to achieve an increased well-being grow much faster than the possibilities for the economic development of our countries". At that same time, during the Conference of Chancellors in Santiago de Chile, the Brazilian Foreign Minister, Dr. Horacio Lafer, stated that, "in order better to understand the seriousness of the problem (of economic underdevelopment) it is enough to consider that in 1980 Latin America will have a population of almost 320 million human beings who will demand a decent life, free from misery, sickness, and ignorance."

A POSSIBLE AND GENUINE PROOF OF EFFICIENT INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY: COLLECTIVE CONTROL OF RAW MATERIAL PRICES

In this kind of problem, Spain is observing with real attention and interest the path followed by the economy of the Ibero-American countries and particularly the price trends of those raw materials that constitute the basis of their economy.

Spain fervently wishes that, with the indispensable help of the great economic powers and by means of international agreements that may prove the existence of a real spirit of cooperation, stability of prices may be achieved as regards certain basic minerals and agricultural products which, if too low, would endanger the development of the weaker economies and disturb besides political and social life.

We hold this to be a reasonable aspiration within the state of economic cooperation the world has reached today. We personally have already set an example by subscribing to some international agreements aimed at achieving that end and are prepared to support any future plan of that kind.

ORTHODOX ECONOMICS

The Ibero-American countries should rely, as Spain is already doing with success, on healthy and orthodox economy and a true effort at cooperation between themselves, just as much, or more than on foreign aid—adapting the methods of cooperation tried in other latitudes to the realities of the New World.

And since the solution is always to be found in unity, a difficult goal but one that seems daily easier to attain, it is indispensable to stop all strife between the countries of Hispanic America and to avoid, with firmness of purpose, all conflicts between Sister countries.

MUTUAL RESPECT AND NONINTERVENTION

That is why, politically speaking, when disordinate nationalism and party feelings divide and weaken Ibero-America, we must proclaim, and adhere to it without exception, that great principle of the United Nations Charter: nonintervention in the internal affairs of other countries.

We hold this to be a basic tenet of the whole of Ibero-American international law, a tenet which now, more than ever, should be strictly respected in order to preserve peace in the Americas and their spiritual unity too. We should take notice with gladness of the repeated declarations that, consonant with this idea, were heard in the Conference of Chancellors in Santiago de Chile.

We should place on the same level the Estrada Doctrine, born in Mexico and always respected by Spain, the fruits of which doctrine have always proved to be highly beneficial for the coexistence of our countries and the practice of which, because it is inspired by true realism, offers the means for the coexistence of differing regimes and for mutual respect among all nations.

HISTORICAL MATURITY OF HISPANIC AMERICA

The countries of Hispanic America have already reached historically maturity, although we could say, following Zorrilla San Martin that:

"The Smile of God of which they were begotten
Still throbs there in waters and in forests."

Our America has attained its universal ripeness. It is no longer a "reflecting country" as Hegel would have it. It does not only mirror Europe, but is the authentic, fertile and personal continuation of Europe.

It is, therefore, necessary at this time that all the Ibero-American countries sacrifice what is accessory and circumstantial and which divides them for the sake of what is fundamental and permanent and joins them. Peaceful coexistence is the first step towards working together, and this working together is an indispensable condition towards attaining the progressive unity that shall make Ibero-America count decisively in the world, both today and tomorrow.

THE QUITO CONFERENCE AND THE FUTURE OF AMERICA

The 11th meeting of the Organization of American States will be held in Quito next year. Spain sends from here, in advance, her greetings, feeling optimistic and hopeful about that meeting. Nothing that is American can leave us indifferent and we ardently wish that that Conference may prove to be yet another step in the coordinated movement towards cooperation between the countries of that continent and particularly to attain the unity and prosperity of the Ibero-American countries, to which end, Spain, if at some future time she were invited to do so, would offer her unstinted and most cordial cooperation.

Let us pray for that. Let us do it here, in Galicia, that is not only the sweet region where the first poetical language of the Peninsula was born, but an open shore that looks towards every point of the compass, the Finis terrae of Europe, where Spain listened for many centuries to the Atlantic siren's songs until she decided, 467 years ago today, to change the Dark Sea into a western Mediterranean and the dreamed of shores beyond it into a splendid continent where today sister or friendly countries preserve the Spanish names, from the glaciers of Alaska to the cliffs of Tierra del Fuego.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Retirement of Senator Green of Rhode Island

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 14, 1960

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, this morning there was published in the New York Times a very excellent editorial in connection with the most unusual and distinguished career of the great senior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GREEN]. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Jan. 14, 1960]

SENATOR GREEN CALLS IT A DAY

In politics, distinction does not automatically come with age, as it seems to do in some other fields. And it has not come automatically to Senator THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN—it has been earned. Senator GREEN's announcement that he would not seek reelection draws to a close a tenure characterized by wisdom.

That Senator GREEN, at 92, has become the oldest Senator in our history is remarkable, but more remarkable still is the fact that his entire senatorial career, marked most outstandingly by his tour as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has been carved out after the age of 70. Senator GREEN was born in Providence in 1867. After his graduation from Brown University he taught Roman law there during the nineties. He assumed a number of diversified business interests in Rhode Island and began working in State politics in 1907.

The striking aspect of Senator GREEN's career is its continuity. He maintains old business associations. A graduate of and teacher at Brown, he is now connected as trustee. Born in Providence, he has a home there still. Obviously this is a man who sinks roots—and not to lie dormant but to grow. His decision to retire was made, he says, after considerable thought. It was a mental tussle, obviously, for a man who hates to cut ties. The Senate—and the country—will miss his services.

Richard Murray Simpson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES B. HOEVEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith the sermon delivered by Dr. W. Paul Ludwig, pastor of the Chevy Chase Presbyterian Church, Washington, D.C., on January 9, 1960, at the funeral service of our late colleague, Richard M. Simpson. Dr. Ludwig paid a most fitting tribute to a great American.

RICHARD MURRAY SIMPSON

When a tall and stately tree falls in the forest the thunder of the impact is heard for great distances. The imprint of its lofty greatness and power is imbedded in the earth. Men listen and are inspired by the echoes of its majestic strength. They look at the impression that is left and they lift up their hearts in praise and hope.

So is it with us today. A giant of the political and spiritual world has been removed from our midst, but the echoes of his strong and honest convictions reverberate throughout the world, and the indelible memory of his quiet goodness and sturdy Christian faith is molded into the everlasting consciousness of multitudes who loved and honored him.

This distinguished and saddened assembly today is a symbolical segment of an innumerable host whose lives have been blessed and whose hearts have been inspired by the unmistakable witness of his life.

It was a moving experience to read in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the gracious tributes of many of you who sat with him in the House Chamber or the committee room, and who felt the binding friendships which the pressures of shared responsibilities create.

Like the chorus of a mighty hymn of praise it was gratifying to hear the oft-repeated granite words of human character—conviction, loyalty, integrity, forthrightness, honesty, courage, devotion, sincerity, sympathy, humility, industry, warmth, and friendship.

These words came neither accidentally nor incidentally. They came because without them you could not have described that servant of the people whom we knew as Richard M. Simpson.

This alone is impressive, for there are few men who are so unanimously and genuinely revered. But this does not complete the story of the man; it does, in fact, barely outline its beginning.

For "a man's chief end," to quote the catechism, "is to glorify God." And this close union with his Creator is what made Richard Simpson the great man that he was. He could talk about God as naturally and familiarly as he talked about his friends. And he could talk to Him as easily.

Church worship to Mr. Simpson was not a form or fashion. It was an essential part of a way of life. He never mentioned it boastfully but I know he was proud to be a ruling elder of the Presbyterian Church. He was proud to be thus intimately entwined in its life, because to him the church was God's holy instrument upon earth to create that kind of God-centered human society wherein the ideals to which he had dedicated his life could flourish.

He had no hesitancy in talking about the relationship of religious faith and political integrity. His refusal to let expediency rule his conduct was rooted in a sense of religious values whose chief focus was at the Cross of Christ. Men have their earthly heroes who whom they love to quote and emulate. Mr. Simpson had his hero whose life is recorded in the Book of Books.

In faith as well as politics, he belonged to that stream that we speak of as traditional and conservative. Possessing a rare solidity of judgment he was not easily swept downstream by any sudden torrent of emotion or passion. His religion, therefore, had the purity of the deep-running river, unruffled by sudden winds of doctrine.

Out of his sturdy Calvinistic confidence in the sovereignty of God; the supremacy of Holy Scripture as revealing the word and will of God; the crucified and risen Lord who is Redeemer; the Holy Spirit who is Comforter, and the immortality of the soul—out of these he bequeaths to us the very elements by which we turn our mourning into victory.

This is the significance of our gathering together this afternoon. In the revised Directory for Worship of the United Prebyterian Church, our Christian concept of this experience which we are sharing today is described in these words: "Christians recognize with all men the inevitability of death, but, further, in the presence of death witness to their faith that God, in Jesus Christ, has conquered and raises His children from death to life eternal."

Thus you and I are called here "to bear witness to the greatness and goodness of God, and to the love He bears all men, a love which strengthens and supports even in the midst of grief. Ours is a witness to God's promises in Jesus Christ, as attested by His resurrection from the dead, and the sure and certain hope that He goes to prepare a place for His children."

Shortly before Mr. Simpson went into surgery we shared Holy Communion together at his request. There was no shadow of fear in those moving moments. He was reaffirming his trust in God—come what may—who through the sacrifice of His Son hath opened for us the blessed hope of everlasting life.

This is the trust that brought unusual quality to his devoted service to the Nation which he loved; that brought remarkable grace into his relationships with his colleagues of whatever political persuasion; that gave a Christian beauty to his homelife where those who loved him so deeply have caught the contagion of his spiritual strength; and that leaves now with all of us a banner to lift high and a sure road to follow.

In Support of the Administration's Farm Policy—Address by Don Paarlberg

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, on December 29, 1959, the Honorable Don Paarlberg, special assistant to the President, and for many years Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, delivered an address at the winter program of the American Farm Economic Association, in Washington, D.C., in which he summarized agricultural policies and made a

case for the administration viewpoint in this controversial field.

Not only is it an excellent presentation, but it has been thoroughly documented, and should, therefore, be of high interest, not only to Members of the Senate, but to everyone who has an interest in the farm problem. I ask leave, therefore, to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

Mr. President, I have been advised by the Public Printer that the printing of the address in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD will require approximately 3¼ pages, at a cost of $263.25. Notwithstanding that fact, I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IN SUPPORT OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S FARM POLICY

(Address by the Honorable Don Paarlberg, special assistant to the President on the occasion of the winter program of the American Farm Economic Association—Joint Social Science Association meetings, Sheraton-Park Hotel, Washington, D.C., Tuesday morning, December 29, 1959)

In this address I wish to make four points:

1. The farm price-support and production-control legislation now on the statute books does not represent the administration's farm policy.

2. The farm policies which this administration does support include many activities other than price support and production control.

3. On the controversial price-support and production-control issue, the needed modifications lie, as embodied in the administration's farm proposals, in the direction of greater opportunity for individual persons to exercise their judgment as to what should be produced and at what price it should be sold.

4. The alternatives to the administration's farm policy are generally lacking in promise.

I now shall take up these points individually.

I

First, let me trace the origin of the farm price-support and production-control legislation we now have, legislation which is generally considered to be unsatisfactory.

In making the flat statement that this legislation is considered unsatisfactory, I wish to acknowledge the good record of the Congress as regards price support and production policy for the majority of our farm products; that is, for commodities other than the so-called basic crops. I want to make clear my view that legislation providing for marketing agreements and orders has generally been helpful, as has legislation authorizing the purchase of surplus farm products and their diversion to the school lunch program and to needy persons. What I am speaking of as unsatisfactory is the mandatory system which requires price support for a few favored commodities at artifically high prices, and couples that support with a halfhearted and ineffective control effort. This is the system which has failed.

I have come to harbor misgivings both with respect to those economists who think they can analyze farm problems without reference to politics, and those politicians who think they can solve farm problems without reference to economics.

The basic legislation with respect to farm price supports and production control was enacted in 1933. This was done in an effort to meet the grave problems of a worldwide depression.

This legislation was clarified and modified in 1938. The major intent of the 1938 act was to give continuing status to the emergency legislation of 1933.

In 1941 and 1942 the Steagall amendment and other legislation were passed. Price supports were raised to a high level during the war emergency and their continuation was assured for 2 years after the war.

In 1948, Congress provided for an adjustment from the wartime level of price supports, but this law was not allowed to go into effect. The next Congress rewrote this law and delayed the date at which it was to become operative, thereby continuing the wartime price-support levels.

In 1952, Congress further extended the wartime level of price supports.

In 1954, Congress allowed the 1952 extension to expire, thereby permitting the functioning of legislation previously enacted.

For the 5 years since the congressional elections of 1954, the Congress has been controlled by one party and the executive branch by another. During this period some helpful modifications of the price-support and production-control legislation were enacted, but legislation for most of the so-called basic commodities remains generally similar to the pattern of earlier years.

During 22 of the 26 years encompassed by this legislative history, the Congress was controlled by the party now in the majority. The party now in the minority held congressional responsibility during 1947–48 and again during 1953–54. During the first of these two periods, farm legislation was enacted which a succeeding Congress kept from becoming effective; during the second period legislation was passed which allowed a law enacted by a previous Congress to become operative.

Thus practically all present farm legislation regarding price supports and production controls were written by the party now in the majority. Continued existence of this legislation is tolerated and condoned by the majority party, which has the power to change it.

It is sometimes said that the present Congress cannot enact farm legislation because of the threat of veto exercised by the executive branch. However, no truly remedial legislation has been vetoed, or is likely to be.

It is frequently said that farm policy has been bipartisan. But the effort to place responsibility upon this administration for the shortcomings of farm legislation is certainly a partisan effort, and an unwarranted one.

With respect to farm legislation, the executive branch has two responsibilities. One of these is to administer laws enacted by the Congress. This the present administration has done, faithfully. The other responsibility is to recommend legislative changes for the Congress to consider. This the present administration has also done. For 7 years now the administration has been invited by the Congress to make recommendations for improving our farm legislation, and has complied faithfully with these requests.

Some of the administration's recommendations have been heeded. Public Law 480, the basic authority for surplus disposal, was enacted much as recommended. The same is true of the rural development program.

Others of the administration's recommendations were accepted in part, though considerably modified. This was true of the soil bank, and the present corn program.

Most of the administration's recommendations have been resisted by the Congress, particularly those having to do with price support levels and production-control policies.

The administration cannot possibly be responsible for legislation which antedated its period of service and emanated from another party.

Existing difficulties with the farm program, and they are many, cannot possibly be the result of legislation which the administration has recommended if such legislation has not been enacted.

Congress cannot divest itself of legislative responsibility. Nor can the executive branch divest itself of its administrative responsibility. Surely the Congress will not accept responsibility for errors of the executive branch in administering our farm laws; nor can the Congress expect the executive branch to accept responsibility for legislative shortcomings.

Almost nobody defends the farm legislation now on the books. The pertinent point is that this legislation was put there by the Congress. If it is to be changed, it must be changed by the Congress.

Present farm legislation does not represent the policies of this administration, as I have endeavored to show. On the contrary, it must represent the farm policies of the majority party, since that party put it on the books and left it there despite having the power to change it.

There is a studied effort to create the illusion that the failure of agricultural adjustment policies is an administrative failure while in reality it is clearly a legislative failure.

If there is a failure to administer our farm laws as enacted by the Congress, this is a matter properly to be laid at the door of the administration, but I do not know of any serious charge of this kind. If there is a failure of the laws themselves, which is the fact, this is a responsibility of the Congress.

There exists a great confusion in the public mind as to the separate responsibilities of the executive and the legislative branches of Government. Some members of the Congress have heightened and exploited this confusion, rather than address themselves to their proper task, which is the writing of needed legislation.

Having attempted to make clear the fact that present legislation does not represent the administration's farm program, I shall now indicate what actually constitutes the administration's farm program. There is support for activities in eight different areas; there are recommended changes in one.

First, there are the historic services that concern the development of human resources, among them education, research, and the supplying of needed information.

Second, I name the rural development program, by means of which we endeavor to open wider the doors of opportunity for the million and a half rural families with very low incomes.

Third, I would name the development of natural resources and their intelligent use, including the conservation reserve, various land-use programs, the activities of the Forest Service and related matters.

Fourth, is market-building, which relates to consumer education at home, market development abroad, and research to discover new uses.

Fifth, I shall list surplus disposal, those activities which move into use, through special programs, our heavy Government stocks of farm products.

Sixth, are the credit programs, intended to meet a variety of needs, written for varying periods of time.

Seventh, there are regulatory activities to insure the wholesomeness of the food supply, the proper functioning of the commodity exchanges and similar activities.

Eighth, there are the marketing orders and agreements, the purchase and diversion of surplus products to the school lunch program, and the authority to support prices of the great majority of farm products at levels discretionary with the Secretary of Agriculture.

Ninth, for the problem crops, particularly wheat, legislative changes are proposed which move in the direction of greater freedom to plant and less interference with market forces.

Some of these activities were launched by this administration. Others originated earlier. All have administration support. It is clear that the administrations farm program is a broad one, encompassing many areas of service rather than one.

There is general agreement on the appropriateness of the first eight of the services I have listed. Despite occasional friction regarding one or another, they have been the cause of relatively little cleavage between the executive and the legislative branches, or between the two political parties.

Greatest interest has centered on the last of my listed categories, the one having to do with price-support programs for the so-called basic crops. The six crops designated by legislative fiat as basic bring in only about 20 percent of the farm income. But they account for 85 percent of the Federal inventory of price-supported commodities and for about 95 percent of the controversy. The remaining income, surplus stocks, and controversy are distributed among some 250 farm products which have not been designated as basic.

In its recommendations regarding price and production policies, the administration has not been doctrinaire, though it has often been charged with being so. Alternative recommendations have been made. The administration has indicated that it viewed with favor the relation of price-support levels to appropriate parity standards, if the Congress should so prefer. Or, if desired, supports could be linked to market prices of the immediate preceding years. Or, should the Congress wish, the Secretary of Agriculture has indicated that he would himself bear responsibility for establishing support levels in accordance with general criteria.

With respect to production controls, the administration has likewise avoided a doctrinaire position. A willingness has been expressed to support action by the Congress which would liberalize acreage allotments, eliminate them altogether, or to have the farmers choose between alternative programs. There has been an expressed willingness to administer a program of tightened allotments if the Congress should insist on keeping price supports at a high incentive level.

Throughout there has been this one important and consistent recommendation: that price-support objectives be reasonably related to production policy. If price supports for wheat are to be held at a high level, Secretary Benson said a year ago, then strict production controls must be imposed. If price incentives are reduced, then a less restrictive production policy can be followed. The administration indicated its clear favor for the liberal as compared with the restrictive route.

The one thing the administration has consistently resisted is high price supports coupled with flimsy production controls—running the vehicle with the throttle wide open and without brakes.

III

Much of the controversy regarding farm policy springs from failure to distinguish between equity and workability. Both of these are important. No farm policy can succeed unless it takes account of both.

Let me state some appropriate considerations of equity.

1. Farmers, who are exposed to unusual economic and natural hazards, are entitled to the help of government as a cushion against unfortunate events which they cannot well avert through individual or organized action.

2. The cause of equity is not served by programs which aggravate the disparity of income within agriculture while endeavoring to reduce the disparity of income as between farmers and other occupational groups.

3. A man's role as a citizen takes priority over his role as a member of an occupational group. It is not equitable to do violence to his rights as a citizen, or to the rights of other citizens, in an effort to improve the position of his group.

4. Equity does not lie in the equal treatment of unequals.

Within the stated conditions of equity, there are workable farm programs. There is a substantial area within which equity and workability overlap. The administration's farm policies are within this area.

Equity, like workability, is a necessary but not a sufficient criterion for success. Some programs are advocated as equitable, but are not workable and are of no service to agriculture. Other programs may appear to be workable in a harsh and callous sense, but do not meet the standards of equity which prevail in the mid-twentieth century; they will not be tolerated.

I wish to discuss the workability of farm programs, a matter which is the primary province of agricultural economists.

Here we run head-on into the fundamentals of demand, supply, and price. I shall state what seems to me to be the present state of professional knowledge on these points. If this seems elementary to you, I ask only that you note the grave difficulties that farm programs have come to be overlooking the fundamentals.

The law of demand is that, other things equal, an increase in price will result in a reduction in the quantity demanded; a decrease in price will result in an increase in the quantity demanded. I know of no exceptions to this law in the agricultural field.

Statistical evidence is very strong that for most farm products, in the short run, and with other things equal, a given increase in price is accompanied by less than a proportional reduction in the amount demanded. Thus, in the short run, a short supply will usually bring in a larger-than-average gross income.

The unchallenged statistical demonstration of this fact is the vision which has led to the production-control and price-support legislation now on the statute books.

But this vision, so clear in the short run, is proving in the long run to have been a mirage.

In the long run—and the longrun effect has been subjected to much less study—the relationship of price and quantity is far different from what it is in the short run. Over time and for many farm commodities, a given boost in price results in more than an equivalent reduction in the quantity demanded. Thus, in the long run and for many farm commodities, other things equal, a high price means a lower gross income to the seller.

The difference between the short-run and the long-run effect of a price increase is that over a period of time the buyer can find or develop substitute products or sources of supply. In the case of cotton, a price supported continuously and substantially above market levels has greatly stimulated the use of manmade fibers, and greatly stimulated the production of cotton abroad. During a quarter century of price support, the share of our farm income earned by cotton fell from 12 percent to 7 percent.

During the 5 years prior to the inauguration of price support and production control, the six basic crops brought in 21 percent of our farm income. After 25 years of controls and supports, after the expenditure of many billions of dollars and the utterance of many millions of contentious words, these same basic crops still brought in only 21 percent of farm income, and a goodly share of this 21 percent was from sales to the Government.

It might be argued that in a free country, if a group of people wish to sacrifice the future to the present, that should be their prerogative. But at least they should know the result of what they are doing. And economists, who by their professional competence have this knowledge, should tell them.

Confusion with respect to the law of demand has made grave trouble for farm programs. But confusion with respect to the law of supply has led us even more deeply into trouble.

The law of supply is that if price is increased, other things being equal, a greater quantity will be offered. And if price is reduced, other things being equal, a smaller quantity will be offered.

This law is challenged by many persons. The statement is made that if price is reduced, farmers will increase production in order to offset the decline in income.

There undoubtedly are some individual farmers, with very limited alternatives, who react to some extent in this manner. But this is not true of farmers as a group.

I have studied all the research on this subject which I have been able to find. This includes the work of Bean, Black, Kohls, Moore, Nerlove, Pearson, Pubols, Warren, Wells, and others. Thus far I have not been able to discover any competent piece of work which shows the perverse relationship so often alleged to exist.

Some Members of the Congress say that a price decline results in an increase in production. Yet when these gentlemen decided that fewer potatoes were needed, they properly allowed the price to decline. When they wanted an increase in production, as during the war, they properly raised prices. As recently as 1958 they extended the National Wool Act, the stated purpose of which is to stimulate production; the means by which this is to be accomplished is through offering increased prices. By their deeds Members of the Congress recognized the economic facts of life as related to the law of supply.

Recently there has been some loose economic thinking with respect to changes in corn acreage. The statement is made that price supports were dropped and farmers increased their acreage in order to maintain their incomes. The truth is that price supports were dropped for about 14 percent of the corn farmers, those few who had previously complied with their corn allotments. Supports were increased for the other 86 percent of the farmers. Farmers reacted in a perfectly normal and predictable manner. With price supports raised, with the corn acreage reserve program and corn acreage allotments abandoned, and with price supports for alternative feed grains reduced, a jump in corn acreage was practically certain. Farmers reacted in conformity with the law of supply.

Those who claim that farmers as a group increase production when price declines postulate a perverse and irrational situation. If farmers actually behave in this manner, crop acreage and livestock production are incapable of reaching or approaching equilibrium, and must, therefore, be subjected to strict Government control or catastrophe will occur. Those who deny the validity of the law of supply are left without any explanation for the generally rational behavior of farmers who produce the unregulated crops and livestock products. Nor do they

have an explanation for the generally rational behavior of farmers who produced wheat and corn and cotton during the centuries which preceded acreage control.

The fundamental laws of economics are these: Other things equal, as price rises, the quantity which will be produced increases and the quantity which will be purchased decreases. The Congress has not been able, in 25 years of effort, to set aside these laws.

I said these laws operate with "other things equal." But other things have not been equal. The special factor which has modified the operation of these laws has been the technological revolution in agriculture; this revolution has caused artificially supported prices to generate even greater surpluses than would otherwise have been the case.

The longrun consequences of artificially supported prices have set in. Supply has been increased, buyers have turned to alternative sources, markets have been lost, and farm incomes have been reduced.

If there is to be a better balance within agriculture, inducements for excess production must be diminished and pricing policy must allow farmers to regain markets.

Some people say that the solution lies in the direction of stiff controls. For 25 years the Nation has been building up a history of experience with controls. The evidence is that the Congress will not enact, the executive branch cannot enforce and the farmers will not accept the kind of production controls which would be necessary to balance production and consumption at the price objectives customarily cited by those who advocate the strict controls.

If, with supplies as heavy and costs as great as they have been in recent years, stiff production controls could not be enacted, how likely is it that tough controls will ever be invoked?

Until someone develops evidence of a substantial change from the pattern of the last quarter century in political behavior and in American mores, this history must stand as an insurmountable refutation to those who advocate stiff production controls as a way out.

As we said before, we are in the midst of a technological revolution in agriculture. The need is to reap for society whatever gains this revolution may bestow, and to cushion its impact when it deals harshly with individuals and groups. Farm legislation has concentrated more on the problems of this technological revolution than on its opportunities. As a nation we have been problem prone rather than opportunity oriented.

Our rapid scientific advance has lightened the toil, lifted the level of living, and broadened the horizon for our farm people, and holds hope for a hungry world. This is good, not bad. To extract the most good from this revolution, and to be in a position to ward off its sharpest blows, individual persons should themselves have a substantial role in price determination and in resource allocation. The rapid changes which are underway call for a greater adjustment capability than is possible under a parity formula or a historically based acreage allotment.

The heart of the administration's farm policy is faith that individual farmers, with appropriate services provided for them by private and public agencies, will be able to make wise allocation of their resources—decisions that are advantageous to them personally and are in the public interest.

A technological revolution calls for the use of all the intelligence that is available. In the practical experience of 4½ million farmers there is a great reservoir of intelligence and sound judgment. A major purpose of the administration's farm policy is to tap this reservoir.

The services I mentioned earlier are of great help in improving the caliber of individual decisions. Public programs can serve the national interest better by helping to improve the caliber of individual decisions than by substituting Government edicts for private judgment.

At the bottom of the income scale are a million and a half rural families who receive, from all sources, less than $1,000 a year. In terms of genuine need, this is the real problem. These people have been almost untouched by price-support and production-control programs. The technological revolution has largely passed them by. They do not contribute as much as they should or as much as they would like to the national production of goods and services. The administration's rural development program is addressed to this problem. It needs greater understanding, wider support, and more funds.

The administration's food for peace program is an effort to use our abundant capacity for food production in support of the foreign policy of the United States. This is done chiefly through Public Law 480, the chief legislative authority for surplus disposal. During this past fiscal year, well over a billion dollars worth of American farm products moved abroad under our special export programs. Some of these programs are new, unique, and unorthodox. They are not described in the standard texts on international trade. They have grown up out of necessity because our stocks were heavy and because dollars weren't available in the countries which needed our products. This program serves the needs of our friends abroad and relieves our heavy supply position. It is my feeling that Public Law 480, which has been considered by some as a province for idealists and temporizers, might better be considered as subject matter for hard-headed realists.

This then, restated in summary form, is the farm policy of this administration:

For the farmers who produce the bulk of our food and fiber, a liberal production policy coupled with modest price objectives.

For rural people in areas of low income, services which will open wider the doors of opportunity both within agriculture and for off-farm employment.

For all farm people, services to improve the caliber of individual decisions.

For this generation and the next, land-use programs intended for wiser use of our national resources.

In the broad public interest, wide dissemination of the fruits of the technological revolution, to our own citizens and in the service of American foreign policy.

IV

What are the alternatives to the adoption of some such policy as I have outlined?

Continuation of the present program? Clearly the public patience will not tolerate indefinitely the heavy cost and the growing stocks which result from the laws we now have.

Stand by and allow the present program to collapse of its own weight? This would be a sadistic remedy. If the present program should collapse, with the mountainous stock now on hand, prices of wheat and corn and cotton would be carried to disastrous levels. After having been insulated for 25 years from the rough-and-tumble of the market place, these crops can hardly quickly be tossed, unprotected, to the not-so-tender mercy of a completely competitive climate. We cannot regain overnight markets which we have been losing for a quarter of a century. Government has piled up the present stocks and is responsible for some of the present dislocations. Government cannot walk off and expect farm people to pick up the pieces.

Shall we apply marketing-orders or some similar technique to additional crops and livestock products? Programs which have worked tolerably well for speciality crops in concentrated areas of production, marketed through a limited number of well-defined channels, cannot easily be extended to crops grown generally in diversified areas, moving to market in many forms and through many agencies. The so-called self-help plans thus far offered involve substantial Government financing and responsibility. And it is not clear that Government, while retaining responsibility for the domestic and foreign consequences of these plans, can legitimately delegate price and production authority to commodity groups. Nor can commodity groups avert the laws of demand and of supply which have brought Government price-support and production-control programs to their present difficult state.

Should we enact two-price plans or domestic parity plans? If we do we institutionalize a wedge between the domestic and the foreign price, we set up Government machinery for the transfer of added special moneys from the eaters of food to the producers of food, and we set one faction of agriculture against another.

Shall we adopt production payments, or deficiency payments, or compensatory payments? Let us remember that the sole use to which this device has thus far been put has been the role of stimulating production, a consequence we do not want. Consider the likelihood that the Congress would dependably and consistently provide an annual appropriation running into many billions of dollars, to be paid directly and visibly to a vocational group which numbers only 10 percent of the voting population. And let us think of what might happen to the market price, and hence to public cost, if an unsupported market is asked to move not only the abundant production of our present farm plant but also the added amount induced by a Government payment.

There is, as I said earlier, a substantial area within which the separate disciplines of equity and workability overlap. Within this area the administration's farm policies will be found. These policies will not satisfy those with their own special definitions of equity, or those who ignore the practical problem of workability. Nor will they satisfy those who see an opportunity to make workable some program which violates individual rights.

Whether the administration's farm policies will satisfy a sufficient number of persons to permit corrective early legislation remains to be seen. Whatever time schedule the fates may hold, the day is gradually drawing nearer when farm legislation will be rewritten. It would be better to do this before the public patience is exhausted; it would be better to write new farm legislation in a climate of reason than with the attitude of resentment which further postponement would bring about.

Hon. M. J. "Bill" Laurie Receives the Eloy Alfaro Grand Cross and Diploma, and Is Appointed American Deputy Provost of the Eloy Alfaro International Foundation of the Republic of Panama, in Recognition of Humanitarian and Philanthropic Services to His Fellow Man

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT R. BARRY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. BARRY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I insert the

highlights of the proceedings of the Eloy Alfaro International Foundation of the Republic of Panama, on the occasion of the reception, ceremony, and dinner of the New York League of Locality Mayors of the City of New York on February 15, 1959, at the Savoy Hilton Hotel, New York City, N.Y., at which the award was made to Mr. Laurie. This high honor was bestowed on him in the presence of a large number of locality mayors by Dr. Bayern in recognition of his outstanding efforts to serve mankind, and in carrying out the aims and objectives of this foundation. At this dinner Dr. Herman A. Bayern, appointed him American Deputy Provost.

Dr. Bayern's address follows:

Elroy Alfaro, soldier, patriot, statesman, and martyr, was a citizen not only of his native Ecuador, but of all the Americas. The personal integrity, the unwavering defense of the principles of truth, justice, and friendship among nations, the self-control and self-sacrifice that marked about one-quarter of a century of unflagging service to his fellow man, extended way beyond the confines of his own country, Ecuador. He was the leader of a generation fired with the hope and desire that responsible political action would enhance the prosperity of their country and the welfare of their people.

The Eloy Alfaro International Foundation was organized to perpetuate and further the political and moral values of the Americas by General Alfaro, for whom the organization was named, and, who at the turn of the century was president of Ecuador for two terms.

The philosophy of General Alfaro was based principally on service to his fellow human beings and to the cause of international world peace. The public and private activities of Mr. Laurie comes within the frame work of this kind of service to mankind. In recognition of this fact, the Board of Dignitaries of the Foundation granted Mr. Laurie its highest honor—The Eloy Alfaro Grand Cross and Diploma.

As you know, General Alfaro established many grammar schools, high schools, colleges and universities, as well as hospital and other welfare institutions. One of his major social contributions was to initiate measures for improving the status of Indians in his country, and the downtrodden, and freeing them from exploitation. On the political side, General Alfaro fought for liberty and American unity. He played a leading part in achieving the liberation of oppressed Latin-American nations, and furthering cooperation among the countries of the hemisphere. He welded the factions of the Cuban Freedom Party together in December, 1895, three years before the Spanish-American War, when he publicly petitioned the Queens of Spain, in a document, demanding Cuban Independence.

You know, my dear Mr. Laurie, that you now join a goodly company of fellow Americans, who have been similarly honored in the past. They include: President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller, former President Harry S. Truman, Senator Lyndon Johnson, Congressman Joseph Martin, General Eugene McAuliffe, along with General Willis D. Crittenberger, U.S. Army (Ret.), who typify the caliber of men who hold this high honor, which I am now ready to bestow on my dear friend and colleague, Commissioner M. J. "Bill" Laurie. This is indeed a very pleasant duty imposed upon me by the Board of Dignitaries of this Foundation, and it gives me great personal pleasure to carry out this determination of the ruling body of this Foundation and confer this honor on Mr. Laurie.

I am particularly happy to make note of this occasion, since it gives me the opportunity of doing honor to a public-spirited person, because of his outstanding achievements and accomplishments, who was selected by my constituent, Dr. Herman A. Bayern, American Provost, to receive this very high honor of this famous foundation.

THE AWARD

Eloy Alfaro International Foundation—"Thus one goes to the stars"—recognizing the special value of the services rendered by the Honorable M. J. "Bill" Laurie, in support of the objectives of this institution, he has been awarded the Cross of the Eloy Alfaro International Foundation.

In witness whereof, this diploma, with the seal of the foundation, is presented in the city of Panama, Republic of Panama, on the 28th day of January 1959.

Mr. Laurie acknowledges receipt of the award:

Dr. Bayern, Judge Cox, distinguished guests, and fellow Americans, I am overwhelmed and deeply appreciative of receiving this great honor and being made American deputy provost, particularly in view of the fact that my good friend, Dr. Herman A. Bayern, American provost, conferred this high honor on me. I feel very happy that I now join such a distinguished company, including my good friend, Hon. Joseph A. Cox, surrogate of New York County, who has been similarly honored in the past.

To be the recipient is indeed a high honor, and I shall regard it as an inspiration to accelerate my efforts in carrying out the high ideals and principles of Gen. Eloy Alfaro, and the principles for which General Alfaro laid down his life. I shall be glad to continue my efforts to promote world peace through prayer to God.

I wish to again express my personal appreciation and gratitude for your kindness in conferring this Eloy Alfaro Grand Cross on me, and I hope and pray that we may have peace in our time.

Fourteenth National Conference on Citizenship Is Summarized

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 14, 1960

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, the 14th National Conference on Citizenship was held September 19, 1959, in Washington, D.C., following the adjournment of the first session of this Congress.

It was my privilege to have addressed the conference, the highlight of which was the summarization by Dr. Arthur P. Crabtree, head of civic education, Bureau of Adult Education, New York State Department of Health.

It was the fourth consecutive year Dr. Crabtree was selected to summarize, and he performed his mission most interestingly and with his usual efficiency and accuracy.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD of this date the text of Dr. Crabtree's conference summarization remarks.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SUMMARIZATION SPEECH, 14TH NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CITIZENSHIP, SHOREHAM HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D.C., SEPTEMBER 19, 1959, BY ARTHUR P. CRABTREE, HEAD OF CIVIC EDUCATION, BUREAU OF ADULT EDUCATION, NEW YORK STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen of the conference, this 14th National Conference on Citizenship marks the fourth consecutive year that I have been accorded the privilege of making this summarization speech. My fourth return to this platform reminds me a bit of the father-in-law who once said of his son-in-law that he dropped over one afternoon for a cup of coffee and stayed 7 years. Four years ago Judge Hyatt invited me to make this speech, and I accepted with a sense of humility and gratification. With each succeeding year, however, I have experienced an accumulating sense of concern that I may be becoming a trifle boring to you. For my part, however, I want you to know that I still regard it as a distinct pleasure. Each succeeding year brings to the conference new faces, new events, and new problems. This is the hallmark of our task: We who deal with the problems of citizenship in a dynamic world face a panorama of ceaseless change that is forever new.

To summarize effectively a conference like this one must become, in the slogan of a current popular cigarette, a "thinking man's filter." Your magnanimity during these next 20 minutes will determine how well I have succeeded.

EXCELLENT SETTING AND TIMING

Our conference this year has been staged in a new setting; the spacious environs of the Shoreham Hotel. Ours followed on the heels of a similar conference held by the Used Car Dealers of America. There may be something prophetic in this sequence of events. It well may be that the replacement of material values with the moral and spiritual considerations of good citizenship is the imperative transition which America must make in the years that lie ahead.

The timing of our conference this year was uniquely significant. It coincided with the coming of Mr. Nikita Khrushchev, the man in the gray flannel suit from the Moscow Chamber of Commerce. At this writing, Mr. Khrushchev holds the unique distinction of being the only man who has gotten more propaganda value from the moon than Rogers and Hammerstein. However, the recent Russian rocket to the moon lends credence to Eric Sevareid's prophecy of a few months ago that when we get there we will probably find a Hilton Hotel under Soviet management.

Our 14th conference opened this year with a dash of culture and beauty. On Wednesday evening we were delighted with a program of songs and dances of other lands, put on by students of the Americanization School here in Washington. It was a vivid reminder of the cultural contribution which people from all the world have made to our America.

Thursday morning the gavel of Judge Walter M. Bastian, conference president, officially opened the first general session of the conference. Once again the ever-colorful advancement of the various State and Territorial flags created a dramatic scene. The first session was climaxed by the introduction of the representatives of the Thirteen Original States which ratified the American Constitution.

Thursday afternoon, on the grounds of the Washington Monument we witnessed the first outdoor naturalization ceremony ever held in the Nation's Capital. With the Honorable Alexander Holtzoff, U.S. District Court Judge for the District of Columbia,

presiding, 34 representatives of 23 foreign countries were admitted to citizenship. This ceremony was the reenactment of a scene which has taken place in thousands of American courtrooms throughout our history—the great, fascinating process of blending from the freedom-loving peoples of all the earth the mosaic of this thing we call American democracy.

DR. FLEMMING WAS KEYNOTER

In our second general session on Thursday evening we listened to the keynoter of the conference, the Honorable Arthur S. Flemming, Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. His subject was the theme of the conference: "U.S. Citizenship—Know It—Cherish It—Live It." Secretary Flemming chose to assume that we who constituted his audience proved, by our presence here, that we both know and cherish citizenship. Hence, he elected to dwell at length on the third phase of the topic, the living of American citizenship. It was a hard-hitting forceful speech and carried a message that well served as a springboard for the discussion groups of the conference. Secretary Flemming plead for the creation of a richer brand of spiritual leadership among us all and again and again posed the pivotal question of his address: "Are we willing to live our U.S. citizenship in such measure that our actions express our thankfulness for it?"

Yesterday was primarily dedicated to the work of our discussion groups. These discussion groups, in my opinion, constitute the fountainhead of this conference. It is here that all of us have a chance to talk. We can agree or disagree—as long as we remain agreeable. Here is democracy in action.

Let me, then, attempt to capsule your thoughts and recommendations as they came to me from the reporters of these discussion groups.

PRINCIPLES WERE EXPRESSED

In terms of principles you expressed yourselves as follows:

1. The home, the school and the church are the fundamental settings for learning the demands of sacrifice necessary for a deeper relationship to the Nation and its ideals.

2. Mature adults should help younger people define their responsibilities for citizenship and find opportunities for them to face together the problems in government and civic affairs.

3. We should teach people in all walks of life the dignity of the individual.

4. Society must continue to find new approaches leading to the involvement of people in matters of citizenship.

5. Education and good citizenship go hand in hand and adult education programs must be provided that will give continuing citizenship education.

6. We must try to make politics respectable by electing respectable people to office.

7. Apprentice training opportunities in citizenship affairs should be provided for our youth.

8. One of the duties of citizenship is the participation in politics at every level of government.

9. All voluntary agencies in the community should be encouraged to participate in citizenship activities.

10. The awareness of citizenship responsibility must be constantly emphasized through a process of continuous education.

11. We must resolve to subordinate private, material concerns for the preservation of our rights and privileges.

12. Only personal involvement, dedication, and commitment to good citizenship practices, produce devotion to the country's ideals.

In terms of action you made these specific suggestions:

1. Send out a questionnaire to all delegates to this conference at midyear asking how they have implemented the findings of this conference.

2. Broaden the base of representation to this conference by inviting other youth organizations.

3. Urge mayors and other heads of local subdivisions of government to create committees related to citizenship programs.

4. Make more use of our schools as laboratories of good citizenship.

5. Encourage the proper authorities to establish a National Citizenship Week.

6. Work for the voting franchise for the people of the District of Columbia.

7. Hold ceremonies for all people who are voting for the first time.

8. Encourage the creation of more State citizenship conferences.

9. Authorize the preparation of a manual on training for citizenship, to be sold through the Government Printing Office.

10. Set up orientation programs in good citizenship for young adults and teenagers.

HARVEST OF BON MOTS REWARDING

Then each year, as you know, I ask the group reporters to record any particular bon mots or striking statements that appeal to them. This year I thought the harvest was unusually rewarding. Here are some of the better ones:

1. Being an American is a continuously unfinished experiment.

2. Our rights do not include the right to refrain from citizenship responsibility.

3. To be a good citizen does not require sacrifice, but the image and implementation of a dream.

4. Understanding plus action equals citizenship.

5. Citizenship is a diamond of many facets.

6. Citizenship is more than painting one's house every spring—more than merely being a charming social animal.

7. Citizenship is a virtue that prompts us to do without witnesses what we would do before all the world.

8. A recent statement by Chief Justice Earl Warren was quoted by two groups in these words, "Every generation, to keep its freedom, must earn it through understanding of the past, vigilance in the present and determination for the future."

Last evening we staged a doubleheader. Under the artful leadership of Dr. Richard Kennan we heard the voice of youth in the conference. A panel of young adults addressed themselves to the topic, "How To Prepare Youth for Effective Citizenship." Judging from what we heard, these bright young minds have a better idea of what they need to prepare themselves for meaningful citizenship than some of us oldsters.

Later in the evening we thrilled to a program of music provided by the U.S. Army Band and Chorus. All in all, it was a delightful evening.

This morning at the closing session, we have been challenged by Senator JENNINGS RANDOLPH, of West Virginia, to go forth and demonstrate good citizenship in action.

Here, then, is the capsuled version of your conference program. And, more importantly, perhaps, a synthesis of your thoughts and reflections in the discussion groups.

These latter represent your contributions to the conference. Now, before the final curtain falls, I should like to air a few thoughts of my own. This opportunity to offer free advice is a tempting thing, and I would be less than human were I to resist it completely.

The overwhelming fact of this conference, it seems to me, is the insignificance of what happens here. The final appraisal of our conference will be written in the record of what happens when we return to our home communities. In my work, I attend several conferences during the year, all of them related, in some degree, to the upgrading of American citizenship. In all of them I hear fervid commitments to the cause of better citizenship. But from all too many of them I see little or nothing result after the white heat of conference enthusiasm has grown cold. For this reason I was delighted to hear Mr. Havens at yesterday's luncheon pose the $64 question: What is the one important project which, if carried through in your community during the coming year, would activate good citizenship? And, I might add, I was delighted with the answers he received. In fact, I thought this was one of the most fruitful sessions of the conference.

LIVING ASPECT OF GOOD CITIZENSHIP

For the same reason, I was gratified to hear Secretary Flemming stress the living aspect of good citizenship. This is what counts in the long perspective. I, along with you, applauded vigorously on Thursday evening when Congressman BENTLEY stated, with admirable fervor, that if any way of life is "buried," as Khrushchev threatened, it would not be ours. But it was not our applause at that moment that will make it so. Moments like that are perfect seedbeds for fervid affirmations of faith. History will determine the fact or falsity of Mr. Khrushchev's boast by the degree of dedication which you and I, and the millions of other Americans, ascribe to citizenship responsibility in the daily business of living.

The age in which we live is no time for the sunshine patriot, no time for Fourth of July oratory, no time for the "half believer in a casual creed." Rather, in the words of Tom Paine, we are witnessing a return of the times that "try men's souls." What we need today, perhaps more than anything else, is an honest appraisal of ourselves. Let's make such an appraisal for a brief minute or two, using the theme of our conference as our tool of measurement.

What about the first prong of our conference theme? Do we know what we should about good citizenship? Well, maybe we who are here do, but let's don't push the assumption too far. Let me give you a couple of disturbing facts. Not long ago the National Opinion Institute found that 19 percent of the adults they interviewed could not identify the Bill of Rights, the first 10 amendments to the Constitution we commemorate this week and which house the most precious civil rights that were ever written into any form of government. A survey conducted by the New York Times this past summer revealed that 39 percent of the people questioned did not know that Berlin is surrounded by Communist East Germany. No, the facts are that the American adult's awareness of the factual aspect of citizenship problems is not too encouraging. Far too many of them are not quite sure whether the Monroe Doctrine originated with James or Marilyn.

What about the second facet of our theme? Do we cherish American citizenship as we should? Perhaps, but I sometimes wonder. I have spent many years of my life in the education of the foreign-born for citizenship and I have witnessed many naturalization ceremonies similar to the one we saw on Thursday. And I have never come away from one of these courtroom scenes without silently wishing to myself that I could find reflected in the faces of our native-born citizens the same appreciation for American citizenship that I always see in the eager eyes of these people from other lands, people who know what it means to be deprived of the rights and privileges granted by the American Constitution. We speak so frequently of the Americanization of the foreign born. I sometimes think we need a refresher course for all of us in citizenship appreciation. Perhaps the Americanization

of the native born is infinitely more important in these anxious times.

The third concept of our conference theme involves the living of good citizenship. How do we measure up? One criterion of our daily behavior as citizens is our voting record. Ours is the poorest of all the free nations of the world. During the last 30 years an average of approximately 60 percent of our eligible electorate have participated in general elections. In 1948 we came dangerously close to electing a President of these United States with only a minority of the eligible voters in the Nation participating. This does not become the deportment of a nation which carries the leadership of the free world on its shoulders.

These are disturbing facts. To contemplate them brings the logical question: How do we get this way?

EDUCATOR LOOKS AT HIS PROFESSION

I am a professional educator. In my opinion much of the blame lies with my own profession. Somewhere along the way American education lost sight of its original purpose. In the minds of statesmen like Washington and Jefferson and educators like Horace Mann and Henry Bernard, education was conceived as the indispensable ally of democracy. Its purpose was the education of the people in order that they might be better equipped to solve the problems of a democratic society. It was essentially dedicated to the creation of informed and participating citizens. But somebody lost the compass. Our great material resources eventually obscured our vision. Devotion to the American dollar replaced devotion to American democracy. This trend was reflected in our public education and the educative process came to be regarded as a gift to the individual that would equip him to earn a better living than his neighbor. Education for citizenship became secondary. We became absorbed in goods at the expense of goals. We developed the blithe assumption that good citizenship would somehow take care of itself as a sort of fallout from our mushrooming material prosperity. Today we are reaping the harvest of that misguided philosophy.

Speaking not long ago Adlai Stevenson made this statement: "For hundreds of years we have preached the Christian promise of brotherhood but, today, when vanishing space and scientific revolution have turned our planet into a neighborhood, the ideal means little in terms of concern or conviction, in terms of policy or action." In a recent article in the Atlantic Monthly Jim Farley authored this statement, "Our American conveniences and unearned rewards are so much a part of our daily lives that while I concur in our national motto, 'In God We Trust,' it seems to me that each individual citizen's prayer should be, 'Forgive me, O Lord, for taking so much for granted.' Secretary Flemming quoted our Ambassador to the U.N. as saying that "the free world is not sufficiently dynamic."

These facts and these opinions of men like Stevenson, Farley, and Lodge reflect the situation in which we find ourselves today. These gentlemen are not fearmongers. They are men with the courage to take an honest look at the state of our Nation. And their findings serve to set the dimensions of our assignment in the immediate future.

It is my deep-seated conviction that the greatest single citizenship task we face today is that of impressing the American people with the gripping realization that we are engaged in a cold war with a powerful nation, a nation that represents the antithesis of all we stand for. And what is a cold war? It is a war that is fought with ideas, not guns. Its most lethal weapon is a better idea. Its battlefield is the mind of man. Its foot soldiers are men and women who are willing to live, not die, for the survival of a particular way of life. A citizen who believes in the rightness of American democracy is as vital to the preservation of this Nation today as was any soldier in the ranks at Valley Forge, Gettysburg, or Iwo Jima. This is the nature of the war we are fighting and its very nature represents the disadvantage under which we labor. We have no experience of this kind of warfare. But we must learn—and learn swiftly—the ground rules of the new game we are playing. Somehow, and in some way, we must convice the American citizen that the business of making democracy work to the limits of its vast potential is the most important task he faces in today's world. And the responsibility of carrying that conviction back to the people of our communities as we leave this conference is, perhaps, the most important assignment that faces you and me. In some way that is not now clear to me we must manage to rekindle in the hearts and minds of the American people a renewal of fighting faith in the dream that guided and inspired the men who dared to launch this Nation 172 years ago.

But enough to the sober and the serious. Let us close in a lighter vein. In a few minutes this 14th National Conference on Citizenship will disappear behind the portals of time. But, as usual, a host of pleasant memories will linger long after "the tumult and the shouting dies," long after the "captains and the kings depart."

AND THEN—FOND REMEMBRANCES

Like the blind men and their impressions of the elephant, however, each of us will carry away from here his own personalized treasure chest of warm remembrances. At the risk of boring you, I should like to suggest what some of mine will be.

I shall remember the exhilarating atmosphere of a gathering of 600 people who are dedicated to the proposition that this Nation can be made a better nation and this world a better world.

I shall remember the image of two dedicated and indefatigable people who have given their fullest measure of devotion to this conference: Judge and Mrs. Carl Hyatt.

I shall remember the fresh and eager faces of the young people of the conference, with their hunger for knowledge and their impatience with the conservatism of the old ways.

I shall remember a conversation the other night with Mr. Mack Lupton, the ex-mayor of New Bern, N.C., as he related to me how he went about the job of getting the attendance of 60 young people and of the gracious ladies from Tryon Palace whose 18th century costumes added so much to the color of the conference.

I shall remember the faces of the veteran members of the conference that I look forward to seeing each year and this year, as always, I shall add some more.

I shall remember the gracious courtesy and cooperation of all those who work at the registration desk.

I shall remember the beauty of our Capital City in September.

I shall remember the rollicking humor of Julius Meltzer, and many others like him, who seldom gain the spotlight of the glittering podium but whose devotion to the cause of better citizenship guarantees the success of this conference year after year.

And, finally, I shall remember the little old lady who told me yesterday she was staying over to hear this summary and I shall hope that I haven't disappointed her too much.

But amid my memories this year I shall take home with me one regret—the regret that Mr. Khrushchev couldn't have spent some time with us. I'm afraid he is looking in the wrong places to find the real America. He will not find it in our skyscrapers, our supermarkets nor our pigs and cattle. If he wanted to see a profile of the real America he would have found it here. He would have seen it in the faces of 600 people who believe that liberty and freedom are more than words and who are willing to dedicate their vision and courage to the end that these priceless guarantees of individual rights may be forever retained within the context of the American dream.

This was your conference as I saw it and heard it. If I have recaptured for you some of its spirit and substance, some of its lights and shadows, some of its melody and its overtones, then my efforts have been richly rewarded. And this will be my most cherished memory of all.

War on Hunger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONARD G. WOLF

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, in the Middle West, the acknowledged expert and leader in the field of an enlightened foreign policy is the Des Moines Register. This newspaper has done a great deal to change the attitude of the Middle West in the area of foreign policy and foreign aid. More than ever before, and to a great extent, thanks to the Des Moines Register, we in the Middle West have a growing awareness that the hunger of an Indian infant and the squalor of a Pakistani village is something which involves the workers, businessmen, and farmers in Iowa.

As part of its explanation to the public on the problems of foreign policy, this newspaper has shown how the Nation's basic asset, its food and fiber supply, can be used for the purpose of economic development in newly developing nations. This newspaper has consistently pointed out that in a world half starving, our agricultural abundance is not a burden but an asset. In my recent trip to India and Pakistan, Premier Nehru made this same point to me. Nehru said that India's needs are agricultural for in the development of their agricultural base and in the use of our food and fiber resources, their nation will be free to continue on the road to economic development.

Under leave to revise and extend my remarks I wish to insert into the body of the RECORD this statement and the appended editorial which points the way so well for both Congress and the American people in the area of economic development through use of agricultural abundance.

[From the Des Moines Sunday Register, Dec. 20, 1959]

WAR ON HUNGER

At the opening of the New Delhi, India, World Agricultural Fair the other day, President Eisenhower called upon all nations to join in a genuinely noble war against hunger, as a step toward enduring peace.

"Men right now possess knowledge and resources," he said, "for a successful world-

wide war against hunger—the sort of war that dignifies and exalts human beings."

That is true.

And the United States has by far the greatest capacity of any country for munitions in this kind of war. U.S. weapons for a war on hunger are not merely the vast quantities of grain which can be supplied to other countries needing food. They are, more importantly, the capacity to teach others how to produce more food.

Even if the United States produced to the utmost and could make effective use of all its surplus food to aid other countries, that would not be enough to provide good diets for the world's hungry. Large as America's surplus is, it would vanish in India alone as population rises, without lifting the standard of diets appreciably. American food can help meet emergency situations for a long time ahead, but the ultimate answer is higher productivity in India and countries like India.

America has an overhead production-improvement organization, through the Department of Agriculture and the State agricultural colleges, which is unmatched. It has made American agriculture the most productive in the world. This has been a big public investment over the last 75 years. And the public has reaped large returns—in the form of absolute security against food shortage, the highest quality diet in the world and cheap food prices.

This research and educational system has been so effective, in fact, that it has overdone the job. The problem right now is that farm production keeps racing ahead faster than demand for food.

Thus the United States has great surplus capacity in its agricultural industry—including its overhead research and educational arm. It could well convert a portion of this overhead organization for research and educational efforts on food production in India, Tunisia, Peru, and similar countries.

Basic scientific research would go right on, of course. But instead of applying this new knowledge for new technology on American farms, some experiment stations would do so for farms in Asia, Africa, and South America. (Private research by farm machinery, feed, seed, chemical, and other firms would fill some of the gap in development of new technology for U.S. farms.)

At the beginning of World War II, the United States set out to produce 100,000 warplanes a year to defeat the Germans and the Japanese. To do this, automobile production had to be stoped. Gas and tire rationing had to be enforced to cut automobile travel.

But America could deliver the equivalent of 100,000 warplanes in the form of food and agricultural knowledge for a war against hunger with very little, if any, sacrifice. Such a program, continued over a decade or more, might slow down America's rapid advance in food production to be sure. But would that be bad? Food prices would rise and farmers would be better off. The Nation is trying to accomplish this anyway, by other methods, to correct the disparity in farm income.

Why not do it by shifting a part of the agricultural industry to wage a world war against hunger?

This is fine in theory but difficult in practice. The United States for several years has been providing technical help for agriculture in other lands. From the economic viewpoint, this Nation could easily double or triple its effort without real cost. From the political viewpoint, it's hard to marshal the people and the institutions (which depend for support on State legislatures largely) to fight hunger abroad.

But we believe Americans would respond, out of their humanitarian convictions, to imaginative leadership on this—even if it meant some real sacrifices. They would find a way to make U.S. agricultural resources more freely available to the poor countries through the United Nations or other cooperative programs.

This is one field, incidentally, where the Soviet Union cannot equal America for a long time to come. In fact, the Russians need assistance on improving agriculture themselves.

Program To Preserve and Perpetuate the Trumpeter Swan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 14, 1960

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, protecting the heritage of the next generation is one of the essential duties of this generation. Previous generations did not always fulfill the obligation, as witness the obliteration or virtual destruction of such species as the passenger pigeon, the American bison, and other wildlife.

In American Forests magazine for December of 1959, Mr. William B. Morse, of Portland, Oreg., who is Pacific Northwest field representative of the Wildlife Management Institute, has written a moving and informative article about the efforts underway to preserve the stately trumpeter swan at such places as the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge in Oregon and the Red Rock Lakes area in Montana. The trumpeter is one of our most magnificent birds.

The title of Mr. Morse's splendid article is " Trumpets in the West." I believe it should be read by Members of the Senate and the House, because we soon will be voting upon appropriations to protect the trumpeter swan and other threatened species of bird and animal life. Therefore, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article from American Forests magazine for December by William B. Morse, whom I am proud to claim as a constituent and a personal friend, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the American Forests, December 1959]

TRUMPETS IN THE WEST

(By William B. Morse)

One of the most difficult problems in wildlife management is to protect and save a vanishing bird species. Many conservationists and agencies are participating in heroic efforts to safeguard the whooping crane, and that issue is still in doubt. There is another bird, once almost as near extinction, that has been saved, increased, and spread in the last 23 years by the use of routine but concentrated wildlife management techniques. This is the trumpeter swan, largest and most magnificent of the wildfowl in the West.

Saving the trumpeter swan took no magic, only hard work, money, luck, and the cooperation of the trumpeter himself. The techniques used were those applied routinely to many other birds. If a species monument exists to game management, it could be appropriately symbolized by the trumpeter swan.

The year 1958 marked the first successful reproduction of transplanted trumpeters on two areas far from their existing population center. Four cygnets were hatched and reared on the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge in southeastern Oregon. Six cygnets were reared at Ruby Lake National Refuge in east-central Nevada. This was a special birthday present for the Malheur Refuge. The 50th anniversary of the founding of the refuge by President Theodore Roosevelt was celebrated by a dedication ceremony on October 25, 1958. The ceremony was held adjacent to Sod House Spring, and eight trumpeters attended, with ringside seats on the spring pond. Their talk was music to the ears of Dr. Ira N. Gabrielson and other distinguished conservationists who participated in the brief ceremonies.

If all goes well, the trumpeters should increase and spread. It is not likely that they will ever again become abundant, but all nature lovers will be able to hear what is to me the most beautiful sound in nature—the deep, clarion, French-horn tones of the mighty trumpeter of the West. Why has the trumpeter survived where other remnant species often dwindle to extinction? If we examine the history of the trumpeter, perhaps we may find some answers.

The trumpeter originally ranged throughout a vast area of western North America, breeding from Alaska, northern Mackenzie and James Bay, south to British Columbia, Montana, Wyoming, Nebraska, and northern Missouri. It wintered in open water areas south to California and the Gulf of Mexico. At the present time there is a small population of about 200 birds in Alaska, and several hundred in western British Columbia and Alberta. The 700 trumpeters in the States of Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming complete the population. They live within a triangle less than 100 miles on each side.

That is trumpeter country, U.S.A. It is within the historic breeding and wintering range of the species. The small size of the occupied habitat makes it very important to increase the breeding range to other areas. Some catastrophe could conceivably wipe out the greater portion of our remaining birds. Who knows what combination of severe winter, disease, drought, or even fallout from a badly aimed ICBM could do to put the United States out of the business of raising trumpeter swans.

Statements of former abundance of trumpeter swans vary, and are further complicated by the difficuty of distinguishing whistling swans from the larger trumpeters in the field. Trumpeters were supposed to be abundant throughout their breeding range. We now know, however, that each breeding pair requires a large territory, large enough to cause doubt of some old-time estimates of tremendous trumpeter populations. Swans were used for food, shot for the market, and thousands were killed for the breast skins alone. Between 1853 and 1877, the Hudson's Bay Co. marketed 17,671 swanskins. How many of these were trumpeters is not known; in fact, it was not until 1831 that the species of whistling and trumpeter swans were differentiated. While swan breast skins were a quality item, they were also used in a later age for such prosaic items as cowboys' coats and, according to a user, tanned as tough as sheepskin.

Except to the expert, the trumpeter and whistling swans appear identical in the field. Both are large white birds and look about the same on the water and in flight. The major difference is size—any specimen over 55 inches long, weighing over 20 pounds, is probably a trumpeter. There are additional identification aids. Most whistlers have a yellow spot in front of the eye, trumpeters vary in possession of a narrow salmon-red

streak or grinning patch on the edge of the mandibles. In 1956, banding operations at Red Rock Lakes, Mont., revealed that this grinning streak was prominent in 98 of the 102 birds examined, and 50 to 95 percent obscured in the remaining 4.

The surest field characteristic is, of course, the voice of the trumpeter. It can never be mistaken for anything else. A peculiar extra convolution of the windpipe within the trumpeter's breastbone is the final and positive identification. This convolution is also responsible for the trumpeter's clarion voice. Like all swans, the male is called a "cob," the female a "pen," and the young are "cygnets."

We know from records that the trumpeter was widely distributed, but few reports of large numbers of birds have been made by qualified ornithologists, so a reasonable doubt exists that they were ever as numerous as some believe. Records are authentic for distribution, and while trumpeters may not have numbered in the millions, they were found throughout the West. Whether there were many or very many, we know that the trumpeter was intensely persecuted from the time white men entered the country. Trumpeters fly low, near the borders of lakes and marshes, exactly where hunting is easiest. They often wintered on the only open water in cold areas, a habit which tended to concentrate hunting on the species more than on the whistler.

As prairie land was taken up, nesting marshes and potholes were drained. By 1912, E. H. Forbush stated, "The trumpeter has succumbed to incessant persecution in all parts of its range, and its total extinction is now only a matter of years." This seemed true, and by the 1920's the bird had almost vanished. By 1935, there were 73 swans in the United States by actual count, the bulk of these on Red Rock Lakes, Mont., and in Yellowstone Park. If any year was ever critical to a bird, 1935, was the year for the trumpeter. That was the golden year of national wildlife refuge expansion. Large Federal emergency fund appropriations provided money for acquisition and enlargement of many refuges on a scale never since equaled. Red Rock Lakes was one of these. Federal lands were withdrawn for wildlife purposes, private ranches purchased, and the remnants of the trumpeters at last had a home of their own, dedicated solely to their welfare. Forty thousand acres it was, swan breeding and wintering country since the end of the last Ice Age.

Swans had always nested here. Cowboys of the eighties roped and butchered cygnets to vary a diet of beef and beans. Market hunters and commercial duck clubs had operated. One commercial enterprise near the turn of the century, strangely enough, may have been responsible for perpetuating the trumpeter. The Wetmore family, oldtime ranchers at Red Rock, started catching trumpeter cygnets for sale to zoos and gardens throughout the country. It was a lucrative business for those times, for prices varied from $50 to $75 a pair. Cygnets must have parents, so the hunters, both market and sport, were requested not to shoot adult swans, and, strangely, they complied. This may have been the help needed to preserve the species.

Since establishment of Red Rock Lakes Refuge in 1935, the trumpeter has had the benefits of all applicable wildlife management techniques. Three of the oldest techniques have had a major part in increasing and spreading the birds over a much larger range. These are provision of breeding and feeding areas, protection, and trapping and transplanting. In the course of these activities, the trumpeter became a much-studied bird, and a great deal has been learned about him. Much more remains to be learned, some of it by scientific studies and some in th manner of the old-fashioned naturalist, by just observing.

The best way to discuss some of these findings, as well as the story of the trumpeter and his habitat and management, is to follow through an annual cycle.

Swan country is high; the home triangle is 5,000 and more feet above sea level. Red Rock Lakes Refuge lies in the eastern end of Centennial Valley, Mont., just west of Yellowstone Park. Here the birds have large marshes for breeding and spring-fed lakes with year-round open water for wintering. Conditions are somewhat different in Idaho's Island Park country and in Yellowstone National Park, where swans are also found. Here they nest in small mountain lakes scattered throughout the rolling timbered country; the shallow lakes are good for both swan and moose. Trumpeters winter primarily on the open waters of Henrys Fork of the Snake River, and its larger spring-fed tributaries. A few birds have been successfully transplanted to the National Elk Refuge near Jackson Hole, Wyo. Their habits here are much the same, breeding on marshy lakes and wintering on the open water of the main stem of the Snake River.

Trumpeters start pairing off in February, and late in the month they spend most of their time on snow-covered meadows. Trumpeting increases as the weather becomes warmer, and by mid-March courtship reaches a peak. Shortly after the ice goes out, usually in mid-May, the swans prepare to nest.

Trumpeters are monogamous and probably mate for life, pairing off when 3 years old and breeding at 5 or more. Alvin Misseldine, formerly the Idaho State Conservation Officer at Island Park, says he could almost always tell when a trumpeter had been killed. The surviving mate flew up and down the river for days calling constantly, and would sometimes sit down in a field and starve to death.

Nests are huge structures constructed of cattails or other marsh vegetation, often 4 to 5 feet across. Muskrat houses frequently serve as a base for the nest. Lacking these, a beaver lodge or any other elevation in the marsh will do. Trumpeters are not particular whether the muskrat houses are active or vacant; both are used. Relatively large nesting territories are needed. In recent years, a staple number of breeding pairs have used Red Rock Lakes. Exactly 44 nests were located in 3 successive years. In Island Park, a pair of trumpeters utilizes an entire lake of 2 to 10 acres in size. One requirement is paramount, that of solitude. Tolerance is very low to human interference; if solitude does not exist, trumpeters will not breed in that place.

Swan eggs are large, and dull white in color. A wide range in egg numbers has been recorded—the usual range given is from 2 to 12. On 2 separate years, nesting studies at Red Rock collected data showing slightly over five eggs per nest (50 nests) 1 year, and just under 5 per nest (32 nests) the other year. The eggs were about 110 millimeters long and 73 millimeters wide. Incubation starts after the last egg is laid and takes about 35 days.

The pair stays together during incubation, although it is believed that the pen does all the incubating. The nest is lined with down, and eggs are covered with down when the pen leaves for her twice-a-day feeding excursions. The cob remains near the nest at all times and warns of any danger. There is usually some protection for the nest; swans prefer a nesting site separated from open water by a strip of bulrush or sedge.

As soon as their down is dry, the cygnets leave the nest and, in a family group, start feeding and exercising near the nest. Distances traveled gradually increase as the young get older. In September, flight lessons start, taught and supervised by the parents. Cygnets are usually flying by early October. Family units normally stay together until March of the following year, when the breeding cycle starts anew.

During this nesting and rearing season, all the birds go through a moult. This flightless time at Red Rock Lakes Refuge is the period for capturing the nonbreeders of all ages for transplanting, banding, and scientific studies. Trumpeters are relatively easy to capture at this time. The method developed at Red Rock Refuge is to chase and catch the swimming swan with an airthrust boat. One man drives the boat, another leans over the side and picks the swan from the water by grasping its neck.

Trumpeters, unlike many species of waterfowl, will not fight when captured, but seem to go into a state of semishock. As many as eight swans can be placed on the floorboards of the boat, resting on their backs. They will remain immobile for extended periods, requiring only an occasional touch on the neck to restrain them. When banded, they are returned to the water and have been observed to lie motionless on their backs for several seconds before righting themselves and swimming away. Capture in this easy fashion does not hurt the birds in any way.

All possible nonbreeding swan are captured and banded at Red Rock Lakes. In 1956, a total of 103 birds were captured and 66 were taken in 1957. The larger number in 1956 represented 65 percent of the nonbreeding birds in the refuge. Thirty percent of the 66 captured in 1957 were repeats of birds banded in previous years. Normal aluminum bands used on other waterfowl have not been successful with swans. Trumpeters wear out bands faster than smaller waterfowl. As a result, stainless steel locking bands are now in use. Birds in Canada are also extensively banded, and a very few Canadian swan have been recovered in the tri-State triangle.

There are two trumpeter census counts each year. One is in August on the breeding areas, and the other in January on the wintering areas. The winter census is part of the nationwide annual waterfowl inventory. Like all wildlife census figures, the census results are not a complete count, but do represent the trend of bird numbers over a period of years; they are essential in evaluating population increase or decrease. The counts have gradually climbed from 73 in 1935 to 735 in 1958, with a general leveling off since 1951. Fluctuations are apparent even in this level plateau of swan numbers, but since the birds have such definite territorial requirements, it is most likely that they are due to flaws in the counting method, rather than changes in bird numbers. This does not imply that the census of trumpeter swans is haphazard or that the methods used are not good. On the contrary, swan counts are checked repeatedly. The enumeration of any wild creature has inherent inaccuracies simply because the count is made of wild creatures free to hide, move, or appear as they choose. Such counts are among the most valuable wildlife management tools used to indicate the relative changes in wildlife numbers. The results of such a census must be considered as an index number, not as the exact population of the species counted.

Over a long period, it became evident that the refuge was producing about all the trumpeters that would live there, although some spread continues through Island Park as more vacant breeding areas are taken up. It was decided in 1938 to undertake the transplanting program that culminated last year in cygnet rearing in Oregon and Nevada. Over 200 birds have been transplanted, but last year was the first successful breeding.

The way has been pointed, and several other areas are being considered as new homes for trumpeters. Transplanted swans are no longer pinioned, but the primary feathers are clipped on one wing to hold them flightless at their new home for a year. After that they are free to move. Low water at Malheur refuge in Oregon has caused trumpeters to seek new habitat in the vicinity.

When the lakes freeze in the fall, trumpeters move to their ice-free winter areas. Some of these are on the refuge and some on the Snake River. A number of swans leave the refuge to winter on the Snake. Food presents a problem and, as the winter progresses, some artificial feeding of grain is done on Red Rock refuge. Measurements made show that 188 wintering swans consume 23 bushels of grain a day. Birds wintering on the Snake River must forage for themselves on river and meadow vegetation. Here they meet a new danger, hunters.

Hunting kill along the Snake River is the only measurable loss of trumpeters. It is a good goose hunting area, and suitable areas are heavily shot over, especially late in the fall. Fog banks hang over the river much of the time and any large bird seen through the fog is usually fired upon. Trumpeters as well as geese fly up and down the river, and so some swans are killed every fall. This kill varies from 10 to 25 a year. Others are killed and never found. Hunters have no excuse; the snow goose season has been closed for many years in all the counties where trumpeters are found, so no possible reason exists for shooting a white bird. Idaho wardens devote a great deal of their time to swan protection in the area. The Fish and Wildlife Service recently assigned a game management agent to law enforcement in the area during the hunting season. His primary responsibility is to prevent shooting of trumpeter swans. Nesting studies show that less than 16 percent of potential trumpeter cygnets are alive at 10 weeks, and only 10 percent of the potential survive to flight age. Every effort must be made to eliminate hunter kill, for each bird killed is potentially a transplanter and is vitally needed for that purpose.

Mr. Frank Belrose fluoroscoped 103 trumpeters on Red Rock Refuge in 1956. These comprised 65 percent of the refuge nonbreeding flock. Although most were young birds, 15 already carried shotgun pellets in their bodies. Man is still the trumpeter's worst enemy, as well as his best friend. Incidentally, weights on these younger birds average 20.98 pounds for males and 17.86 pounds for females.

As trumpeters are transplanted to other areas, the danger of hunter kills will increase. Snow geese are abundant elsewhere, and a closed season on white birds is not practical. Many whistling swans are shot by ignorant hunters each year, and a trumpeter straying from a Federal refuge will be at least as vulnerable as a whistler. Education and good enforcement can reduce but never eliminate the hunting toll on trumpeters. There is some movement of trumpeters from British Columbia to Red Rock. Two trumpeters, wearing bands from British Columbia, were wounded by hunters in Nebraska last year. Some, at least, still migrate, and as trumpeter populations increase, more can be expected to adopt the old specie habits. This will increase the hunter toll. It is one facet of trumpeter management that we must expect and plan for.

The American people have every right to be proud of the restoration job they are doing on the trumpeter. Purchase and development of Red Rock Lakes National Wildlife Refuge, transplanting operations, and enforcement of protective laws have increased trumpeter numbers almost tenfold in 23 years. These are simple techniques, but the swans have responded, mainly because of their limited annual range.

The future of the trumpeter is as secure as any small population can be. Much has been done in the past, and as management and factfinding continues, swans will slowly increase and spread. The sound of a trumpeter's voice can carry 2 miles. It is a sound that could have vanished from our country. For the trumpeter it is still a swan song, not the legendary death song, but the bold trumpet of a species that will be with us into the foreseeable future, the magnificent trumpets in the West.

I Speak for Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1960

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, Laurence A. Denny, Jr., was the California winner in the 1959–60 broadcast script-writing contest sponsored by the National Association of Broadcasters for students in the 10th through 12th grades in all 50 States and the District of Columbia. Laurence lives in the Ninth California District at Redwood City.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include his winning script:

I SPEAK FOR DEMOCRACY

I speak for democracy as an American and a student and citizen at that time in life when my heritage becomes something real, a living reality that is woven into every movement and expression of my daily life. At first, my understanding of democracy is slow and confused. But with the dawning of reason, I realize the position of democracy in my life, and this truth is mine to hold and love. Breathless and fresh as the dawning sun, this truth captures my understanding and it then becomes a part of every fiber of my being.

You may ask, What is this mysterious force which seizes the mind and soul of Americans? It is those principles of freedom, of speech, of religion, of personal expression and fulfillment which so many men have died for—men not only from America, but from all over the world. I experience the very same freedoms as a matter of course in my everyday life. I, even as a student, have the right to stand up and express myself; and, believe me, I have, as many students, had the chance and did speak up. I know that we have freedom of the press and the many other freedoms you undoubtedly hear about. These are the goals which all human hearts and minds strive for, and gladly die for, so great are these among men and before God.

This inheritance of mine is not merely an abstract something contained in nicely worded sentences, but it is as real and part of life as the school which I freely attend to learn and to grow in knowledge of this world of ours; as real as the faith, the religion, which is mine and which is incorporated into my everyday life as an expression of love and adoration to God; as real as the government officials who are freely voted into office; as real as my own vision into the future as to what I shall freely choose to be and there set all my energies before God and men. Truly the nobleness of the human soul can only come in a society such as I am so thankful to God to be a part, a free society.

For truly each man is a part, as I, of this country of ours. Each man, as an individual, has the right to stand up and speak; each man is a voter, freely choosing who will run his Government and how it will be run. And yet we, because of our common ideals, are as one in our communities and our families, working and thinking toward a common goal of peace, prosperity, and happiness everywhere in this world.

The Growth of Arizona

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 14, 1960

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, Newsweek magazine in its issue of January 4, 1960, contains an article entitled, "Phoenix Rises and Soars: 'Miracle' in Arizona." I desire to call this article to the attention of the Senate, and also to supply a few interesting statistics about my State.

Arizona leads the Nation in the rate of employment growth. It has grown 81.2 percent in this category in the past 10 years.

We rank first in the growth of manufacturing employment, showing an increase in that category of 154.5 percent in the past 10 years.

Arizona has produced 36.5 percent of the nonferrous mineral production in the United States.

We have, however, dropped to second place in the rate of growth of agricultural income, increasing by only 90.2 percent in the past 10 years.

We also dropped to second place in the rate of income growth, bowing to Florida, whose rate of increase was 173 percent, while Arizona's percentage of gain was 157 percent in the past 10 years.

Arizona ranked second in bank deposit growth, showing an increase of 148 percent in the past 10 years.

At the same time we have been enjoying these ranks at the top, we have slipped to third place in population growth. Arizona grew only 65.2 percent in that same period. But I remind Senators that in 1950 Arizona had a population of 749,000, where it expects, in the 1960 census, to show a population of 1,300,000. That is a growth, by the way, from only 200,000 in 1910.

Mr. President, so that more people may have the opportunity to read the very interesting and informative article published in Newsweek magazine of January 6, 1960, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PHOENIX RISES AND SOARS: MIRACLE IN ARIZONA

(Four hundred and twenty years ago, Francisco Vásquez de Coronado and his armored conquistadors clanked all over the spectacular scenery of Arizona seeking the mythical, gold-paved Seven Cities of Cibola. The Spaniards never found treasure, but latter-day prospectors did. The new gold seekers, using computers and checkbooks instead of picks, are making strikes more fabulous than Coronado's pipedreams. Associate Editor John A. Conway and John P. Nugent of Newsweek's Los Angeles bureau focus the spotlight on business on ever-growing Arizona and its fabulous pace-setting capital city, Phoenix.)

North of Flagstaff this week, workmen were back at work on the $421 million Glen Canyon Dam, which eventually will add 900,000 kilowatts of new electricity to the State's power grid. To the south, New York real estate man William Zeckendorf (whose grandfather was an Arizona trader) had bought the abandoned copper-mining town of Clarkdale and was talking of putting up a $15 million mill to recover iron and other metals from a 30-million-ton slag pile. Below Tucson, Bing Crosby and a well-heeled group of Hollywood celebrities were staking out miles of silk-stocking ranches. Navajos in the State's northeast corner were getting rich on the Four Corners oil strikes. The quest for more oil and gas had brought in companies like Shell and Humble—along with Zsa Zsa Gabor who leased 30,000 acres in Mojave County for exploration. Around Fort Huachuca, southeast of Tucson, where horse soldiers once rode out after Geronimo, the Pentagon has set up an electronics proving ground and four companies are bidding furiously for contracts that may eventually run to $150 million.

It is all part of a miracle in the desert which has made electronics plants next-door neighbors to starkly beautiful mesas. In the past 10 years, Arizona's income has zoomed from $889 million to $2.2 billion—a 146 percent growth versus 83 percent for the United States as a whole. Agriculture, mining, and tourism helped spark the boom, but the State is proudest of its industrial growth. Arizona turned out about $500 million worth of manufactured goods in 1959 versus only $86 million in 1946.

Heart and hub of the activity is Phoenix, the sprawling city which is the capital of Arizona's business as well as its politics. Right now, Conrad Hilton has scouts looking for a spot in Phoenix to plant a new 100-room hotel. On Central Avenue, the capital's main street, a $50 million uptown center is changing the skyline with a 20-story, $6 million office building that will be the tallest between Los Angeles and Dallas. General Electric's new Phoenix plant has just made the company's largest shipment of computers—$4 million worth—to California, something that must have given the west coast electronic giants a point to ponder.

POPULATION BURST

The postwar migration that has pushed Arizona's population from 714,000 in 1949 to 1.3 million has centered on Phoenix and the mountain-rimmed Salt River Valley around the city. During the same years, Arizona's capital has bulged from 103,000 to 357,000, with another 70,000 in Greater Phoenix, 200,000 more in surrounding Maricopa County.

Until World War II, for instance, Scottsdale, 11 miles from downtown Phoenix, consisted of a gas station, a Chinese grocery store, and a pool hall. Today, it is Arizona's fifth largest city (population: an estimated 15,000) and the center of a rich colony where the bars are semiauthentic Old West and the drinks are martinis, extra dry. With the surging demand for factory and homesites, farmers are getting $20,000 an acre for land that once went for $20, and pastel-painted ranch houses are crowding out the alfalfa and the lettuce.

COOL WATER

Paradoxically, the population boom has helped solve the State's water problem. An acre of homes uses only one-third of the water that an acre of irrigated farmland needs, and during the past 6 years, Arizona's total watered land has shrunk from 1.3 million acres to an even 1 million acres. Farmers, who sell their cultivated land to builders, however, often use their fattened bank accounts to start new deep-well irrigation in places like the Harquahala Valley, west of Phoenix. That helped raise crop income (to $271 million a year today versus $265 million 3 years ago), with cotton still king at $145 million. (Copper mining is still important, but its value declined from $485 million in 1956 to $315 million last year.)

War and the strategic dispersal of industry helped bring business into the desert. "The detonator of growth for Arizona" says Senator BARRY GOLDWATER, scion of a Phoenix department-store family, "was World War II." But the thing that brought the valley explosive peacetime growth for Phoenix—and all Arizona—is a simple priceless asset: fabulous weather. During the past 30 years, for instance, the city airport has been closed in by bad weather for only 4½ hours. Year round, the humidity stays in the blissful thirties, and in answer to the blistering desert summers, the Phoenicians have air-conditioned everything but the streets. (At most, only 20 homes in the city are without it.)

A PLACE TO VISIT

The weather, of course, is made to order for tourists. This year, 3.5 million visitors will pass through Arizona, leave behind $275 million. Some will rough it in tents around the fantastically colored gorges of Grand Canyon, but 2 million will come to Phoenix's valley to pay anywhere from $8 for a motel bed to $65 for a night at the Camelback Inn.

To house the tourist influx, the Salt River Valley, which already boasts half the State's 100,000 hotel, motel, and dude-ranch rooms, is building still more accommodations. At Apache Junction, 30 miles from Phoenix and hard by the Superstition Mountains, ground was broken last week for a $2 million hotel, complete with landing strip.

Every State has its tourists, of course, but Arizona enjoys a plethora of a special kind—the upper-bracket businessmen. They've helped transform Arizona from a cow-copper-and-cotton economy. "The millionaires liked it and went native," explains Herbert A. Leggett, vice president of Phoenix's Valley National Bank, whose 60 branches blanket the State. Philip K. Wrigley, for instance, vacations in an enormous hilltop hacienda in Phoenix—and next door is the Arizona Biltmore Hotel, which he also owns. George Borg, of Borg-Warner, checked into Phoenix's Jokake Inn for 4 days in 1944 and stayed 4 months. He never bought the research plant he came for, but ended up building the Casa Blanca resort.

A PLACE TO STAY

The millionaires brought more than resorts. Motorola, for instance, moved into Phoenix because its late chairman, Paul Galvin, liked the place. Today, the Chicago-based company's three plants in the Phoenix-Scottsdale area employ 3,000 with a total payroll of $18 million a year.

Although Arizona's climate attracts 5,000 new residents each month, they wouldn't stay long without jobs. But the jobs are there, 2,000 new ones a month. Phoenix, for instance, has added 270 new industries in the past 10 years, 50 in the last 12 months.

Once they arrive, the newcomers burgeon like the crops they displace. AiResearch had 170 workers in its 70,000-square-foot Phoenix aircraft component plant in 1950; now it has 650,000 square feet of plant and a payroll of 3,700, biggest in the city. GE picked Phoenix for a computer plant after checking more than 180 cities (because "it was the best possible location in the U.S.," says Chairman Ralph Cordiner), and it was ready to tear down a wall for expansion by the time the new factory opened last February.

COWBOYS AND DOCTORS OF PHILOSOPHY

Phoenix prides itself on catches like GE, Reynolds Metals, Kaiser, and Sperry Rand, but other cities have been beating the bushes, too. In Tucson, where more than one resident dismisses Phoenix as a "cowtown that thinks it's a city," Howard Hughes' missile plant is the biggest employer in the State (5,000 workers). And with the 10,000-student University of Arizona to exploit, Tucson has made a strong bid for more electronics plants. (Its current roster includes Westinghouse Air Brake's Melpar, Inc., Collins Radio, Babb Co., and RCA.) A year ago, Tucson set up a research foundation (backed by $100,000 in contributions) and serenaded 12,000 electronics firms with come-hither letters. The lures seem to be working. Half of RCA's 90 Tucson employees are taking courses at the university, says Manager Allen M. Creighton. (Phoenix is fighting back. Its Arizona State University, once a normal school, will soon award doctors of philosophy in engineering.)

While Tucson hopes to share in the high-salaried harvest in electronics, it also makes no bones about its abundance of cheap labor. It is beating the drums for more clothing firms to join the 14 already there making everything from sun togs for the station-wagon set to sacks for squaws. "We have 10,000 workers right now available for jobs," says Mayor Don Hummel. Other cities will gladly welcome industries even with scenic flaws. Flagstaff, surrounded by stands of ponderosa pine, dreams of paper plants. And last week, Southwest Forest Industries, which already has a lumber mill in Flagstaff, announced plans for a $40 million papermill in Snowflake, 140 miles away near the Mesa Redondo.

To man all this, Arizonians keep on hoping the tenderfeet will keep flocking in to stock what Gov. Paul Fannin calls his State's advantageous labor pool. One of the advantages appears to be the scarcity of unions—Arizona also has a so-called right-to-work law—and the current crop of newcomers should do little to change things. Half the new citizens are professionals and skilled workers, who don't take to unions as readily as others.[1] "The cards aren't all stacked on labor's side here," says Phoenix's Mayor Jack Williams. But, he adds, "we hope that management doesn't ride a good horse to death."

Whether they carry union cards or not, the newcomers will continue to jam into Arizona. Valley National Bank Vice President Leggett figures that 10 million cars pass through the State every year (and along Phoenix's Central Avenue, which averages 32,000 cars a day, the gag runs that "all 10 million meet here"). Many of them will park in the State for good. The State, in fact, is a land of strangers. Governor Fannin

[1] The State, of course, does have its labor troubles. The rambunctious Mine, Mill, and Smelters Union, for instance, keeps the copper mines in continuous uproar. Kennecott called back its workers last week, but other mines, at Bisbee and Ajo still were strikebound.

himself is Kentucky born. Leggett was a New York stock broker.

BARRY GOLDWATER sums up the booster spirit of Phoenix and all Arizona. "Before I die," the Senator says, "Phoenix will be one of the five or six biggest cities in the United States. There is no stopping this State."

Farm Problems and Farm Organizations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONARD G. WOLF
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks I wish to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter written by George Landsgaard which appeared in the Des Moines Register.

This letter points out something that is known among farmers, but is not generally known in the city areas. The Farm Bureau does not represent all of farm opinion. Furthermore, its views, on most questions, are very similar to those of the National Association of Manufacturers, a group hardly known for its public interest attitude or its interest in the economic security of the average worker or the small farmer.

To the EDITOR:

The depression of the 1930's was felt in almost every home in the Nation. In the cities, factories were closed and breadlines were formed; in the country, farmers everywhere lost their farms and homes. Production was high and farmers tried to raise more trying to keep their farms. Supply and demand was in force. Early in the 1930's farm programs were put in force and surpluses soon disappeared and farm prices were boosted. Agriculture was in fair condition for many years.

Several years ago when Secretary of Agriculture Benson took office he asked for a new farm program. It seems the high command of the Farm Bureau Federation also approved of this program and began working for it in Congress with a powerful lobby.

The program seemed to be mostly to lower support prices. The surplus was not big at that time. With some strengthening of that program agriculture could have been in good condition today. Acreage compliance was good and kept surpluses down and there was freedom to produce.

AN INCREASE IN SURPLUSES

As the support prices became lower and lower, acreage compliance decreased less and less every year and surpluses increased. Farmers were forced to increase yield and acreage to make up for the low prices. Surpluses grew to the highest in history.

It seems that the main points of the Farm Bureau Benson program were adopted with disastrous results.

For years the program was given a terrific propaganda campaign and was labeled as the only sound program with freedom to produce. There always was freedom to produce, and no one has proposed a program that wasn't. Then why this propaganda?

MANY FARMERS LOSING HOMES

The Farm Bureau has been saying that the smaller or family sized farm must go, and it seems they are doing a good job of it, because all over the country can be seen farm homesteads which were once a credit to the country and built-up towns and cities now are abandoned and left to decay and rot.

Average farmers everywhere are in desperate condition. Many are losing their homes and farms, and in some areas, less productive, are leaving the farm in large numbers because of mismanagement in agriculture. This is a most inhuman thing to do and seems almost impossible to be in a highly civilized Christian country. This is a sinful act and is in itself a crime. It seems some are ruling with an iron hand and getting by with it.

STUMBLING BLOCKS FOR CONGRESS

Congress knows it is its duty to see to it that agriculture functions properly and has been willing to see to it that it does, but it seems that the Farm Bureau and the Secretary of Agriculture have come up with stumbling blocks. Congress has been confused and divided. If Congress had been permitted to act without interference, agriculture would have been in good condition today.

Congress and farmers were willing to make cheaper food available to lower income families and pensioners through the food-stamp plan. Heaven knows this would have been the human thing to do—share our surplus—but this was opposed.

The Farm Bureau and the Secretary of Agriculture pretend to be friends of agriculture, but it would seem they are not, as they are backed by selfish interests and would rule with ruthless hands. They have proved by their deeds they are not for the farmer and can never be relied on.

GEORGE E. LANDSGAARD.

ST. OLAF, IOWA.

George Catlett Marshall

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 14, 1960

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a beautiful and touching tribute to an adopted son of Virginia, a man I was privileged to know and admire for many years, the late Gen. George Catlett Marshall, by my good friend, Hon. Wilbur C. Hall, before the Leesburg Rotary Club, Leesburg, Va., on the evening of December 10, 1959. Wilbur C. Hall is an outstanding lawyer practicing in the courts of northern Virginia, who had a distinguished record of service in the General Assembly of Virginia.

There being no objection, the tribute was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GEORGE CATLETT MARSHALL: A TRIBUTE

A Prince once said of a warrior dead,
"Taller he seems in death."
—Ancient folk song.

Virginia autumns have a special magic and beauty. Once-green leaves turn garish gold and vermillion. Only the stubborn evergreens hold their green against the sea-blue sky. The earth sags with color and goodness.

Overhead the south-bound birds screech, and in the woods water gurgles as it leaps over a limestone ledge. Still, autumn has a sad note. Summer is over, and winter is not far off. Soon the trees of Leesburg will be "bare ruined choirs, where late the sweet birds sang."

This fall brought with it a special note of sadness. As our October leaves fell, a great American warrior, the master of Dodona Manor, fell too. George Catlett Marshall is our "warrior dead," and as in the ancient song, "Taller he seems in death."

What can I say to you tonight that has not already been said about George Catlett Marshall? On only a few occasions in recent years have so many great men and nations paid such high tribute to one man. The grief and sense of loss felt in our own little town made itself felt in Washington, London, Paris, Tokyo, Hong Kong—yes, even in Moscow. Heads of state vied with each other to strike the deepest note of appreciation. That tough, tart soldier, Field Marshal Montgomery, said: "He was the one man, more than anybody else, who organized the manpower of the United States for war." In France, De Gaulle called him, "a brilliant soldier, known to the four corners of the earth." Our own President Eisenhower, whose fame was so dependent on General Marshall's trust in him said:

"For his unswerving devotion to the safeguarding of the security and freedom of our Nation, for his wise counsel and action and driving determination in times of grave danger, we are lastingly in his debt."

Former President Truman's comment was shorter but no less memorable:

As a military man he was the best since the days of Robert E. Lee.

Because nothing I can say tonight could match either in eloquence or importance such tributes as these, I shall content myself merely with sketching the main outlines and achievements of that life, as one might try to do if he had to boil all of it down to a few pages in a history book. I do so without making any claims to skill as a professional historian, and with the full knowledge that even what the best historians say today will be revised in the light of time. And I do so because I have found in my reading and inquiring a few facts and stories about General Marshall's life which might illuminate his character for you, as they did for me.

On a much earlier fall day—in September 1897, to be precise—the president of the Percy Mining Co. in Fayette County, Pa., wrote a short note to Gen. Scott Shipp, the superintendent of the Virginia Military Institutes in Lexington, Va. It began:

"I send you my youngest, and last. He is bright, full of life, and I believe will get along very well."

The name of this youngest and last son was George Catlett Marshall. His father was right. He would get along very well, indeed.

The 17-year-old lad who went South to Lexington for his education was full of life, and, like all boys, sometimes full of mischief. Once, when his family was entertaining out-of-town guests, he was sent out of the house so that peace and quiet could prevail. Soon after he was out, however, young George became interested in a swarm of bees. Before long, due to boyish provocation, the bees in turn became interested in him. Across the street and back into the house ran the future general, in full retreat. A sudden flank movement fooled the closest bee. But the insect continued its course until it found a suitable target for stinging—who turned out to be the guest of honor.

That he excelled in the drill and discipline of V.M.I. is confirmed by noting that he was selected first corporal, first sergeant, and first captain during his years there. He was not, however, among the most brilliant students. In fact, his early grades were often low. But

they improved steadily during his cadet years, and he finished in the upper half of the class of 1901.

Of course, there is not time to examine his subsequent military career in detail. From 1901 to 1917 he advanced from a newly commissioned lieutenant to a 37 year old lieutenant colonel in the 1st Division. While he was still a lieutenant, General Franklin Bell called him "the greatest military genius in America since Stonewall Jackson." World War I gave ample demonstration that General Bell has spoken shrewdly; World War II proved that he had spoken better than he could have known.

One trait which George Marshall exhibited from the first was a remarkable memory. While serving in the Philippines (1913–15) he amazed his fellow officers by dictating a plan of operation for a maneuver without referring to notes. Years later when a man wrote Marshall and said, "I was with a signal battalion and I came once to see you with another officer in August or September, 1918". Marshall replied: "You came with Major so and so. It was while I was writing on the plans for the St. Mihiel operation, on August 17, 1918."

Some idea of how well Colonel Marshall performed in World War I can be had by pondering General Pershing's contention that Marshall was "the finest officer produced by the conflict."

Serving as chief of operations at 1st Army, and GHQ, Colonel Marshall prepared and supervised plans to bring 220,000 French and Italian troops out of the Meuse-Argonne line and to move up, in 2 weeks, 600,000 Americans with all equipment and supplies. Said the London Post: "It was a fine piece of staff work and no staff could have done it better."

The postwar years saw Colonel Marshall touring European troop areas as General Pershing's aide, and visiting with his chief many parts of the United States. Between 1927 and 1938 he was stationed at various American bases, and had a 3-year tour in China. In 1938, as ominous war clouds gathered over the world, he was called to Washington as head of the War Department's war plans division.

After that, the finger of history pointed to Gen. George Marshall, and he stepped forward to act out his memorable role. In April 1939, President Roosevelt promoted him over the heads of 34 seniors, and on September 1, 1939—the very day Hitler invaded Poland and made World War II inevitable—Marshall became Chief of Staff.

Now his story merges with that magnificent effort to arm, train, and advance which makes the 1940's one of the pivotal decades in history, and World War II one of the tremendous conflicts of all times. No one within range of my voice is ignorant of that titanic strugle: and of the fact that George Catlett Marshall was one of the key figures in it. In 1939, when he took over, our army numbered 200,000. When Hitler surrendered, we had 8,300,000 men under arms—more than 4 million serving overseas. It was General Marzhall who planned and coordinated this enormous effort, and made that army of armies possible.

But like George Washington (whom he inevitably reminds us of), George Marshall was first not only in war, but in peace. If he destroyed nazism as a soldier, he rebuilt democracy as a statesman. It was as Secretary of State (from 1947 to 1949) that George Marshall came to symbolize our new leadership in world politics.

When the old soldier turned to his new office, at 67, the picture was hardly brighter than it had been when he became Chief of Staff the day the war opened in 1939. Free Europe was in the grip of a dreadful winter; both her physical and her moral strength were sapped. Thriving on human misery, communism was bursting the bounds of the Iron Curtain, spilling over into Greece, Italy, Germany, and France. From his firsthand knowledge of the situation, gained from a March trip to a Moscow conference, Secretary Marshall knew that drastic steps were necessary. In June 1947, he delivered a speech at Harvard University which was one of the high points of our time. He announced the Marshall plan to the world.

"Our policy is not directed against any country or doctrine," he said, "but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos. We of the United States are deeply conscious of our responsibilities toward the world." Four years later, $22.5 billion had been distributed among 23 nations. The free world was back on its feet.

"The really important thing that Marshall did," Lord Attlee has said, "and the Marshall plan was only part of it, was to play an integral part in the process by which after the war the Americans were prevented from reverting to the isolationist attitude of mind which even the great Wilson could not sever in 1919." "Without this aid," Churchill has added, "Europe might well have foundered into ruin and misery in which the seeds of communism would have grown at a deadly pace."

George Marshall reached his 70th year as the century reached the halfway mark. Surely now he could enjoy some of the peace and quiet which he deserved as much as any man alive. But no. Shortly after war broke out in Korea, President Truman turned to the one man whom he thought could shoulder fully the responsibilities of the new post of Secretary of Defense—George Marshall. Reluctantly he accepted, and in 1950 and 1951 gave new courage and direction to our military program and defensive efforts. If the free world were pleased, it was certainly not surprised when Marshall was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1953.

So far I have touched on a few outstanding aspects of a life devoted to doing much for others; but before I conclude, I want to mention something very fine, and important, that was done for George Marshall in the last years of his life. I refer to the Marshall Research Foundation, a nonprofit foundation established to collect and preserve the papers and documented record of the career of the soldier-statesman.

Chartered in 1953, the foundation plans to construct a library and museum to house General Marshall's mementoes of a half century of service to the Nation. The State of Virginia has dedicated the land for this project; which will be located on the campus of General Marshall's alma mater, V.M.I.

In 1955 President Eisenhower announced that arrangements had been made by the Department of State, the Defense Department, and the national archives to cooperate fully with the whole program. In 1956, Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., presented the Foundation with $150,000 "to be used exclusively in making a permanent record of General Marshall's papers, which the general has agreed to turn over the Foundation for that purpose, and in the compilation, writing, and publishing of a history of the general's life." Already an able staff is at work on the project, under the direction of Dr. Forrest C. Pogue. Thus the relationship between two of the Old Dominion's most delightful towns, Leesburg and Lexington, is strengthened and enriched.

The master of Dodona Manor has not been many months in his grave in Arlington Cemetery, but already his stature and reputation have begun to grow. "Taller he seems in death." And how right that he should be buried at Arlington, once the home of the Lee family. It was that noblest flower of Virginia aristocracy, Robert E. Lee, who once said that duty was the noblest word in the English language. What career in our generation demonstrates this so clearly as that of our late neighbor, George Marshall, who now rests in the quiet lawn of Arlington?

Who knows when his feeling of greatest satisfaction might have come? When, as a young officer, he helped bring order out of the chaos of trench warfare in World War I? When, as assistant commandant of Ft. Benning (from 1927 to 1932) he helped shape a new doctrine of the infantry, and train such officers as Joe Stilwell, Omar Bradley, and Courtney Hodges? When as a marked man he took over an angry but pathetically trained democracy in 1939, and started to build our greatest Army? Or was it on V–E Day, when that Army could survey the Europe it had liberated?

We do not know. General Marshall chose not to write his memoirs. When offered large sums to do so, he invariably replied that he was admitted to the councils of the President, Prime Minister, and military staffs as a confidential conferee, not as a reporter for the Saturday Evening Post.

Whatever his thoughts, his doubts, and his triumphs, he already belongs to history. Subsequent investigation will change minor details of his story, but his high position is secure. Of all the men who have vouched for this, none has done so more eloquently than Secretary of War Stimson. Here are his words, spoken on the very V–E Day we have just alluded to.

I shall use them as my final words, for I know of no better ones with which to leave you tonight:

"I want to acknowledge my great personal debt to you, General Marshall, in common with the whole country. No one who is thinking of himself can rise to true heights. You have never thought of yourself. Seldom can a man put aside such a thing as being the commanding general of the greatest Army in our history. The decision was made by you for purely unselfish reasons. But you have made your position as Chief of Staff a greater one. I have never seen a task of such magnitude performed by man.

"I have seen a great many soldiers in my lifetime and you, sir, are the finest soldier I have ever known."

Ninety-third Birthday of Dr. Francis E. Townsend

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 14, 1960

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, this month marks the 93d anniversary of the birth Dr. Francis E. Townsend, famed as the founder and president of the organization which bears his name. It has been my privilege to have known the doctor for most of the years since the early 1930's, when he launched his movement to bring security and decency to the retired and disabled citizens of our country. In fact, the headquarters of the Townsend organization is located a few short blocks from the Chamber in which we sit today.

Dr. Townsend, I believe, merits far more recognition than has been accorded him. He was, in truth, the vital force which persuaded the Congress to enact a social security program in the first place. Through the years, when

amendments have been under consideration, the doctor has appeared on Capitol Hill to urge the adoption of changes which would bring social security closer to his ideal, and to help direct the social security program into even more liberal channels.

The results of his efforts have been substantial. Today we near his goal of universal coverage. We are liberalizing in the direction of benefits made available at age 60. We realize now that disability benefits should be provided at the time the disability occurs, and not at an arbitrary age. And I believe, too, that we are inexorably moving toward his principle that retirement benefits should be geared to actual living costs, thus providing insurance in the finest meaning of the word "insurance."

And so I salute Dr. Townsend on this, the occasion of his 93d birthday. Here is a fortunate man indeed—one who has been given the years necessary to see his dream on the very verge of fulfillment.

Disclaimer Affidavit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 14, 1960

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, much debate was devoted last year to the question of the loyalty oath required under the terms of the National Defense Education Act. One of the clearest and most concise analyses of the case against the disclaimer affidavit I have seen was written by Robert F. Goheen, president of Princeton University.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this fine statement be printed in full in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEFENSE EDUCATION ACT OF 1958

Princeton University strongly approves the general intent of the National Defense Education Act of 1958. We have, however, marked objections to two aspects of the act as it stands. These we stated more than 11 months ago when we decided not to apply for fellowship or loans funds under the act in its present form.

One objection is to the degree of Government interference in details of institutional administration latent or explicit in various parts of the act. The other is to the disclaimer affidavit required by the law of all student applicants for loans or fellowships.

A college or university, whether supported by public or private funds, must cling tenaciously to the proposition that its trustees, officers, and faculty are responsible people capable of executing the authority historically entrusted to them. The imposition of arbitrary straitjackets in the use of donations or grants is not acceptable. There are many cases on record in which institutions of higher education have refused to accept gifts whose terms violated established principles of institutional integrity. The unwillingness of a number of colleges and universities to cede to the Federal Government their administrative discretion and responsibility is but one act in a long line of actions which have preserved the freedom and the consequent distinction of American colleges and universities.

There are two oaths required by the act, and it is important to keep them distinct. One is an oath of allegiance to the Constitution of the United States. While we feel that such an oath is downgraded when attached to minor financial transactions, we have no other objections to it.

The other oath required is an affidavit disclaiming association with subversive movements, which, be it noted, are very loosely defined. Because it singles out students as suspect beyond other beneficiaries of Federal support—e.g., steamship and airline employees, farmers, and veterans—we find this provision discriminatory and unfair. Furthermore the implication that young men and women seeking education have, in particular, tendencies toward disloyalty seems to us unwarranted.

It was reassuring, therefore, to have President Eisenhower state on December 2, 1959, in answer to a reporter's question about possible changes in this act, "But for my part, I should think that the loyalty oath, the basic citizenship oath, is sufficient." In this opinion we wholly concur.

Stated categorically, Princeton's objections to the disclaimer affidavit may be summarized as follows:

1. The affidavit is discriminatory. The imposition of the disclaimer clause strongly infers, first, that American college students as a group are particularly suspect of disloyalty as opposed to the general citizenry and, second, that American institutions of higher learning have not fulfilled their responsibility by selecting and supporting students of loyalty and integrity.

In inferring that selected young persons upon whom our Nation depends for its future leadership are peculiarly liable to be disloyal to their country, it singles out students as suspect above all other beneficiaries of Federal aid who are not also employees of the Government.

2. It involves undue Government interference in an area of administration properly belonging to free institutions: At a time when increased Federal concern in and support for higher education seems inevitable, it is doubly important to avoid undue Federal control of education and to protect in every way possible the historic self-determining role of American institutions of higher education.

The disclaimer, repeated each time a fellowship or loan in any amount is awarded to an individual, is imposed as a compulsory procedure upon institutions which have long sustained positions of trust and responsibility in the selection of students for scholarships. Under the terms of the act, it must be exacted by the institution, and in the loan program it covers the administration of funds supplied by the institution itself because they become intermingled with funds provided by the Government.

3. It is unfair, and contrary to our national heritage: The imposition of the disclaimer affidavit, which offers no clear and definite criteria for determining subversion and which is similar to the affidavit of nonbelief removed by Congress from the Taft-Hartley Act last summer, suggests the right of government to investigate individuals for their beliefs and not on the basis of overt actions. As such, in the judgment of many persons experienced in law, the constitutionality of the disclaimer is extremely dubious. It is essentially, as has been emphasized by the American Council on Education, an affront to individual freedom of belief and conscience, the safeguarding of which has been one of the great accomplishments of our Nation.

4. It is negative and self-defeating: The inclusion of the disclaimer affidavit in this legislation carries the unfortunate implication that the whole process of free inquiry in this country needs to be curbed. It is in this respect disturbingly shortsighted. There is no safety for a free people in apprehension and timorousness, especially in a time when the extension of educational opportunity, intellectual boldness, and the quest for new knowledge are essential weapons in our contest with the Soviet Union and with international communism.

The loyalty of free men rests on intelligence and is self-won; it cannot be coerced or compelled. Its surest guarantee in our society is freedom to pursue the truth, along with freedom of religion, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly. These all require having confidence in freedom and in the institutions of freedom.

5. It is ineffective and unnecessary: The affidavit offers only illusory protection against those who would abuse our heritage of law and freedom, for they would not hesitate to sign. It is a most uncertain instrument and is reminiscent of the long and distressing history of political and religious test oaths—tragic symbols of nagging and harmful distrust of individuals and institutions.

Sufficient to the purpose sought in the act's positive requirement of the traditional citizenship oath, or affirmation, which states: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of America and will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic."

ROBERT F. GOHEEN.

Holiday Greetings of the American Legion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 14, 1960

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the body of the RECORD, I include this very fine holiday greeting letter from the national commander of the American Legion, Martin B. McKneally. I am sure he sent this letter to all Members of Congress, but I think it is nice for the readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD all over our country to see the fine patriotic spirit shown in these holiday greetings of the American Legion. I believe the Congress will wish to join with me in sending the Legion every possible holiday wish for the coming year.

The letter follows:

THE AMERICAN LEGION,
December 23, 1959.

Hon. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSWOMAN ROGERS: In the mood of the holiday season may I express to you the best wishes of all our members. Now, as at all other times of the year, we are thankful for the manner in which the Congress has viewed the programs submitted in the name of the war veteran and his dependents.

During the coming months we shall hope that we may be given the wisdom to match

the tasks assigned to us as we present to you those programs in the field of veterans' affairs which seek to correct existing law in the light of changed conditions.

Our interests in the field of veterans' affairs go hand in hand with the desire to do all that may be proper in making Americanism a living expression of the thoughts of our Founding Fathers; to assure a peace with security so that our Nation, under God, may continue to symbolize the world's hope for freedom.

For the present, let me associate myself with those in the American Legion who have been aware of, and have expressed confidence in, the will of the Congress to maintain and perfect those laws governing the field of veterans' affairs.

Sincerely yours,

MARTIN B. MCKNEALLY.

Special Senate Showing of "On the Beach"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 14, 1960

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, it was my pleasure on Monday to sponsor a special Capitol Hill showing of the film "On the Beach." I want to thank all my colleagues and the many other Hill people who were in attendance. The response to my invitation was so overwhelming that two showings were required to accommodate all those who wanted to see this film. I hope that this did not inconvenience anyone.

I recognize that this film is somewhat controversial, and I therefore appreciate the statement which the Senator from Utah [Mr. BENNETT] made on the Senate floor at about the time the first showing of the film started. I have written a letter to the Senator from Utah expressing my sentiments on the subject, and since this letter may be of interest to other Members of the Senate, I ask unanimous consent that a copy of it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
January 12, 1960.

Hon. WALLACE F. BENNETT,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR WALLACE: I have read your letter and statement on the Senate floor with regard to "On the Beach" with great interest and agree with many of your comments.

Of course, any work of art is subject to varying interpretation, and this film is no exception. To me, it conveys a simple message—the importance of avoiding nuclear war and mistakes in the handling of nuclear weapons. I do not regard it as a plea for peace at any price. I do not regard it as a scientific demonstration of the effects of fallout. Art forms frequently have to be overdrawn in order to create the desired impression, and some dramatic license certainly must be allowed those responsible for this film. But I believe it was important for someone like yourself to call attention to its limitations.

I am glad that you agree that the film was worthy of presentation in the Senate Auditorium, and I appreciate the sincerity of your comments.

With kind personal regards,

Very sincerely yours,

KENNETH B. KEATING.

Dedication of the Pfc. Melvin L. Brown, U.S. Army Reserve Center, Clearfield, Pa., November 1, 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1960

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to participate in the dedication of the U.S. Army Reserve Center, Clearfield, Pa., November 1, 1959, at which time I delivered the dedication address.

The new U.S. Army Reserve Training Center has been named after Pfc. Melvin L. Brown of Mahaffey, Pa., who was awarded the Medal of Honor posthumously in 1951 for his heroism while serving with Company D, 8th Engineer Combat Battalion in Korea.

The 20-year-old soldier, the first Pennsylvanian to receive the Medal of Honor, was the son of the late Mr. and Mrs. Edward D. Brown, Mahaffey, Pa. He was first listed as missing in action and later as killed in action. He is buried in the Mahaffey cemetery.

Participants in the interesting program included county, and borough officials while the Clearfield Area Senior High School Band under the direction of Mr. Harold E. Kuhns rendered musical selections.

The dedication address follows:

ADDRESS GIVEN BY JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, MEMBER OF CONGRESS, 20TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA, AT THE DEDICATION OF THE NEW U.S. ARMY RESERVE TRAINING CENTER AT CLEARFIELD, PA., NOVEMBER 1, 1959

As a veteran of both World Wars, as a member of the Naval Reserve, and as a Member of Congress who has always supported a strong Defense Establishment, I am especially grateful to be able to return again to Clearfield to participate in the dedication of this training center for those patriotic Americans in our Army Reserve.

It is a particular significance that this new U.S. Army Reserve Center is named in memory of the late Pfc. Melvin L. Brown of Mahaffey, Pa., one of Clearfield County's Medal of Honor winners.

He was killed in action September 5, 1950, while serving with Company D, 8th Engineer Combat Battalion.

Private Brown's outstanding war record is well known.

His valor was recognized by various decorations and awards in addition to the Medal of Honor which was awarded posthumously in 1951 for heroism beyond the call of duty.

This U.S. Army Reserve Center is a dignified memorial serving both a practical and a patriotic purpose—a purpose suited to the character and career of Pvt. Melvin L. Brown.

As a memorial it should prove gratifying to all who knew and loved him—and most of all to his living relatives.

It is regretted that Private Brown's mother died 2 years ago and his father in July 1958.

It is good to think that the surviving loved ones of Private Brown, who made the supreme sacrifice in defense of his country, will have ever before their eyes this substantial evidence of the honor in which his name is held by his grateful country.

On this occasion I should like to salute the officers and enlisted men of the Army Reserve units which will use the new center, namely:

1. Headquarters and Headquarters Battery, 4th Howitzer Battalion, 92d Artillery Regiment.
2. Company D, 336th Military Police Battalion.
3. 353d Ordnance Company (ammunition).

In this time of continuing crisis, the vital importance of this Reserve training center here at Clearfield—and of others like it throughout the land—is clearly apparent.

The United States is confronted by a diabolical enemy who is relentlessly seeking to destroy our way of life.

This enemy is armed with weapons of a destructive power hitherto unknown to mankind, including long-range ballistic missiles which can deliver hydrogen warheads.

With these weapons, the enemy can strike in a matter of hours or even minutes.

Soviet missiles can now be shot at the major centers of population and industry of our West European allies.

Many of the most vital military bases and installations of the free world are within the range of Communist missiles, including some of our oversea airbases, which are an important part of our deterrent force and retaliatory power.

The time is soon coming—indeed, it may have already arrived—when Soviet missiles can be aimed at targets here in the United States.

Never in our history has it been as important for the United States to have powerful and vigilant Armed Forces at its command.

A strong program of national preparedness offers the best chance for deterring an all-out nuclear war.

Strength is the only language which the Communists will listen to with respect.

Only through strength can the free world convince the Communist dictators that aggression will not pay.

To deter war, and to win a war if we should be forced to fight, the United States must have a strong retaliatory force of strategic bombers and ballistic missiles that will strike fear in the hearts of those tyrants who would plot aggression against the free world.

Not only must the striking power of this retaliatory bomber and missile force be very formidable, it must also be made as invulnerable to enemy attack as possible.

At the same time, the United States must strive to develop a more effective defense against attack from Soviet bombers and missiles.

If the United States is capable of deflecting a significant portion of the attacking forces, the enemy will be less likely to launch all-out aggression against the free world.

The security and survival of the United States will be placed in grave jeopardy if we fall behind in the race for military supremacy.

If the Soviet Union should succeed in its attempt to gain a decisive military advantage, the United States is likely to be con-

fronted with the disastrous choice between appeasement or all-out war on terms favorable to the Communist bloc.

The recent achievements of the Soviet Union in missile development—especially during the past 2 years—has increased the urgent necessity for strengthening our ability to deter and, if need be, to win a general nuclear war.

However, the military threat from international communism is by no means confined to long-range missiles and hydrogen bombs.

The ground forces in the Communist bloc outnumber those in the free world by about 2 million men.

The Soviet Army, alone, is over 2½ million strong, whereas there are less than 900,000 in our Army.

The Red Army is the only major ground force in the world today that has a completely new postwar arsenal of weapons.

It is capable of fighting either a big war or a small war, with nuclear or conventional weapons, in any kind of climate or terrain.

At present, strong Communist forces are deployed adjacent to the Middle East, Western Europe, North Korea, Southeast Asia, and Formosa.

The threat of these Communist forces represents piecemeal aggression and is part of a plan to conquer the free world in installments, thus posing an even greater danger than all-out war.

As you well know, during the cold war there have been many diplomatic crises which have been provoked by the blackmailing tactics of international communism.

The dispute over the West's rights in Berlin is a current example.

There have also been several limited-war situations in which maximum firepower was not employed.

The engagements of armed forces in Korea, Indochina, the Formosa Straits, and elsewhere illustrate the dangers of limited war which challenge the free world.

The United States and its allies must have the armed forces which can deter and cope with the threats of limited aggression.

Otherwise, small conflicts may spread into global wars fought with weapons of mutual destruction or the free world may be gradually nibbled to death.

The power needed to deter and repel limited aggression and subversion against the free world is vastly different from hydrogen bombs and long-range missiles.

The forces required for dealing effectively with this kind of situation must be mobile, flexible, and discriminating.

It must be able to engage the enemy without destroying major centers of population and without arousing the moral antagonism of world opinion against the mass slaughter of nuclear warfare.

It should fit the punishment to the crime.

It must be adaptable to a variety of geographic and military situations.

It must not cause the conflict to spread into all-out war.

A strong reserve and national guard is important to our national defense posture.

In past wars—most recently in Korea—the Reserves have been a vital component of our military strength.

In case of either all-out or limited war, the Reserves can put added steel into our Armed Forces.

Our reservists have written a glorious account of themselves on the pages of our Nation's history.

Our first reservists were the colonial militiamen who organized to protect their farms and families against hostile Indians.

The United States has always depended heavily on its reserves of citizen soldiers.

Like the patriotic men who will train at this center, they were peace-loving men who preferred work at their civilian jobs and enjoyed life with their families and friends, free from the disruptions and separations of active military duty.

But in the face of danger to their country these men, with courage and patriotism, always rallied to defend the American way of life.

The progress which our Reserves and National Guard have made during recent years is very commendable.

Our Reserve units have made marked improvements in their organization, training, and general readiness.

They are now more positively oriented toward their primary mission of supporting the active forces.

Better training and recruitment programs have been inaugurated and are now underway.

A larger percentage of Reserve personnel is now participating in the training program.

Better equipment is now being made available.

And maintenance and operations activities have been improved.

In addition, the Reserves and National Guard are now carrying out certain essential air defense functions which were previously performed by the regular services.

In recent years, the reorganization of the U.S. Army has been an almost continuous process.

But the greatest change in the past 25 years has been the conversion to "pentomic" organization.

The "pentomic" organization is now considered the best form of Army structure for adapting nuclear weapons to the battlefield and for deterring and fighting effectively in both limited and all-out wars.

It has now been put into operation in all active Army divisions and nondivisional support units.

If Army Reserve units are to replace, reinforce, or relieve active Army units in wartime, the organization of the Active and Reserve Army must be identical.

The Army Reserves must be capable of performing according to the most up-to-date principles of strategic and tactical mobility.

The organization, training, and deployment of our Reserve combat and support units must conform to the requirements of modern warfare.

As missions, weapons, and tactics change, the members of the Army Reserve must be prepared to assume new assignments and to become proficient in new military occupational specialties.

As a result of new developments, three important changes in our Army Reserve Forces are now occurring.

First, our Army Reserve units are being reorganized into a "pentomic" structure, so that in case of mobilization they can be more quickly integrated into the Regular Army Forces.

Second, the mission of the Army Reserve is more oriented in the direction of rounding out and balancing an Active Army that in peacetime is unbalanced because of limited manpower and financial resources.

Third, the principle has been accepted that the Army Reserves must be prepared to respond on very short notice in event of a national emergency.

Due to the potential enemy's capability of launching an attack with little or no warning time, the Reserves must be prepared to reinforce quickly our Active contingents, both at home and overseas.

The new Reserve policy is to give priority to the men and material which are most essential in aiding our Active Forces to carry out the objectives of our war plans.

For this reason, the Army Reserve must be organized, trained, and equipped to perform its assigned mission of rounding out and balancing the forces of the Active Army almost immediately after an order for mobilization.

However, our war plans do not require that all Reserve units be immediately mobilized in case of emergency.

Those Reserve units which can be organized and trained after the outbreak of hostilities in accordance with our war plans will receive secondary priority in the allocation of manpower, training, and equipment.

Top priority will go to those Reserve contingents that are assigned the mission of immediately reinforcing our Active Forces at the beginning of mobilization.

Men, equipment, and money are limited.

If these resources are spread too thin, the overall effectiveness of our Reserve Forces will be weakened.

Defense plans have been changed in order to meet the threat of the Communist bloc's increasingly strong capabilities in new weapons and techniques of warfare.

The Reserves must be modified to conform to these plans.

Few will dispute the necessity of this requirement.

An important Reserve policy is the assignment of Army and Air Force National Guard units to Continental Air Defense.

This is a form of combat which properly trained and equipped Reserve units should be able to perform effectively.

Continental Air Defense calls for a number of fixed installations which must be manned at all times and prepared for instantaneous action.

The sites of these installations are very often in or near communities which have National Guard or Reserve units.

By assuming these air defense functions, reservists and National Guards men free active servicemen for other combat duties.

Because of the increasing complexity of modern weapons, training is very important to our Reserve program.

The modern reservist is no longer like the self-sufficient frontiersman who at a moment's notice could simply lay down his plow, pick up his rifle, and march off to war.

The modern reservist must be a specialist and a technician.

He must be skilled in the operation and maintenance of complicated weapons and other elaborate pieces of military equipment.

As new weapons and equipment are introduced, he must adapt his skills to the operation of the most up-to-date tools of defense.

Because the Reserves have an important role to play in our national defense, this country has an obligation to treat the members of the Reserves fair and square.

Reservists serve at considerable sacrifice.

They must not be allowed to become the victims of neglect and discrimination.

Their rights and benefits must be protected.

Reservists have spent considerable time and energy developing assets which strengthen our national security.

These assets to our country's defense should not be wasted.

The best training programs and facilities must be provided to see that they are not wasted.

At present, there are about 1 million members in all of our Reserve and National Guard units.

This is an increase of about 50,000 over 1958.

The support of the Army Reserves and the Reserve Officers Training Corps requires only 2 percent of the Army budget and only 1 percent of the total Department of Defense budget.

In view of the relatively small size of our Active Army compared to that of our potential enemies, the role of the U.S. Army Reserve assumes increased importance.

Since the end of the Korean war, the United States has reduced the strength of its Active Forces.

But there is a limit to how few men we can have under arms or available for rapid mobilization.

If we don't have these men in our Active Forces, then we must have them in our Reserves.

A strong and well-trained Reserve organization is essential to our defense posture.

The Reserves are an effective and economical alternative to the maintenance of a larger standing Army.

America cannot afford to relax its vigilance when confronted by the menace of aggressive dictatorship.

The relentless and unscrupulous forces of international communism are watching intently and waiting hopefully for the free world to drop its guard.

Therefore, a strong program of national preparedness offers the best hope of preventing war.

In this time of continuing world crisis, strength is indispensable to the preservation of liberty, justice, and the American way of life.

Ladies and gentlemen, this U.S. Army Reserve training center which we are dedicating here today in the memory of Private Melvin L. Brown is a symbol of America's strength and determination to defend its freedom.

Anti-Semitism Outbreaks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STYLES BRIDGES
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 14, 1960

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, in recent years, America has made great strides toward eliminating ignorant prejudices and bigotry among the peoples of various religious beliefs. I submit that there now exists the healthiest climate for religious understanding in the history of this Nation.

At such a time, it is particularly appalling to read of outbreaks of antisemitism in Europe and in some sections of this country. These anti-Jewish demonstrations are the subject of a hard-hitting editorial entitled "Disgraceful Tactics" which appeared in the January 5 edition of the Manchester (N.H.) Union Leader.

The editorial, written by Publisher William Loeb, places the blame for these outbreaks at the doorstep of the International Communist conspiracy. I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Manchester (N.H.) Union, Jan. 5, 1960]

DISGRACEFUL TACTICS

Decent people everywhere are profoundly shocked at the sudden desecration of Jewish synagogues and the painting of anti-Jewish signs on buildings in West Germany, England, New York City, and in other parts of the world.

This newspaper joins all decent people everywhere in condemning these outrageous actions.

We further urge that the culprit be immediately brought to justice. The culprit, in our estimation, is the Communist-International operating from Moscow.

No coordinated outbreak of anti-Semitism in so many different parts of the world could possibly occur unless it were in response to orders from some central headquarters. There is, unfortunately, no organization in the world that can produce such spontaneous reaction in various parts of the world except the Communist-International. The Communists appear to be responsible for these anti-Jewish symbols appearing in various parts of the world, and especially in Western Germany.

And why do we believe the Reds responsible for these outrages? Because elsewhere—in this country and in other lands—never in the memory of this writer has there been more good will toward different religions, including the Jewish religion. Religious prejudice is at an alltime low in the United States, and that is so elsewhere, from what we have been able to observe.

There is no reason for this outbreak. It had to be planned by someone who had something to gain from it.

The nation to gain most by these outrages is Communist Russia.

The Communists are attempting first to seize Berlin and then to take over all of Germany and then to turn its immense technology to the benefit of the Communist world conquest.

In order to seize Berlin and West Germany they must discredit Adenauer and the German people. What better way to do it than to tell the whole world, "Well, those Germans are still nothing but a bunch of Nazi anti-Semites." Men and women of good will all over the country must remember one thing and never forget it—the Communists conquer more by psychological warfare, and more by dividing peoples, than they do by military arms.

The police in every nation where the fake anti-Semitic outrages have occurred should apprehend the perpetrators of the deeds and carefully and rapidly check back their Communist connections. When the data is assembled, then the heads of the Government of the United States, Germany, England, and the rest of the world should send a note to Khrushchev, telling him that there will be no summit meeting or any other negotiations until this latest Communist skulduggery ceases. But, to our Jewish friends we say—do not be alarmed, do not be upset—these are not genuine outbreaks of anti-Semitism. These are deliberate attempts to disturb you and to arouse suspicions of brother against brother.

There has never been a better era of good feeling between Christians and Jews than the present and it will continue as it is and will grow better as the years go by.

WILLIAM LOEB, *Publisher.*

All Over in 60 Days

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1960

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, in connection with my recent suggestion for shorter presidential campaigns, I append herewith an editorial from the New York Daily News of January 8, 1960. This is typical of the approval with which this proposal has been meeting in many widely separated parts of the country.

The editorial follows:

ALL OVER IN 60 DAYS

Let us, says Representative JOHN S. MONAGAN, Democrat, of Connecticut, have a law limiting presidential campaigns to 60 days, beginning this year. That would cut them to about half their present length.

The proposal sounds good to us, if for no other reason than that television makes it possible for candidates to show themselves faster to more people than they ever could by train, or even by plane. How about some serious discussion of MONAGAN'S idea?

Freedom of Information

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 14, 1960

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, free people must know all possible about the working of their government. This self-evident fact is seldom disputed, and yet we read frequently of controversy about the right to know.

An editorial in the New Brunswick (N.J.) Sunday Home News of January 10 gives a clear and vigorous support for a "Freedom of Information" bill introduced by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. HENNINGS]. I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOR FREEDOM OF INFORMATION

Senator THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., Missouri Democrat and one of the stanchest defenders of the people's right to know, has announced that he is preparing to introduce a freedom of information bill which has been approved by a majority of the members of the Constitutional Rights Subcommittee of which he is chairman.

The bill is a revision of a bill introduced by HENNINGS a year ago. The revision has been made to incorporate in the bill strengthening and clarifying amendments found desirable in studies and hearings conducted by the subcommittee last year.

The Hennings bill rewrites the public information section of the Administrative Procedure Act of 1946. It looks toward more general dissemination of information the public has a right to have, and eliminates restrictive provisions and interpretations of the 1946 act.

HENNINGS says of his bill that it gives agency officials a precise standard for determining what must be made public and what may be kept confidential. Present vague language is eliminated and generalized phrases are clarified.

This is of course what has been needed all along. It is an inherent tendency of many public officials to keep from the public whatever information may seem to be in a clouded area, whatever information may possibly be withheld successfully. Where

the statute is not clear, officials tend to veer to the side of secrecy, on the theory, perhaps, that so far as they are concerned no news is good news.

The existing statute has a variety of provisions giving aid and comfort to the official who, through general timidity or a fear of disclosing errors of his own, wants to withhold information. It has phrases like "any matter relating to the internal management of an agency," and "any function * * * requiring secrecy in the public interest," and "required for good cause to be held confidential." Provisions like this leave so broad a field of interpretation that an official has wide latitude in keeping facts under cover.

HENNINGS points out that under these provisions some officials have taken advantage of the ambiguous language and misused it to conceal, rather than divulge, information which the public has every right to know.

The prospects for the Hennings bill this session seem better than ever before and we trust that he will receive support from his New Jersey colleagues in the Senate. Certainly in these troublous times, there is more than ever a critical need for the people to be as fully informed as possible on what is going on within their Government.

Hon. Thomas Jenkins

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN E. HENDERSON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, in these first days of the new session, we have been shocked at the news of the death of former Congressman THOMAS JENKINS who from 1924 until 1959 represented Ohio's 10th District here with great distinction.

TOM JENKINS became a legend in his own lifetime. The people of his district admired, respected, and loved this man who served them with courage, devotion, and imagination through a tumultuous and crisis-ridden three and one-half decades in his Nation's history. Their feelings were fully shared by all of us who had the honor to serve with him here.

The problems and issues of importance in TOM JENKINS' district are the same in many respects as those which interest the people of the neighboring seven counties of Ohio's 15th Congressional District, which I have the honor to represent. When I came to Congress 5 years ago, this interest in common problems served to bring us together immediately. TOM's helpful advice drawn from his rich experience in public service, and his friendship were of lasting value to me.

I wish to pay tribute to this dedicated statesman who gave so much to the people of his district and to the Nation. To Mrs. Jenkins and his fine family I want to join with my colleagues here in offering my sympathy in the profound loss they have suffered.

Divided Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 14, 1960

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the vital interests of the United States are concerned in the economic discussions now in progress in Paris where Under Secretary Douglas Dillon has been ably representing our country. A searching commentary on the significance of these deliberations, within the framework of the mounting difficulties between the Common Market nations and the Outer Seven, was made in the New York Herald Tribune of January 14, 1960, by Walter Lippmann. America's role as a "candid friend," whose primary concern should be the unity of Europe, the unity of the two Germanys, and the Atlantic community, is the focal point for the analysis. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DIVIDED EUROPE
(By Walter Lippmann)

Mr. Dillon, the Under Secretary of State, is in Paris for a meeting which is concerned with a subject that has not yet interested Americans very much. It is, however, one that interests Europeans passionately. This is the division of almost all of Western Europe into two large trading groups, which are known as the Inner Six and the Outer Seven.

The Inner Six call themselves a "community," which is in itself significant. They have organized a common market within a customs union and they are in the process of developing other common financial and administrative institutions. The Outer Seven call themselves by the looser name of an "association." They are pledged to grant free trade to each other. But as regards the rest of the world they have no common tariff.

The Inner Six consists of France, West Germany, Italy, and the three Low Countries. The Outer Seven consist of the United Kingdom, the three Scandinavian countries, Switzerland, Austria and Portugal. There are five other non-Communist nations which do not belong to either group. They are Iceland, Ireland, Spain, Greece, and Turkey. And, of course, Canada and the United States, though they belong to NATO, do not belong to either of the European trading groups.

Each of the two groups will have preferential tariff discrimination in favor of its own members and against not only the other groups, but against all the outsiders. At present and for the foreseeable future the tariff around the Inner Six will be considerably higher than the average of the tariffs of the Outer Seven.

All these discriminations and differences will create much discord within the Atlantic community. But they are undoubtedly negotiable, especially as the real interest of West Germany, which is to have lower tariffs, is likely in the end to prevail over the protectionism of the French manufacturers. In a negotiation to deal with the lowering of European tariff the United States has powerful cards in its hand, and can surely take care of its own interests.

Our most important interest in the whole subject is not economic. It is political. It has to do with the peace, order and unity of Europe. It is in this context that we should discuss and form American policy toward the rivalry of the two European blocs. I must hasten to say that it is not clear to me now what our policy should eventually be. But it is clear already that the real problem is not one to be dealt with by tariff experts alone but rather by those concerned with political planning and strategy at the highest level.

The Inner Six, with their common market and their growing agreement to harmonize their internal affairs, must be regarded as the nucleus of a new European power. It is correct to say, I believe, that the conception of the European community was born at the end of the war out of the dramatic lessons taught by the war. One lesson was that the Franco-German feud, which had produced 3 wars in 70 years, was suicidal and that it must be ended. The other lesson was that the greatness of Europe in the world could never be restored by the European nations separately, and that if they were to count among the great powers of the earth, they would have to unite.

With these purposes our government has always been in sympathy, and we have not let the probable inconveniences of a customs union deflect our support. That has been, no doubt, the right policy. But it is not a sufficient policy, and the time is at hand when a greater sophistication and less naivete are needed.

In their push toward a greater European unity, toward some kind of confederation, the planners and strategists of the Inner Six have relied upon the energy of vested interests in the larger market to overcome local and national obstructions. They have been eminently successful. But the methods they are using to integrate the Inner Six are making it more difficult to bring a greater unity into Europe as a whole. This is the point which calls for sophisticated examination in Washington.

The integration of the Inner Six—essentially of France and West Germany—has called into being the loose defensive association of the Outer Seven. This division of Europe is not, however, incurable and ominous, once France can be persuaded to permit the Common Market to adopt a low tariff policy.

But for the longer run there is something more serious in the way the Inner Six are developing their community. As they intensify the integration of West Germany with France, they make it increasingly difficult to reunify Germany. The East German economy cannot be integrated with the West German except very slowly and very gradually. That is why there is no enthusiasm for reunification, far from it, in the inner circles of the Common Market community.

Moreover, the increasing political integration of the Inner Six makes it increasingly difficult to envisage the entry of the East European nations into an all-European trading community. The integration of the Inner Six, which is too strong medicine for Sweden, Switzerland, and Austria, would surely be much too strong for let us say Poland or even Yugoslavia.

The community of the Inner Six is a good thing. But it has grown to a point where what it needs in the Government at Washington is not so much a sentimental uncle as a candid friend. This candid friend would be concerned not only with the discrimination of the customs union but also with

the larger problems of unity—of the unity of the two Germanys, of the unity of the Atlantic community, and of the unity of all of Europe.

The Inaugural Oath

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WINT SMITH
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1960

Mr. SMITH of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, among the great men actively participating in the Christian Amendment Movement is Dr. R. J. G. McKnight, D.D., Ph. D.

Dr. McKnight, whose record is listed in "Who's Who in America," has made a special study of the Christian philosophy of civil government and is a scholar of the first rank in this field.

I commend to my colleagues' attention a radio message delivered by Dr. McKnight some time ago, entitled "The Inaugural Oath." This was one of a series of 13 radio programs sponsored by the Christian Amendment Movement.

The message follows:

It was pointed out in the first of these discussions that America is moving toward a definite realization that there is need for divine guidance in her national life and in her participation in world affairs.

In taking the oath prescribed in the Constitution, the President added these words: "So help me God." He uttered these four words solemnly, as a prayer from his heart. It was manifest to all that he recognized that without God's help his best efforts to lead the Nation would fall short.

It seemed that the words of the 127th Psalm, verse 1, were running through his mind: "Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it; except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain."

In the Bibical text this 127th Psalm is ascribed to Solomon.

King Solomon at the beginning of his regin prayed above all for wisdom, and God gave him "wisdom and understanding exceeding much"—and "Solomon's wisdom excelled the wisdom of all the children of the east country and all the wisdom of Egypt" (I Kings 4).

Solomon asked God for wisdom and guidance, and God gave him wisdom "exceeding much"—so that his reign was peaceful and prosperous beyond any period in Israel's history.

"So help me God." The President added these words because he realized that "except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it."

Let us look for a moment at the oath prescribed in the Constitution. It reads: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States." Period.

The words, "So help me God," are not there. The word "God" is not in our Constitution. There is not a suggestion in the oath of any appeal to God to judge the person who does not perform the duties listed in the oath he takes.

What is an oath? An oath is a declaration before God, Who searcheth the heart, that what the one who takes the oath says is true, as God is true, and that calls upon the Judge of all the earth to hold him responsible for all that he has promised to perform.

"An oath without an appeal to God is a violation of the historical practice, both English and Colonial."

More important than that: it is a violation of the specific divine command expressed in Deuteronomy (10:20): "Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and serve Him, and shall swear by His name."

There are those who contend that by the use of the word "solemnly" (in "I do solemnly swear") there is an implicit recognition of God.

Not so.

In legal terminology (and the Constitution is a legal document) the word means only "made in form, ceremonious, conforming with all legal requirements. The formality necessary to render valid a thing done" (see Webster's New International Dictionary).

An atheist could consistently take the oath as it stands in the Constitution. This may shock the average American, but it is true.

If the word "solemnly" in the constitutional oath is taken as indicating that the one who takes the oath takes it with an appeal to God to witness his action and to judge him for his performance or nonperformance of his vows—then the oath takes on a religious aspect. It becomes, for him, a confession that God exists and that God will judge. But it cannot mean that, if the Constitution is to be consistent with itself. And for this reason, the Constitution in the closing lines of article VI stipulates: "But no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States."

If the words, "I do solemnly swear," in the oath of the Constitution, are to be considered as having even an implied recognition of God—then they are in direct contradiction to the prohibition enunciated in article VI which says: "But no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States."

There are those who argue that the framers of article VI did not mean to say "no religious test." What they meant, they say, was "no sectarian test." They meant that no one was to be denied office on the ground that he was a Presbyterian or a Methodist or a Baptist or a Lutheran.

How do they know that the framers of the Constitution meant to say "sectarian" when they said "religious"?

The framers were intelligent men—they understood the meaning of words.

They knew the meaning of the word "religious" and they knew the meaning of the word "sectarian." They knew that these words were not synonymous. They chose the word "religious" and they wrote it down in the Constitution and it stands there today.

They also knew the expression, "I do solemnly swear," was in the oath. It had been there from the beginning. They did not regard the form of the oath as a religious test.

The paragraph containing the "no religious test" clause was written as an amendment to article VI—and was much debated.

The very words used by the Chief Justice in administering the oath raise some very interesting questions:

1. Why did the Chief Justice add to the oath as prescribed in the Constitution the words—"So help you God"?

2. Had the Chief Justice the right or authority to add these words or any other words to the oath prescribed in the Constitution?

3. If Mr. Eisenhower had been an atheist (which, thank God, he is not), could he not have challenged the Chief Justice on the ground that the words, "so help you God," implied a belief in the existence of God—a belief which no atheist can have.

4. Would not his challenge be sustained by the Constitution itself—article VI which stipulates that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States"?

5. Does the Constitution of the United States, as it now stands, give any regard to the law of God for nations and their rulers?

6. Does our Constitution, in its qualification for officials harmonize with the divine prescription (II Samuel 23:3)—"He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of the Lord"?

The Constitution provides generous protection for the rights of men. We call these the "Bill of Rights."

Has the Sovereign God, Who created nations, no rights?

Think it over, Christian citizens.

Major Baseball Leagues Threaten Minor League Cities With Raids and TV Stations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 14, 1960

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to include in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a column from the Washington Post and Times Herald sports section of January 13 by Shirley Povich.

I am moved to make this request because Mr. Povich has emphasized so accurately the unscrupulous raids upon minor baseball leagues by the two existing major leagues. Mr. Povich has seen through the hypocrisy of Commissioner Ford Frick, who now pretends to be concerned over the fate of minor leagues. Mr. Povich has written:

In the rape of the minor leagues, the majors got there first. The greedy radio and television programing by Mr. Frick's leagues into minor league territory, without regard for the welfare of the minors, left the Continental with little to destroy.

I believe this material should appear in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD because no community symbolizes more convincingly the words written by Mr. Povich, than does my own native city of Portland, Oreg. Portland is an outstanding citadel of baseball interest. But raids by the major leagues and the broadcasting into minor-league territory of major-league radio and television programs, all have contributed to diminishing and reducing the possibility of the Portland Baseball Club surviving and really prospering.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article by Shirley Povich be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald, Jan. 13, 1960]

MAJOR BASEBALL LEAGUES THREATEN MINOR LEAGUE CITIES

(By Shirley Povich)

I

The plight of the little fellows has evoked the tender concern this week of those two distinguished bleeding hearts, Redskins Owner George Marshall and Baseball Commissioner Ford Frick. They want nothing evil to happen to, respectively, college football in Texas and minor league baseball.

Marshall is reacting violently to the proposal to put a pro football franchise in Texas because he says the pros would obliterate the college game in that section and such fine institutions as Texas, Texas Christian University, Southern Methodist and Rice would suffer. Somebody has to protect them, so Mr. Marshall says he will vote against expansion of the National Football League.

This adds up to a bit of a switch by Marshall who, in the past, has looked far down his nose at the caliber of the college game and has lambasted the colleges' split-T formation as lazy man's football. However, it seems now to Marshall to be worth preserving. Besides, he doesn't want any more partners in the lushly profitable National Football League.

Mr. Frick, who takes care to say nothing bad about the newly formed Continental Baseball League that wants to go major, what with Congress looking over his shoulder, says, however, he is disturbed. "We can't stand by and see the minor leagues raped," he said, inferring evil intent by the new league.

II

The fear as Mr. Frick expressed it is that the Continental will go wading into minor league territory for new franchises without giving adequate compensation to leagues that might be wrecked by the invasion. This is a responsibility vested in him as commissioner, and he must carry out his duty to make certain the minors are not hurt, and are at least indemnified.

Now this is all wonderful, this concern of the established major leagues for the suffering minors, and it is also new. There used to be less regard for the minors. In the rape of the minor leagues, the majors got there first. The greedy radio and television programing by Mr. Frick's leagues into minor league territory, without regard for the welfare of the minors, left the Continental with little to destroy.

There used to be more than 50 minor leagues. Less than a third of that number has survived the scorched-franchise policy of the majors' radio and telecasts. To the daily telecasts into minor league territory, the majors added the networks' "Game of the Day," and later, the "Game of the Week," until minor league baseball was starved out in dozens of cities and towns.

Ostensibly, Commissioner Frick fell into loving embrace with the new Continental League when he said the majors would welcome it, and he even went further, pinning a "can't miss" label on the new league. The Continental people wish they could be as certain as Frick, what with the conditions he has spelled out for them.

Before the Continental is accepted as a third major league, Frick stipulated, it must not only meet payments for territorial rights but must set up a players' pension fund, comparable to the two existing major leagues. The $50,000 earnest money each club put up for a franchise in the Continental is a trifling sum compared to what it will cost to meet Frick's conditions.

The better guess is that the Continental can miss, and badly, as a third major league, and that National and American League club owners actually are not much alarmed by the prospect they will have company as a big league. Even if Branch Rickey, the astute president of the Continental, gets his franchise holders over the indemnity and pension fund hurdles, there is still much work to do.

III

It will be years before the networks and the big sponsors cut the Continental into the radio-television loot because they will prefer the established shows of the two traditional leagues with their readymade box office stars. The Continental also will be expected to meet big league player payrolls without the comparable revenue of the two existing majors.

The test will be whether the eager new club owners in the Continental will be willing to lose money for a period of years. The majors aren't about to give away any box office attractions and the Continental's player-development program will take many years.

Calling a league a major league doesn't quite make it so. When Buffalo is playing Houston, it will require some imagination by the fans in either city to regard it as bona-fied major league ball. There will be too many leftover connotations of their minor league history, especially when they never see Mickey Mantle or Yogi Berra or Early Wynn or Ted Williams or any of the other established big leaguers. The Continental, if it gets off the ground, could nose dive, too.

Speech by Hon. Vance Brand, Managing Director of the Development Loan Fund

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to commend to the attention of our colleagues the text of a speech delivered by Vance Brand, Managing Director of the Development Loan Fund, at the Far East-America Council in New York City on October 6, 1959.

The following text was released by the Department of State on October 5, 1959:

SPEECH BY MR. VANCE BRAND, MANAGING DIRECTOR OF THE DEVELOPMENT LOAN FUND, AT THE FAR EAST-AMERICA COUNCIL, WALDORF-ASTORIA HOTEL, NEW YORK, N.Y., TUESDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1959

Of the 5 weeks elapsed since I was sworn in as Managing Director of the Development Loan Fund, I have spent almost 2 in the Near East. You will understand, therefore, that I am not yet in a position to describe steps taken and actions accomplished. However, long before I was sworn in I had begun thinking about the DLF and the challenge that it presents. Tonight I am going to tell you some of the ideas that are in my mind, some of the directions in which I shall be aiming, as I set about taking advantage of the opportunity which has been given me.

First, let us size up the agency. The Development Loan Fund is about 2 years old. So far, Congress has appropriated for it a total of $1,400 million in capital funds, of which about $835 million had been committed before I took office. This money is to be used in loans for specific undertakings, public and private, which upon thorough investigation are found to be economically and technically sound and which will contribute to the economic growth and development of free underdeveloped nations. The major outstanding characteristic that distinguishes the Development Loan Fund from other financing agencies is that it can accept repayment in currencies other than those lent. The DLF, by statute, does not make loans which other free world financial institutions are prepared to consider, including private capital, Eximbank, and the IBRD. There are other stipulations and limitations on the agency, but I do not mean to go into descriptive details in my talk tonight.

The Development Loan Fund was established as part of the U.S. policy of assisting free friendly nations and is an important arm of the country's foreign policy. This is manifested by the fact that the Under Secretary of State, Mr. Douglas Dillon, is ex officio the Chairman of its Board of Directors. The other Directors are the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Export-Import Bank, Mr. Samuel C. Waugh; the U.S. Executive Director on the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Mr. T. Graydon Upton; the Director of the International Cooperation Administration, Mr. James W. Riddleberger, and myself.

Next, I shall endeavor to size up the Development Loan Fund's field of operations:

I think of the free world as being divided into three areas. There are the developed countries where private enterprise is already active, and there is no place for an agency like the Development Loan Fund.

Then there is the other extreme. Certain countries in Asia, Africa, and even Latin America are still so undeveloped that free enterprise and mobilized industry find only a limited field in which to work and grow. Here the Development Loan Fund's program should first exert itself. It can help finance the provision of basic facilities, like highways, harbors, waterways, communications, and power systems, which are necessary for the continuous growth of private enterprise. Certainly the technical know-how of American industry should be brought to bear in establishing these facilities, but, at present, it will undoubtedly be used mainly on an employed or consultant basis. The basic development activities generally are nonprofit activities and hence do not provide a proper field for the exercise of the creative vitality of American enterprise. But I am satisfied that a way can and must be found for American industry to take added interest and more responsibility in the other important development processes in those underdeveloped countries—of course, always in cooperation with their people.

This leaves most of the free world's area, the bulk of its population, and a large part of its natural resources in a third intermediate category made up of ambitiously developing but still incompletely developed countries. Here there is still need for basic facilities, and the Development Loan Fund can properly help to provide them. At the same time, these countries are already reaching the stage where American free enterprise is exercising its creative role in cooperation with people of the countries concerned. The problem here, as I see it, is to make sure that the efforts of the Development Loan Fund and other public agencies do not in any way preempt or interfere with, but on the other hand consciously and energetically assist and promote, the activities of private industry and enterprise, American and other.

With such considerations as a background, I ask myself: How can I guide the Development Loan Fund's efforts so as best to carry out its assigned economic-development tasks within its proper field of action?

Let me begin answering that question by saying something that may strike you as rather trite. A man cannot help bringing

into any task his own background and experience, and my background happens to be that of a small-town banker, lawyer, and businessman. Urbana, Ohio, was once an agricultural economy with good banking facilities sufficient for the community without any need to go to Cincinnati or New York for money. I think you know what happened, because it's happened to thousands of similar towns all over the United States. Industries were established and built up. Over the agricultural economy was superimposed a thriving industrial economy. The local banks were no longer able to meet the needs of the community, and people and industries began to borrow funds outside.

I saw all this happen and helped it happen. I went to Cincinnati and New York with these people and helped set up joint accounts with the larger city banks. And I know from my own knowledge that the business relationships thus established did more to draw Cincinnati, New York, and Urbana together, and make them parts of a strong, well-knit economic system, than all the studies on rural-urban sociology ever published.

During my service with the Export-Import Bank I saw one new underdeveloped country after another becoming more active and capable. I saw new industries established and commercial activity broaden. And I came to realize more and more that those countries were going through essentially the same experience that my own community had gone through. In the one case as in the other, it is largely through business relationships that the newly developing areas are being bound together with the more industrialized areas in a strong well-knit free world community. Flourishing business ties constitute a people-to-people kind of relationship that may be more effective in the long run than any other kind.

So first and foremost I want the Development Loan Fund to be an effective instrument for helping create and cement closer business ties between the United States and the underdeveloped or developing countries in which it operates. In other words, I want the considerable powers and resources of the Development Loan Fund to be used to the utmost to help bring the vitality, intelligence, and experience of American private enterprise into those countries to participate in their own development efforts and those of other nations. This is the best way I know of to stimulate economic growth and development.

When I say American private enterprise, I mean every one of the three words. American enterprise, simply because the record proves as a fact that American industry has unexcelled resourcefulness, initiative and creativity. Its qualities have been forged by a century and a half of experience in developing our own large and varied continent, and its record in developmental activities is unmatched. Private enterprise, because I believe the peculiar problems of economic development require the talents of men who have proven themselves as producers and enterprisers.

The Development Loan Fund is not interested in promoting statism, primarily because we believe that statism is a blind alley for any developing nation that aims at sound progress. And enterprise—that word is perhaps the key to the whole concept, because without the spirit of drive and initiative which it implies, development simply cannot take place. Economic growth is as vital a process as bodily growth. It cannot be accomplished with a mechanically conceived set of plans mechanically carried out.

So when you put all three words together—American private enterprise—you have what to my mind is unquestionably the most powerful and effective force, although not the only one, that can be applied to any problem or task of economic development. My desire to have the Development Loan Fund work as closely as possible with this force is not due to any narrow or chauvinistic or doctrinaire reasons. DLF's job is to stimulate economic development; I want it to do its job; I want it to use the best means available in doing so; and American private enterprise is the best means—that is all there is to it.

Now, the profit motive is the driving power of American private enterprise. One of the first things I looked at in my new job is the fact that I do not have to make a profit because I am heading a government agency. Lacking the inspiration of the profit motive, and the guidance and discipline of profit considerations, it is all too easy to make decisions that otherwise might not be made—decisions that in economic affairs at least may lead into blind alleys because they are outside the stream of economic life.

It is true that the Development Loan Fund is a nonprofit agency, but it is also true that its purpose is to stimulate economic development, and I am skeptical of any kind of economic development in the business and industrial sector that does not have the profit motive at its heart and center. In fact, I believe that without profits there will be no effective development. As Dr. Milton Eisenhower said last winter: "Private capital cannot be driven. It must be attracted." So one of the main objectives of the Development Loan Fund, insofar as I am concerned, will be to make sure that each loan opens the legitimate possibility of a reasonable profit for somebody, either directly or indirectly.

Another consideration I am bearing in mind is the fact that the dollar position of the leading friendly developed countries has changed very much for the better during the past decade. Our free world allies are now able to take a much bigger part in the worldwide economic development effort. It is as much to their interest to do so as it is to ours. I see no need for assuming that the United States must always pay most of the cost of international undertakings. The Development Loan Fund is not supposed to make loans for any projects for which financing is available on reasonable terms from any other source. I would like very much to see some of the other industrialized nations become alternative sources of financing to an increasing extent.

The International Development Association, now in process of formation by the World Bank countries, will bring additional funds into the development field, but will not eliminate the need for bilateral assistance by all industrialized nations. I cannot help entertaining the hope that in addition to supporting such institutions, as we do, the other industrialized nations will also expand their own development financing efforts, as we have.

Meanwhile, I would like to see the Development Loan Fund stick very closely to its own particular job, which is to work in the areas where the Export-Import Bank, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and other sources do not reach. The essence of cooperation is to know where one agency's task leaves off and the other's begins. I earnestly believe the Development Loan Fund must become established in the minds of everyone not as a supplementary adjunct to the Export-Import Bank or the World Bank or the ICA, but rather as a unique agency entitled to the solid consideration and backing of American enterprise on its own merits.

I look forward to seeing the Development Loan Fund work hand in hand with representatives of American industry in exploring investment opportunities in the underdeveloped and developing parts of the world. I would like to see a group formed to represent American enterprise—not another advisory committee, but an effective working group, which would cooperate with the Development Loan Fund and the Government, but would form its own programs and goals and be responsible for its own actions. Its members would be willing to send their engineers and their other bright people into the world to see what they can do toward establishing free-enterprise activities in partnership with the nationals of other countries.

I would want the Development Loan Fund to be in a position to back up such an effort by American business with all its powers and resources—to be a cooperative and reliable partner which, when the risks appear substantial, would stand ready to help industry shoulder the financing burden. I believe that with backing of the kind the DLF conceivably might provide, American industry, with all its energy and vitality, might make quick progress in solving the problems which impede the growth of many ambitious new nations.

I know from my experience in the Export-Import Bank that one of the main problems confronting American enterprise in such nations is the need for Government backing and sharing the unusual risks in coping with situations that are beyond the scope of any private firm. On the other hand, when proper governmental support is available, I have seen American firms go into countries like Argentina and work wonders.

There is no doubt that manifold economic opportunities exist in the areas we are talking about, and that these opportunities can be exploited once we find means of getting around difficulties that are basically irrelevant to the economics of the situation—problems that arise mainly from the fact that the world is divided into separate nations, and hence can be dealt with only by national and international bodies.

One such problem concerns the method of repaying development loans. In both the underdeveloped and developing areas there are countries which cannot digest any further dollar-repayable financing. Such countries for the time being need financial assistance in forms adapted to their current position. Such assistance may take the form of local-currency repayment, on fairly long terms, or repayment partly in one currency and partly in another. The point is that repayment problems may have only a very indirect connection with the soundness of a given project from the engineering and economic standpoints.

For example, a plant to manufacture soda ash and related chemicals is being established in Korea. All of the products to be made are needed in Korea and at present are being imported. All of the raw materials except salt are available in the immediate vicinity of the plant, and salt is available elsewhere in Korea. The management of the firm is experienced, and an American firm of engineering consultants has approved the plant plans and confirmed the existence of a market for its output. Labor and technical supervision are no problem. The plant would save more than $2 million a year—ultimately perhaps more than $4 million—in foreign exchange in a country whose foreign-exchange deficits are now largely met by grants from the United States. In spite of all this, the investment climate in Korea is such that neither private sources nor such public sources of credit as the Export-Import Bank, the IBRD, or the International Finance Corporation are interested. The Development Loan Fund has approved a loan of $5,600,000 to help this plant get started, and we regard it as a sound project in spite of the fact that the loan necessarily has to be repaid in local currency.

As I say, this loan is an example of those that have already been made. It illustrates the kind of backing that the Development Loan Fund can provide in support of private enterprise in the face of problems that no private institution can solve by itself. I would like to see such backing placed behind an organized effort by American business in a cooperative drive to open the opportunities of developing regions.

With a mobilized body of American business and industrial talent probing into the underdeveloped and developing countries to search out the many ways in which free enterprise—both American and local—can be established and put to work; with the Development Loan Fund and other financial agencies ready to back up the sound projects that emerge, each in its own appropriate way; with increased effort by other industrialized countries; and with the incalculable power and drive of American free enterprise available to help those countries exploit every opportunity that is opened, the problem of developing the world's economic frontiers into strong, contributing parts of a worldwide free-enterprise community can be cut down to manageable proportions.

At any rate, the Development Loan Fund and American industry are going to cooperate as one team in using U.S. business talent, engineers, economists, brains, and tools for extending the creative ferment of the American industrial revolution into the areas where it is needed. That is the resolution I have formed as I take over new duties, and time will prove to you that I have not formed it in vain.

Not long ago Mr. Douglas Dillon, the Under Secretary of State, who is also the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Development Loan Fund, said:

"An increased flow of U.S. private investment into underdeveloped countries, accompanied by the ingenuity and dynamism that has always characterized U.S. private enterprise, could mean an injection of vitality into the underdeveloped countries that would set off an unparalleled process of economic growth."

That is and will remain our guiding thought in the Development Loan Fund.

Questionnaire Submitted by Senator Milton R. Young to People of North Dakota

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MILTON R. YOUNG
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 14, 1960

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a questionnaire I am sending out to approximately 27,000 North Dakota people.

There being no objection, the questionnaire was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

This questionnaire is being mailed to approximately 27,000 North Dakota people. Included in the list are all North Dakota newspapers, Republican and Democratic, precinct committeemen, 1,000 public officials, every 10th name in the Grand Forks city telephone directory, and many thousands of others representing all occupations.

1. Do you think that foreign aid should be: Abolished? ——. Continued with present amount of funds? ——. Continued with greatly decreased funds? ——.

2. Do you favor legislation to provide Federal aid to education? Yes, ——; No, ——; no opinion, ——.

3. If you plan to vote Republican this year, which of the following would be your choice for President? NIXON, ——; Rockefeller, ——.

4. If you plan to vote Democratic, which of the following would be your choice for President? Humphrey? ——; Kennedy; Stevenson ——, Symington ——.

5. If the following were nominated for President, which one in each group would be your choice? (All candidates listed alphabetically.) Humphrey ——; Nixon, ——. Kennedy, ——; Nixon, ——. Nixon, ——; Stevenson, ——. Rockefeller, ——; Stevenson, ——.

6. Many proposals have been advanced to solve the farm problem. Your views concerning some of the more prominently mentioned programs, as stated in this questionnaire, will be very helpful to me. Space does not permit a more detailed explanation of each program. Would you approve or disapprove the following?

(a) Abolish all price support programs and controls? Yes, ——; no, ——; no opinion,——.

(b) Provide high price supports and marketing quotas for every commodity a farmer produces, with stiff penalties for violation of marketing quotas? Under this proposal price supports would be based on direct production payments for each commodity. Approve, ——; disapprove, ——; no opinion, ——.

(c) Abolish present mandatory 75 percent of parity price supports for wheat and dairy commodities; elimination of the 15-acre provision; elimination of acreage allotments and marketing quotas; price supports for wheat based on the support level for corn (which is primarily based on a 3-year market price average) with adjustments for differences in quality, etc.? According to testimony of proponents, this would result in price supports of approximately $1.10 to $1.20 a bushel. Approve, ——; disapprove, ——; no opinion, ——.

(d) Provide price supports for wheat at 100 percent of parity (presently $2.36 a bushel) for that portion of the farmers' production which is consumed within the United States. (This would be about half of his production.) For the other half, the producer would receive the market price or whatever minimum price support the Congress might provide. Proponents claim that under this program acreage allotments or quotas soon could be eliminated. Approve, ——; disapprove, ——; no opinion, ——.

7. If it would appear impossible for Congress to agree on any new farm legislation, would you approve modifying the present program to make it more workable until a new one could be enacted? This would envision some further cut in production, reducing the present 15-acre exemption to 12 acres or less, and stiffer penalties for violation of quotas. Approve, ——; disapprove, ——; no opinion, ——.

8. Do you approve of the soil bank program? Yes, ——; no, ——; no opinion, ——.

Name ——————; Occupation ——————

Address ——————

Because of the personal nature of some of the questions, you may prefer not to sign your name. Your vote will be tabulated whether you sign it or not. Results will be mailed to you when completed.

Please return to: Senator MILTON R. YOUNG, 3121 Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

A Pioneer in Interracial Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JEFFERY COHELAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, as the 2d session of the 86th Congress approaches the all-important matter of civil rights legislation, it is fitting that we pay tribute to the memory of a pioneer in the field of interracial relations, Dr. George Edmund Haynes. Dr. Haynes was a native of Pine Bluff, Ark., whose career as a social worker, sociologist, lecturer, teacher, and organizer in the field of Negro-white relations won him the highest respect of all Americans.

Under permission to extend my remarks, I submit the following article from the New York Times of January 10 which, on the occasion of Dr. Haynes' death last Friday at the age of 79, reviews his lifetime of dedication. It is my hope that Race Relations Sunday, the second Sunday in February, will have a new emphasis throughout the Nation because of the passing of its founder:

GEORGE E. HAYNES, SOCIOLOGIST, DIES—PIONEER IN GROUPS PROMOTING INTERRACIAL RELATIONS—HEADED URBAN LEAGUE

Dr. George Edmund Haynes, a pioneer in numerous national organizations formed to raise the status of Negroes and to improve interracial relations, died Friday night in Kings County Hospital, Brooklyn, after a short illness. He was 79 years old.

As sociologist, lecturer, teacher, and organizer in the field of Negro-white relations, Dr. Haynes achieved many firsts for men of his race. For 25 years, until his retirement in 1947, he was the first executive secretary of the department of race relations of the former Federal Council of the Churches of Christ.

During and after World War II, Dr. Haynes developed a program of interracial clinics as a method of dealing with racial tensions in more than 30 American cities.

He was cofounder in 1910 and first executive director of the National Urban League, an organization concerned with the problems of Negroes who had migrated from the South.

In 1912 Dr. Haynes became the first Negro to receive a doctor of philosophy degree from Columbia University. He was a charter member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Born in Pine Bluff, Ark., Dr. Haynes spent much of his life in New York. He graduated from Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., and received a master of arts degree from Yale University. Then he became the first Negro graduate of the New York School of Philanthropy (now the New York School of Social Work).

WIDE RANGE OF PROBLEMS

His arguments for better conditions for Negroes were characterized by dignified, scholarly language. They covered the whole range of Negro problems including discrimination in employment, housing, and schooling.

During World War II, in a letter to a New York newspaper, he wrote:

"How can we enlist these black and brown men to fight and work for the Four Freedoms, one of which is freedom from want, and then

deny them jobs to keep themsleves and their families from want?"

Dr. Haynes often emphasized that the world was predominantly colored and that Americans could be digging a pit into which their democracy might fall if they persisted in prejudice against Negroes.

Higher education should also be available for the manual worker who has interest in the fields of liberal knowledge and culture, he said. While a member of the board of trustees of the State University of New York, from 1948 through 1953, he wrote in a letter to the New York Times:

"We should face the fact that making a life is even more important than making a living. Our present social order is suffering because we have a great army of people in industry, agriculture, commerce, and government who are making good incomes for living, but their education has not given them the training and the inspiration of liberal learning which would enrich their lives."

TAUGHT AT CITY COLLEGE

For the last 9 years, until he became ill in November, Dr. Haynes taught at City College. His subjects included Negroes in American History and Culture; Africa in World Affairs, and Principles and Methods of Interracial Adjustment.

A half century ago Dr. Haynes was making studies on Negro migration from the South. His doctoral thesis, "The Negro at Work in New York City," was published by Columbia University Press in 1912.

In 1918 he was named Director of Negro Economics for the U.S. Government, serving as special assistant to the Secretary of Labor. He remained with the department for 3 years, on leave from his teaching duties at Fisk University. He completed a book, "The Trend of the Races," in 1922.

While heading the race relations department for the Council of Churches, Dr. Haynes promoted the idea of Race Relations Sunday, the second Sunday of each February. He prodded churches to end segregation practices.

In 1910 Dr. Haynes married Elizabeth Ross of Montgomery, Ala. She died in 1953.

Surviving are his widow, the former Olye L. Jeter, of Newport, R.I., whom he married in 1955; a son, George Edmund Haynes, Jr., and two grandsons. Dr. Haynes resided at 303 Tecumseh Avenue, Mount Vernon, N.Y.

Tribute to Steven Carter

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN KYL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1960

Mr. KYL. Mr. Speaker, in the congressional campaign of 1958 I was a political opponent of the late STEVEN CARTER. He was my Congressman the year he served in the House.

In the years I have known STEVEN CARTER he was a Christian gentleman and a man of courage. He was a good father, and his love of young people took his efforts beyond his family to activities with the Boy Scouts and other youth groups. He was a good neighbor, and the support his home people gave him at the political polls is proof of the high regard in which he was held by those who know him best.

For his fine family there should be solace in the fact that his life was dedicated to that which is right, and that he will remain an inspiration for many who had the benefit of his guidance.

The Impact of Imported Cars on the American Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to commend to the attention of our colleagues the text of a speech delivered by our former colleague, the Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., at a luncheon meeting of the Advertising Club of Washington, D.C., on October 6, 1959, as follows:

THE IMPACT OF IMPORTED CARS ON THE AMERICAN ECONOMY

(Speech delivered by Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., at luncheon meeting of Advertising Club of Washington, D.C., October 6, 1959)

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, members and guests of the Advertising Club of Washington, D.C., first, may I express my sincere appreciation for the award you have presented me today. I would like to say that this award properly belongs to the hundreds of thousands of Americans who have, in the last few years, bought economical and quality transportation in the form of imported cars and in doing so have had a considerable impact on international trade and the sound development of the economies of western Europe and the United States.

You have asked me to talk for a few minutes this afternoon about the impact of the imported cars on the American economy. First, let us take a quick look at just what this impact has been. What are we talking about? In 1955, 58,000 imports were sold in the United States. In 1956, 98,000 imported cars were sold. In 1957, this figure had doubled to 206,000. In 1958, 377,000 imported cars were sold, and it is estimated that in 1959 at least 600,000 of these imported cars will be sold in America.

This represents approximately 10 percent of all the new cars that will be sold this year and about 70 percent of these cars fall into what we call the economy car class. That is to say that they sell to the customer from $1,100 up to $2,000 with all accessories, except radios and automatic transmissions. This group of economy cars seat between four and five adults comfortably and get from 30 to 60 miles per gallon of gas and have maximum speeds that vary from about 50 miles an hour to 90 or 95 miles an hour, certainly speeds that are comparable to the maximum speed limits on American highways.

The growth of this relatively new segment of the American automobile business has been phenomenal, but it is also having remarkable effects on related industries. For example, one in which all of you are particularly interested, the advertising business, has seen one of the independent importers place advertising contracts in 1959 in amounts reported to be in the neighborhood of several million dollars. Local dealers carrying imported cars are placing additional advertising to make their communities aware of the qualities of their new imported products. The parts and service business, necessary to keep these cars rolling satisfactorily, has taken on a rapid expanion. The American tire companies are racing to bring out new sizes to fit the imports.

The demand for economy cars is not limited to the U.S. market. It has experienced an increasing demand all over the world. For example, during this last year, Volkswagen of Germany, is selling in a new market: the Sheikdom of Kuwait, at the rate of about 60 cars a month. Fiat of Italy, with which I am connected, will sell approximately 85,000 cars in Germany in 1959. Renault of France has made a license agreement with Alfa-Romeo in Italy, who is making the Renault for sale in Italy. The Fiat Co., of Turin, Italy, sells automobiles in a hundred and eleven different countries of the world and the other European factories sell on a comparable international scale. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the worldwide demand for Fiat cars is approximately 2,200 units a day, whereas their production is at present at the rate of 1,600 units a day. This shortage of supply versus demand is true also of several other European manufacturers. In fact, the total imported car sales in 1959 in the United States might have been considerably higher if Fiat and Volkswagon had been able to allocate to the American market all the cars that could have been sold by their respective organizations in this country. However, I am glad to report that both Fiat and Volkswagen are expanding their production in 1960.

Of course, many people ask why this sudden new demand for the economy car. This is a rather complicated question and there have been many surveys taken among buyers of imported cars to determine the answer. But I would say that, generally speaking, there has been a constant rise in the standard of living in the United States, as well as a continually expanding population. This increase in the standard of living has witnessed the constant growth of suburbia. When a family moves from the city to the suburbs, it often becomes a two and sometimes three car family. The head of the family has to drive a considerable distance to work and statistics show that almost 50 percent of imported economy cars are used by the head of the family to drive back and forth to work. The ease of parking and the ease of handling in traffic has been an important reason why many others have bought the economy car. The cost of operating and maintaining an automobile is constantly rising and many people have bought the economy car in order to cut down on these costs and there is no question that the imported car has provided an economical status symbol for many buyers.

This, in short, is the story of how the imported economy car has arrived in the United States automobile market. In my judgment, it is firmly established and is here to stay. Great emphasis is being placed by imported car distributors and dealers on proper parts and service in order to keep satisfied and happy customers. Basically, the product is a good one and the cost of maintenance, as I have said, is remarkably low in comparison to the bigger Detroit products. The customer in turn is getting a new satisfaction and enjoyment out of just plain driving a car and last, but not least, the American public has always been willing and often quite anxious to buy the right product at the right price. As long as European manufacturers continue to give a quality product to supply the basic needs of transportation and they do this at the right price, Americans will continue to buy imported economy cars.

This new and growing imported car business has had a significant effect upon the automobile business in America itself. The Big Three in Detroit this year, as everybody knows, are introducing their new com-

pact cars. In fact, last week General Motors introduced the new Corvair. This week Ford unveils its new Falcon and late this month, Chrysler will bring out its new Valiant. These new compact cars are not so small, being only about 2 feet shorter than their bigger Ford, Chevrolet, and Plymouth brothers. Nor are they quite so cheap. It is estimated that with comparable accessories they will sell at $2,350 and over.

Of course, everybody is asking how the compact cars will affect the imported-car business. I think the answer is not too hard to find because the American public has had the opportunity to buy two American compact cars for some time. The Lark has been on sale for about 18 months and the Rambler has been available for 5 years. Both of these cars have sold well and have developed a large and satisfied group of customers, but, at the same time, the economy imported cars have been almost doubling their market each year.

Therefore, I believe that the new big three compacts will not put us out of business. They, obviously, will affect the market for the higher priced imported cars and during the next few years we may see several of these withdraw from the American market, but I think their major sales will be to new customers and to former owners of Chevrolets, Fords, and Plymouths. Furthermore, I believe that the compact cars will find a ready market abroad, and in so doing, will restore America's position in the international field. In recent years our export of automobiles has fallen off considerably, perhaps for some of the same reasons as has our domestic market, but the compact car should find ready acceptance abroad.

The new compact cars have, without question, created a great and new interest in automobiles generally. Everybody has been waiting to see them, to drive them, and many to pay for them. This renewed interest in automobiles could easily result in 1960 being one of the great years in the history of the American automobile business. It is quite possible that, in 1960, almost 7 million cars will be sold in the United States which would make it the biggest year, except for 1955, in the history of the industry.

Therefore, it can be said that the imported cars caused a revolution in Detroit. Their success has forced the Big Three to reverse their trend of bigger and bigger cars with more and more horse power and ever flashier chrome. Detroit this year, with the introduction of their compact cars—like Jack and Jill have rolled down the hill. They are starting once again to produce transportation instead of what they mistakenly thought was the symbol of status. But a word of warning. Now that Detroit has rolled down the hill, if history repeats itself, they will once again march up the hill and a few years from now the compact cars will once more be the useless giants which, again, will be rejected by the American buying public. It is my guess that the imported cars will never sell more than 13 or 14 percent of the American market but so long as they continue to supply economical quality transportation they will continue to render a service to the American automobile industry and they will continue to provide what a small, but important segment of the buying public, will continue to demand.

There are those who are talking darkly of increasing the tariff on imported cars. To me, this would be an incredibly short sighted and stupid move. Since 1948 when the Marshall plan was commenced, the American people have spent billions of dollars to put Western Europe on its economic feet and in so doing to eliminate the threat of internal communism. We have succeeded and today Western Europe is prosperous. It is marching steadily toward the Common Market, the elimination of tariffs between European countries. Western Europe is today our strongest ally in our quest for a free and peaceful world. In its simplest terms, we must decide whether we favor a policy of trade or of aid. If we do not buy from Western Europe, we will have to subsidize Western Europe or face once again the prospect that because of its poverty it will turn to communism.

And in our own interest, it is important to continue to buy from Western Europe because the dollars that they get from selling automobiles in the United States, they spend here for many of our other products, such as: heavy machinery, machine tools, electronics equipment, refrigerators, radios, television sets, ad infinitum. I happen to know the figures of one company better than those of the others and, therefore, I can tell you that the Fiat Motor Co., in Turin, Italy spends all of the dollars that it makes from selling automobiles in the United States on buying from American manufacturers the very tools with which those automobiles are made, for paying the royalties on license agreements that it has with several American manufacturers, on buying many other items and raw materials that it requires to continue to be one of the greatest industrial operations in Western Europe. If Fiat cannot sell here, it cannot buy here. If Western Europe cannot sell here, it cannot buy here. If Fiat does not continue to employ 80,000 people in its many factories, those people may well turn, as they almost did after World War II, to another system of economic and social life, namely, communism.

One other factor. In the last 4 years the number of Americans employed in manufacturing American goods for export have almost doubled. Therefore, we should look at the impact of foreign imported goods upon the total economy and not upon one segment of the economy. We now pay 8½ percent of the value of every imported car to Uncle Sam. If we were to increase this tariff, the effect would be to virtually exclude the imported economy car from the American market. I can assure you that trade is much cheaper than aid when it comes to the pocketbook of the American taxpayer.

In closing, let me say that the American economy and its capitalist system is based on the theory of competition—competition between ourselves and competition with our friends abroad. I believe that the imported cars have had a good effect upon the automobile industry from the point of view of the consumer in the last few years. I believe that they are here to stay and will continue to have a good and sound effect upon one of America's greatest industries. I also believe that they can continue to have a good effect which will help to raise the standards of living, not only for our people here in America, but of our friends abroad and as we raise the standards of living in the free countries of the world so will we make our way of life more attractive, not only to those so-called neutrals, who now wonder which way to go, but those behind the Iron Curtain who Mr. Khrushchev is so anxious to expose to the competition of coexistence.

Thank you very much for letting me be with you today and thank you again for the award which you were so gracious in giving me.

Hon. Richard M. Simpson

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN E. HENDERSON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, in the tragic death of RICHARD SIMPSON the Congress has lost one of its great leaders and the Nation is made poorer by his passing. He was a man of stature in the rich tradition of Americans who have dedicated their lives to the service of their country. The principles for which he fought so eloquently sprang from a deep conviction that representative government must be both responsive and responsible. He clearly understood this delicate balance in his untiring efforts for all the people of his country.

DICK SIMPSON was my friend whom I admired for his courage, the clarity of his convictions, and his sincere and unswerving loyalty to principle. Perhaps even more I admired qualities of kindliness and humanity which he possessed in such abundance.

I join with my colleagues here in mourning his loss and I wish to extend to his family my most profound sympathy in this time of sorrow.

Paul O. Peters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, a beloved figure is absent from Capitol Hill as we begin this session of Congress, and there are many of us who miss him deeply.

Paul O. Peters passed away, quietly, at his home in Arlington on December 30 and now is resting in Arlington National Cemetery.

For the past 10 years he has edited a daily news bulletin to which may of us subscribed. His skillful analysis of government budgets and agency programs have often appeared in the pages of the RECORD. We will miss his daily calls and the service he rendered.

Paul Peters will be missed also in the great American conservation movement, of which he was a leader for many years. He was known throughout the Nation for his speeches and writings on conservation subjects. He served for many years as a national director of the Izaak Walton League and was instrumental in the establishment of the excellent Izaak Walton League facilities in nearby northern Virginia.

He will be missed by many who knew him only as "Porcupine, Jr.," the nom de plume he used in witty political columns that appeared in a number of journals.

His was a long and remarkable career. I have known few men who had as vast and varied a fund of knowledge or used their knowledge as wisely.

Mr. Peters' memory will be especially cherished in my home area by reason of his great generosity to the College of Wooster at Wooster, Ohio. Late last spring he announced his decision to give his library of some 90,000 volumes and various historical and art objects to the library of that college. He traveled to Wooster to announce that decision, and

on his return expressed to many of us his great satisfaction with the institution.

Earlier he had been fearful that his collection, one of the most complete in existence on governmental and political subjects, would be dispersed at his death. It gave him great pleasure and satisfaction to know that it would be held together and made available for students of government and politics not only of the College of Wooster but many others who may be expected to visit Wooster to refer to the collection.

A new library is under construction at the college and special provision is being made for the Paul O. Peters Room which will house his collection. At the time of his death he was looking forward to consultations with the architect on the design of that room. He had already arranged the shipment of a part of the library.

One could recite many highlights of a long and useful life. Mr. Peters' investigations of political corruption in St. Louis won his newspaper a Pulitzer prize. His service as an investigator for the Small Business Committee of the House, under the chairmanship of Hon. Walter C. Ploeser, and later for the General Accounting Office, saved Americans many millions of tax dollars.

I like to recall an investigative trip he made to Alaska shortly after World War II. Though he was gone several weeks, his expense voucher asked for only $18. He did not believe in wasting tax dollars and he wasted none himself. He had made the trip hitchhiking on military aircraft, bunking in military barracks, and spending only a few dollars for film and cab fare.

He was one of the founders of the Outdoor Writers Association about 20 years ago and regularly attended its meetings.

Though his many friends miss him acutely, we take satisfaction in knowing that his many contributions in the various fields that interested him have built a memorial that will never fade.

Congress Eyes Spending Spree

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, that $4.2 billion budget surplus which President Eisenhower sprung on an unsuspecting Congress and American people in his state of the Union message seems to have stirred up somewhat the same reaction as dad getting a Christmas bonus or winning the Irish sweepstakes.

Every Member of Congress and every columnist and every economist and every taxpayer has been calculating ever since as to how to get rid of it fast.

The taxpayers want it for a tax cut, and the Members of this body have just about as many proposals as there are Members.

It seems to be only the President who can see a sounder fiscal policy for the country and for our descendants in suggesting that it be applied to reduce the national debt.

Today I read an editorial in the Flint Journal of Sunday, January 10, 1960, which I believe deserves the attention of the Members of the Congress; and, pursuant to unanimous consent, I herewith include it in the Appendix of the RECORD:

CONGRESS EYES SPENDING SPREE

Reaction in Congress to President Eisenhower's surprising estimate of a $4.2 billion budget surplus in the next fiscal year was about what should have been expected. But it still was none the less frightening.

With a $290 billion deficit staring them in the face, most of the lawmakers clicked their heels in glee and plunged headlong in one of two directions. Either they came up with proposals as to how to spend the money or they climbed onto their political soapboxes to advocate tax reductions.

It is just such a philosophy "if we're going to get a buck, let's hurry and spend it" that has helped to lead us to the point where $1 of every $10 we pay in taxes goes to pay the interest on past expenditures. Based on today's national debt, taxpayers over the next decade will pay $80 billion, or about the equivalent of the entire 1960 budget, just for interest charges.

There are those, of course, who argue that Mr. Eisenhower is overoptimistic in his estimate. He admittedly is anticipating a cut in Government spending and a great influx of revenue from a booming economy. Many things could alter the situation between now and July 1961, when the fiscal year will close, so the contention has been made that Mr. Eisenhower's forecast is not realistic.

For the moment, we won't attempt to defend or question the soundness of such a long-range prediction. Our concern here is the lack of concern on the part of the Congressmen as to how they spend the taxpayers' money.

The President had in mind something far removed from a new spending splurge when he indulged in his budgetary optimism. In the same message to Congress, he proposed that any such surplus be used to reduce the amount of our national debt.

"Personally, I do not feel that any amount can be properly called a surplus as long as the Nation is in debt," he stated.

"I prefer to think of such an item as a reduction of our children's inherited mortgage."

No such concern for the taxpayers' staggering burden was shared by the majority of Congressmen, who took the President's remarks as an invitation to make some points with special-interest groups. They immediately began sounding off on this country's many needs.

There is no denying that worthwhile programs being pushed by various pressure groups would benefit many people. But, at the same time, there comes a point in budgeting money, whether at a family or national level, beyond which further expenditures can only lead to financial disaster. Our national progress and fiscal integrity are interdependent and inseparable. You can't expect to enjoy the former without insisting on the latter.

It stands to reason that there is a limit to the things that can be bought by borrowing against anticipated revenue. The programs on which Congressmen would spend surplus funds—schools, roads, public works, health, missiles, and so forth—undoubtedly can be defended. But it never seems to occur to those who are so free with our tax dollars to look for possible economy cuts in other expenditures to provide the needed money. They might step on someone's toes and risk political disfavor. It's easier to increase the tax load by adding to our debt. Taxpayers aren't organized as well as the many powerful spending blocs. They confine their efforts to infrequent pained outcries.

The advocates of tax reduction are showing no more wisdom than the heavy spenders. They, too, seem all too willing to turn their backs on our national debt. Tax revision may be advisable, but certainly this is no time to indiscriminately slash taxes because of the possibility of our first budget surplus since 1957.

We believe the President is looking at this country's financial situation much more realistically in holding out the prospect of tax reductions in the future.

The long-talked-about balanced budget is not an impossibility. Neither is tax reduction. But realization of them depends upon acceptance of certain budget limits and a realistic approach to reducing our national debt.

It probably is too much to expect, especially in an election year, but if Congress would substitute reasonableness for selfishness and put the interest of the American taxpayer ahead of political gain, definite progress toward the fiscal stability Mr. Eisenhower seeks could be made over the next fiscal year.

The Consumer Interest in the Continuation of Federal Grading of Lamb

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 14, 1960

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, the House Committee on Agriculture has been conducting hearings this week on the proposal of the Department of Agriculture to suspend for a period of 1 year the voluntary program in effect for Federal grading for quality of lamb and mutton. Because of the widespread interest in this matter, particularly among the Nation's housewives, I include under unanimous consent the statement which I prepared for the committee's hearings giving the reasons why I think the lamb grading program should be continued. In the last session, on several occasions, I placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a number of statements, letters and comments on this matter and there has been such broad response throughout the country to that material that I am sure the statement I have prepared on the current status of the issue will be similarly of interest to many people.

The testimony referred to is as follows:

THE CONSUMER INTEREST IN THE CONTINUATION OF FEDERAL GRADING OF LAMB AND MUTTON CARCASSES

(Testimony by Congresswoman LEONOR K. SULLIVAN, of Missouri, before the House Committee on Agriculture, January 13, 1960)

Chairman COOLEY and members of the Committee on Agriculture, I congratulate the chairman for his prompt action last

month in interceding with the Department of Agriculture to continue the lamb grading program of the Federal Government at least until this committee of the Congress can examine the Department's reasons for wanting to suspend the program. If Chairman COOLEY had not acted when he did, lamb grading would have ended on January 4 without Congress having had the opportunity to look into the issues until after the death sentence had already been executed. Now, with this short reprieve—the second in a period of less than a year—I am hopeful the program can be rescued from the death sentence Mr. Benson has imposed.

In the period since the lamb grading program came under attack last summer until now, I have written or wired the Department on a number of occasions urging consideration for the consumer's stake in this important governmental program. Usually, a month or so later, I receive a polite reply telling me what has been decided in the interim, and I therefore cannot help but have the feeling that expressions from individual Members of Congress carry very little weight in the office of the Secretary of Agriculture. For that reason, I feel that it is most important that this committee, after hearing all of the facts in the controversy, follow up on its hearings by reporting out a resolution calling for the continuation of lamb grading. Otherwise, I am afraid the hearings will have been futile, and the Department under present leadership will continue to pay no attention to any views expressed here except those it may happen to agree with at the moment. This, unfortunately, has been the history of the Department's attitudes under the present Secretary.

CONSUMERS WANT GRADING CONTINUED

Since first intervening in this matter last summer, Mr. Chairman, I have heard from many consumers—not only from St. Louis but from widely separated parts of the Nation—supporting my view that the Federal meat grading program—including lamb grading—should be maintained and its integrity defended. Consumers first learned through the wartime price control programs to look for Federal grades in buying meat, and they still find the grades essential in obtaining fair value for their meat dollar. I will grant that tastes in meat are changing over the years and that many housewives no longer prefer to buy and pay for the high-fat-content prime grades of beef and lamb, but at least they want to have a basis for knowing and measuring the quality of the cuts they do select so that they are certain they are paying only for the quality of cut they are receiving.

The recent revelations of cheating in so many areas of our economy and society—mass, organized cheating often engaged in by respected, if not wholly respectable, business firms, and even by some industries on a broad basis—have emphasized to consumers the absolute necessity for keeping whatever reliable quality guides are available to them. Meat grading is a reliable guide of quality to the consumer. Consumers do not want to see it abandoned.

SMALL PACKERS NEED GRADING TO SURVIVE

And neither do the small packing firms which depend upon Federal grading as their means to compete with the big packers. You are all familiar with the way almost any product can be glamorized by packaging and advertising magic—and that is all right—but Federal grading of meat is the only sure guide the consumer can use to be sure of quality among a host of competing brand names and unbranded cuts. Having graded cuts is therefore the only way the small packer can market his meat in competition with the giants in the industry. This committee has gone to bat too often for the small packer and the small businessman to want to step aside now and allow the small packer to be denied the most important selling tool he has in order to compete with the big packers. As you know, grading does not cost the Federal Government or the Federal taxpayer a cent—it is paid for by the packer who chooses to utilize this service. And I think you have had testimony showing that on lamb, for instance, the prices to the consumer of comparable graded and ungraded cuts in the stores are often, if not usually, identical, indicating that the customer is not paying extra for this helpful service.

Certainly somebody is paying for it, and that somebody is the small packer, out of his profits. But at least he has profits—he is able to compete—because of the existence of this program. One might wonder why the big packers which are not using grading do not reflect the saving in their prices. But that is another story—another issue. Obviously, if grading were eliminated, the packers which do not at present use the service are not going to charge any less for their meat; on the contrary, if they can force out the small packers as competitors, you can be sure the price of lamb will go up.

MANY GROUPS HAVE PROTESTED DEPARTMENT ACTION

Last July, when the Department originally proposed abandoning the lamb grading program, about 1,000 firms, organizations and individuals wrote to the Department of Agriculture on this matter, and apparently the overwhelming majority supported the idea of continuing the program. At least, the Department so indicated in a press release at that time—reassuring those of us interested in the issue that the battle for the continuation of lamb grading had been won. The outpouring of consumer protests and of protests from small business firms directly involved in this matter was the more remarkable in that, up to then, practically nothing had appeared in the newspapers or on television about the Department's intention to end lamb grading. The newspapers in St. Louis had carried information on this, but very few others did.

Since then, the newspapers have become much more interested in this matter, so that today the consumer is alerted to the issue now facing this Committee. I can assure you therefore that if you take action to insist on a continuation of lamb grading it will be broadly supported in the country.

POST-DISPATCH EDITORIAL

Let me list a few of the comments I have received or seen on this:

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch commented editorially that—

"Chairman COOLEY of the House Agriculture Committee deserves the gratitude of consumers for intervening in the suspension of lamb and mutton grading."

Then, after giving the background of the issue, and citing Secretary Benson's decision to suspend grading because representatives of the various segments of the industry could not agree on changes proposed by the Department in the grading regulations, the Post-Dispatch editorial added:

"We imagine Representative COOLEY will want to know, as many consumers certainly do, why the Secretary did not perform the obvious administrative functions of enforcing a decision of his own until the industry could agree on a better. Such a course might still provide a healthy incentive to agreement."

ST. LOUIS CONSUMER FEDERATION PROTESTS

Consumer groups throughout the country have urged continuation of lamb grading. The St. Louis Consumer Federation, which is one of the outstanding organizations of its kind in the country—an alert and well-informed group of outstanding St. Louis residents—advised the Secretary of Agriculture as follows last month, in a letter from Mrs. J. M. Klamon, president:

"Our organization has learned that an order has been issued by your Department suspending lamb and mutton grading service for one year, effective January 4, 1960. The reason given in the press for this suspension is that the industry could not agree on standards. Industry interests, apparently, were the only ones considered; no mention is made of consumer interests.

"Our organization has fought for years to have grades placed on meats and other foods so consumers can buy intelligently. As you know, Federal standards for poultry were made effective only a few years ago.

"For the benefit of the consumers we urge that you reconsider the suspension of lamb and mutton grading. We find ourselves in agreement with those consumers who have already stated that they fear the suspension of lamb and mutton grading is only the first step toward removal of grading from beef.

"We feel that the solution of the problems now present in connection with lamb and mutton standards can be found while the grading program is in effect, and strongly protest the removal of grading from these products.

"We sincerely trust you will reconsider this entire matter for the protection of the consumer.

"Sincerely,

"MRS. J. M. KLAMON,
"President, St. Louis Consumer Federation."

MEAT DEALERS SUPPORT GRADING

Mr. Chairman, I received an equally emphatic letter on this same subject from the president of the Metropolitan St. Louis Meat Dealers' Association, Mr. Morrison McFarland, who points out the difficulty which would confront the small meat dealer if he personally had to grade and evaluate every piece of meat he buys—if he did not have reliable Federal grades to guide him—particularly on top quality meats destined for the hotel, restaurant, and institutional trade.

Even if each meat dealer had the time or the experienced personnel to grade in his own establishment each piece of meat he sold, so as to reassure the customer on quality, please keep in mind the fact that meat merchandising today is done largely through prepackaged meats put out for display in a refrigerated case. As Dorothy Diamond, the columnist on the woman's viewpoint for the magazine Printer's Ink put it in her column directed at people in the advertising and communications fields, "Now that the old-fashioned butcher who used to advise the housewife has become almost as elusive as the maid-of-all-work, and now that meat is sold increasingly in antiseptic prepackaged form, we housewives need and deserve all the help that we have been accustomed to getting from the Government." She makes a good point.

PROTEST TO SECRETARY BENSON

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I want to include in the record of your hearing the admittedly angry telegram I sent to Secretary Benson on this matter on December 9, immediately after hearing in a most roundabout fashion of the decision to suspend lamb grading. If you will recall, I had been very much interested in this matter when it first came to a head last July and had writen to him then and had placed a lot of material in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on this issue and so, in the normal course of things, I would expect to be notified when a decision of last July is suddenly changed in December. But I received no notification of the

change in plans and when I did hear about it—in a roundabout manner—I reacted quite angrily, and sent the wire which I shall attach at the end of my statement. The wire was sent December 9. I received a polite answer to it from an Assistant Secretary on January 8. I shall not include the reply because I am sure you have received the identical information from the Department in these hearings.

But I would like my wire to be included, as follows:

DECEMBER 9, 1959.

Hon. EZRA TAFT BENSON,
Secretary of Agriculture,
Washington, D.C.

I have just learned in a fantastically roundabout manner that you have ordered suspension for 1 year, effective January 4, of U.S. Department of Agriculture lamb grading program which provides quality guidance to consumers. I bitterly protest not only the sudden about-face in the Department's position on this controversial matter but the quiet, unobtrusive, almost surreptitious manner in which the order has been promulgated within the Department without alerting consumers or even notifying those of us in Congress interested in this issue. In contrast, your decision last July 23 to continue the lamb grading program despite wishes of some industry groups was announced with great fanfare via a press conference and widespread news coverage. Consumers believed then the battle was won; apparently all they won was a short reprieve if your latest order stands.

As one who believes sincerely in the important role of meat grading by USDA in protecting consumers on the quality of the meat they buy, I protest what is obviously a surrender by your Department to a few powerful special interest groups which prefer to see the consumer flounder amid conflicting quality claims on meat rather than have clearly marked, federally certified grade standards which the consumer can follow in selecting meat purchases. Suspension of lamb grading appears to be the first step toward eliminating beef and other meat grading programs—programs which are completely self-supporting and operated at no cost to the taxpayer.

May I urge, in view of the long consideration given this matter prior to your decision of last July to continue lamb grading, that the suspension order for January 4 be rescinded. If lamb growers and some big packers believe changes should be made in grading criteria, let them come forward with intelligent, constructive suggestions, rather than be permitted to kill the program by their failure or refusal to agree on proposed changes. In giving in to their demands, I am sorry to say you have sold out the consumer completely.

Your action on this matter convinces me that programs established by Congress primarily to protect consumers rather than merely to aid sellers should be placed within departments which have at least a semblance of interest in the consumer's welfare. This action on lamb grading, coming on top of your ridicule of danger of using a prohibited, cancer-inducing weedkiller on cranberries, indicates the Department of Agriculture under present leadership is concerned only with the tinkling of the cash register on food sales with little or no interest in the quality, purity or value of the food the consumer buys. Is there any way I can state more strongly my dismay over the lamb-grading action, or my conviction that many consumer-important functions of the Department of Agriculture should be transferred to other agencies of Government?

LEONOR K. (Mrs. JOHN B.) SULLIVAN,
Member of Congress, Third District, Missouri.

Mr. Speaker, that concludes the statement given to the committee. To complete the background, I now include as part of my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on this matter the reply I received from the Department of Agriculture to the above wire, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
Washington, D.C., January 8, 1960.

Hon. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN,
House of Representatives.

DEAR CONGRESSWOMAN SULLIVAN: This is in reply to your telegram dated December 9, 1959, to Secretary Benson, protesting the suspension of Federal grading of lamb and mutton for 1 year effective January 4, 1960, as announced by the Department in a press release December 2, 1959.

In evaluating the decision to suspend Federal lamb grading for 1 year, it is necessary to consider the history and sequence of events that prompted this action. The proposal was brought to the Department's attention by the National Wool Growers Association which adopted a resolution on January 29, 1959, stating the Federal grading was detrimental to the efficient merchandising of lamb and urging that the Department suspend Federal lamb grading immediately. The National Lamb Feeders Association had adopted a similar resolution on January 10, 1959.

In view of the widespread interest in this subject, the Department called a meeting on April 17, 1959, of individuals representing various organizations, from producers to retailers, who were directly concerned with the merchandising of lamb. Based upon the statements presented at that meeting, it appeared that the entire industry should have an opportunity to comment on this situation prior to the Department taking any action to discontinue lamb grading. Consequently, notice was published in the Federal Register on May 28, 1959, announcing that the Department of Agriculture was considering the suspension of lamb grading on August 1, 1959, and inviting all interested parties to submit comments by June 22, 1959. At the request of certain segments of the industry, the time for submitting comments was extended until July 6, 1959, and was again extended until July 20, 1959, as requested by Hon. JAMES ROOSEVELT, chairman, Subcommittee No. 5, Select Committee on Small Business, House of Representatives.

During this period for filing comments there was ample opportunity for the entire industry to express its views on this subject. After considering comments of more than 1,000 organizations and individuals, and weighing the matter carefully, the Department issued a press release on July 23, 1959, announcing that Federal lamb grading would be continued and stating that the Department would proceed promptly to consider revised grade standards for lamb and mutton to eliminate any deficiencies in the present standards. At that time it was stated that "If improved grade standards for lamb and mutton are not developed to meet more adequately the needs of the industry the Department will give further consideration to suspension of Federal grading of lamb and mutton carcasses." Following that announcement, Department officials met with an industry group at Kansas City on August 26, 1959. Representatives from all segments of the industry from producers to consumers attended this meeting and advised the Department concerning the objectives to be accomplished in revising the standards. General agreement was reached on the principle of the revision which was to lower the requirements for the two highest grades, Prime and Choice, with the objective of sufficient volume within each of these grades for effective merchandising.

Following the meeting of the general group, the Department met with a technical committee of eight members selected to advise on the techniques of effectuating the changes which were to be proposed. This group met again on September 16 to review the tentative proposals which the Department had developed. At this meeting the technical committee indicated its general agreement with the objectives of the grade standards and final grades placed on demonstration lambs in accordance with the new standards. However, six of the eight members of the committee strongly objected to the use of interior carcass indications of quality in determining grade. The Department maintained the position that the standards should contain all indicators of quality necessary to accomplish a precise evaluation of grade. It was pointed out that without the consideration of internal indications of quality in determining gradelines the Department graders would not be able to maintain a satisfactory degree of uniformity in grading. In view of this, the Department proposed these standards on October 21, 1959. Comments concerning these proposals were received through November 21, 1959, and clearly indicated a substantial lack of agreement within the lamb industry. Consequently, on December 2, 1959, it was announced that Federal lamb grading would be suspended for 1 year and hope was expressed that representative groups in the industry would make every effort to resolve their differences in order to propose a generally acceptable plan for the Department's consideration.

Since issuing this statement, the Department has received numerous comments and we have met with a large number of representatives of producers, consumers, and industry interested in this subject to hear their position regarding this action. In addition, the chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, Hon. HAROLD D. COOLEY, requested that the suspension of Federal grading of lamb and mutton be delayed so as to permit his committee an opportunity to become more fully acquainted with the problem. In respecting his request, the Department announced on December 30, 1959, that the decision on this matter is being withheld for a period up to 1 month (not later than February 8, 1960). A copy of the press release explaining this action is enclosed.

Thank you for forwarding comments for consideration. Your views and suggestions are always welcome and your interest in the Federal meat grading program is appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

CLARENCE L. MILLER,
Assistant Secretary.

Why Coddle Commies?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an excellent editorial from the North Canton (Ohio) Sun:

WHY CODDLE COMMIES?

It is just too bad about these American colleges and universities (12 of them at this writing, and including Harvard and Yale) that have pulled away from Uncle Sam's new

student loan program. It seems they are outraged over the requirement that a student borrowing Uncle Sam's money must declare that he is not a Communist.

We might object to the loan program on the ground that this is none of Uncle's proper business and that in the land of the free and the home of the brave a young fellow, or girl, either, ought to have enough getup and gumption to achieve an education without Government aid. But so long as we have it, the least we can do is to make sure this assistance goes to loyal young Americans and not to traitors.

Didn't these college people ever salute the flag when they went to school? "I pledge allegiance to my flag and to the Republic for which it stands * * *." Are those strange and fearsome words? Or do they think they are too corny for intellectuals? Or do they think the U.N. flag is prettier?

Certainly, if we were one of those well-heeled philanthropists (and there are lots of them) who go around endowing this and that at our institutions of higher learning, we would at least know a dozen of them to keep away from.

Cleveland's Gifted Pupil Classes Reap Dividends

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, in this Nation's quest for leadership and scholarship in all fields, Cleveland is doing its share in developing human resources. At the urging of the women's city club and one of its outstanding leaders, the late Mrs. Benjamin P. Bole, in 1922 the Cleveland Board of Education instituted major work classes for the gifted child. There are now 1,500 of these pupils in the classes from first grade through the sixth. All these children have an intelligence quotient above 125, and each must be directed with specialized care and motivation into achievement that squares with his or her ability.

The Cleveland News in a recent editorial applauded the admirable goals of these classes, and the vision of their founders. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the editorial herewith:

GIFTED PUPIL CLASSES REAP DIVIDENDS

With painstaking care and inspiring results, Cleveland's major work classes for the gifted child are "mining intellectual gold" from this city's youngsters.

These classes, instituted by the board of education in 1922 at the urging of the women's city club and one of its outstanding leaders, the late Mrs. Benjamin P. Bole, are presently helping to refine the potential of 1,500 of these pupils from first grade through the sixth.

All these children are normal except that their intelligence quotient is measured above 125, and each must be directed with specialized care and motivation into achievement that squares with his or her ability.

Described in a series by Mrs. Lucie Hildreth, just concluded in the News, this program is a graphic demonstration of the concern for, and attention given the unusually talented child in Cleveland's educational planning. A follow-up on the futures of these pupils after graduation discloses that they have gone on to dramatic accomplishments in business, science, music, medicine and the arts. And all credit the major work classes for honing their scholarship, social adjustments, and leadership.

In this Nation's quest for leadership and scholarship in all fields, Cleveland is doing its share in developing human resources. This city should applaud the admirable goals of these classes, and the vision of their founders.

Government Lamb Grading

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONARD G. WOLF
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, this week there have been committee hearings on the question of Government lamb grading. I would like to place in the RECORD at this point a letter which I wrote to the chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, the Honorable HAROLD D. COOLEY, and two letters which came to me from the State of Iowa, pointing out the necessity for continued Government grading of lamb.

The letters follow:

JANUARY 14, 1960.

Hon. HAROLD D. COOLEY,
Chairman, Committee on Agriculture, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I had planned to submit a statement on my views concerning the need for Government lamb grading to be included in the hearings on this subject.

This morning, however, I received in the mail two letters which so eloquently state the case for the small packing plant, that I decided instead to submit these letters for inclusion in the printed hearings. I endorse wholeheartedly the position taken in the two letters which follow.

Sincerely yours,

LEONARD G. WOLF,
Representative in Congress.

SOMEWHERE IN IOWA,
January 12, 1960.

Congressman LEONARD WOLF,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. WOLF: One reason why there is so much controversy over lamb grading, and this I have seen, is when Swift & Co. (or any of the other large companies) kills a large bunch of lambs, their grader, not the Government grader, goes through the lambs first and puts "Swift's Premium" on all the best ones; then they want the Government grader to grade the second best "choice" and naturally the choice ones have already been picked out and branded with "Swift's Premium." Then they accuse the grader of not giving them the choice grade and then tell the producer that the Government grader is too tough. When the choice or prime have been picked out, there is nothing left for the grader to work on except the inferior ones. This I have seen, but I could lose my job over this letter, so please don't use it publicly unless I have protection on it.

Sincerely,

SOMEWHERE IN IOWA,
January 12, 1960.

Congressman LEONARD WOLF,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. WOLF: I am writing to you relative to Mr. Benson's order to suspend grading of lambs as of February 6. I thought you would be interested in knowing that if this happens hundreds of small packers will go out of business. This I know for certain as it happened to us when we lost Government grading in our packinghouse. From 1945 until about 1954, we had Government grading. In 1954 or thereabouts new laws were put into effect making it mandatory that we spend at least $50,000 remodeling and enlarging our killing floor so that we could qualify for grading.

Since we did not have the necessary money we were unable to remodel and, consequently, lost our grading. Thereafter we were unable to sell our product at competitive prices as the butchers told us that they could not pay us as much for ungraded meat as they would for graded or highly advertised brands, as their customers wouldn't pay as much for an unknown quality. They further stated that they would just as soon buy our meat if it were graded as they would meat of a highly advertised brand, as people knew they were getting the same quality if it were Government graded. We felt that this law was caused to be put into effect by the big packers to eliminate competition. In our case it worked, as we had to get out of the packing business.

Now the big packers are trying to get the grading taken off lambs so they can in the same way eliminate competition. It seems to me if they do not want grading they should not object to others having it as it is strictly their own choice and the small packer pays for the service if he wants it and can discontinue it at any time. As you already know the grading service is entirely self-supporting and does not cost the taxpayer one cent.

Sincerely yours,

———.

P.S.—Since World War II there has been lots of small packers that have started up because they have had a product equivalent to the large packer, mainly because they have had the U.S. standards to help them sell their products. In other words, they have had "U.S. Choice or U.S. Good."

Now if a large chainstore buyer had to buy a carload of lamb or beef and he called the packinghouse, whose name was, say, Jones, and said "What have you to offer?" the packer, if he has U.S. Choice or U.S. Good, can state that he has the certain grade at a certain price. But if he has no U.S. graded meat, he would have to say, "We have a load of Jones' Choice." Now, which do you think the big buyer would buy?—Jones' Choice, or Swift's Premium, or Armour's Star, or Wilson's Certified, or Morrel's Pride? These big packers are all nationally advertised and naturally the buyer would buy the nationally advertised brand. But when the small packer has Government grading, he has the same quality to sell as the others have because everyone knows the U.S. grades are the same in every packinghouse.

If the large packer doesn't want Government grading he can tell the Government he no longer wants it, as the grading doesn't cost him anything if he doesn't use it. But why take it away from hundreds of small packers, as the packer pays for the service if he wants it and it doesn't cost the taxpayer anything. There is just one answer. As long as the small packer has Government grading he is a threat to their business, and they are trying to eliminate him.

As I have stated before, we had to give up our business because we lost our U.S. grading, and we know this is happening to other small packers. Also, on the other side of the picture, when we had the packinghouse we killed a few mutton and lambs. A few market operators used to buy old mutton and advertise it in the paper as weekend specials, at cutrate prices, as genuine lamb. Most housewives do not know a lamb from a mutton unless it is so graded and marked.

The Farmer's Revolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER NORBLAD
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. NORBLAD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include herewith a very interesting editorial by Mr. Robert Ingalls in the Corvallis (Oreg.) Gazette-Times on the farm problem:

THE FARMER'S REVOLUTION

After a quarter of a century of Federal control of practically every move the farmer makes, from the number of acres he may plant to the price he may get for his yield, the largest farm organization in the Nation has intensified its policy of getting the Government out of agriculture to the point where it may become a veritable revolution.

Looking realistically at the conditions that have given the farmer an increasingly smaller share of the consumer's food dollar, while the householder has been paying more and more for his food basket, the American Farm Bureau Federation put its finger on the sore spot. It found that it is not Government that is to blame for the farmer's plight—a conclusion that any taxpayer burdened with the payment of billions for surplus commodities knows—but food processors, packers, buyers, and others who handle and sell farm commodities.

The Farm Bureau decided that the time has come, not only to get the Government out of agriculture but to let the farmer, not the middleman, control farming. The medium for taking over this control will be a new national marketing association, owned by the Farm Bureau and its State affiliates and empowered to help organize State and regional bargaining groups of producers. In effect, it would create a selling power strong enough to face and contend with the huge buying and processing powers that have grown in the food industry.

The new marketing association would have authority to negotiate contract terms, quality control, and related matters. It is the farmers' answer to the vertical integration and other devices by which food processing groups control commodities from the farm to the retail outlets. The Farm Bureau would reverse this, and let the farmer exercise primary control over his produce.

This revolution may be likened to the formation of organized labor. Farmers are in much the same position as were workers, before unions took over negotiations of wages and working conditions. Except for scattered cooperatives, the farmer has been at the mercy of the big buying combines. Now he means to call the tune himself. It will take time to set up the new marketing association, but the farmer is at last on his way to getting his share of American prosperity by his own initiative, not through the uncertainties of politics.

Farm Survey, Monroe County, Iowa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN KYL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1960

Mr. KYL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following survey reported in the Monroe County News of Albia, Iowa. The results of this survey present in graphic form a story which is of significance to all Americans.

[From the Monroe County News, Albia, Iowa, Jan. 11, 1960]

ONLY HALF OF FARM FAMILIES SUPPORTED BY THEIR FARMS

(This is the second in a series of articles appearing in the Monroe County News and Albia Union-Republican based on results of a study completed recently by the Monroe County Extension Service.)

Only half of the farm families in Monroe County in 1959 farmed without spending some of their time at other occupations.

This information is contained in the report of the Monroe County survey conducted in 1959 by the county extension service. The survey also showed members of farm families are employed off their farms in eight different counties, with several working as far away as Des Moines.

The smaller the farm, the more likely a farmer will have another job, the survey showed. More than half the operators of farms smaller than 40 acres have other jobs.

The survey of the county's 1,163 farm families showed the following numbers and percentages of families in different occupational categories:

Full-time farm families—565 families, 50 percent.

Only head of household works away—254 families, 21.8 percent.

Only wife works away—57 families, 5 percent.

Head of household and wife both work away—52 families, 4.5 percent.

Other adults or combinations work away—54 families, 4.5 percent.

Retired families—150 families, 14.2 percent.

Forty-five farm women work in Albia. Three more work in Lovilia and one in Melrose.

Other cities where farm women are employed and the numbers employed are: Oskaloosa, 6; Des Moines, 4; Ottumwa, 3; Moravia and Eddyville, 2 each; and Newton, Blakesburg, Centerville, Russell, and Chariton, 1 each.

Nine women are employed as nurses; 52 are teachers. Forty-five of the teachers work in Monroe County.

One hundred and fifty-one of the farm men work in Albia. Eight work in Lovilia and one in Melrose.

Seventy-one work in Ottumwa, 16 in Newton, and 12 in Knoxville.

Other towns where they are employed are: Des Moines, 7; Eddyville, 6; Oskaloosa, 5; Moravia, 8; Russell, 2; and Chariton and Centerville, 1 each; 11 of the farm men work in mining; 28 are self-employed.

Substantial numbers of farmers from farms smaller than 80 acres have other jobs. Smaller numbers from farms of 80 acres or larger have other work. Only 3 farmers from the 82 largest farms are part-time farmers.

Numbers of full-time and part-time farmers from farms of different sizes are:

Acres	Full time	Part time
Up to 19	5	17
20 to 39	27	34
40 to 59	59	38
60 to 79	63	41
80 to 99	57	14
100 to 119	73	13
120 to 139	31	4
140 to 159	30	3
160 to 179	16	5
180 to 199	9	1
200 to 219	32	0
220 to 239	5	0
240 to 259	10	1
260 to 279	4	0
280 to 299	5	1
300 and up	14	0

Firm Step Against Nazism on All Fronts in United States and Abroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I am inserting in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial appearing in the Detroit (Mich.) Jewish News of January 8, 1960, by its distinguished editor and publisher, Mr. Philip Slomovitz.

The editorial sets forth very well the real root of the rash of outrages against Jewish temples, homes, and businesses. The painting of swastikas may look like a childish prank or the act of an immature mind to a casual observer, but in fact it is a manifestation of a dangerous sickness which we have witnessed abroad in the world more than once before. Like all other forms of racial and religious intolerance, if left alone long enough it can grow to a situation of immense danger to all.

As is so rightly pointed out, this is nothing but plain anti-Semitism which can and may well soon take the form of other forms of antireligious and anti-minority expression to the detriment of society. It can and must be stamped out ruthlessly.

The editorial follows:

FIRM STEPS AGAINST NAZISM ON ALL FRONTS IN UNITED STATES AND ABROAD

Callousness, indifference, complacency, and policies of appeasement are responsible for the reemergence of nazism in Germany, and the attendant spread of anti-Semitism elsewhere.

It is sheer nonsense to try to pin responsibility for the Nazi acts in European countries on a Communist plot. The new campaign against Jewry is sheer anti-Semitism. It has been encouraged by many weaknesses—by the too-ready acceptance of the view that the young Germans have not been indoctrinated by nazism, by the speed with which the world has forgotten the murder of millions of people by the Nazis, and by the failure of the kinsmen of the martyrs, including the Jews, to continue the fight against nazism in spite of the indifferences toward reemerging bigotries that is evident in the ranks of the statesmen who control the fate of the world.

A swastika painted on a synagogue in Cologne encourages similar acts in London

and New York and Melbourne and Vienna. By striking at the root of the problem in Germany we would be demolishing anti-Semitism. Failure to effectively repudiate neonazism in Bonn may result in renewed anti-Semitic arrogance in Washington.

The lesson is a costly one. Once again we are in the limelight. Now there is need for action. The repudiation of all evidences of anti-Semitism must be firm and uncompromising. proof should be provided quickly that a conscience-stricken world—a victor not so long ago over nazism but now its victim—will declare itself against the new outbursts of bigotry; and that Jewish leadership will face the issues realistically, firmly, and by united action.

Speech Delivered by the Most Reverend Francis J. Green, Auxiliary Bishop of Tucson, Ariz., to St. Thomas More Society on October 29, 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously granted, I wish to include in the RECORD a speech by the Most Reverend Francis J. Green, auxiliary bishop of Tucson, Ariz., to St. Thomas Moore Society on October 29, 1959, as follows:

It is a great pleasure for me to greet you, the members of the St. Thomas More Society and other distinguished members of the bar and bench who have come here today for this annual celebration of the Red Mass. The origin of this custom goes back through the centuries to the Courts of the Sacred Roman Rota. It existed in France in the 13th century, in England in the 14th.

In former times the designation "Red" had more significance than it has today, for not only was the priest who celebrated the Mass clad in the red vestments demanded by the Mass in honor of the Holy Spirit of God, but the assembled judges and members of the legal profession were clad in their crimson robes of office. But through the years, the purpose of the Mass has remained the same.

To ask God to recognize our obligations, and for the grace to fulfill them. God grant that we may receive these graces; God grant that we may co-operate with them.

There are those who think that this supplication for divine aid has no place in our American way of life; who may cry out that this is a relic of the past long since dead and that it should be buried in oblivion; that, God bless us, it violates the principle of separation of Church and State. But they are wrong.

There is no doubt that our Founding Fathers in devising our American form of government were most determined that it would be for all its citizens a haven of peace and justice, and that men of all religious faiths and convictions would be legally free to worship God in these lands according to the dictates of their conscience. To this end they wisely ordained that there would be in America no established church, no official religion. This they wrote into the very charter of our political existence and provided that not even future generations would be able to change it without destroying the very nature of our American way of life. Through the years of our national history we have been faithful to this principle. Certainly no one in his right mind would attempt to change it, or even desire to do so.

But this does not mean that our Founding Fathers were opposed or indifferent to religion, or that they wished in any way to minimize or disparage it in the lives of the citizens. Historically we are a religious people, whose institutions presuppose a supreme being. Our jurisprudence is deeply rooted in our Judaeo-Christian civilization. The American Declaration of Independence was an appeal to the law of nature, and to nature's God, and to the rights which the Creator had endowed all men.

Do you recall the Farewell Address of George Washington as he left office? Among many fine things, of importance to the people of his day as well as to us, he said: "Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion, and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these finest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity.

"Let it simply be asked where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation deserts the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in the courts of justice?

"And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure—reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles."

This conviction of the Father of our Country that without a moral conscience laws cannot be enforced, was echoed by all the Founding Fathers. Alexander Hamilton stated: "Civil liberty is only natural liberty, modified and secured by the sanctions of civil society." Thomas Jefferson asked: "Can the liberties of the Nation be thought secure, when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are the gift of God?"

James Wilson, who signed both the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution wrote: "To direct the more important parts of our conduct, the bountiful Governor of the universe has been graciously pleased to provide us with a law, and to direct the less important parts of it, he has made us capable of providing a law for ourselves."

The American way of life is founded on religious belief. The whole course of its history contains numerous other examples. Perhaps none more beautiful and noble than the document which Abraham Lincoln wrote on August 22, 1861, in answer to a request from both houses of Congress that a day of prayer, humiliation, and fasting be established to speed the restoration of peace between the North and the South.

"It is," writes Lincoln, "fit and becoming to all people, at all times, to acknowledge and revere the supreme government of God; to bow in humble submission to His chastisements, to confess and deplore their sins and transgressions, in the full conviction that the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom: and to pray with all fervency and contrition for the pardon of their past offenses; and for a blessing upon their present and prospective action. * * *

"It is peculiarly fit for us to recognize the hand of God in this terrible visitation, and in sorrowful remembrance of our own faults and crimes as a Nation and as individuals, to humble ourselves before Him and to pray His mercy * * * that the inestimable boon of civil and religious liberty earned under His guidance and blessings, by the labors and sufferings of our fathers may be restored in all its original excellence."

Similar sentiments have been echoed and reechoed by Presidents, Congressmen, and judges down through the years; they have been heard not only in the halls of our national assemblies, but in those of State, city, and hamlet. Consider if you will the great seal of the State of Arizona, and the motto that it bears "Ditat Deus." It is God who enriches. What more striking profession of faith in God's sovereignty could a great people make, than to have every important document of government bear this graphic admission of our dependence on God? With these words there is given us a constant reminder that all our greatness, all that we have, be it food, shelter, or wealth comes to us from God, as well as the blessing of possessing these in ordered civic life in peace and tranquillity and justice.

And to bring the record up to date, may I call your attention to the beautiful proclamation of His Excellency the Governor who in recent days has officially designated the month of November as a month of public acknowledgment of God, and of a rededication on our part to His love and service.

And so you see, my friends, there is ample justification for your presence here this afternoon. Let no one dare say that prayers for divine guidance is foreign to the American way of life. Let no one harbor the thought that America can continue on in its glorious traditions without them.

And this brings me to the particular application of what I have said to you men of the bench and the bar. I submit that not only is the recognition of God and our dependence upon Him permitted to us Americans, but it is even demanded, if we are to keep inviolate the concepts of civil liberty and justice.

The memory of the recent visit of Premier Khrushchev is still fresh in our minds. Avowedly he came to America to see at first hand this great country of ours, and to compare it with the powerful Soviet Union. No matter what our opinion may be of the propriety of his visit, I am sure that he came and left without ever seeing the real America. Oh it's true that he saw our great cities, our factories, and our farms. He certainly saw on every side manifestations of the great wealth and prosperity of our people. What his real feelings and judgments were as he ended his visit we shall perhaps never know. But if one may judge from his remarks, it would appear that he was not overly impressed. It's quite possible that he really believed the statement he made that in a very short time Russia would be able to equal or even outdistance us in material productivity and prosperity.

It is unfortunate that material prosperity and mechanical or scientific progress should have been the basis of comparison. These are not, and have never been, the real basis of America's greatness. Actually great as has been our advancements along these lines, it has come as the fruit of something more basic—the recognition of the worth of the individual citizen as a creature of God, endowed with rights for the protection of which stands the very concept of American Government.

Prosperity and material supremacy are as much a goal for nations as they are for men. And nations are subject to the same temptations as men in their desire to acquire them. You know of the pressures that beset men in the business world, and of the ever-pressing temptation to lower one's standard of ethics and justice to meet the unfair practices of one's competitors. The same pressures and temptations are being felt by us as a

nation. The tremendous strides that Russia has made in the fields of industry and science and politics, presents a strong temptation to us to abandon our principles and standards and to compete with her on her own level.

We even hear men advocating a monolithic structure for our economy and politics, as the only efficient way of meeting the competition. Like all technical words this one has a certain fascination and appeal, especially when it is adduced as a more efficient way of getting things done. But it is a concept that is as discordant with our American way of life as are those of monarchy and tyranny. Monolithic basically means one stone. It is a term that we apply to concrete construction. Simply it means that we put into the hopper the component parts of sand, water, and cement, mix them well, and pour the aggregate out into a mold to set. There is no doubt that in the building trades there is a useful place for monolithic construction, but I doubt if very many Americans would like to change to a monolithic form of government, in which our schools, social agencies, political parties, courts of law, and all the other aspects of national life would be poured into the aggregate and molded into a rigid and inflexible monster of controlled living.

We might grant that it would be a more efficient way for the prosecution of any given idea or policy. There would be no time lost in debate, because there would be no real opposition. One would not have to concern himself with individual personalities, for they would be all suppressed in the mass. It is not necessary to imagine what such a monolithic structure of government would be like. We have had the example of Nazi Germany, and at present that of the Soviet Union.

Our house is of different construction. We have used stone and mortar and steel, allowing each to keep its own peculiar characteristics and individuality; but blending them all harmoniously together according to a definite overall plan. The plan which we have followed is that which was devised by the Founding Fathers and written into the Constitution. The steel in our edifice is found in the skeletal structure of the three departments of Government, executive, legislative, and judicial. The stone with which we have builded are the individual citizens, large and small, which have been chiseled and polished each to its own beauty and capabilities in the free associations of freemen. The mortar which binds all together in a unified and beautiful whole is the religious faith and convictions of our people.

Occasionally a stone here and there will lose its color and mar the beauty of the building; or one disintegrate and crumble, and will have to be replaced with one more worthy and durable. But no matter what assaults are made upon it, we need have no fear that the building will collapse so long as the mortar holds firm.

There is another point that we must keep in mind. In making concrete for a monolithic building, one must be careful of what he puts into the mixture. There are certain materials which simply will not make good concrete, for they never lose their individuality, and so weaken the mixture that in a very short time the building made of it crumbles and falls. Of such a kind of material would be our American people.

There is no need of panic in America. We have builded well through the years; and our national edifice, while it shows the scars of time, is still sturdy and strong. But it needs the constant attention of the caretaker; to keep a vigilant eye on the structural steel of the threefold division of government, to replace the ugly and the disintegrating stones with others that will add beauty and strength and, above all, to see that the mortar of religious life and conviction remains intact and binds us solidly together—one to the other.

This watchfulness is, of course, the duty of every American citizen; but in a special way it is yours, men of the legal profession. By your training by your very vocation you are dedicated to the defense of the Constitution and to the promotion of the laws of the land which bring the riches of the Constitution into the lives of the people. The task is not an easy one. It is fraught with many and difficult problems, but they are not insoluble.

One of the problems that we must solve is this: how shall religious groups be permitted to continue their great role as the leaven of society, unhindered by Federal or State Government, yet within the framework of the Constitution. This I submit is basic, for as our country was conceived and brought forth in an atmosphere of religious faith, as the Constitution was devised for a people of deep religious convictions, conscious of their dignity and freedom as children of God, so it follows for America to keep its character and continue on in the tradition of its history, the same religious environment must surround it at all times, and its citizens must ever portray the religious convictions of those men of the past who have mapped its course.

We cannot fail; we dare not fail. For if we fail, we shall have lost all we hold dear, all for which our fathers and our forefathers fought and died. There may continue to be a people and a government in the area now occupied by the United States of America, its name and its flag may be identical with those of our beloved country, but it will not be the land which Lincoln loved. For if we fail, this Nation under God shall have perished from the earth.

Funeral Meditation, Richard Murray Simpson, January 11, 1960

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. IVOR D. FENTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 14, 1960

Mr. FENTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I wish to include the funeral meditation of our beloved colleague, Richard Murray Simpson, which was conducted by the Reverend J. Raymond Powell, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Huntingdon, Pa., on January 11, 1960:

FUNERAL MEDITATION, RICHARD MURRAY SIMPSON, JANUARY 11, 1960

We are now faced with the fact that his life of usefulness on this earth has come to an end. Who will take up where he has left off?

In the Old Testament we are told that Elisha saw Elijah translated. That "he took up the mantle of Elijah that fell from him and went back and stood by the bank of the Jordan."

Elijah was gone, but Elisha took up his mantle.

Richard M. Simpson is gone. Would that some young man would take up his mantle.

It is a good mantle. There is nothing shoddy about it. It is not made of cheap material. It is woven through many years of patient living. It is a mantle that will never wear out. Goodness never becomes threadbare. It doesn't wear for a day, a week, a month; it wears forever and ever. It can be passed from one to another.

There was a certain loveliness about this mantle which belonged to Dick.

It was not made of flashy colors which fades with use. It was of solid colors which stands the weather. Nothing in the long run is so winsome and attractive as goodness. Dick wore his goodness very naturally and simply.

What an ideal to make our own. To accept the mantle, then stand by the River Jordan. To take one's stand by the river of God. To take one's stand by the Church of the Lord Jesus Christ. To take one's stand in the Nation. Clothed in goodness. Standing to pray, to worship, to serve.

We are reminded that someday we too must lay down our mantle. Charles R. Salit in "Man in Search of Immortality" reminds us: "Man accepts a paradox that offers him life and rejects a logic whose conclusion is death. When a person dies, his friends, his relatives, as a rule, will offer all sorts of excuses. No matter how old or how sick the deceased might have been, his death could have been prevented. He ate the wrong kind of food; he exercised too much or too little; he did not follow advice or he had the wrong doctor. He should have had a specialist. * * * Had he only listened to these things he would be alive today. No high-pressure salesman as yet has sold us the slogan that man was born only to die."

Death is a natural thing, when we think of it in our saner moments we shall realize it is a beautiful thing.

It is God's way of insuring progress in this world and the next.

Physical death makes room for a new life in this earth.

Physical death is also God's way for bringing a new life into Heaven.

We can say that the purpose of Jesus' earthly ministry was to get us to realize this fact.

Jesus knew that the only way Heaven was peopled was by physical death on earth.

Physical death is not the terrible thing that most of us think.

Jesus came to make us realize that there is such a place as Heaven.

It is God's dwelling place. Who should be afraid of dwelling with God? Particularly since he has prepared for it.

Heaven is the eternal abode of God's people.

Jesus said, "I go to prepare a place for you; if I go and prepare a place for you I will come again and receive you unto myself; that where I am, there ye may be also."

At physical death He receives us, why should we fear going with Him?

Jesus came to make us realize that God loves us.

"God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish but have everlasting life."

The Apostle Paul in the wonderful words of that eighth chapter of Romans assures us there is nothing, nothing in the whole of creation that can separate us from the love of God through Christ Jesus our Lord.

Is the physical death of one of God's children a terrible thing? No. It is really beautiful.

It is according to God's master plan.

And God's plans are good.

IN MEMORY OF HON. RICHARD M. SIMPSON

Resolved, That our church has sustained a heavy loss in the passing of Elder Richard M. Simpson, who was called to his heavenly home on the seventh day of January 1960.

Richard Murray Simpson was born August 30, 1900, of ancestry distinguished for fidelity

to high ideals alike in their public and in their religious life. He was baptized April 8, 1901, and received into church membership on January 21, 1912. Regular attendance at all services and active participation in all activities of the church was a cardinal principle of his life so that, following in the footsteps of his grandfather, J. Randolph Simpson, and his father, Warren B. Simpson, he was ordained as an elder February 12, 1939, at which time he was serving as superintendent of the church school.

Fifty-five years, 27 years and 20 years respectively, more than 100 years of the lives of these three men, grandfather, father, and son, were devoted to the office of eldership in our church, which is ample testimony to the importance they placed in religious character and faith in Almighty God.

Richard Simpson, in addition to being a prominent son of our church, was also a distinguished citizen of Huntingdon, an honorable member of the legislature of our Commonwealth and occupied a high place in the councils of the Government of these United States, having served continuously for almost 23 years as a Member of Congress.

It is not given to many to accomplish so much in both church and civic life and to be able to leave the memory of such a complete and successful life: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That, while we in sorrow bow to the will of God, we will continue to cherish the memory of the Christian character we have known in him and pray that we may follow his loyalty to his church, his community and his America; be it further

Resolved, That we extend to the members of his family our deepest sympathy and direct that these resolutions be inscribed in the minutes of the session and a copy sent to the Presbytery of Huntingdon.

J. RAYMOND POWELL,
Moderator.

G. J. HALL,
Clerk of Session.

(Prepared by Roberts D. Royer, January 9, 1960.)

Karl Meyer on Latin America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1960

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, Karl E. Meyer is an editorial writer for the Washington Post. His recent series on Latin America grew out of his tour of Latin America. Mr. Meyer is a keen and objective observer whose opinions deserve careful consideration by everyone concerned with our relationships with Latin America. Under a previous consent, I am including the articles as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Dec. 27, 1959]

THE TROUBLED AIR IN LATIN AMERICA

(By Karl E. Meyer)

(First of a series)

"Trouble, trouble and more trouble." So prophesied one Latin American concerning the area's future relations with the United States. Another, a journalist, added: "I wouldn't want to be your Secretary of State. In Latin America, his job will soon be impossible."

These are among the more cheerful forecasts that a visitor who spends 6 weeks traveling through 11 Latin American countries is likely to hear. No doubt there is an element of hyperbole; in some cases, the dire predictions are self-serving arguments for increased U.S. aid. But there is a hard kernel of truth in the assertion that the United States is in difficulty in its own front yard.

A swift and wide-ranging journey through a highly diverse area has its limitations, but some symptoms speak for themselves; the tone of concern and defensiveness among U.S. officials, and the mood of outspoken criticism among Latin American leaders—even in countries where the surface is deceptively calm.

The clearest warning is evident in Cuba, the first stop on this writer's tour. There, pent-up resentments—some irrational, some well founded—have burst into a devastating political storm, a storm which has made Fidel Castro the best-known Latin American, and the hero of all who feel that Washington does Satan's work.

Venezuela, by contrast, is notably more stable, and there are justifiable hopes that President Betancourt's regime can implant democratic ways in a country blessed with oil but blighted by a tradition of tyranny. Many fear, however, a bloody civil war if restive generals become impatient with democracy and again extinguish free government in Caracas.

In Brazil, the largest and most populous Latin American country, a rash of nationalism is causing serious concern, a nationalism inflamed by economic distress, for which the scapegoat, more often than not, turns out to be the United States.

Uruguay, stable and altogether democratic, is an island of serenity compared to its next-door neighbor, Argentina, where the hemisphere's most embattled President is given a 50–50 chance of serving out his term. The virus of Peronism continues to sap Argentina's strength.

Across the Andes in Chile, a right-of-center President is enjoying some success in invigorating his country's economy. But realists remind visitors that President Alessandri won election last year only because a cranky minority candidate drew away a decisive handful of votes from the candidate backed by the extreme left.

Peru, land of majestic ruins and appalling poverty, faces the prospect of a revolution within a decade unless the Government finds ways of improving living standards. Observers express doubts that the improvement will come soon enough. Next-door Bolivia, which unfortunately this writer was unable to visit, is reportedly in an even more troubled state.

In Colombia, after a decade of fratricide, a brave attempt is being made to make democracy work. But outside the cities, banditry and violence continue. In October, 230 persons were killed; the average now is 8 deaths a day, a creditable improvement over the average of 25 a day a year and a half ago.

Panama was beset by two riots in November directed against this country's stewardship of the Canal Zone; residents of the Isthmus recall Suez and fear that the troubles have just begun. In Guatemala, once a major trouble spot, a lovely country seems to be enjoying a moment of calm. How long it will continue no one dares predict.

The last stop was Mexico, a country which in many ways stands out as a beacon of hope in an uncertain sea. Not even Soviet First Deputy Prime Minister Mikoyan could, during his visit, weaken the feeling of friendship for the United States. Mexico's Government is stable, its way of life free, and its youthful president about to become a major figure in hemisphere politics. Most significant, President Lopez Mateos represents a country with a revolutionary tradition—and revolution, as the next article will suggest, is a word to conjure with in Latin America.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Dec. 28, 1959]

HARD SELL HELPS STIR A REVOLUTION

(By Karl E. Meyer)

(Second of a series)

Latin America is afire with unrest, but it would be a gross error to assume that the demand for change stems from Moscow. Quite the contrary; it seemed to this visitor that the major source of discontent originates in the United States.

Of all the merchants of dissatisfaction, few have greater impact than North America's mass media. A brigade of bolsheviks could scarcely rouse more ferment in hard-pressed Latin American countries than a copy of Life, filled with alluring and glossy advertisements.

The marks of Yankee enterprise are evident in Latin America as in few other regions of the world. From Rio to Lima, from Bogota to Santiago, the traveler is struck by the saturating force of the "American presence" which finds its expression on the newsstands, movie marquees, supermarkets, gas pumps, neon signs, and in the glittering window displays of Sears, Roebuck, South America (the Chicago firm now has 55 stores in 9 Latin American countries).

North American standards have become a yardstick not only for our neighbors but for visiting Russians. As one Mexican official pointed out, Mr. Mikoyan himself paid indirect tribute to North American affluence. Repeatedly during his Mexican visit, the Soviet First Deputy Prime Minister reiterated that Russia would "catch up to" or "surpass" the production records of the otherwise degenerate neighbor to the North.

The "consumer revolution," as one writer terms it, has wholesome effects in serving as a catalyst of change. A visitor from the United States can scarcely find anything seditious in the demand for a better way of life. The problem, rather, is whether this demand does not also encourage an unreal expectation of what the near future will bring.

As in other underdeveloped areas, the typical economy of Latin America is geared to the sale of a single major commodity. The results of this dependence can be catastrophic. A drop in world coffee prices can be a severe setback to Brazil and Colombia, a slackening demand for wool can cripple Uruguay, and a weakening in the copper market has immediate impact on Chile.

The goal of most Latin-American countries, therefore, is an economic diversification which can liberate the region from the single-commodity pattern. This requires planning, heavy investment, long-term credits and the education of a skilled labor force.

But it also requires a postponement of immediate consumer gains, a transitional period of relative austerity until capital is acquired to furnish the industrial base. Thus, at the very moment when mass media is stimulating appetites, a meager menu is likely to be served.

Compounding the problem is the remarkable fertility in Latin America. Recent United Nations estimates place the population growth rate in Latin America at 2.4 percent annually (and up to 3 percent in some Central American countries). This compares with a growth rate of 2 percent in the Middle East, 1.7 percent in Africa, and 1.4 percent in the Far East.

Latin America is thus the world's fastest growing region. In 1900, the population for the area was 63 million; current projections place the total by the year 2000 at nearly 600 million—an increase of 10 times. In the same period, it is expected that North American population will rise from 81 million to 312 million.

Add to these statistics the fact that food production is lagging behind population

growth in key Latin American countries, and that thousands of young male workers are entering a job market with little hope of employment, and you have the ingredients of a potential disaster. The specter ahead takes visible form in Caracas, where more than 300,000 persons live in makeshift shacks on the hills surrounding Venezuela's capital—and this in a country which, on paper, has the highest per capita income in Latin America.

President Lopez Mateos of Mexico has told associates he expects that the remaining 5 years of his term will be the hardest, in great part because his country's population boom will cause graver economic problems. His dilemma is typical of many Latin American democrats; at a time when masses of men demand a better life, increased impoverishment may result. It is against this background that the Castro phenomenon is so significant.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Dec. 29, 1959]

THE LONG SHADOW CAST BY A CUBAN

(By Karl E. Meyer)

(Third in a series)

Enough, surely, has been said about the migraine headaches which Fidel Castro is causing in the State Department. Something also needs to be said about the major problems that Cuba's fiery Prime Minister is causing for Democrats elsewhere in the hemisphere.

A visitor who travels through Latin America is struck by the interest in Cuba, an interest that at times seems to border on obsession. A mention of Havanna, and other conversation stops.

"Have you been in Cuba? What happened to Camilo Cienfuegos? Did you talk with Castro? Will the United States intervene? And on it goes.

In responding the visitor soon finds that the interest focuses not only on Castro as a person, but also on Castro as a phenomenon. Cuba is a small island, and in many respects its traditions are unique. But as a political stylist, Castro is using techniques which moderate Latin Americans fear could be generally copied. Where there is one Castro today, there could well be a half dozen tomorrow.

In a technical sense, Castro is a dictator, but he is wholly unlike the typical caudillos who have time and again risen to power in Latin America. Of them all, Castro most resembles Argentina's Juan Peron.

Like Peron, Castro has a mass following among the impoverished and ill-used people in his land. Like Peron, Castro delights in huge demonstrations and seems to equate the voice of the people with a roar of the mob. His regime, like Peron's has an ambitious social program.

Castro's fervid nationalism and his impassioned attacks on the U.S. Government recall Peron's anti-Yankee crusades. The Cuban regime, like Peron's is based on a loose alliance of army, labor, and have-not farmers. Castro, again like Peron, is willing to work with Communists to further his cause.

But there is a major difference. Castro may be a zealot, but it would be difficult to demonstrate that he is dishonest, cynical and corrupt—adjectives easily applied to the Argentine dictator. Further, Castro came to power as a hero who felled a tyrant, while Peron emerged from the army hierarchy.

In terms of Castro's appeal to other Latin Americans, these differences are fundamental. Misguided, demagogic, and erratic though Castro may be, he has an undeniable appeal to Latin Americans impatient for change, resentful of the Yankee giant, and weary of political systems that are outwardly democratic but in reality dominated by a small and myopic oligarchy.

"Fidel Castro," summed up one of the region's leading democrats, "is the perfect expression of Latin America's sense of disorientation in the modern world."

The opinion concerning Castro varies from country to country, and, more markedly, from class to class. In countries like Argentina and Uruguay, proud of their European traditions, the well-informed shrug off Castro with a patronizing smile. "After all," said one Argentine resident, "Cuba is a Caribbean country and we are not."

In other countries, there is less smiling. Castro has made decided inroads among rank-and-file members of moderately leftist parties like democratic action in Venezuela and the Apristas in Peru. Even though the mass executions cost Castro sympathy in other Latin American countries, his name has become a symbol and his ideas gospel among many of the less sophisticated and less well off.

The Castro phenomenon is perhaps the most significant portent in the hemisphere today. North Americans may deplore the Cuban's flamboyant tactics and his 5-hour monologs streaked with unreason. But masses of people living in squalor, in the shadow of the U.S. supermarket, may be in no mood to listen to a rational discourse on the need for patience.

In the view of many observers, if Latin America fails to resolve its pressing economic and social problems, Fidel Castro may find apt pupils in a region yearning for change. This is why the hemisphere's democratic leaders are so anxiously watching the course of events in Washington as well as in Cuba.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Dec. 30, 1959]

RESTIVE NEIGHBORS LOOK FOR A LEADER

(By Karl E. Meyer)

(Last in a Series)

Washington's interest in Latin America moves by spasms, its policies tend to trail rather than guide events, and too many officials misunderstand the temperaments of a different civilization. This is the bill of complaints a visitor hears again and again during a tour of Latin America.

A Peruvian known as an old friend of the United States phrased it this way: "What can you do to shake up those people in Washington? Lord knows, we've tried. They spend millions all over the world while things get worse all the time right next door. What will the State Department do when the Communists actually take over a Latin country—send the marines?"

An influential Brazilian was even blunter: "Since 1952, relations between your country and mine have been set back an entire generation. There is a chasm growing between us."

To a visitor familiar with various U.S. aid programs, assertions like these often seem overdrawn and unfair. Loans, grants, technical assistance missions, a new Inter-American Development Bank, surplus food programs—all testify to an increased concern with Latin American demands. Yet in many countries, the tide of discontent continues to swell. It is worth asking why.

One explanation, it seems to this writer, is that most U.S. aid programs originate on a scatter-shot, ad hoc basis, unrelated to any overall plan. The State Department has made clear its preference for bilateral agreements and has shied away from the regional approach urged by Brazil as part of that country's Operation Pan America.

The State Department position may make economic sense, but it has serious psychological drawbacks. Few appeals are more insistent in Latin America than the plea for something dramatic, for something similar in spirit to the Marshall plan as proof that the United States is not indifferent.

The drift of events ultimately may lead to such a program for the hemisphere, a program integrating long-term credits, technical assistance and multilateral price stabilization agreements for basic commodities—the three types of aid that Latin Americans consider essential to a modest leap forward.

But the fear is that it will take an earthquake to budge Washington, and because of that the United States will lose the credit it deserves. Why can't the United States anticipate the thrust of events? The question crops up everywhere; a current case cited by critics is Panama, where some adjustment in the canal's status seems inevitable. To pessimists, it seems just as inevitable that the change will be forced on the slow-footed strategists on the Potomac.

A common complaint is that U.S. officials are insensitive to the nuances of Latin American civilization. For example, a perennial source of irritation is the tendency to lump together all 20 Latin republics in an indiscriminate heap. Brazilians contend that their vast country is sometimes treated as if it were a tiny Caribbean republic; an Argentine editor observed that too many North Americans see his country through "tropical eyeglasses."

It is this apparent clumsiness and lack of psychological insight that accounts, perhaps, for the most serious charge leveled against U.S. diplomacy: the charge of favoritism to dictators. In the eyes of many Latin Americans, the State Department has been morally compromised by ambassadors who favored tyrants with medals and fawning words of praise.

To a visitor who encounters some of the political appointees in Latin American embassies, it seems a half-truth to blame past errors on a preference for dictatorship. Rather, the blunders appeared to arise from an eagerness to please whoever was in power—dictator or democrat—on the asumption that the status quo would last forever.

No miscalculation could have been greater. Latin America today is in the midst of a tumult of change, moving generally in a democratic and left-of-center direction. The task ahead for the United States assuredly is to learn to flow with the tide while there is still time to influence its direction.

Fact, Fiction, and Cancer—The Journal of the American Medical Association Is Wrong Again

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD two articles, the first appearing in the Journal of the American Medical Association on January 2, 1960, the other appearing a few days later in the Washington (D.C.) Post and Times Herald on January 7, 1960.

While many have given up any hope of ever seeing the Journal of the American Medical Association maintain any degree of objectivity on liberal and social

issues we still hope that it will maintain factual correctness on other issues.

The first article in the Journal of the AMA takes the Food and Drug Administration to task for its recent order outlawing transportation in interstate commerce of cranberries treated with aminotriazole under the provisions of the Delaney amendment. Under the law aminotriazole is a carcinogen or a cancer producer and cannot be used as a food additive.

The burden of the article is that aminotriazole occurs naturally in many foods.

The subsequent article in the Washington Post and Times Herald is a complete refutation of the first including complete destruction of the statement that aminotriazole occurs naturally and the so-called well-documented evidence of the Journal of the American Medical Association. Happily, the author of the article in the Journal has had reason to recognize the error of his ways, in at least a small way. It is to be hoped that in the future he will be more careful with the truth, particularly where the danger of cancer to the American public is so great.

The articles follow:

[From the Journal of the American Medical Association, Jan. 2, 1960]

CRANBERRIES, CHARCOAL, AND CHICKENS

The holiday season has been associated with cranberries (Vaccinium macrocarpon) and fowl since the first Thanksgiving offered by the Pilgrims in December 1621 in appreciation of the bountiful harvest. It is reasonable to presume that wild cranberries were served at this first Thanksgiving since it was held near the town of Plymouth in the domain that was to become the Massachusetts Bay colony, not far from the entrance to Cape Cod, the land of cranberry bogs today. It is more than likely that the taste of wild turkey was enhanced by the addition to the menu of the fruit of this shrub. If turnips and cabbage were included among the vegetables served or mustard was used as a condiment, minute quantities of aminotriazole might have been ingested by the Pilgrims more than 300 years ago.

A threat to the inclusion of cranberries in our Thanksgiving dinner just past received wide publicity early in November when evidence was revealed purporting to show that the use of a herbicide, 3 amnio-1,2,4-triazole, resulted in traces of this artificial contaminant in some batches of cranberries in commerce. Historically, the herbicide has been studied experimentally since 1954. Beginning in the fall of 1956 the probing studies had progressed sufficiently that analyses of cranberries harvested from test crops were carried out systematically to determine whether any residue of aminotriazole remained on the berries. The cranberry laboratory of the Univesity of Massachusetts, an institution of higher learning under a charter from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, participated in these analytic studies together with laboratories in other States, including those in Wisconsin, the second center for cranberry bogs in America. New Jersey, Washington, and Oregon also produce cranberries that enter into interstate sales.

The analyses begun in 1956 were sufficiently satisfactory in detecting residues of aminotriazole that the U.S. Department of Agriculture reported this compound suitable for use on cranberries. Eighteen months later, early in November of last year, the implication of this compound as a carcinogen prompted withdrawal of all batched cranberries and cranberry products from the open market. This proved to be sad news for the many Americans who love their tart holiday berries. The alleged carcinogenic activity was based on the antithyroid effect, demonstrated in rats but not in other mammals, that followed the ingestion of relatively huge quantities of the compound for relatively long periods of time. Little stress was placed on the well-documented evidence that aminotriazole occurs naturally in vegetables, notably cabbage, turnips, and broccoli, as well as in mustard, or that the antithyroid action is described in current textbooks of therapy.

According to the New York Times, a reputable newspaper in my experience, there were only 3 batches of cranberries under suspicion out of 202 batches examined initially. The number of batches examined was increased several fold in the next fortnight. Before preparing an editorial on this subject that might have been printed in the issue distributed a few days before Thanksgiving and thus available for physicians who read these editorial pages, it seemed best for me to seek consultation. One consultant was my former technical sergeant of Army days, Chester E. Cross, whose knowledge of cranberries extends over several decades and whose judgment as an agricultural scientist ranks high. Currently he is a professor at the University of Massachusetts and in charge of the cranberry station. If you have never mushed through a cranberry bog on the cape early in September just before the harvest with Professor Cross, you have missed a real experience in sensing dedication to this low-growing shrub that has caused so much consternation. Until further evidence was forthcoming, it seemed prudent to withhold judgment and to delay the preparation of my impressions of the newsworthy affair. A long wait was not necessary. The Federal Register of November 28, 1959, outlined the requirements for specific labeling of cranberries and cranberry products from the 1958 and 1959 crops. If this stipulation was a little late for last Thanksgiving, it was reassuring for those who looked forward to the inclusion of cranberries in the holiday dinners of Christmas and New Year's.

Charcoal, carbon black, came under scrutiny on November 20, 1959. Since few persons are addicted to the eating of licorice or black jelly beans, there was considerably less space devoted in the newspapers to the suspicion cast on carbon black than had been afforded cranberries. Chronologically, it was recorded in the Federal Register of December 9, 1958, that carbon black was a permissible food adulterant. The omission of this substance from the Register 1 year later brought apprehension to the makers of licorice candy and black jellybeans since each item relies on licorice for flavor but charcoal for the characteristic color. A fort-night after this action a supplementary document by the Food and Drug Administration permitted the processors and the users of charcoal in food and candies a 3-month period of grace to produce evidence that burned toast is harmless.

Chickens (iatrogenic capons) were under suspicion for only a few days last month. However, neither poultry producers, manufacturing chemists, nor the chickens themselves had violated any Federal regulation. Approximately 1 percent of the chickens eaten in the United States have been given stilbestrol as a fattening hormone. The implantation of pellets of this hormone under the skin at the base of the skull has been an authorized practice for more than a decade. This produces a desired commercial effect, especially attractive to the consumers in New York City and Los Angeles where the caponettes are sold as a premium item. Recent improved tests revealed that residues of the drug remained in the skin, liver, and kidneys. After this disclosure immediate steps were taken to withdraw the caponettes from commerce and to suspend the sale of stilbestrol to the chicken growers.

When next fall rolls around, we hope that cranberries will be permitted for the festive dinners, that licorice and jellybeans will be for sale at the candy counter, and that southern fried chicken will be a permissible menu item.—J. H. T.

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald, Jan. 7, 1960]

U.S. OFFICIAL CHALLENGES DOCTOR'S CANCER CLAIM

(By Nate Haseltine)

A Food and Drug Administration official here yesterday challenged the editor of the Journal of the American Medical Association to put up or shut up.

Specifically, Deputy Administrator John L. Harvey questioned the existence of well-documented evidence that the cancer-causing compound aminotriazole occurs naturally in vegetables, notably cabbage, turnips, and broccoli, as well as in mustard, as Editor John H. Talbott, M.D., had averred.

Traced to its source, the editor's evidence turned out to be a "newspaper misquotation" of November, when tainted cranberries and the weedkiller aminotriazole were much in the news.

The Chicago physician-editor set FDA researchers busy checking the scientific literature since his FDA-twitting editorial appeared in the January 2 issue of the Journal, official weekly publication of the AMA.

Yesterday, Harvey said the search for the editor's well-documented evidence had proved futile.

"We," he said, "have been unable to find this documentation in any scientific or technical literature. As far as we know, aminotriazole is a completely manmade chemical, with nothing to indicate that it occurs naturally."

Confronted with Harvey's statement, Dr. Talbott treaded deep water for awhile, and then credited Prof. Chester E. Cross, cranberry expert, of the University of Massachusetts, as his souce for the statement.

"Dr. Talbott has done me a disservice," Professor Cross replied, "I know of no scientific evidence that aminotriazole occurs in any vegetable."

Cross referred the question to Dr. Edwin D. Astwood of Tufts Medical School and the Boston Dispensary, who knew the background.

"I was interviewed by the press just before I talked with Secretary Flemming (Arthur S. Flemming, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare) in November," Dr. Astwood explained. "I told the reporters that the named vegetables contained an antithyroid compound that acts like aminotriazole, but doesn't cause cancer. The newspapers misquoted me, and said the vegetables contain aminotriazole."

Dr. Astwood also said he knew of no scientific evidence that the weedkiller occurs naturally anywhere in nature.

(The cranberry producers association, at the time, issued a direct quotation attributed to Dr. Astwood, saying that the weedkiller compound occurs naturally in vegetables, and named them as mustard, cabbage, turnips, and broccoli).

FDA Deputy Administrator Harvey also took exception to Editor Talbott's statement that aminotriazole had to be eaten "in relatively huge quantities * * * for relatively long periods of time" to cause thyroid tumors in test rats.

Harvey said the cancers occurred in 2 years of feeding the test animals a diet containing the chemical in a proportion of 10 parts

per million. When the ratio was stepped up to 100 parts per million, he said, the tumors showed up in 68 weeks.

Dr. Talbott said that since his name was signed to the AMA editorial he felt he was free to exercise an editor's prerogative, which he defined as an individual's interpretations in controversial matters.

"We don't question his right to disagree with us," Harvey said. "We can only hope our usual good liaison with them (the AMA) will prevent him from getting his facts mixed up again."

Speaking on the AMA editorial, generally, Secretary Flemming said:

"I cannot agree with those who endeavor to deal with this matter in a light vein. It is a serious problem. It is serious because if a substance induces cancer when included in the diet of test animals no one knows how much or how little of that substance will induce cancer if included in the human diet.

"An issue of this kind does not lend itself to light treatment."

Statement of the Honorable H. Alexander Smith at the 11th Meeting of the Consultative Committee for Economic Development in South and Southeast Asia on Thursday, November 12, 1959, at Djakarta, Indonesia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1960

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement of the Honorable H. Alexander Smith, leader of the delegation of the United States at the 11th meeting of the Consultative Committee for Economic Development in South and Southeast Asia on Thursday, November 12, 1959, at Djakarta:

Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, may I say at the outset of my remarks that from a personal standpoint I am delighted to be here in Djakarta representing the United States at this 11th session of the Colombo Plan Consultative Committee. Secretary of State Herter requested that I express his deep regret at not being able to attend this important meeting. Since it was impossible for him to be here at this time he asked me to represent our Government because of my experience for 14 years as a Member of the U.S. Senate and particularly as a member of the Far Eastern Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations of which I was a member for 12 years. It has been my happy privilege to have visited the Far East including practically all the countries in the Colombo plan and to have met personally the executive and legislative leaders in those countries. I had the privilege of visiting these areas in 1953 and I have just paid a similar visit between January and May of this year.

Because of my membership on the Foreign Relations Committee I have had intimate contact with the development and carrying out of the foreign aid and mutual security programs with which the United States has been concerned since the adoption of the original Marshall plan in 1948. Our efforts included outright grants which in the early stages of our operations contributed a large part of U.S. aid; loans which with the Development Loan Fund as the newest instrument have now become a major element in our assistance programs; sale of agricultural surpluses under our Public Law 480 for local currency much of which is used to further economic development. And of very major importance we have participated in the development and carrying out of technical assistance programs in many countries.

Of particular personal interest to me are the programs for the exchange of persons such as the Fulbright exchange program (the international educational exchange program) with which you are all familiar and which has highlighted the importance of the exchange of people from our different countries so that we may all understand each other better. I had the honor to be one of the sponsors of the so-called Smith-Mundt legislation which like the Fulbright program established the exchange of persons and especially leaders and students. Each year since the Fulbright and Smith-Mundt programs were set up we have brought hundreds of leaders and students from other countries including your countries to the United States and each year we have sent leaders and students to many countries of the world and especially to the southeast Asian countries. In addition to these programs over 2,000 persons were brought to the United States from the Colombo plan area last year under the program of our International Cooperation Administration for training in specialized fields. Of the 47,000 students in the United States on private and governmental grants during the 1958–59 academic year, one-third come from the Far East. Here again it has been possible to meet on a friendly basis and exchange ideas.

Having had an intimate part in the creation of these varied operations in the Colombo plan area, I have watched with deep interest their evolution and the constant efforts of my Government to seek improvements in the whole program. I share fully the conclusions of the special congressional committees that have been working in these fields that successfully meeting the economic problems in the areas is a basic and essential element in maintaining the freedom and independence of the countries in the area. Freedom and independence, if they are to be sustained, must have a solid economic foundation. If we want, as we do, a world environment of freedom, and neighbors north, south, east, and west who share our basic belief in the dignity and integrity of the individual, then we have a responsibility to ourselves to help to strengthen the economic basis for such a world society. We know that economic growth is not in itself a sufficient condition for freedom; it is, however, a necessary condition.

We are fully convinced that our objective should be to help countries to help themselves. While we have physical resources and experience, both of which we can make available in this cooperative effort, we would not have them used in any paternalistic sense nor in any attempt to reshape countries in our own image. While recognizing that change is implicit in growth and development, aid can be most effective when it helps countries to develop in accordance with their own cultures, objectives, and philosophies.

It is because of the evolution of what we have been trying to do, both within international organizations and through our cooperative efforts in individual countries, that we welcomed the initiation of the Colombo plan in 1950 and its subsequent development. Again we compliment warmly the members of the Commonwealth who were the inspiration of the Colombo plan. Aimed to stimulate economic development of the less developed countries in the area through cooperative efforts, it soon developed into a program for full and free consultation between the member countries and a stimulus to their individual efforts and programs. While not dealing with regional programs as such, it has encouraged and widened the scope for cooperation among nations. The exchange of ideas and experience under the auspices of the Colombo plan, the review of progress to date and of problems ahead are immensely valuable to all of us. It is a time of stocktaking for the year ahead; and it is good for ministers to pause awhile to take stock. The special peril to which ministers (and I should add Senators as well) are subject is that we are caught up in the press of daily problems and cannot easily step back awhile to gain perspective. Here, at the Colombo plan, we have the opportunity to see matters in perspective. The officials have prepared a draft report for us that tells us how far we have gone, and how much there is yet to be done. And, because there is so much that is yet to be done, we are all resolved to continue the Colombo plan for the period ahead.

What are the problems ahead of us and what is to be done? Seen from the vantage point of the United States—that is to say, seen from the point of view of countries outside the region that desire to be helpful, within their means, in the development of the countries in the region—the economic effort ahead is threefold: (1) to improve the quality and increase the volume of technical assistance; (2) to encourage an expanded flow of investment capital, and (3) to search for practical solutions to provide growing and relatively stable markets for the exports of the less developed countries.

We are trying to do our full part in each of these fields.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

So far as technical assistance is concerned, we shall give the fullest support to the programs of the United Nations; we have become active participants in the Colombo Plan Council for Technical Cooperation; and as President Eisenhower said in his address at the Seattle meeting last year, we shall press our bilateral programs, through our International Cooperative Administration, even more vigorously than in the past.

The U.S. Congress has this year appropriated $150 million for our national technical cooperation activities and further sums for the atoms-for-peace program and the important work of malaria eradication. As a result, we would hope to be able to strengthen our wide-ranging technical assistance activities in the Colombo plan area. At the recent pledging conference in New York in support of the U.N. special fund and expanded program for technical assistance, we pledged $40 million on a matching basis. While the total contributions to these U.N. technical assistance programs are unlikely this year to reach the annual target of $100 million, it is gratifying that many participants substantially increased their pledges over the sum made available last year, and we can hope that by next autumn we will indeed meet our target.

INVESTMENT CAPITAL—PUBLIC

So far as the flow of capital is concerned, the Development Loan Fund will continue to be our most important national instrument for providing development capital on flexible repayment terms. Last year, the Development Loan Fund substantially increased its commitments in the Colombo plan region. As the U.S. chapter indicates, more than half of the total fund committed by the Development Loan Fund in the brief 2 years since it began active operation has been committed in the Colombo plan area, a total of $421 million to eight Colombo

plan countries. The U.S. Congress has appropriated a further $550 million for Development Loan Fund operations in the fiscal year ending 1960. It has authorized $1,100 million for the succeeding year although it is, of course, not known at this time how much of this will be appropriated. The Development Loan Fund is young as institutions go, but it is gathering strong support from the American people for its important work; it should play an increasingly significant role in the years ahead.

As you may recall, when President Eisenhower spoke to us last year, delineating the measures which the United States was taking or prepared to take, he referred to the possibility of creating an International Development Association. This would be an affiliate of the International Bank to mobilize financial resources from the free world as a whole in order to meet more of the vital needs for development financing in the less developed areas in a way which will not bear heavily on their external payments. The response has indeed been encouraging. At the annual meeting of the Governors of the International Bank last September, they unanimously adopted the U.S. resolution asking the Executive Directors of the Bank to draft the articles of agreement of such an association for submission to member governments. While there are points of difference that have yet to be ironed out on the precise structure and operations of an International Development Association, there is, I believe, virtual unanimity on the need for such an association to finance on favorable repayment terms sound development projects that cannot be adequately aided through existing institutions. We look upon the International Development Association as an instrument to increase the total flow of development capital to the less developed areas and not as a substitute for existing lending activities carried on by the industrial countries.

It is our hope that when the executive directors have completed their task, the parliaments and people of all member countries of the Bank, including the countries of the Colombo plan, will respond affirmatively and establish the IDA as an important supplement to existing national, and international, lending institutions.

INVESTMENT CAPITAL—PRIVATE

In the field of private investment, we are continuing to explore ways of increasing the outflow of the U.S. private capital and of strengthening private investment in the less developed countries. We are supporting legislation in our Congress to provide new tax incentives for U.S. private investment in the less developed areas of the free world. The principal feature of the proposed legislation would be full deferral of U.S. taxes on profits from such investment which are reinvested abroad. Also in the field of taxation, good progress is being made toward the conclusion of income tax conventions between the United States and countries of the Colombo plan region. Such conventions, including provisions under which the United States would allow its companies tax credit for certain taxes waived or "sparred" by the other country as an incentive to development investment, are well advanced with India and Ceylon. Preliminary discussions have been held with some of the other countries of the Colombo plan.

We are considering other measures. As the President stated in his state of the Union message, "Private enterprise continues to make major contributions to economic development in all parts of the world. But we have not yet marshalled the full potential of American business for this task, particularly in countries which have recently achieved their independence." In an effort to use more effectively the talents and resources of American business, we have in the past month sent a private investment team to Thailand in response to a request from the Government of Thailand. The group will assist the Thai Government in developing programs to encourage local private investment, to attract foreign investment, and to foster increased association between Thai and foreign investors. It will also try to identify areas of investment possibilities for follow-up measures, including detailed exploration. If the work of this investment team proves fruitful and the establishment of similar teams should commend itself to other countries in the region, we would hope to expand programs of this kind upon request. I hardly need add that the competition for private investment capital is intense and global in extent and much of it goes into already highly developed countries. Accordingly, those countries which need it most are perhaps the ones which must make the greatest effort to stimulate its inflow.

INTERNATIONAL MARKETS

So far as international trade is concerned, we are supporting a many-pronged effort to explore the possibilities of dealing in practical ways with the essentially short-term problem of fluctuations in commodity trade and the longer term problem of expanding the exports of the less developed countries. We are taking an active part in the three intersessional committees on expansion of international trade set up by the GATT at its general session in the fall of 1958. The first of these committees is concerned with preparations for a further general round of tariff negotiations to reduce tariff barriers to trade. The second committee is now studying the effects of agricultural protectionism on international trade, with a view to making appropriate recommendations for dealing with this problem. The third committee is investigating measures for maintaining and expanding the exports of less developed countries in view of the importance of export earnings to the development and diversification of their economies. The work of these committees is addressed essentially to the longer term problems of international trade.

We are also taking an active part in the work of other international bodies concerned with problems relating to trade in primary commodities which are of particular significance to the economic welfare of less developed countries. The United States is a member of all the commodity study groups that have now been organized, and is also a member of the Sugar and Wheat Councils which administer these agreements. Last year the United States became a member of the United Nations Commission on International Commodity Trade. The Commission will examine several aspects of the short-term problem of market instability; it will study the way in which business cycles affect world commodty markets; it will study the potentialities of various national and international techniques for dealing with fluctuations in commodity markets, sueh as national buffer stocks, commodity study groups, and commodity agreements; and it will study prospective supply and demand for particular primary products. It is our belief that orderly study of this kind is an important and necessary step toward determining how best to try to deal with these problems in the future.

I should like to turn now to the excellent draft annual report before us.

To me this report provides further demonstration of a basic aspect in economic development, namely that progress in the many fields of economic activity is achieved mainly by the efforts of the less developed countries themselves. We all recognize, I believe, that while foreign capital and technical assistance can help, the major part of the resources and skills are those of the developing countries. The credit for the forward movement that is manifest in the pages of the draft before us belongs to the peoples of south and southeast Asia and their leaders.

Mr. Chairman, I congratulate all who had a part in this carefully drawn document.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, let me state again my appreciation of the opportunity to be here personally representing the United States and to present to you all the warm greetings of my Government and of the American people. We rejoice with you in what we believe are the splendid accomplishments which have evolved through the efforts you have stimulated from year to year, and especially the creation of an atmosphere of mutual trust and friendship which these conferences have developed.

The big subject on all our minds and hearts is world peace. World peace, as we see it, depends on mutual helpfulness between all countries. The Colombo plan is predicated on this precept as are our assistance activities and our vast programs for the exchange of leaders and students. Throughout its history, my country has been dedicated to the protection of the sacredness of individual human beings and their right to freedom. This is the very heart of all our several religions. And, furthermore, we have felt the call to assist others, where they desire it, to a fuller achievement of what might be called the religion of freedom and human brotherhood in the largest sense.

Our ancestors in the United States, who came to the New World to find individual human liberty have built for us an experience and a great abiding hope that the whole world may become free through mutual understanding. This is the great cause for which the friend of all of us, the Honorable John Foster Dulles, gave his dedicated life. It is the cause to which Secretary Herter is equally dedicated.

One year ago President Eisenhower addressed this Conference in Seattle. One year ago Secretary Dulles was the Chairman of this Conference.

Today I am happy to be with you as a special Ambassador from my country to congratulate you sincerely on the effectiveness of your consultations and on the human understanding that you are perpetuating by carrying on and extending this great Colombo plan vision and inspiration.

We in America rejoice in taking these steps with you toward freedom and lasting world peace.

Veterans Day Program, Altoona, Pa., November 11, 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 14, 1960

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, veterans' organizations in Altoona, Pa., under General Chairman Lt. Col. Harold J. Pegg, joined in the annual Veterans Day observance held November 11, 1959.

A parade through the business district preceded the memorial service to all veterans. The program was held in front of the Altoona City Hall, at which time

I had the privilege of delivering the following address:

ADDRESS BY REPRESENTATIVE JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, MEMBER OF CONGRESS, 20TH DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA, AT THE VETERANS DAY PROGRAM, ALTOONA, PA., NOVEMBER 11, 1959

Once again it is my privilege to join with my fellow veterans and the citizens of my hometown in observing Veterans Day, a day of tribute to those who have served in the Armed Forces of the United States.

In preparing my remarks for this occasion, I could not help but recall the great contribution made by thousands of men and women from this area who have worn the uniform of their country in all of America's wars, from the Revolutionary War to the end of the Korean conflict.

It is not difficult to understand the deep love of country that has been characteristic of the manhood and womanhood of this area, because its history reveals that early settlers were deeply religious, with the result that love of God and country were their outstanding characteristics.

Today the many beautiful churches in our midst are eloquent testimonials of the faith and devotion of God-fearing and liberty-loving Americans that inhabit this area.

The sponsors of this Veterans Day program are the veterans organizations of Altoona, all of which serve a common purpose, namely, to promote love of God and country and to provide a means for war veterans to foster and preserve the ideals for which they served in the Nation's wars.

As we observe Veterans Day this year we are reminded that 41 years have passed since this Nation paused at 11 o'clock on the morning of November 11, 1918.

This hour and date marked the end of World War I and for years was observed as Armistice Day.

November 11 has been designated by Congress in recent years as Veterans Day.

Today we commemorate the services of those from this area who fought in all the wars in which our country has been engaged.

Our few minutes today are dedicated to this noble purpose—the commemoration of the patriotic service of all veterans.

The presence of our respected veterans on this occasion, and the entire purpose of this part of the program makes it very necessary that we seriously consider how the average citizen can assist in our efforts to keep the cold war from turning into a conflict which would destroy the very foundations of our civilization.

Missiles and nuclear bombs are in themselves no menace to mankind, nor are the "conventional" weapons which can inflict widespread destruction.

The menace is the man who, in disregard of the wishes of his people, can order the trigger pulled.

The one big danger in the world, therefore, as David Lawrence recently stated, is one-man rule—autocratic government.

Our opponents are strong—this we must admit.

To avoid facing such a fact is nothing less than cowardly.

The square mile area of the Soviet Union is greater than that of the United States by over 5 million square miles.

The population of the Soviet Union exceeds that of the United States by 33 million persons.

The military manpower picture of the Soviet Union is greater than ours by over 1 million men.

It is significant that between 1954 and 1955 trade between the Communist countries and the rest of the world rose from $3.6 billion to $4.46 billion—an increase of 24 percent.

Afghanistan, Egypt, Finland, Hong Kong, Iceland, Iran, Turkey, and Yugoslavia all increased their trade with the Communist world by 10 percent or more.

It is recalled that in 1956 the Communist bloc extended $600 million in credits to Yugoslavia, Egypt, Afghanistan, and India.

In addition, Russian trade with Communist China increased $200 million between 1954 and 1955.

Then too, Russia is building a million-ton steel mill in central India on "generous credit and repayment terms."

We used to think that the economy of a slave state could never be as productive as a free one.

We must now revise this belief.

Within a recent 12-month period, the leaders of the Kremlin made trade agreements with 11 countries.

During that same period the United States did not sign a single agreement.

Mr. Khrushchev has been—for some months now—calling for the end of the cold war.

This is no recent request.

In February of this year he boasted that "economic competition was now enough to win the world to communism."

During his recent visit to the United States, he repeated his views on the Russian economy in no uncertain terms.

We have been warned from several sources that we must choose now between teamwork and dictation or the freedom of choice may be taken away from us.

Leaders in Government, in business, in labor, must stop fighting small battles among themselves and present a united front—a truly United States of America against our known adversary—world communism.

The director of our Central Intelligence Agency in Washington, D.C., Allen W. Dulles, tells us that in addition to its worldwide penetration through Communist Party organizations, the Communists in Moscow and Peiping have set up a whole series of front organizations to penetrate all segments of life in the free countries of the world.

Mr. Dulles says these include the world federation of trade unions, which claim some 90 million members throughout the world.

International organizations of youth and students stage great festivals at frequent intervals.

Last summer they met in Vienna, and it was the first time they dared to meet outside of the Iron Curtain.

They have the Women's International Democratic Federation, the World Federation of Teachers Unions, the International Association of Democratic Lawyers; Communist journalists and medical organizations.

Then cutting across professional and social lines, the Communists have created the world peace council which is designed to appeal to intellectuals and which maintains so-called peace committees in 47 countries, gaining adherents by trading on the magic world of peace.

Mr. Dulles gives us additional pertinent facts, which I quote as follows:

"To back up this massive apparatus, the Soviet has the largest number of trained agents for espionage and secret political action that any country has ever assembled.

"In Moscow, Prague, and Peiping and other Communist centers, they are training agents recruited from scores of other countries to go out as missionaries of communism into the troubled areas of the world."

Continuing, CIA Director Dulles said:

"Much of the Middle East and southeast Asia, and particularly black Africa, are high on their target list.

"They do not neglect this hemisphere as recent disclosures of Communist plotting in Mexico show us."

Concluding, he said, "Their basic purpose is to destroy all existing systems of free and democratic government and disrupt the economic and political organizations on which these are based.

"Behind their Iron Curtain they ruthlessly suppress all attempts to achieve more freedom—witness Hungary and now Tibet."

Ladies and gentlemen, under the heading of subversion we must not overlook the fact that the Communist leaders have sought to advance their cause through local wars by proxy.

In this connection, Korea, Vietnam, Malaya are typical examples.

One of the important aspects of the cold war is the way in which it shortens the time one can take to learn about the world into which we are moving.

Throughout the history of our country—and until the past 25 years—it was possible to allow time for the development of understanding of the inherent process of our society.

Now no such allowance of time can be made because of the hot war threat which would bring death itself.

In simple language—the business at hand is survival itself—there is no time to find out the why and wherefore.

Perhaps the answer to our vexing problem is a more positive stand on the issues—or delving even deeper, perhaps we need a firm reappraisal of the issues themselves.

Dean C. Ken Weidner of the American University of Beirut has pointed out that many thoughtful Europeans feel that in the United States we still do not understand that the Russians have devised a new kind of war.

He points out that instead of seeking out the enemy's forces and destroying them, the Russian approach is to maneuver and encourage the enemy to destroy himself by exhausting his natural resources and dissipating his wealth and power in countering widely scattered military threats.

Meanwhile, he says all the time the Russian ideology is being sold to the people of the United States from within our own borders.

Eminent philosophers and statesmen of our Nation have in the past warned that our kind of system cannot be destroyed from without, but can be destroyed from within our own Nation.

Mark you, there is no prescription for a quick and easy peace.

We must expect periods during which world tensions will flare up, quiet down, and then break out again.

Therefore, we must strive constantly to narrow the gap between the differences in our world.

We must earnestly seek an answer to the questions: What can I do to help solve the issues?

What can I do to help the problems from becoming worse and worse?

It was in this spirit of earnestly seeking peace that Premier Khrushchev was invited to visit the United States.

On this Veterans Day as we attempt to briefly evaluate the cold-war picture, we may safely conclude that much of our defense lies in understanding and firmness, in a strong and ready deterrent military power, in the marshaling of our economic assets with those of other free countries.

This was the picture we sought to convey to Premier Khrushchev in the hope he would not continue to underestimate our desire or our ability to continue to strive for a just and lasting peace.

As liberty-loving Americans, if we are to fulfill our obligations to the veterans of past wars—if we are to keep that faith we talk about on every Veterans Day—we must

widen the streams of freedom that flow through our world.

"Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," that is the way one great American historic document spelled out the needs of the time.

Self-government and respect for the rights of man are ideals deeply cherished by the peoples of America since their earliest days.

Drawing upon their common belief in the dignity of man—based on their Christian heritage—our Founding Fathers were inspired to lay the foundations of a new nation.

Although from time to time the achievement of our goals has encountered obstacles and setbacks, we have never wavered in our determination to press forward.

We have maintained our political system which is designed to uphold American principles and to guarantee human dignity.

Ladies and gentlemen, we should not lose sight of our purpose in opening our doors to the leaders of the Soviet Union, any more than we should lose sight of the purpose of our Founding Fathers when they drafted the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights.

It is important in our personal and national conduct during the cold war that we not become so embroiled in the conflicting ideologies of the present, that we forget to draw upon the past for our inspiration.

We must not forget to remind ourselves our purpose in upholding the dignity of the individual.

It is not a fly-by-night ideal—but one basic to a continuation of free society.

If we wish to maintain faith in ourselves and in the values our free society embodies, we must understand what this faith is and how it came to earlier generations.

Every civilization is cradled in some religion.

The culture of China is unthinkable without the philosophy of Confucius.

Indian society is the expression of Hinduism.

Islam is composed of followers of Mohammed.

In like fashion, our western culture stems from the Judeo-Christian tradition.

We are a branch of christendom.

Our Declaration of Independence sets forth the conviction that political liberty is part of the covenant between a man and his Maker.

The American dream was built upon a religious foundation.

If liberty and freedom are our commitments, then we have no choice except to stand for those principles.

We cannot sacrifice those principles and expect to lessen the gap that is caused by the cold war.

Only when peoples are able, in free elections, to choose their leaders and to remove them at will can there be an assurance of peace in the world.

People do not make wars—but dictators do.

November 11, 1918, was a day of rejoicing in the United States.

The meaning of that day seemed so simple.

Right had triumphed; aggression had been put down; men could and would again live together in peace.

Armies could be disbanded; ships converted to the uses of peaceful commerce.

Indeed, there were not enough swords to make all the needed plowshares.

In 1918 there was little boastful triumph in our mood.

It was not the celebration of a military victory—it was a spontaneous hymn of joy to the fortunes of peace.

Today it is not the victory of that war that we remember.

Because since the first Armistice Day we have learned that there can be no enduring victory.

Meanwhile, we ask ourselves, "what of those who have sacrificed their all."

"What of those we especially honor on this Veterans Day program."

Perhaps those of us who wore the uniform of our country and breathed the essence of comradeship-in-arms as we saw the naked spirit face the peril of wars can give the words for the tribute we are groping for today.

It is said that men who live for freedom will die for freedom.

We are told to contemplate such sacrifice in true perspective.

And we are told that it is better to have even a brief vision of the stars from the vantage point of free men than to have a spirit dulled by the futile routine of communistic oppression until the eyes can no longer be lifted upward.

May God grant that the memory of those brave men and women whose patriotic service has enshrined them in the hearts of all Americans—and whom we honor here today—will serve as an inspiraton to us in the great task before us of preserving our priceless heritage of liberty and freedom.

The Future of Title I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by Stephen G. Thompson as it appeared in the Architectural Forum, September 1959 issue:

THE FUTURE OF TITLE I—THE MESS IN NEW YORK DOES NOT GO MUCH BEYOND THE CITY AND ITS LOCAL ADMINISTRATION—A SURVEY OF BALTIMORE AND 14 OTHER CITIES FINDS THE URBAN RENEWAL PROGRAM WORKING WELL

(By Stephen G. Thompson)

When New York City's title I slum clearance and redevelopment "scandals" were splattered all over the newspapers for weeks this summer, the immediate questions were: How far does this thing go into the fabric of the Federal supported urban redevelopment program, and does it weaken or jeopardize that national program?

Forum has completed a survey of 16 cities (see box, page 108) and canvassed leading authorities in the urban renewal field. It finds that the answer to the first question is that the situation does not go much beyond the borders of New York City; and to the second, that no real black eye has been hung on the program as a whole. Outside of New York, Forum found only three or four isolated instances of abuses, such as the fining and jailing of a redevelopment director in Jersey City for concealed conflict-of-interests. This is no more than political realists would expect in any large public works or public land disposal program. The significant fact, pointed out as amazing by former Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency Administrator Albert M. Cole (1953–1959), is that the urban-renewal program, despite its broad scope and 10-year duration, has been marred by no widespread major scandal.

As for the effects of the New York "scandals" on other cities, the consensus is expressed by Philadelphia Redevelopment Authority Director William L. Rafsky, who believes that, as of now, the national program will not be seriously affected, beyond a generally tighter supervision everywhere and a possibly sharper scrutiny by Congress—which may well be to the good. The steam behind a full-dress congressional investigation, demanded at the height of the New York revelations, has been steadily losing force. Democrats have no relish to probe Democratic New York City before the national election next year, and liberal Republicans are not likely to press for anything that would tag them as anti-renewal or reflect on the administration's handling. Urban renewal, therefore, is likely to escape major injury from this source.

For the country at large, however, much remains to be learned from the New York fiasco, not the least of it by New York itself. What sets the New York situation apart is not so much the basketful of smelly situations uncovered, as a pattern of operations that almost constitutes a handbook on how not to get urban redevelopment done. Actually, for several years the Federal Housing and Urban Renewal administrations have been quietly riding herd on the New York program raising objections to or rejecting outright many highhanded attempts to circumvent or disregard Federal regulations. The nub of the matter is that, scorning Federal and local practices that have been tried and proved elsewhere, the New York program is unique—and a mess.

THE NEW YORK MESS

New York's uniqueness is embodied almost solely in the redoubtable, storm-centered Robert Moses, who, in addition to holding many other public work jobs in which he has earned just fame, is chairman of the city's slum clearance committee, a part-time ad hoc body that directs the city's redevelopment program. A prickly but effective political scientist, shrewd and suave, Moses had come to rule what amounts to a private empire of public works in and around New York because he knew what he wanted and how to get it—either through channels, through loopholes, by audacious administrative dexterity, or, if otherwise unobtainable, by fait accompli. It is not that Moses acts against the law, but simply above it. Where his capacity for getting things done did not win high praise, it evoked only the criticism that it was too bad he had to be arbitrary or capricious, and perhaps next time he would observe the rules, but his achievements and integrity could not be overlooked.

When, however, Moses' high individualistic talents were turned in part to slum clearance and redevelopment, an enterprise involving the whole fabric of the community, it led to trouble, and one of the longest, most violent storms of a stormy career. The major revelations of the last few months were that much of New York's $1 billion slum clearance and redevelopment program was being held closely by a group of cronies with whom Moses was used to getting things done, that project sponsors were choesn by a peculiar preselection system, that some projects were for years "milked" of slum rentals by these sponsors without clearing the slums, and that in one instance a twice-approved sponsor, Louis Pokrass, was a known business associate of known racketeers. Though none of these things so far has been deemed actionable, and Moses' personal honesty remains unimpugned, their odor is high enough, particularly in the last case, to cause newspapers and civic organizations, led by the Citizens Union, to call for Moses' removal. So far Moses has refused to explain these cases beyond a perfunctory denial of fact or failure to answer a long list of questions from the press.

The situation was summed up more than 2 years ago in a provoked blast from HHFA Administrator Cole, ordinarily a temperate, equitable man: "This month is the 10th anniversary of HHFA. During most of this

time the agency has had more trouble with Mr. Moses than with any other single individual in all the cities of the United States."

The main sources of trouble were individual and procedural. The busy Mr. Moses holds no less than six major jobs, including commissioner of parks, city construction coordinator, city planning commission member. Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority chairman, and New York State Power Authority chairman, developing the U.S. side of the St. Lawrence Seaway's hydroelectric power. He could spend no more than a modicum of time on the slum clearance committee, which itself had no regular staff for project planning, development, or supervision, such as every other large city in the program has. This led to many inefficiencies and much waste, increased by Moses' personal and stubborn way of doing business. When, to save face in the present situation, New York's Mayor Robert Wagner instituted some reforms in the slum clearance committee ordering its chairman to remove the veil of secrecy from committee meetings and to appoint a full-time director, Moses' first action at a closed meeting was to reappoint the same part-time staff directors as before from among his old standbys on another of his agencies. "He must have misunderstood me," said Bob Wagner.

A STRING OF INCIDENTS

The list of dubious incidents and possible scandals in New York title I operations—some of which were brought to Forum's attention over the years—goes well beyond those so far aired.

On two occasions, reputable, nationally known builders and redevelopers were dangled along with some promises of participating in the program, only to find eventually that the prize went to a small, obscure outfit or carried impossible terms. In the first instance, the losing builder was privately approached by the winner to become an associate, who would do most of the work on the project while the sponsor would take a profit for holding the franchise. In the second, a developer found that a promised contract for taking over a sour project from a defaulting sponsor was repeatedly delayed while a fixed-sum settlement to be paid to the original stockholders was successively upped, $100,000 at a time. The developer bowed out.

In the early stages of the Lincoln Square project, Moses and the SCC made an extraordinarily involved arrangement to sell a basic three-block site to the Performing Arts Center in two parts: the main portion for about $7 per square foot; a small subplot occupied by the 13-story Kennedy Building for a flat $1.5 million, or about $63 per square foot. Arts center officials later found out that this subplot could be obtained as an integral part of the title I site and protested to the SCC, arguing that they should be allowed to buy it for the same price as the rest. This led to an involved tug of war with Moses, who held out for the original arrangement. Eventually, the HHFA refused to approve the two-part sale and the arts center paid a composite price—averaging $10.60 per square foot—saving Federal Government about $700,000 in subsidy.

A curious subsidy-credit situation, typical of the city's tangled web of public works, is posed in the Bronx's storm-tossed Soundview title I redevelopment, from which Federal funds already have been withheld on suspicion of speculation. Part of this project is the improvement and extension of a city waterfront park, the cost of which may be counted as a project expense by the city and credited as part of its write-down contribution. The park extension already is underway, according to Moses, with the placing of an unspecified amount of "fill" obtained from a Bronx public-housing site. The poser: since the Federal Government already is bearing the full cost of disposing of this excavated material through its underwriting of all capital costs on the housing project, can the city also receive credit to itself for the "value" of this same material when used as fill on its title I park project?

A HANDBOOK OF DUBIOUS POLICIES

Federal officials last month alerted all concerned parties to be wary of the situation.

Most of these incidents and many more dubious policies flow from Moses' insistance on his own system of slum clearance and redevelopment.

Unlike most cities, New York's SCC "tentatively" approves a project sponsor before calling for public bids, though theoretically any builder is free to bid for a New York title I site at formal auction. In 14 official auctions held so far, however, there has never been a bid from anyone except the predesignated sponsor. This practice is now likely to be reformed—though no one can be sure in the SCC's closed-door operations—for Federal officials are insisting that the city introduce genuine open competition into sponsor selection. This is delicate ground because competitive bids, once obtained, must still be judged—and negotiated—largely on intangibles. Federal officials also intend to insist quite properly on wide advertising well in advance for proposals, and on assurances being given that no builder will be harassed or penalized even if he outbids an officially favored sponsor at an open auction.

Unlike other cities, New York effects simultaneous acquisition and resale of an entire project tract to the designated sponsor on a single day, then putting the full task of site management, tenant relocation, and slum clearance on the redeveloper. Moses always has insisted on this unique procedure, arguing that it requires too much city investment and is too risky for the city to clear sites without assurances of immediate sales, pointing to sale troubles encountered in St. Louis, Detroit, and Philadelphia. But these cities have worked out of their difficulties, and none has had a string of sour projects such as has piled up in New York, where, as a consequence of policy, some so-called redevelopers have been allowed to take large sums out of properties slated for redevelopment without ever clearing them.

Unlike other cities, notable Washington, New Haven, Pittsburgh, and Sacramento, New York has never negotiated the lease, instead of sale, of Title I tracts to developers. In one famous New Haven lease deal, taking annual rent as 6 percent of land value, the price obtained rose from an upset figure of $700,000 to $1,150,000, with corresponding reduction in both city and Federal subsidies. In another deal involving negotiated resale of a 16,000-square-foot plot to a bank, New Haven secured $550,000 or $35 per square foot, believed to be the highest resale price for Title I land in the country.

Lacking a full-time staff organization, as in other cities, New York's SCC has made a complicated arrangement of hiring outside consultants. For 9 years, coordinating architects to the SCC have been Skidmore, Owings & Merrill, who receive two consultant contracts on each project, one covering planning, the other covering the execution stage. Any housing in the project requires another consultant contract with a housing architect, and most of this work has gone to S. J. Kessler & Sons. To date, no one has been able to find out either from the consultants or from Moses exactly how much this has cost the taxpayer, but it leads to waste.

New York's coordinating architectural consultants to the SCC prepare an official brochure on each project detailing redevelopment plans, and in the case of housing, a separate section is supplied by the housing consultant showing site planning, preliminary architectural sketches, and proposed rental schedules. Not a single New York title I project has been erected according to these original brochure plans, hence most of this work for which housing architect-consultants are paid has little value except as publicity for the SCC. Only recently, however, have many outside redevelopers learned that none of these schematic plans or even the proposed rental schedules are binding on the redeveloper—a discovery rudely made when some scheduled middle-income housing turned up at luxury rentals when completed, the most notorious example being Washington Square Village.

The major trouble with SCC policies is that, lacking a planning staff, nowhere in them is there any coordinated plan for New York urban redevelopment on a consistent pattern. Many projects seem to be tailored mainly to serve or assist special purposes of the moment, institutions, or favored sponsor organizations, with only enough slum clearance to assure Federal assistance. There is no slum clearance and redevelopment on a priority-of-need basis, but only a pragmatist's contempt for all planning and planners, even good ones.

PROGRESS ELSEWHERE

In contrast to New York, eight cities were nominated by Forum correspondents for outstanding records of title I progress with a minimum of political favoritism, shenanigans, or scandals: Baltimore, Chicago, Cleveland, Little Rock, New Haven, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Sacramento.

Baltimore may be taken as a good example, for it was the first city to get a title I project into execution, the first to have new title I housing occupied, and the second city (after Philadelphia) to have an entire project completed, in June 1957, and receive the entire Federal assistance grant. Baltimore has two projects completed, four in execution, and four in planning. As of March 31 it had drawn $6 million, or 23 percent of its $26 million in Federal grant allocations. At the same date, New York had drawn $39.6 million of its $156 million of grant allocation, which was 25 percent.

Baltimore has had its difficulties—but never a hint of scandal. And it disposes of land by competitive bidding, by negotiated sales, and by leases. Its biggest headache was its Broadway project, where an old Negro slum was cleared and scheduled for redevelopment with housing mainly for whites. For several years after demolition, the Broadway area still stood empty and useless. Builders could not obtain adequate financing for new housing in the area, mainly because of adjacent blight, and the result was the type of situation that Moses has feared in New York. By the end of last year, however, the city had completed arrangements for redeveloping the entire project area under revised plans that included expanded facilities for neighboring Johns Hopkins Hospital, a Hopkins-Sheraton Inn (motel), three churches, a school, and a medical office building. The project was officially completed in June.

In Baltimore's Mount Royal Plaza project, 2 large State office buildings have been erected, the Baltimore Life Insurance Co. has bought a 5½-acre plot for a new home office building, and at least 11 builders have indicated they will submit proposals for its high-rise apartment sites.

Baltimore has made its greatest strides in urban renewal in the past 2 years, following creation of a unified Baltimore Urban Renewal and Housing Agency, which merged the city's public housing, redevelopment, urban renewal, and conservation programs into one coordinated operation. This new agency also was instructed to establish a program to interest and enlist private capital in nonsubsidized redevelopment work. Its outstanding achievement in this field is the projected $127 million Charles Center redevelopment.

Also of major importance has been the work of the Greater Baltimore Committee, composed of some of the city's outstanding bankers, merchants, civic and business leaders. This citizens group has worked in the closest liaison with BURHA and the city's planning commission to help expedite the Charles Center redevelopment and other city projects. New York, by contrast, is conspicuous for its lack of any broadly representative citizen advisory group that has any official or even quasi-official status as an adjunct of its redevelopments agency.

THE LESSONS FROM IT ALL

For New York and other cities, notably Boston, that are poorly organized for urban redevelopment, there are several lessons to be learned:

Top-level coordination of a city's various redevelopment and public works programs is absolutely essential. New York might well borrow a leaf from Baltimore in this respect. Experts have suggested that New York and other cities might create some form of "housing policy board" composed of the heads of redevelopment, public housing, and planning agencies, plus the mayor or one of his deputies. Such a board might establish coordinated city "policy" for certain volumes, types, and general locations of public housing, urban redevelopment, and other public-assisted housing each year.

Enthusiatic citizen group participation and approval is needed in formulating housing and redevelopment policy.

Redevelopment agency activities must be conducted in a "goldfish bowl," a phrase that turned up repeatedly in reports from other cities. Discussing New York's troubles last month, HHF Administrator Norman Mason disclosed that both he and Urban Renewal Commissioner David M. Walker think it would be helpful to have a clause in the housing law requiring full disclosure of prospective sponsors and all other details about redevelopment projects. Moses' aides have lobbied against legislation for this purpose.

Redevelopers need to be assured that there is free and open competition for redevelopment property, even though its final disposal may be worked out on a negotiated-price basis in lieu of a formal auction or bid-opening process.

Large redevelopment projects should be divided into smaller units for resale (a recommendation by many experienced builders, which has been ignored in New York).

If some of these lessons are learned, the washing of New York's dirty linen in public will have served a wide and useful purpose. For the Nation's slum-clearance and urban-redevelopment program is sound, and all the pressures of society, economic growth, and population indicate that the Nation should get on with it.

THE STATE OF TITLE I IN OTHER CITIES

A sampling of 14 cities—other than New York and Baltimore, covered in detail in this article—reveals that none is suffering from New York City's problems, though various local programs range from excellent to poor.

Boston: Except for its chairman—Joseph W. Lund, nationally known real estate man—city's redevelopment authority is generally rated "a political dumping ground." Projects for sake of projects, rather than slum clearance, seems to be objective. One West End project, surveyed by outside experts, is shown to be substantial low-rent area, not slum, from which 2,800 households are being ousted. Status: poor.

Chicago: Spirited bidding for land, which city clears, parcel by parcel, as fast as old buildings are vacated and families moved by city's own relocation staff. Redevelopment agency's "goldfish bowl" policy includes joint meetings about twice a month at which heads of conservation board, building department, and planning commission confer with mayor on renewal plans and progress. Status: excellent.

Cincinnati: Vociferous minority of almost evenly divided city council is alert to shenanigans by any majority. Redevelopment, conducted "in a goldfish bowl," enthusiastically supported by city's two newspapers. Projects conform to city's master plan; no effort to locate them to serve special interests or organizations. Status: good.

Cleveland: Through nonprofit Cleveland Foundation, top industrialists have subscribed $2 million to revolving fund to assure success of urban renewal. Loans are made to approved redevelopers needing extra financing, and strategic properties are bought while still inexpensive if city agencies cannot act fast enough. Foundation serves as city's redevelopment watchdog. Status: excellent.

Jersey City: Has distinction of having only criminal case in whole program. In 1954, executive director of redevelopment agency was fined $5,000 and jailed for 2 years for concealing interest in architectural firm doing business with agency. Charges of poor management and politics rife. Status: poor.

Little Rock: City sells individual building lots for single-family houses to both individual families and speculative homebuilders. Some commercial parcels sold in open negotiation; program conducted without scandal or outspoken criticism. Status: excellent.

New Haven: Exceptionally effective citizen participation and approval of program through 500-member citizens action commission appointed by mayor. Outstanding land disposal record (see article). Status: excellent.

Philadelphia: Open and vigorous competition for most sites. Originally some sales by negotiation, more recently by sealed bids. Close adherence to city's master plan. Some redevelopers admit friendships with powerful political figures but no hint that political influence or connection has ever affected awards. Status: excellent.

Pittsburgh: Extensive private, nonsubsidized redevelopment. The city's title I program, now getting into stride, receives same wholehearted support of city's powerful business community. Status: excellent.

Providence: Completed second title I project in July. Program scandal free, very efficient, but misses some of city's worst slums. Some initial projects seem to have been calculated to gain such municipal improvements as schools and playgrounds as well as to redevelop substandard areas. Status: good.

Sacramento: Redevelopment agency strong and independent; it rejected bid of one big redeveloper to buy entire 15-block project, instead offered commercial, hotel, and housing sections separately to get best specialists in each field. Despite heavy political pressure, it also turned down local housing investors for more experienced eastern redeveloper. Sharp-eyed Sacramento Bee watches over program. Status: excellent.

St. Paul: Delays due to political jockeying and conflicts between redevelopment agency and commissioners. Says one former agency official: "In general it was possible to run your program—if you went along with the commissioners' deals on personnel and contracts." One suit against commissioners charging favoritism in selling a site went to State supreme court; was dismissed. Status: poor.

San Francisco: Slow-moving program due to restrictions hedging land acquisition; first resale of land is not scheduled until next spring at earliest. In January, city's chief administrative officer resigned under cloudy circumstances, in no way involving local redevelopment agency. (He was investor in and director of corporation which purchased properties slated for redevelopment, then offered them to agency at premiums as high as 140 percent.) Incident has tightened scrutiny of program. Status: poor.

Washington: Large and complex program benefits from good newspaper coverage and support, including some criticism. Formula for upward revision of land prices worked out after local builders complained that proposed negotiated price with Webb & Knapp was too low. One proposed but inactive project criticized for being tailored to provide special benefits to local university. Status: good.

Fidel Castro: America's Achilles Heel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. ALLEN SMITH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 14, 1960

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, not since the days of Teddy Roosevelt's Rough Riders has Cuba been more on the minds of Americans. With the suddenness of a black thunderhead rolling up in the summer sky, a young revolutionary, Fidel Castro, swept to power last January in this lovely Caribbean island. Since then, like a tempestuous volcano, Castro has been strewing revolutionary lava far and wide. Most alarmingly, some of his deeds and words sound suspiciously like the tactics of communism. More and more, as Americans learn about the Cuban revolution, they are shocked by the increasing Communist infiltration and, in some areas, Communist guidance. These facts must give America great care lest Cuba become a Soviet stronghold on our very doorstep.

To most Americans, Fidel Castro must appear as a fascinating character. Young, gay and handsome, his bearded face brings memories of a young Daniel Boone. An intelligent, jolly fellow, he always seems ready for a good time. Perhaps most appealing, he gives the impression of an allegiance to an ideal—the 26th of July Movement, the name of his revolutionary party. Always we admire a man supposedly dedicated to an ideal—especially a man who has the vigor, enthusiasm and determination to carry forward its principles. Admittedly, Fidel Castro possesses leadership qualities which have made him a towering figure in his homeland.

The question before America today is simply this: Which way does Fidel Castro tower? Does he lean toward democratic ideals—the ideals which gave his country freedom, the ideals which brought Americans as liberators to his shores in 1898, the ideals which made America and Cuba friendly neighbors? Or does he lean toward totalitarian precepts—the precepts which destroy liberty and justice and would make his country a captive of international communism? That is America's chief interest in Castro.

We are all familiar with the background of Fidel Castro—how, as a young student, he led a revolt on July 26, 1953, against the Batista government, how he was arrested, sent to prison, later released. That was just the beginning for

this young man. He went to Mexico, organized a band of revolutionaries and vowed to overthrow the Havana government. The very term "26th of July Movement" comes from the historic date in 1953 when Castro made his fateful attack against Moncada Barracks in Santiago.

Then one December day in 1956, Castro with only some 80 men actually invaded Cuba. This act in itself shows the daring fearlessness of this man—who with a mere handful of followers would attempt a military invasion of a sovereign American republic. Castro's expedition met with resistance at the shore and only some dozen members, including Castro, escaped inland. The stage was now set for one of the most ingenious, swift, and amazingly successful coups in the whole history of the Western Hemisphere. In just a few months these dozen men, through terror, cajolery, and blind devotion to a revolutionary program, mushroomed into a tremendous military force. From a shadowy silhouette figure hurriedly slithering ashore from a small boat to a grand Cuban conquistador cheered by thousands as he parades down the streets of Cuba's capital city—that was the transformation of Fidel Castro in roughly 2 years.

There is a lesson here to be learned. Castro's success shows the tremendous power which can be generated by a fanatic minority determined to overthrow a legitimate government. Lenin and his henchmen did the same in 1917. A mere handful of Bolsheviks, trained in deceit and revolutionary techniques, overthrew the mighty, centuries-old governmental structure of the czar. They then went on—after brutally murdering the czar and his family—to erect a revolutionary Communist government. The world is still reaping the bitter fruits of that fateful event.

To the victor belong the spoils—such has been the motto of dictators for countless centuries. Castro heaped upon himself the honors and rewards which came from victory. He promised reforms. He promised new laws. He promised to do away with injustices. Many Americans were highly sympathetic as it must be admitted there was much room for improvement in Cuba.

But when victory is achieved by a revolutionary minority through military means, there inevitably come the abuses of power. We remember the infamous treason trials, held in a virtual circus atmosphere. Human beings were sent to death—almost like cattle in a slaughterhouse. The name "La Cabana"—the hated fortress where prisoners were jailed—leaped into the headlines. Many hundreds fled Cuba as political exiles. These are the familiar trappings of the dictator state: "treason" trials, prisons, political exiles.

Yet, there was much good will still left for Fidel Castro. Last April, as you will remember, he toured the United States. Virtually everywhere he was received with enthusiasm. He spoke before many audiences of political leaders, newspapermen, civic officials, students. He told what he was trying to do in Cuba. He tried to explain away the excesses of the revolution. He denied his movement was Communist. "We have said very clearly we are not Communists, very clearly." He espoused friendship for our country. He said he was bringing a new life to millions of his fellow countrymen.

Now, some 9 months later, the time has come to take a serious inventory of Fidel Castro. I know some people are downright weary trying to figure out just what is occurring in this historic isle—where Christopher Columbus traveled on his first expedition to America. One day Castro resigns as Prime Minister—then upon the appeal of the people, returns. Invasions of Cuba occur while Cuba invades the Dominican Republic. The President of the state resigns under fire and another is appointed—both mere puppets of Castro. Special tricks are used to lure airplanes to the island—there to be captured. A high-ranking Cuban official, Maj. Pedro Luis Lanz, chief of the air force, suddenly disappears—is denounced by Castro—and then testifies before an American congressional committee. These 9 months have been marked by a kaleidoscope array of confusing incidents, bewildering to anybody who does not take the time to study the pattern of developments in this country.

And what we see is not encouraging. Castro's Cuba, from all indications, is rapidly falling under Communist influence. Whether Fidel Castro himself is a Communist is not known. Major Lanz was asked during his appearance before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee as to who was the "strongest Communist in the Castro government." He replied, "I think it is Fidel himself. I am completely sure he is a Communist."

Major Lanz added, "While fighting in the hills we talked about bringing democracy back to Cuba, about free election, about the constitution. What have we got now? He has let the Communists have control, and few Cubans are Communists."

Evidence continues to mount of Communist infiltration and control in Cuba. Intelligent observers have pointed out that there are Communists in the Army, labor unions and public communications. Likewise, Cuban education is being penetrated by the Communists, even to the extent of rewriting history books. Reports continue to circulate of contacts by Cubans with Communists from other countries.

Most important are the close advisers of Fidel Castro. His brother, Raul, is one of the most prominent. Raul reportedly was in attendance at a Communist-directed youth rally in Vienna in 1953, later traveling behind the Iron Curtain As commander of the Cuban armed forces, Raul is in a most strategic position. His friendliness to Marxist-Leninist propaganda is obviously giving the Communists an entree into new fields of Cuban life.

Then there is Ernesto "Che" Guevara, the so-called No. 3 man of the Castro regime. Argentine born, an international adventurer, always ready to fight at the drop of a hat, he has become Fidel Castro's right-hand man. He led part of Castro's army in its bloody struggle for power, later served as commander of the infamous La Cabana fortress. He, too, reportedly has intense Communist leanings and has long been regarded as one of the key party figures in the Caribbean area. A man like Guevara—bold, dashing and ruthless—is not one who would be expected to fight for democratic liberties. He is a promoter of dictatorship.

The handwriting is clear for all who are willing to observe—Cuba is well on the road toward Communist domination. Perhaps Castro himself is not to become Cuba's Lenin—the man who actually sets up the Communist dictatorship. We do not know; perhaps Castro will be a Kerensky, the man who was to briefly head the Russian Government after the czar's forced abdication in March 1917, only in turn to be replaced by Lenin the following November. The important thing is this: anti-American, anti-democratic, anti-liberty forces are on the rampage in Cuba at this very minute. Communism is growing there. Our fear is that the Kremlin will gain either overt or covert control, swinging this lovely tropical island into the Kremlin's control. This, I say, America can never permit.

There are some people who say give Castro time to straighten out affairs. That advice would be excellent, if only the possibility existed that democratic processes might gain the ascendancy. But the whole flavor of the July 26 movement and Fidel Castro personally militate against this prospect.

First of all, there is the fact that Castro gained power through bloody military revolt, not democratic elections. He thinks in terms of ruthless military force—witness his handling of the "treason" trials and those who criticize his regime. "From now on the symbol of our revolution," he told a cheering throng on resuming the Premiership, "will be the machete," the razor-sharp ax used by Cubans. Seldom has history recorded that a military dictator has become a believer in democracy.

Then, in 9 months, the trends are all running contrary to free government: there have been no free elections; establishment of responsible local self-government; no operation of an independent judiciary. Attempts have been made to interfere with the free press. Property has been expropriated without due process of law. Then there is the continual atmosphere of emotion, Castro-sponsored rallies and parades designed to whip the people into frenized acclaim—the familiar trappings of the dictator.

Castro, moreover, is attempting to churn discontent and revolt among his Caribbean neighbors. He has become a firebrand threatening to inflame the peace of Latin America. He talks and acts like a bully, forgetting that nations must learn to live peacefully. If disputes arise, they should be settled amicably—not by name calling, guerrilla invasions,

and subversive infiltration. Castro is running contrary to the principles of Western Hemisphere unity.

When the Cuban jig-saw puzzle is put together, piece by piece, we find a man—Fidel Castro—and a group—26th of July movement—which are basically anti-democratic. This young man, trained to think in terms of violent revolution and dictatorship, represents a severe danger to the United States. As Communist influence grows, as the Kremlin increases in power in Cuba, we must be alert to protect our national security. Let's make no mistake: Fidel Castro is the Achilles heel of our national security. We cannot allow Moscow to gain a foothold too close to our shoreline.

Library of Congress Gives History of Makeup of the American $1 Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, for years before I first came to this Congress about 14 years ago I was interested in the makeup of the American dollar bill. That interest continued and increased until recently I asked the Library of Congress to answer my letter of August 10, 1959, copy of which is hereinafter set forth, about the American dollar bill. I believe it of such common interest and information among the American people that I am herewith presenting the report of the Library of Congress.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., August 10, 1959.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS,
Legislative Reference Service,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR FRIENDS: Will you please send to me, in duplicate please, a statement which I can insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—or otherwise use—as to the history and significance and why are they used, etc., of each of the items appearing on the face of the $1 bill of the United States of America, and on the reverse side thereof. For instance, the great seal of the United States. Why is the pyramid there? What does the wording mean and what language is it?

Make it as clear and complete as you can so that folks reading it can sort of get the picture of what it is and why.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

CLYDE DOYLE,
Member of Congress.

THE AMERICAN $1 BILL

Over 150 years ago, Benjamin Franklin, colonial champion of liberty and freedom, observed that "in this world nothing can be said to be certain, except death and taxes." This famous inventor, statesman, and philosopher could not possibly have foreseen that the new Nation—to whose creation he had contributed so much—would develop such basically sound currency. The first United States paper currency—the demand notes—were issued in 1861. These demand notes and most other issues since that time are still legal tender at their face value. Some issues will actually be redeemed by the Government at higher than face value.

The preservation of the integrity of American currency has been fostered through sustained faith in the solemn word of the Government, as well as the specie supporting it. The Secret Service of the Treasury Department guards and protects against any losses through counterfeiting; and a system of strict internal checks is maintained at the Bureau of Engraving to pinpoint the responsibility of each operating section. Special ink, prepared within the Bureau, is used for printing all bills. The currency paper, composed of 50 percent cotton and 50 percent linen embedded with small red and blue fibers, is a special formula paper produced by a commercial establishment under close Government supervision. You can be sure that the statement on our currency—"This certificate is legal tender for all debts, public and private"—is more than a slogan—it is an oft-proved fact.

Some of the design features of our $1 bill, and other paper currency are purely ornamental. Others are devised as security checks, and still others are ornamental but also protect against counterfeiting. For example, the etched borders (known as the conventional geometrical lathe design) around both the face and the reverse side of a $1 bill are attractively intricate in design—it would not be easy to duplicate the pattern in the design. The word "one" and the arabic numeral "1" appear numerous times on both the face and the reverse of the $1 bill adding to the attractiveness of the design, but also acting as a safeguard. On our $1 bill the designation "one," in varying form, can be found in 25 instances. On the face, or obverse side, "one dollar" appears twice; there are 8 notations of "one" and five arabic numerals "1." On the reverse side of the $1 bill the notation "one dollar" appears once; "one" is noted 5 times and the arabic numeral "1" appears 4 times.

All U.S. paper currency is printed in black ink on the obverse and green ink on the reverse, regardless of denomination. The serial number of the bills appears twice, in blue ink, on the face of the bill; once, to the upper right of the centered portrait of George Washington; and once, to the lower left of the portrait. A series note, the date of issuance of the series, also appears in small lettering to the left of the portrait.

The items enumerated above, along with the designations, silver certificate, "This certifies that there is on deposit in the Treasury of the United States of America $1 in silver payable to the bearer on demand," and the signatures of Secretary of the Treasury and the Treasurer; all testify to the denomination of the currency and to the authority of the issuing body, but they do not have any particular historical significance.

On the other hand, there are some items with historical interest and meaning. Among these is the Great Seal of the Treasury. This seal is found in one form or another on every piece of paper money issued since the Demand Notes of 1861. Older than the Constitution of the United States, it has been affixed to official Treasury documents since 1782, although the exact date of adoption is not known.

Working as a committee, John Witherspoon—a New Jersey educator, Gouverneur Morris—Pennsylvania statesman and one of the signers of the Constitution; and Richard Henry Lee—Virginia statesman and great-grandfather of Gen. Robert E. Lee, supervised the design of the great seal of the Treasury. Some historians give full credit for the design to Gouverneur Morris, but the Treasury Department credits all three men with the creation of the seal.

The resultng design consists of a shield bearing the scales of justice; a key, symbolizing official authority; and 13 stars representing the original States. The seal is enclosed by a circle which bears the Latin legend—"Thesaur. Amer. Septent. Sigil.," an abbreviation of "Thesauri Americae Septentrionalis Sigillum"—"The Great Seal of the Treasury of North America." All silver certificates ($1, $5, and $10 denominations) carry the seal stamped in blue, immediately to the right of the appropriate portrait. U.S. $2 and $5 notes carry the seal in the same position, in red. The $100,000 gold certificate seal is stamped in yellow and the seal on the $5 to $10,000 Federal Reserve notes appears in green. On each denomination a different portrait appears, but the same Treasury seal—in the colors noted—is an integral part of every piece of paper currency.

Beginning with bills issued in 1935, $1 silver certificates have carried the obverse and reverse of the great seal of the United States. Unlike the great seal of the Treasury which appears on all paper money, the great seal of the United States is found only on $1 silver certificates.

Everyone is familiar with the American Eagle as a National emblem of the United States. Since ancient times, the eagle's form has been utilized in art and symbolism. Ancient Roman armies used the eagle as a standard and early Christian art used the eagle to personify St. John, the evangelist. To this day, the eagle remains a symbol of war and triumphal trophies. The face of the great seal of the United States is built around the American Eagle.

History does not record the date or time when the eagle was first used as a symbol of our Republic, but it appeared on several versions of the great seal which were submitted to conform with the Founding Fathers' resolution of 1776—"That Dr. Franklin, Mr. J. Adams, and Mr. Jefferson, be a committee to bring in a device for a seal for the United States of America."

On June 19, 1782, William Barton, artist and heraldry expert of Philadelphia, presented the completed replica of the seal, having modified the artwork and description turned over to him by Charles Thomson, Secretary of Congress. The final version of the great seal of the United States as we know it today, was presented to Congress by Mr. Thomson on June 20, 1782, and accepted on that same day. Mr. Thomson had been designated to review and revise the entire collection of proposals submitted to the Congress for approval. Thus, these two men are credited with utilizing to the best advantage all of the various ideas submitted by the many minds and hands having a part in the creation of the great seal of the United States. The great seal was again ratified after the Constitution was adopted in 1789.

The reasons for the use of the symbols found on the seal set forth in the authors', Thomson and Barton, explanation of the design are particularly interesting. Mr. Barton noted that the 13 vertical stripes appearing on the eagle's shield (which are red and white on the full color seal) represent the 13 States supporting the blue chief "which unites the whole and represents Congress." In other words, it is the union of the Thirteen Original States under Congress. The eagle appears in what is termed as the "displayed" attitude; that is, with wings and feet spread. Mr. Barton explained that the displayed eagle reflected the fact that "the American States need no supporters but their own virtue, and the preservation of their Union through Congress."

The eagle grasps an olive branch in its right talon; and a bundle of 13 arrows in the left talon—denoting the power of peace and war. From the beak of the eagle a streamer flows which carries the Latin words. E Pluribus Unum, "Out of many, one." For

the crest, which is a basic part of any coat of arms, a circular field containing 13 stars appears above the head of the eagle. The description of this crest is graphically described in the law regarding the design of the seal. It reads thus:

"For the crest. Over the head of the eagle, which appears above the escutcheon, a glory, or a breaking through a cloud, proper, and surrounding 13 starts, forming a constellation, argent, on an azure field."

With regard to the reverse side of the seal the law reads as follows:

"Reverse. A pyramid unfinished. In the zenith, an eye in a triangle, surrounded with a glory proper. Over the eyes these words, 'Annuit Coeptis.' On the base of the pyramid the numerical letters MDCCLXXVI. And underneath the following motto, 'Novus Ordo Seclorum.'"

It was the thought of the authors, Thomson and Barton, that the unfinished pyramid represent strength and duration, and that the eye represent the eye of Providence. The Latin phrase Annuit Coeptis, translated means "He [God] has favored our undertaking." The phrase Novus Ordo Seclorum, means "A new order of the ages."

In the broadest sense, money is but a representation of wealth. The paper on which it is printed has virtually no intrinsic worth—its value comes from the fact that by common consent it can be exchanged for something of value, such as an automobile or food. By common consent and the solemn faith in the word of our Government the American $1 bill is a reliable medium of exchange, not only in the United States but throughout the world.

Further Economic Damage From Misguided Anti-inflation Measures Can Be Prevented

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 14, 1960

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, amendments to the Federal Reserve Act are necessary to prevent further economic damage from misguided anti-inflation measures. The present law requires the President to name the members of the Federal Reserve Board with "due regard to a fair representation of the financial, agricultural, industrial and commercial interest" as well as the geographical divisions of the country, but only Big Business interests have been appointed to the Board in recent years. My bill, H.R. 5732 would correct present inequities.

The extent to which the Federal Reserve Board and the Federal Reserve System have departed from their historic purposes and become engines to hurt the whole economy and to redistribute income in economically unsound and socially unjust ways is one of the most shocking and disturbing developments of recent years within the American economic scene.

I am pleased to have the support of the purposes of my bill, H.R. 5732, by such fine organizations as the National Farmers Union, and the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, as well as the National Federation of Independent Business the 130,000 members of which overwhelmingly supported the measure in a recent nationwide poll, and the AFL–CIO.

The distinguished economist, Leon H. Keyserling, in supporting H.R. 5732, wrote me recently that—

In my opinion, the most basic of all remedies is not in the specific monetary legislation, because substantial discretion must be left to the Board and the System. The most fundamental remedy is to reestablish in fact as well as in theory, the proposition that the Federal Reserve Board and System are publicly created instrumentalities and should be subject to an appropriate degree of true public control in the public interest. Your bill, H.R. 5732, is a very important step in this direction * * * While the enactment of your bill would perhaps not bring enough improvement so long as we have an administration whose cabinet members presumably share the wrongful attitudes toward monetary policies which are now in vogue, nonetheless, your bill would help to restore the basically democratic principle of public responsibility for the things which most affect the whole public.

The AFL–CIO adopted a detailed monetary policy at San Juan, Puerto Rico, on February 24, 1959, in which a number of basic reforms of the Federal Reserve System were called for. Most of these reforms are incorporated in my H.R. 5732. The AFL–CIO statement on monetary policy declares that—

Amendments to the Federal Reserve Act are necessary to prevent further economic damage from misguided anti-inflation measures. Fruitless attempts to stem inflation through the use of monetary policy have already helped cause two recessions in the last 6 years. Fear of inflation has blinded both the administration and the Federal Reserve Board to the Nation's greatest economic necessity—economic growth to promote maximum employment, production and purchasing power. Such growth can stop inflation. Misguided anti-inflation steps, such as tight money, do not halt inflation and do lead to recession.

The AFL–CIO has lashed the Eisenhower administration and the Federal Reserve Board for bringing about one of the tightest credit squeezes most Americans have ever seen and checking the growth of the Nation's economy.

Economic Trends and Outlook, monthly publication of the AFL–CIO Department of Research, pointed out that interest rates reached the highest levels in over a generation during 1959 and are expected to be even higher in early 1960.

"Much of the reason for this credit squeeze is a conscious effort to tighten the money supply—a wrongheaded use of monetary weapons by the Federal Reserve Board," the AFL–CIO said.

The AFL–CIO added that every time the economy starts to move forward rapidly, the Federal Reserve Board and the administration decide that inflation might start speeding and so put on tight-money brakes.

The AFL–CIO points out that in 1953–54 and 1957–58, recession followed money-tightening and that inflation or price increases occurred regardless of the Board's action.

I include here an article from the January 9, 1960 AFL–CIO News.

I include, also, the text of my bill, H.R. 5732.

[From the AFL–CIO News, Washington, D.C., Jan. 9, 1960]

FRB, ADMINISTRATION HIT ON TIGHT MONEY

The AFL–CIO has lashed the Eisenhower administration and the Federal Reserve Board for bringing about "one of the tightest credit squeezes most Americans have ever seen" and checking the growth of the Nation's economy.

Economic Trends and Outlook, monthly publication of the AFL–CIO Department of Research, pointed out that interest rates reached the highest levels in over a generation during 1959 and are expected to be even higher in early 1960.

"That means America's acute housing shortage will worsen and construction employment will be affected," the AFL–CIO said, quoting experts as seeing a 10 percent decline in housing starts this year.

"The consumer is paying more for new cars, refrigerators, etc., as interest rates mount * * *," the publication commented, adding:

"State and local governments are paying higher debt costs or putting off necessary projects. * * *

"Federal Government debt costs are higher than ever and interest rates continue to inflate the cost of the national debt. Interest costs for 1959–60 are estimated at over $8 billion, up about a billion dollars or about 11 percent in the 3 years since 1956–57."

The AFL–CIO noted that homebuilders have said interest charges on mortgages rose about 1 percent from 1958 to 1959, making annual mortgage payments an average of $110 higher.

"Much of the reason for this credit squeeze is a conscious effort to tighten the money supply—a wrongheaded use of monetary weapons by the Federal Reserve Board," the AFL–CIO said.

MOST EFFECTIVE

The publication observed that the money supply is not the only economic factor affecting the economy, but added that the FRB's power is the single most effective way to influence the money supply.

The board influences this area through interest rates it charges member banks for borrowing funds, through the ratio it requires of bank reserves to loans and through purchase and sale of Government securities. The money supply includes the coins and bills in circulation as well as the money in demand deposits, that is, in checking accounts in banks.

The AFL–CIO pointed out that the money supply as a percentage of the gross national product dropped steadily as the Nation reconverted from war to peace, to a level of about 35 percent in the early 1950's.

"As the Eisenhower administration began to make its presence felt, however, as the inflation-preachers scared America out of more and more growth, the money supply as a percent of gross national product, declined from about 34 percent in early 1955 to a level of 29 percent in the first two quarters of 1959," it added.

The reason, the AFL–CIO said, is that every time the economy starts to move forward rapidly, the Reserve Board and the administration decide that inflation might start speeding and so "put on tight-money brakes."

The AFL–CIO publication pointed out that in 1953–54 and 1957–58, recession followed money tightening and that inflation or price increases occurred regardless of the Board's action.

It referred to the view of William McChesney Martin, Chairman of the FRB

Board of Governors, before Congress last summer.

Martin said then that the Board should not support "an undue expansion of bank credit and money" in the face of "developing high-level prosperity and the potential threat of an inflationary boom."

For a nation emerging from the "staggering 1958 recession," the AFL–CIO said, a rapid increase in money and credit to create more jobs, homes, and a higher standard of living need not be undue.

CONCERN MISPLACED

Not only has the Board shown more concern over growth as "an engine of inflation" than for its beneficial effects—"it has been quite satisfied with unsatisfactory growth rates," the AFL–CIO charged.

The Nation's economic growth has been too slow in recent years, the AFL–CIO said, pointing out that even conservative estimates put growth needs at 5 percent annually simply to maintain living standards.

H.R. 5732

A bill to amend the Federal Reserve Act with respect to the number, term of office, and qualifications of members of the Board, to abolish the Open Market Committee and transfer its functions to the Board, and with respect to the qualifications of directors of Federal Reserve banks

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the eleventh paragraph of section 4 of the Federal Reserve Act (12 U.S.C., sec. 302, third sentence) is amended by inserting immediately before the period at the end thereof the following: "or in any business or professional occupation other than banking."

SEC. 2. (a) The first paragraph of section 10 of the Federal Reserve Act (12 U.S.C. 241) is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 10. The Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System (hereinafter referred to as the 'Board') shall be composed of sixteen members, twelve of whom shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, for terms of six years except as otherwise provided by law, and four of whom, the Secretaries of Labor, Commerce, and Agriculture, and the Administrator of the Small Business Administration, shall be ex officio. In selecting the appointive members of the Board, not more than one of whom shall be selected from any one Federal Reserve district, the President shall have due regard to a fair representation of the financial, agricultural, industrial, commercial, labor, small business, and consumer interests, and geographical divisions, of the country. The appointive members of the Board shall devote their entire time to the business of the Board and shall each receive an annual salary as provided by law, together with actual necessary traveling expenses."

(b) The second paragraph of section 10 of the Federal Reserve Act (12 U.S.C. 242) is amended (1) by striking out the second and third sentences and inserting in lieu thereof the following: "Except as otherwise provided by law, each member of the Board shall hold office for a term of six years from the expiration of the term of his predecessor, unless sooner removed for cause by the President. The President shall designate one of the members of the Board as Chairman and one as Vice Chairman, to serve as such for a term of four years.", and (2) by striking out the last sentence of such paragraph.

(c) The last sentence of the fourth paragraph of section 10 of the Federal Reserve Act (12 U.S.C. 244) is amended by striking out "six."

(d) The tenth paragraph of section 10 of the Federal Reserve Act (12 U.S.C. 247a) is amended to read as follows: "The Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System shall keep a complete record of the action taken by the Board upon all questions of policy, the votes taken in connection with the determination of policies, and the reasons underlying the action of the Board in each instance. The Board shall include a copy of such record in its annual report to the Congress."

SEC. 3. The terms of office of the five members of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System first appointed to the offices created by the amendments to the Federal Reserve Act made by this Act shall expire, as designated by the President at the time of nomination, one at the end of five years, two at the end of three years, and two at the end of one year, after the expiration of the term of office of the member whose term of office first expires after the date of enactment of this Act; and the successor to that member whose term first expires after such date shall be appointed for a term of five years. The terms of office of members of the Board in office on the date of enactment of this Act shall continue to be the terms for which they were appointed, and whenever a vacancy shall occur, other than by expiration of a term of office, among such members, the term of office of the member appointed to fill the vacancy shall be the unexpired term of his predecessor.

SEC. 4. (a) Subsection (a) of section 12A of the Federal Reserve Act (12 U.S.C. 263(a)) is hereby repealed.

(b) Subsection (b) of section 12A of the Federal Reserve Act (12 U.S.C. 263(b)) is amended (1) by striking out "(b)" at the beginning and inserting in lieu thereof "(a)", (2) by striking out "Committee" in the first sentence and inserting in lieu thereof "Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System", and (3) by striking out "Committee" in the second sentence and inserting in lieu thereof "Board".

(c) Subsection (c) of section 12A of the Federal Reserve Act (12 U.S.C. 263(c)) is amended by striking out "(c)" at the beginning and inserting in lieu thereof "(b)".

SEC. 5. All personnel, property, records, and unexpended balances of appropriations of the Federal Open Market Committee are hereby transferred to the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided,* That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Address by Hon. John F. Kennedy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM PROXMIRE
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a great speech by the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY]. This speech is highly significant because it sets forth the views of one of the leading candidates for the presidency on his conception of the kind of President the Nation and the times demand.

I also ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that immediately following the Kennedy speech, there be printed in the RECORD a perceptive analysis of the significance of this speech by the chief of the New York Times Washington bureau, Mr. James Reston.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, as follows:

TEXT OF SENATOR KENNEDY'S SPEECH

The modern presidential campaign covers every issue in and out of the platform from cranberries to creation. But the public is rarely alerted to a candidate's views about the central issue on which all the rest turn. That central issue—and the point of my comments this noon—is not the farm problem or defense or India. It is the presidency itself.

Of course a candidate's views on specific policies are important, but Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft shared policy views with entirely different results in the White House. Of course it is important to elect a good man with good intentions, but Woodrow Wilson and Warren G. Harding were both good men of good intentions; so were Lincoln and Buchanan; but there is a Lincoln Room in the White House and no Buchanan Room.

The history of this Nation—its brightest and its bleakest pages—has been written largely in terms of the different views our Presidents have had of the Presidency itself. This history ought to tell us that the American people in 1960 have an imperative right to know what any man bidding for the Presidency thinks about the place he is bidding for, whether he is aware of and willing to use the powerful resources of that office; whether his model will be Taft or Roosevelt, Wilson or Harding.

Not since the days of Woodrow Wilson has any candidate spoken on the presidency itself before the votes have been irrevocably cast. Let us hope that the 1960 campaign, in addition to discussing the familiar issues where our positions too often blur, will also talk about the presidency itself, as an instrument for dealing with those issues, as an office with varying roles, powers, and limitations.

CRITICIZES EISENHOWER

During the past 8 years, we have seen one concept of the Presidency at work. Our needs and hopes have been eloquently stated—but the initiative and follow-through have too often been left to others. And too often his own objectives have been lost by the President's failure to override objections from within his own party, in the Congress or even in his Cabinet.

The American people in 1952 and 1956 may have preferred this detached, limited concept of the Presidency after 20 years of fast-moving, creative Presidential rule. Perhaps historians will regard this as necessarily one of those frequent periods of consolidation, a time to draw breath, to recoup our national energy. To quote the state of the Union message: "No Congress * * * on surveying the state of the Nation, has met with a more pleasing prospect than that which appears at the present time."

Unfortunately this is not Mr. Eisenhower's last message to the Congress, but Calvin Coolidge's. He followed to the White House Mr. Harding, whose sponsor declared very frankly that the times did not demand a first-rate President. If true, the times and the man met.

But the question is what do the times—and the people—demand for the next 4 years in the White House?

RULES OUT CASUAL BYSTANDER

They demand a vigorous proponent of the national interest—not a passive broker for conflicting private interests. They demand a man capable of acting as the commander in chief of the Grand Alliance, not merely a bookkeeper who feels that his work is done when the numbers on the balance sheet come out even. They demand that he be the head of a responsible party, not rise so far above politics as to be invisible—a man who will formulate and fight for legislative policies, not be a casual bystander to the legislative process.

Today a restricted concept of the Presidency is not enough. For beneath today's surface gloss of peace and prosperity are increasingly dangerous, unsolved, long-postponed problems—problems that will inevitably explode to the surface during the next 4 years of the next administration—the growing missile gap, the rise of Communist China, the despair of the underdeveloped nations, the explosive situations in Berlin and in the Formosa Straits, the deterioration of NATO, the lack of an arms control agreement, and all the domestic problems of our farms, cities, and schools.

This administration has not faced up to these and other problems. Much has been said—but I am reminded of the old Chinese proverb: "There is a great deal of noise on the stairs but nobody comes into the room."

The President's state of the Union message reminded me of the exhortation from "King Lear" but goes: "I will do such things—what they are I know not * * * but they shall be the wonders of the earth."

In the decade that lies ahead—in the challenging revolutionary sixties—the American Presidency will demand more than ringing manifestoes issued from the rear of the battle. It will demand that the President place himself in the very thick of the fight, that he care passionately about the fate of the people he leads, that he be willing to serve them at the risk of incurring their momentary displeasure.

AS CHIEF EXECUTIVE

Whatever the political affiliation of our next President, whatever his views may be on all the issues and problems that rush in upon us, he must above all be the Chief Executive in every sense of the word. He must be prepared to exercise the fullest powers of his office—all that are specified and some that are not. He must master complex problems as well as receive one-page memorandums. He must originate action as well as study groups. He must reopen the channels of communication between the world of thought and the seat of power.

Ulysses Grant considered the President "a purely administrative officer." If he administered the Government departments efficiently, delegated his functions smoothly, and performed his ceremonies of state with decorum and grace, no more was to be expected of him. But that is not the place the Presidency was meant to have in American life. The President is alone, at the top—the loneliest job there is, as Harry Truman has said.

If there is destructive dissension among the services, he alone can step in and straighten it out—instead of waiting for unanimity. If administrative agencies are not carrying out their mandate—if a brushfire threatens some part of the globe—he alone can act, without waiting for the Congress. If his farm program fails, he alone deserves the blame, not his Secretary of Agriculture.

"The President is at liberty, both in law and conscience, to be as big a man as he can." So wrote Prof. Woodrow Wilson. But President Woodrow Wilson discovered that to be a big man in the White House inevitably brings cries of dictatorship.

So did Lincoln and Jackson and the two Roosevelts. And so may the next occupant of that office, if he is the man the times demand. But how much better it would be, in the turbulent sixties, to have a Roosevelt or a Wilson than to have another James Buchanan, cringing in the White House, afraid to move.

Nor can we afford a Chief Executive who is praised primarily for what he did not do, the disasters he prevented, the bills he vetoed—a President wishing his subordinates would produce more missiles or build more schools. We will need instead what the Constitution envisioned: a Chief Executive who is the vital center of action in our whole scheme of Government.

AS LEGISLATIVE LEADER

This includes the legislative process as well. The President cannot afford—for the sake of the office as well as the Nation—to be another Warren G. Harding, described by one backer as a man who "would, when elected, sign whatever bill the Senate sent him—and not send bills for the Senate to pass." Rather he must know when to lead the Congress, when to consult it and when he should act alone.

Having served 14 years in the legislative branch, I would not look with favor upon its domination by the Executive. Under our government of "power as the rival of power,"

to use Hamilton's phrase, Congress must not surrender its responsibilities. But neither should it dominate. However large its share in the formulation of domestic programs, it is the President alone who must make the major decisions of our foreign policy.

That is what the Constitution wisely commands. And, even domestically, the President must initiate policies and devise laws to meet the needs of the Nation. And he must be prepared to use all the resources of his office to insure the enactment of that legislation—even when conflict is the result.

By the end of his term Theodore Roosevelt was not popular in the Congress—particularly when he criticized an amendment to the Treasury appropriation which forbade the use of Secret Service men to investigate Congressmen.

And the feeling was mutual, Roosevelt saying: "I do not much admire the Senate, because it is such a helpless body when efficient work is to be done."

QUOTES WILSON ON SENATE

And Woodrow Wilson was even more bitter after his frustrating quarrels. Asked if he might run for the Senate in 1920, he replied: "Outside of the United States, the Senate does not amount to a damn. And inside the United States the Senate is mostly despised. They haven't had a thought down there is 50 years."

But, however bitter their farewells, the facts of the matter are that Roosevelt and Wilson did get things done—not only through their Executive powers but through the Congress as well. Calvin Coolidge, on the other hand, departed from Washington with cheers of Congress still ringing in his ears. But when his World Court bill was under fire on Capitol Hill he sent no messages, gave no encouragement to the bill's leaders, and paid little or no attention to the whole proceeding—and the cause of world justice was set back.

To be sure, Coolidge had held the usual White House breakfasts with congressional leaders—but they were aimed, as he himself said, at "good fellowship," not a discussion of "public business." And at his press conferences, according to press historians, where he preferred to talk about the local flower show and its exhibits, reporters who finally extracted from him a single sentence—"I'm against that bill"—would rush to file tongue-in-cheek dispatches, proclaiming that: "President Coolidge, in a fighting mood, today served notice on Congress that he intended to combat, with all the resources at his command, the pending bill * * *"

But in the coming years we will need a real fighting mood in the White House—a man who will not retreat in the face of pressure from his congressional leaders—who will not let down those supporting his views on the floor. Divided Government over the past 6 years has only been further confused by this lack of legislative leadership. To restore it next year will help restore purpose to both the Presidency and the Congress.

AS PARTY LEADER

The facts of the matter are that legislative leadership is not possible without party leadership, in the most political sense—and Mr. Eisenhower prefers to stay above politics (although a weekly news magazine last fall reported the startling news, and I quote, that "President Eisenhower is emerging as a major political figure"). When asked, early in his first term, how he liked the "game of politics," he replied with a frown that his questioner was using a derogatory phrase. "Being President," he said, "is a very great experience * * * but the word 'politics' * * * I have no great liking for that."

But no President, it seems to me, can escape politics. He has not only been chosen by the Nation—he has been chosen by his party. And if he insists that he is "President of all the people" and should, therefore, offend none of them—if he blurs the issues and differences between the parties—if he neglects the party machinery and avoids his party's leadership—then he has not only weakened the political party as an instrument of the democratic process—he has dealt a blow to the democratic process itself.

I prefer the example of Abe Lincoln, who loved politics with the passion of a born practitioner. For example, he waited up all night in 1863 to get the crucial returns on the Ohio governorship. When the Unionist candidate was elected, Lincoln wired: "Glory God in the highest. Ohio has saved the Nation."

AS A MORAL LEADER

But the White House is not only the center of political leadership. It must be the center of moral leadership—a "bully pulpit," as Theodore Roosevelt described it. For only the President represents the national interest. And upon him alone converge all the needs and aspirations of all parts of the country, all departments of the Government, all nations of the world.

It is not enough merely to represent prevailing sentiment—to follow McKinley's practice, as described by Joe Cannon, of "keeping his ear so close to the ground he got it full of grasshoppers." We will need in the sixties a President who is willing and able to summon his national constituency to its finest hour—to alert the people to our dangers and our opportunities—to demand of them the sacrifices that will be necessary. Despite the increasing evidence of a lost national purpose and a soft national will, F.D.R.'s words in his first inaugural still ring true: "In every dark hour of our national life, a leadership of frankness and vigor has met with that understanding and support of the people themselves which is essential to victory."

Roosevelt fulfilled the role of moral leadership. So did Wilson and Lincoln, Truman and Jackson and Teddy Roosevelt. They led the people as well as the Government—they fought for great ideals as well as bills. And the time has come to demand that kind of leadership again.

And so, as this vital campaign begins, let us discuss the issues the next President will face—but let us also discuss the powers and tools with which we must face them.

For we must endow that office with extraordinary strength and vision. We must act in the image of Abraham Lincoln summoning his wartime Cabinet to a meeting on the Emancipation Proclamation. That Cabinet has been carefully chosen to please and reflect many elements in the country. But "I have gathered you together," Lincoln said, "to hear what I have written down. I do not wish your advice about the main matter—that I have determined for myself."

And later, when he went to sign after several hours of exhausting handshaking that had left his arm weak, he said to those present: "If my name goes down in history, it will be for this act. My whole soul is in it. If my hand trembles when I sign this proclamation, all who examine the document hereafter will say: 'He hesitated.' "

But Lincoln's hand did not tremble. He did not hesitate. He did not equivocate. For he was the President of the United States.

It is in this spirit that we must go forth in the coming months and years.

SENATOR'S DISCUSSION OF PRESIDENCY OPENS A PRIVATE DEBATE TO THE PUBLIC

(By James Reston)

WASHINGTON, January 14.—There are really two quite different presidential debates going on in this country: a private debate and a public debate.

The public debate has dealt primarily with secondary issues. It has dealt with the past. It has centered on personalities. It has discussed Vice President NIXON'S record in the forties. It has centered on Adlai E. Stevenson's two defeats, Senator John F. Kennedy's religion, Senator Lyndon B. Johnson's Texas heritage, President Eisenhower's popularity, Governor Rockefeller's wealth, and a variety of technicalities on the tactics and strategy of how to win.

The private debate has been much more limited but much more serious. It has looked to the future. It has inquired into the qualities necessary in a President of the sixties. It has dealt a great deal on the difference between what the public thinks is true about the present and what is actually true.

Fortunately, Senator KENNEDY made a genuine attempt today to bring these two debates together. In his performance at the National Press Club this noon, he made the first really serious political speech of the formal campaign.

For he dealt with the primary issue. He dealt with the future. He analyzed the Presidency as it is now being interpreted by President Eisenhower, and how he believes it must be interpreted in the future.

SCORNS SURFACE GLOSS

This was no attempt to ride the current popular waves of illusion. He was highly critical of the President in the full knowledge that the President is at the height of his personal popularity. He scorned today's surface gloss of peace and prosperity and insisted on emphasizing the increasingly dangerous, unsolved and long-postponed problems of the missile gap, the rise of Communist China, the despair of the underdeveloped nations, the explosive situations in Berlin and the Formosa Straits, the deterioration of NATO, the lack of arms control, and all the domestic problems of our farms, cities, and schools.

Honest men and women will differ and differ violently about the Senator's characterization of the President as a man who does not follow through on his own goals, as a bookkeeper who feels that his work is done when the numbers on the balance sheet come out even.

In the present mood of wishful thinking in the country, the Senator has taken a chance. But right or wrong, he has at least started to discuss serious issues in a major arena where they cannot be ignored or brushed off.

The President's news conference yesterday illustrates what the Senator is talking about. In that conference, the President made these statements:

On Vice President NIXON'S intervention to settle the steel strike: "Any idea that there was threat or pressure brought to bear upon the companies is silly."

On the assertion of Sir Anthony Eden, former British Prime Minister, that he had stopped a U.S. plan to intervene in the Indochina war: "I do know this: that there was never any plan developed to be put into execution in that particular instance.

On the charges that the defenses of the United States are inadequate: "I want to tell you this: I've spent my life in this, and I know more about it than almost anybody, I think, that is in this country. * * * I believe that the matter of defense has been handled well and efficiently * * *."

CONVINCING TO MANY

Now, these statements dominated the news today. They were widely published, and no doubt they were convincing to most people who read them.

Yet it is a fact that there are a great many well-informed people in the Capital today who still believe that pressure was ap-

plied to the steel companies to settle, who know that there was a National Security Council debate, provoked by Adm. Arthur W. Radford's proposal to intervene with air power in the delta of Indochina in 1954, and who are still dissatisfied with the President's personal defense of the Nation's arms program.

For months the President's popularity has smothered the debate on defense. He has not satisfied many people even in his own administration by assertions of greater personal knowledge of modern defense requirements.

In short, the President has defeated his critics but has not convinced them. They have continued the private debate, but have been increasingly frustrated in the belief that the President was telling the public what it wanted to hear.

What Senator KENNEDY is at least attempting to do is to force these issues into the open. He is saying quite bluntly that the way to begin a presidential campaign is with a definition of what the Presidency should be in the coming years. And he is saying frankly that if the people want the kind of leadership President Eisenhower has given them, they better not choose the Senator from Massachusetts because he does not think this is what the country needs.

Maybe the people will take him up on this. That remains to be seen. But anyway he is bringing the private debate into the public domain, and that at least gives people a chance to make up their own minds.

"The Immortal Names That Were Not Born To Die" American Journalism Has Produced

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROLAND V. LIBONATI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. LIBONATI. Mr. Speaker, many great men were learned leaders in the publishing field of American journalism but none can surpass in greatness that of the late Col. Robert R. McCormick, publisher of the Chicago Tribune, as a true patroit.

He was positive in his understanding of the term "true Americanism" and with the ease and familiarity of a college history professor expressed himself in all of its facets. He had a discerning brilliancy of mind, touching upon the leaders of men who gave birth to the Republic; of the others who fought through the years for its continued existence. He sought to preserve its free institutions and the constitutional rights and privileges of its citizens. He was a man of worth and genius. Even in death he was faithful in his loyalties and astute in his knowledge of the training needed by youthful minds, to carry on the traditions of their patriotic inheritance. And he did something about it as the following article indicates—God bless his memory:

HISTORY ON TOUR

The Illinois Historical Society is going to have a traveling museum, called a historymobile. It will be equipped with a variety of showcases in which documents from public and private collections and other materials of historical interest can be put on display. The truck will tour the State under the direction of a competent instructor who can answer the questions of the many thousands of children and adults who will be attracted to the showing.

Of course, the exhibits will be changed from time to time. The first collection will be concerned largely with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution with its Bill of Rights because these documents were particularly dear to the late Col. Robert R. McCormick, editor and publisher of the Tribune. The historymobile is being paid for with funds from the charitable trust established under the colonel's will.

If space in the traveling museum permits, we hope that on this first tour documents bearing on the Northwest ordinance will be included, for this, too, was a subject of lifelong study by Colonel McCormick and the influence of the ordinance on the development of Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Minnesota as well as Illinois can hardly be exaggerated.

If the historymobile proves to be anything like the success which the historical society foresees, it should serve a variety of useful purposes. Among other things, it should stimulate interest in the history of our country and our State and it should acquaint the people of Illinois, and especially our children, with the richness of their inheritance as citizens. It is hard to imagine any use of the money left by the colonel that would have been more gratifying to him than this one.

Remarks of Hon. Walter Ely at Induction of Judge Joe J. Fisher as U.S. District Judge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, in the interval that the Congress was in adjournment, a distinguished and able member of the Texas bar, the Honorable Joe J. Fisher of Jasper, took office as U.S. district judge of the Beaumont division, eastern district of Texas.

I was privileged to attend the impressive ceremony.

Judge Fisher succeeded a great jurist, the late and beloved Lamar Cecil.

The Honorable Walter Ely of Los Angles, a former Texan who is now an eminent member of the California bar, spoke at the induction of Judge Fisher.

The remarks by this learned and respected member of the legal profession brought enlightenment and inspiration to his listeners.

In recognition of this memorable event in the career of an esteemed member of the bar, Judge Joe J. Fisher, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the remarks by the Honorable Walter Ely be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF THE HONORABLE WALTER ELY, OF LOS ANGELES, CALIF., UPON INDUCTION OF THE HONORABLE JOE J. FISHER, OF JASPER, AS U.S. DISTRICT JUDGE, BEAUMONT DIVISION, EASTERN DISTRICT OF TEXAS, OCTOBER 23, 1959, BEAUMONT, TEX.

May it please the court, Senator JOHNSON, Senator YARBOROUGH, judges all, my fellow lawyers, ladies and gentlemen, this is a happy day for me. From nearly 2,000 miles I have come, as you must know, at the request of my dearest friend, to participate with you in this occasion, a most important one to every citizen of our great land. I thank you for the kindness of your individual welcomes.

Every American is, or ought to be, interested in the quality of his judges, and we ask, "What qualifications need a judge possess?"

In May of this year, writing to the publishers of Look magazine on behalf of my own great bar association, I had the opportunity to say, in part:

"Answering your inquiries in the order put, we say, first, there should be no valid basis of disagreement as to the considerations which should be of paramount importance in the selection of a judge. Integrity is of the first importance, followed by judicial temperament, commonsense, legal ability, industry, maturity, and broad experience in the affairs of mankind."

I speak to you only as a plain man, but as the one who, without question, knows Joe Fisher better than any other man in all the world.

Thirty years and a month ago we entered our great State university—he from east Texas, I from west. Immediately there came about a friendship which has not only endured through the years, but which has grown to an affection almost fraternal.

I see here my friend's mother, the first enobling influence in his life. I remember how she used to cook for us when I enjoyed the warm hospitality of the family home, located in the peaceful piney woods country near San Augustine. I remember the cleanliness of her home, her quiet dignity, and the gentle Christian sweetness of her ways.

I remember Joe's dad, tall and strong and stalwart, always patient, always kindly, always tolerant. His was not the glossy facade of the tutored culture. His mind was keen and highly self-trained. He was an avid patriot and ever maintained an intense, accurate interest in national affairs. Of him it could well be said, "If it were a sin to covet honor, then there was the most offending soul alive." He would have been proud if he could have survived to this hour, for his great ambition for his son was never for material things, but rather for dedicated and honorable service to his fellow man.

There sits my friend's wife, the gracious Kathleen, a woman with a nobility so deep that it cannot be sounded. It seems such a little while ago that I handed him the ring that he placed upon her finger. I thank her for the stability, the encouragement, the gentility, and the faithful devotion with which she has enriched his life and which have contributed in immeasurable degree to his present greatness.

There are their five children, respectful and respected, the very existence of whom and my friend's adoration of whom enhance his affection for his country and his interest in the preservation of its principles, its ideals, its institutions, and its traditions.

Our new servant comes from a beautiful small community, and from the viewpoint of the outsider, this is good. I am an officer of the bar association in a great metropolitan community of 5 million people, and when, from time to time, a man from a remote area is elevated to high office, we pause and take inventory. And there comes to us a

sense of exhilaration to see again tangible evidence that in our country every boy from every rural school has equality of opportunity, and that whether he originate from Denison, or Johnson City, or Chandler, or San Augustine, Tex., he will have his chance to reach beyond the heights. Opportunity in America knows no territorial limits, and that it shall always be so, is the prayer of all of us.

I remember when my friend and I were college roommates and enjoyed from time to time the company of our fraternity brothers, the able, irrepressible Joe Tonahill, and the even then dignified, brilliant, now distinguished Supreme Court Judge Ruel Walker. I cannot honestly say that as we exchanged our dreams, our aspirations, and our ambitions in those days, we dared to hope that one of us might attain the distinction which is soon to be conferred. If we talked of Federal district judges at all in those days of depression, it was perhaps only to wonder how one of them could possibly utilize even a major part of his then salary of $10,000 per year.

Always maintaining close contact, I have watched the growth of my friend to his now great stature. Having seen him sprout his wings, I saw him trim them for level and then for ever-soaring flight. I saw him as the diligent county attorney at San Augustine. I saw him as the hard-working district attorney of the first judicial district, and finally as State district judge, elected by his neighbors. I saw him as the president of his bar association. I watched him become the careful student of the Bible. I saw him appointed to numerous State posts of high distinction, and I saw him come from a small town to become, amazingly, an international director of a great civic service organization. I have hiked with him through the mountains of Colorado. I have swum and fished with him in the seas off several shores. I have hunted with him in the snow and spruce clad hills of Alaska and lain with him in the Arctic night and reverently watched the awesome display of the northern lights. With our sons, we have canoed down raging glacial rivers of the northland. I have seen him as the considerate husband and the devoted father. As I say, as a man, I know him better than anybody else in all the world, and as an officer of this court, I represent to you without reservation or qualification that America will be proud of its new judge.

His personal courage is magnificent. His sense of duty is exemplary. He reveres the law and all it stands for, but above all, his unique honesty and integrity is that which sets him apart from too many men.

We do not fear the brilliant judge, but we do fear the judge who is not brilliant yet fancies himself to be so. Joe would make no pretense to brilliance and will ever receive the assistance of counsel with courtesy and open-mindedness. He is wise and warm and gentle and tolerant, has been strictly tested in the realm of human experience and has been found to be not wanting. Yes, he will be loved and respected as a Federal judge. Upon that, I would stake my life.

I suspect that in the years ahead there will be great decisions to challenge the courage of my friend in this judicial district. I confidently expect him to meet these challenges with deliberation, with wisdom, and above all, with respect for the Nation's law. There is nothing more tragic than the prostitution of an ideal, for one to whom there has been given a sacred trust to permit himself to become inhibited, fettered, or contaminated by prejudices or predilections, or even by friendships, or by the tugs and stresses of society, inchoate but inexorable. There will be no prostitution of justice in Joe Fisher's courtroom. He will not tolerate the corruption or adulteration of the purest of all the priceless virtues of our heritage.

We confer life tenure on our Federal judges. There is no room for inhibitions or nepotism here. There is no room for shackles or for contamination. And speaking of life tenure, I predict that if my friend fulfills the promise of this day, that if he brings into application to the duties he is about to assume, his industry, his warmth, his tolerance, his humanity, his integrity, his respect for law, and his personal courage, the honor we do him now will be as nothing compared to that which will usher him to his eternal peace.

This brings to mind my personal desire to pay my respects to the memory of another great judge who ably performed his duties in this room where we are now assembled. Lamar Cecil was my close personal friend, and I shall never forget the pleasant and inspirational hours which we spent together at meetings of the American College of Trial Lawyers throughout the land. In paying brief tribute to the memory of that great man, I do not intend to inject a note of sadness into this generally happy ceremony. Lamar would have been the last to have wanted it so. It is a significant mark of the grandness of our land that when there passes a distinguished public servant who, for the moment, seems irreplaceable, somehow from out the crucible of this democracy there comes another who either has, or inspired by conscience and traditions of duty, attains or surpasses the stature of his predecessor.

Today, the United States of America acquires a new judicial servant for its people. None of these 180 million human beings is beyond the reach of his judgment, a fact which causes us to feel the awful nature of the responsibility he is about to assume. At firsthand, I have seen efforts at crude justice throughout the world: simple tribal justice in the uncivilized depths of Africa, the execution of summary judgment along the banks of the Nile, in Pakistan, and the Middle East, in India, Thailand, the States of the Malayan Peninsula, and around the world. From my travels, I have returned with a rebirth of the conviction that the American system of justice is the most wonderful work ever evolved by the brain and purpose and ingenuity of man. In all ages, justice has been the ultimate aim and purpose of honorable men. Its attainment and preservation by freemen can be their only lasting triumph. It has been written that no nation can endure and prosper into and through whose life is not found the golden thread of equal, exact, and universal justice.

When men fight for freedom, they fight for justice: and people compelled to defend their countries against attack struggle most relentlessly for those lands wherein there are found impartiality and humanity in the administration of justice.

In the exigencies of war, freedom and security may temporarily depend upon the strength of armed might, but in the end, basic freedom rests upon goodness and humanity of government.

Everything that we have, everything that we hope to obtain, everything that we are, and everything that we hope to be, depends upon the integrity of man and his integrity in the administration of the national law.

May it please the court: I present for acceptance into your honored fraternity a creature of truly consummate charm and wisdom and character, regularly appointed by the President of the United States of America and duly confirmed by the Senate, as U.S. district judge for the eastern district of Texas, the Honorable Joe J. Fisher.

Mrs. Rose Bunch

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. GEORGE P. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, Anita Day Hubbard, one of the feature writers of the San Francisco Examiner, always does a great job; but she outdid herself in a story on Rose Bunch that appeared in the Examiner on Sunday, January 3, 1960.

Every active American Legionnaire in San Francisco since World War I knows and loves Rose Bunch for the work she does, not only on their behalf but out of the goodness of a wonderful heart.

It has been my misfortune not to have seen her for many years but I know that she is as stanch today in her service to her fellow men as she was when I did know and see her regularly.

Rose Bunch was a personal friend of Frank Havener who served in Congress for a number of years.

I am very happy to put Anita Day Hubbard's piece in the RECORD to preserve for posterity her estimation of a grand lady.

The article follows:

MATURE LIVING
(By Anita Day Hubbard)

Mrs. Rose Bunch is, officially, community services chairman of the 7th District American Legion Auxiliary.

Unofficially, she is a sort of den mother to all the oldtime newspaper people and most of the younger ones in the Fred Bunch Post of the Legion, named for her late husband.

In her official job there is plenty to keep her busy.

She has spread out the jurisdiction to cover just about any needy or problem-harassed individual, deserving or undeserving, that she hears about.

Being on a completely amateur and volunteer basis, she can cut across red tape and protocol and professional disciplines without let or hindrance, and does, to help all comers. She knows all the ropes and because the whole town knows her great heart and her ready wit, and her innocent disarming wisdom, she often does the "impossible" and thinks nothing of it.

In straightening out difficult patterns of twisted lives, she sweeps cynics and skeptics to work along with her, often to their startled surprise.

Presently she is organizing, among a host of other things, a senior folk-dancing group for the St. Francis of Assisi Church parish. As usual with her projects it is going swimmingly.

In the meantime she is keeping track of a host of child welfare cases, herding irresponsible fathers back into the home corral, rounding up jobs, looking after aged shutins, and never believing or admitting for an instant that she is doing anything unusual.

"I'm only 74," she says, "and much too young to slow down yet. Maybe when I get to be 80 or so I'll have time to think about it."

BORN IN ENGLAND

Rose was born in Liverpool, England, of an Irish father and English mother, on March 17, 1886.

By the time she was 4, they had brought her to Boston.

At 17, she was teaching Sunday school at St. Philip's Church, in the Roxbury district there. The church needed new stations of the cross, and the parish put on an amateur show to raise funds.

Rose danced a buck and wing, and a soft shoe number. The show ran a successful 3 nights, and the then famous vaudeville team of Ward and Vokes came, with their wives, to all three performances.

They consulted Father O'Donnell, about the shapely young dancer and he decided it was a good chance for the girl's future, and Rose was in show business.

The first theater she played in was the Columbia in Boston. She had never been in a real theater before in her life.

For four seasons they toured the east coast, including New York. There she met young San Francisco born Fred Bunch, of the New York American. Fred had two offers, one to go to San Francisco with Charles Stanton, new editor of the Examiner, and the other in Boston. Fred thought she'd love the good gray city, but she wanted to make sure. So she signed up for 40 weeks of 1-night stands in an act called "Cupid at Vassar," complete with daisy chain and chorus "co-eds." It was 1907, and San Francisco was still a mess of ruins after the big fire. The American theater was the only showhouse in town.

On her birthday, St. Patrick's Day, she went to Mass at old St. Patrick's Church on Mission Street, where there was the altar, but no walls nor roof, only dusty piles of fallen bricks.

By then she had fallen in love with the town. She already felt that way about Fred Bunch. They were married on September 10, 1910, and went to honeymooning in the snug little flat at 1019a Vallejo Street, where Rose still lives. "Same house, same landlady," she says, "and we still speak."

Fred went off to World War I, was badly gassed in France, stayed long enough to help organize the American Legion, and to write the original draft of the famous preamble to its constitution, still read at every meeting.

Back home, he only survived until 1921.

GIFT SHOP

After a short, but successful venture in a tearoom in Coquille, Oreg., Rose came back to the city, where she found a charming setting for a gift shop and tearoom up 44 steps in a studio building on Grant Avenue in Chinatown. The steps didn't faze her friends and customers, but the depression did, and closed the shop.

She worked a while for the State employment department, finding jobs for the thousands of unemployed. Then she moved on to her real avocation, as counselor in the bureau of domestic relations in the district attorney's office, under Mat Brady. For 14 years, and in "Pat" now Governor, Brown's administration, she served valiantly until age retired her in 1951.

Except for not having a salary, she's been working at about the same pace, with about the same sort of people, ever since.

Every May 30, on Decoration Day, at midnight, she joins the Fred Bunch Post, and her fellow members of the auxiliary, to lay a wreath at Lotta's Fountain, at Third and Market Streets.

In the old days, just about every newspaper in town held forth within a stone's throw.

When the buglar sounds taps from the roof of the Examiner Building over the crowd, Rose Bunch can almost see the rollicking, fearless, brilliant crew of oldtime newspaper men and women who wrote and laughed and foregathered there, along with her beloved Fred.

Hon. Homer Thornberry as a Member of the House Rules Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I have referred with great pride on many previous occasions to the qualities of leadership and experience so outstanding in Texas' congressional delegation.

Walter Hornady of the Dallas (Tex.) Morning News, an able, eminent, and respected member of the Washington press corps, has underlined those qualities anew in an article about the distinguished Representative from Texas' 10th District, the Honorable HOMER THORNBERRY, of Austin.

As evidence of the caliber and qualifications of Texas' congressional delegation, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Hornaday's article, with the remarks of Don Scarbrough, the editor, as carried in the Williamson County (Tex.) Sun, be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A TEXAN IN WASHINGTON—THORNBERRY WIELDS POWER AS RULES MEMBER

(NOTE FROM THE EDITOR: Not a publicity-seeking politician, Congressman HOMER THORNBERRY is, nonetheless, a very effective and respected one. The following article, written by Walter C. Hornady, of the Dallas Morning News, gives some insight into his influence, his work, background, and life.)

WASHINGTON.—When the more powerful Members of Congress from Texas are counted, a modest legislator from Austin shouldn't be overlooked.

HOMER THORNBERRY doesn't go around talking about the influence he wields.

He doesn't have to, for the importance of the position he holds as a member of the House Rules Committee is well known to his colleagues, if not to others, including most of his central Texas constituents.

The rules group serves as a traffic cop for the House of Representatives. Its members say what bills shall be cleared to the floor and under what procedure.

It's a small committee, having only 12 members. Eight belong to the party in control and four to the minority, which means at this time eight Democrats and four Republicans.

The members are carefully chosen and as vacancies occur Democrats assigned the group are screened by SAM RAYBURN, who has been either Speaker or minority leader since 1940. The GOP House leader, or Speaker, as the case may be, exercises about the same control over Republicans named to the committee.

Liberals frequently charge an unholy alliance exists between the southern conservatives on the committee and the Republicans. THORNBERRY has alined with neither the conservative nor liberal bloc, but weighs each piece of legislation on its merits as it comes along. Even when he intends to be against a bill on the floor, if he believes an issue is involved the Nation has a right to have Congress consider, he will vote to clear it through rules.

HOWARD W. SMITH, Democrat, of Virginia, 76-year-old chairman of the Rules Committee, comes under heavy fire from the liberals for exercising dictatorial power, but THORNBERRY stoutly defends the veteran Virginian.

"Judge SMITH is a man of very firm convictions, but he never abuses his authority," THORNBERRY said.

The Austin Congressman served an apprenticeship on the Post Office and Civil Service and the Commerce Committees before being tapped for the rules group, where Texas traditionally is entitled a place.

He didn't like the assignment the first 2 years, because he had no opportunity to help frame legislation or to obtain a detailed knowledge of bills prepared by the legislating committees he had previously served on.

THORNBERRY now believes the advantages of being on the rules group outweigh the disadvantages.

In addition to the responsibility involved, a Rules Committee member obtains a good idea of every bill sent to the House floor through explanations, for and con, given by interested persons.

The average House Member has to more or less accept the recommendations of the committee that drafted and reported a particular bill, but THORNBERRY is able to size up all of them himself.

THORNBERRY first became interested in politics when he was a 14-year-old page in the Texas Legislature in 1923. He recalls that Representative WRIGHT PATMAN, of Texarkana, was a member of the Texas House at the time. So was W. D. McFarlane, who served for a time as Congressman from the Wichita Falls district. Another member was the late Sam Johnson, father of Senate Democratic Leader LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

The young man was a Travis County deputy sheriff in his spare time while attending the University of Texas. In his senior year in law school, he was elected to the Texas Legislature and reelected in 1938. He was named district attorney in 1940, was reelected in 1942 but resigned to enter the Navy as a reserve junior grade lieutenant.

While stationed at the Corpus Christi naval base, the young officer met Eloise Engle, also from Austin, a civilian secretary at the base. They were married in Austin in 1945.

THORNBERRY left the Navy in 1946 as a lieutenant commander and promptly got elected to the Austin City Council. In his second year on the council he was selected mayor pro tem. Tom Miller, the city's almost perpetual city official, was mayor then as now.

When LYNDON JOHNSON retired from Congress in 1948 to run for the Senate, THORNBERRY announced for the place and defeated half a dozen candidates for the Democratic nomination. He has been reelected every 2 years since then and hopes to stay in Congress as long as his district wants him.

THORNBERRY takes a deep interest in Gallaudet College, a federally supported school in Washington and the only senior college in the world for the deaf. He's on its board of directors and in 1954 was made an honorary doctor of law by the institution.

The Congressman's mother was deaf from infancy and unable to speak during her lifetime. She was educated in the Texas School for the Deaf at Austin and taught there for more than 20 years. THORNBERRY's father was also deaf, attending the Texas school and taught there until his death in 1918. Mrs. Thornberry died here in Washington in 1953 at the age of 85. A new building at Gallaudet

College was recently named the "Mary L. Thornberry Building" in her honor and her son's.

The Thornberrys live in a comfortable old house in northwest Washington. They have three children, Molly, 13, David, 11, and Kate 9. The Congressman goes to his district as soon as Congress adjourns each year and covers the 10 counties thoroughly. His big interest is developing the area's water resources.

The Pennsylvania Electric Co. in Cooperation with the Pittsburgh Section of the American Nuclear Society Sponsored Teachers' Day at Erie, Pa., October 3, 1959, and Altoona, Pa., October 10, 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, for the purpose of orienting the science teachers of Pennsylvania's high schools in the field of peaceful uses of the atom, the Pennsylvania Electric Co., in cooperation with the Pittsburgh section of the American Nuclear Society conducted two interesting symposiums, one at Erie, Pa., October 3, 1959, and the other at Altoona, Pa., October 10, 1959.

Both of the symposiums were well attended and consumed the entire day. As a participant in these two symposiums it was my privilege to deliver the following address titled "Human Energy: A Necessity in the Atomic Age."

HUMAN ENERGY: A NECESSITY IN THE ATOMIC AGE

(By Representative JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, Member of Congress, 20th District of Pennsylvania, on the occasion of Nuclear Science Day sponsored by the Pittsburgh section of the American Nuclear Science Society, Altoona, Pa., Saturday, October 10)

When a Member of Congress speaks to a gathering of science teachers about atomic energy, it seems to me only fair that he should first describe the margin of his authority.

I cannot pose as an expert on the theory of atomic energy, but am simply a Member of your National Legislative Body who has enjoyed special advantages in serving on the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

The Joint Committee on Atomic Energy was established by the Atomic Energy Act of 1946, and has continued under subsequent legislation to make continuing studiec of the activities of the Atomic Energy Commission and of problems relating to the development, use, and control of atomic energy.

Our committee is kept fully and currently informed with respect to the Commission's activities.

Legislation relating primarily to the Commission or to atomic energy matters is referred to the committee.

The membership is composed of nine Members of the Senate and nine Members of the House of Representatives.

The release of atomic energy presented to mankind perhaps the greatest challenge of all time.

Either we must rise to heights of international cooperation undreamed of in the past, or we shall see our civilization, and a great part of all humanity itself, wiped out in a new war in which the atomic bomb will be the chief, perhaps the only weapon; a war which, in horror, will be beyond imagination—more terrible than anything mankind has experienced in the past.

And conversely, if we can manage to live peaceably together, the energy the atom will give us will become a limitless source of power.

The cost will be slight in proportion to the usefulness.

The arrival of the atomic age made most of our past thinking about military and naval strategy obsolete.

Yet if we can only manage through the years to use atomic energy for constructive and not destructive purposes—what a vision of the future we can see.

The scientists who worked on the bomb devoted themselves strictly to that task.

It was the consensus among them that engines using atomic power were not more than 10 or 20 years away.

They were entirely correct.

I recall that following a meeting of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee held aboard the *Nautilus* on March 20, 1955, I predicted that nuclear-powered submarines soon would replace most surface warships other than carriers and cruisers, and that large surface craft such as carriers and cruisers would be powered by nuclear engines.

You explain to the young folks in your classrooms that the atomic energy of a pound of coal exceeds its energy, when it is burned, by more than a billion to one.

Someone has pointed out that the atoms in a dime would drive a train a thousand miles; a glass of water would send the *Queen Mary* half a dozen times across the ocean—and so on.

We cannot forget, ladies and gentlemen, that we must walk before we can run.

We cannot solve the stupendous new problems which confront the world unless we prove ourselves capable of solving the lesser, stubborn questions which were facing us before the first atomic bomb went off on that rainy July morning in New Mexico.

For long and weary years we have been devoted to defensive purposes.

We have been trying desperately, and much of the time against heavy odds, to keep alive human freedom and the dignity of the individual.

In the past decade the United States has taken enormous strides in technological development.

Whole new vistas have been opened as a result of these advances and consequently the demand for skilled talent in almost all fields of endeavor is unprecedented.

This has been particularly evident in the fields of science and engineering where shortages in some instances have reached the critical stage.

At a time when science and technology are the key both to military superiority and to economic strength, the popular consciousness of the need for men and women to man the laboratories, the drawing boards, and the production lines is essential and understandable.

These statements form the basic opinion of the Subcommittee on Research and Development of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

As a member of that subcommittee, I have been vitally interested in the solution to our shortage of scientific and engineering manpower.

In April and May of 1956, the subcommittee conducted extensive hearings and subsequently has issued several reports.

It is important that we recognize our serious shortages are not entirely signs of failure.

There are indications of success.

A way of life has been created in which the demands made for superior skills in every field have become so tremendous that growth and expansion have become constant elements in our normal pattern of living.

A society has been created in which progress is not simply a matter of occasional spurts and short-term crises.

Rapid progress has become a normal part of our national life.

The skilled manpower to keep up with this steadily and rapidly advancing march of progress will be in demand for years to come.

I think it is important that we understand the basic principles which have guided Congress in the formulation of the legislation that has created and given authority to the Atomic Energy Commission, particularly in the light of peaceful uses of atomic energy.

The Atomic Energy Commission was established by the Atomic Energy Act to effectuate the declared policy of the United States that, subject at all times to the paramount objective of making the maximum contribution to the common defense and security, the development, use, and control of atomic energy shall be directed so as to promote world peace—improve the general welfare, increase the standard of living, and strengthen free competition in private enterprise.

The Atomic Energy Act provides for the following major programs relating to atomic energy:

1. A program of conducting, assisting, and fostering research and development in order to encourage maximum scientific and industrial progress;

2. A program for the dissemination of unclassified scientific and technical information and for the control, dissemination, and declassification of restricted data, subject to appropriate safeguards, so as to encourage scientific and industrial progress;

3. A program for Government control of the possession, use, and production of atomic energy and special nuclear material so directed as to make the maximum contribution to the common defense and security and the national welfare;

4. A program to encourage widespread participation in the development and utilization of atomic energy for peaceful purposes to the maximum extent consistent with the common defense and security and with the health and safety of the public;

5. A program of international cooperation to promote the common defense and security and to make available to cooperating nations the benefits of peaceful applications of atomic energy as widely as expanding technology and considerations of the common defense and security will permit; and

6. A program of administration which will be consistent with the foregoing policies and programs, with international arrangements, and with agreements for cooperation, which will enable the Congress to be currently informed so as to take further legislative action as may be appropriate.

The amendment of 1954 to the original act laid down the principles that have guided our Government's policies and actions in fostering development of a private atomic energy industry, and in furthering worldwide cooperation in peaceful uses of atomic energy.

The revision of the basic atomic energy law was sought for three reasons:

1. To permit the entry of private enterprise into the field of atomic power.

2. To make it possible to give the Nation's allies sufficient information to train troops in the use of atomic weapons.

3. To pave the way for the international atomic energy pool previously proposed by the President.

Under the amended law, private companies may apply to the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission for permission to construct atomic powerplants.

The Atomic Energy Commission has relied upon industry to exert its initiative in the atomic energy industry and, as the record shows, private companies have moved ahead in many aspects of the industry.

Moreover, industry at all times has supported the Commission through consultation and advice in planning actions and policies to encourage further participation by industry.

All the research programs of the Commission, except for those areas primarily of military importance, are conducted in support of the progress in the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

This includes:

(a) The broad underlying structure of research in biological and medical fields which contribute to safety and health.

(b) It includes the fundamental work in the fields of chemistry and physics—of metallurgy and materials—of controlled thermonuclear reactions.

(c) It includes research on fundamentals of reactor design, reactor materials and processes, and reactor safety, as well as in the specific fields of attaining economic power.

We are, in essence, engaged in a battle for brainpower.

The price of progress and prosperity continues to be an increasing effort to develop our intellectual resources to the maximum.

It is almost universally conceded that there is a critical shortage of technically trained manpower in this country.

But the nature of the crisis is not generally understood and the remedies frequently suggested tend to deal with the superficial and immediate problems rather than the more basic causes of the shortage.

In the interim report of the subcommittee on research and development on the shortage of scientific and engineering manpower, we came to the sharp conclusion that the fundamental problem is not that the United States lacks manpower in one limited, clearly separable area.

Modern defense is total.

It cannot be achieved in the ancient manner of putting up a few strong, scattered forts.

To the contrary, it demands strength throughout the entire fabric of national life.

And further, it requires the kind of cohesion and total national well-being that no military or peacefully competitive contest of the past has ever demanded.

The important fact is that the shortages of educated, skilled brainpower extend to all areas—from the drawing boards to distribution—from engineering to management—from the laboratory to the classroom.

There is an unprecedented demand for more skilled, educated brains.

The demand will increase for many years to come.

Therefore, the shortage will become more critical.

But it would be tragic if—as the committee was warned—the United States is stampeded into shortsighted action.

The committee was reminded of widespread forecasts made shortly after World War II, which predicted an oversupply of engineers and, at least by implication, encouraged high school guidance counselors to steer young people into other vocational channels.

These estimates were not inaccurate—at the particular time and based only on the immediate, short-range picture.

But our committee determined they were tragically wrong in terms of the future.

The point, therefore, is that the critical shortages of manpower should be considered a total shortage of trained individuals in every field, and that in our efforts to remedy short-term deficiencies we should be careful not to create imbalances which will threaten our overall strength in the long run.

With clarity of vision, the Founding Fathers realized that our form of government could not survive without education, and the infant Republic set its face toward a goal of free and universal education.

According to our present standards that goal has not been perfectly realized, but the principle is established and we have moved steadily forward toward its achievement.

The urgency of education becomes preeminent if human freedoms are to survive.

But education for freedom in the atomic age takes in much more territory than education for freedom in the horse-and-buggy age.

World War II had a tremendous influence upon education and educational methods.

Men had to learn well and to learn quickly.

The GI bill of rights opened the doors of higher educational institutions on a more common basis than ever before in our history.

Men who raised the flag on Iwo Jima or stormed the beaches of Normandy brought a grim determination to their studies.

The development of atomic energy affected education because of our realization that educational opportunities had to be broadened and educational methods had to be improved if we are to save our heritage of freedom.

Atomic energy is toil saving only for certain groups.

It may make it possible for the stoker to lay aside his shovel, but it will not permit the scientist to leave his laboratory, or the public servant to forget the cares of his office.

Most emphatically, it will not permit the schoolchild to discard his books.

The schoolboy and schoolgirl must learn geography and mathematics and economics and physics and chemistry and biology—and all the rest—to a degree of thoroughness never before approached.

Now I should like to bring to your attention the words of Vice Adm. Hyman G. Rickover of the Bureau of Ships and more specifically—Assistant Chief of the Bureau of Ships for Nuclear Propulsion.

Admiral Rickover was also head of the atomic powered submarine projects—the *Nautilus* and the *Seawolf*.

For the past 11 years his work has been in the field of nuclear power.

His concern has not only been with the problems of developing the new source of Energy—atomic energy—but he has recognized, and has expressed before our committee, his awareness of the larger problem—how to provide the trained men and women to maintain the momentum of our rapidly expanding technical civilization.

His approach has been realistic and I should like to quote the following remarks he made before our committee in 1956:

"The failure in education is not the fault of the educators alone.

"It is the fault of all of us in not recognizing the impact of the 20th century scientific revolution and taking the necessary measures in time."

Admiral Rickover said further: "First, we must see to it that every young man and woman who is qualified obtains a college education.

"Today less than half of those capable of acquiring a college degree enter college.

"Sixty percent of the best students graduating from high school do not go to college.

"This is a tremendous loss of talent amounting to 250,000 students each year.

"And nearly half of all those who do start college do not graduate."

In addition, Admiral Rickover stated that, "for every high school graduate who eventually earns a doctoral degree there are 25 others who have the intellectual ability to achieve that degree, but do not.

"We simply cannot afford a waste such as this."

Admiral Rickover has reminded us, and again I quote, "Unless we quickly remedy the present treatment of our teaching and scholarly resources we will inevitably have morally and intellectually incompetent teaching staffs."

He continued by saying, "the United States, if it is to succeed in its role of world leadership, must produce citizens who have the wisdom, the vision, and the knowledge to grapple successfully with world problems; citizens who can see critically through conventional values and who are able to subject to principle and to reason all claims to power.

"In the conditions of modern life the rule is absolute, the race which does not value trained intelligence is lost.

"It will matter little what other educational institutions possess if they neglect to recognize and to foster high ability wherever it is found."

My friends, we are continually led to the basic fact that there is no single or final solution to the shortage of skilled manpower and that the efforts of all—Government and private—will be required if we are to make progress.

The shortage of scientific and engineering manpower is only part of a larger national problem.

It involves the need for trained and competent people in all fields of endeavor.

Our main objective should be the development of all our intellectual resources.

No longer do we stand merely at the threshold of atomic power development.

Vague promise has now turned into reality the perplexing problems which accompany a complicated technique.

Scientific advances are coming so fast that it is difficult to predict the ultimate place of nuclear power.

All of man's freedoms have come into existence only as results of his conquest of the power beyond that in his own muscles.

In recent centuries the tempo of civilization can be linked directly to the amount of energy man has had available to him for carrying on his activities.

When coal gave us a large increase in available energy, we went forward through a rapidly expanding phase of civilization.

Now, as atomic energy becomes available, we are going forward with a resounding crescendo.

We must remember that even though a man has fine ideals of citizenship, is thoroughly socialized, always votes, and appreciates the need for learning to live together, if he is ignorant, he is a poor citizen.

If he has not learned much subject matter in his schooling, he will add little or nothing to our Nation's needs for trained manpower.

Therefore, we look to you, the science teachers, for much guidance.

You and I know that nature's laws and the inventions based upon them are not in themselves evil.

It is only the use which men make of these things that leads to constructive or destructive results.

In closing, I would leave with you a short quotation from "The Education of Henry Adams," which wisely asserts that "A teacher affects eternity; he can never tell where his influence stops."

Ladies and gentlemen, this is my salute to you, with the added hope that the years ahead will be marked by increased coopera-

tion between nations in the development and utilization of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

Tribute to Milton Fleetwood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, on December 18, 1959, Hon. Milton Fleetwood, editor and publisher of the Cartersville (Ga.) Tribune-News, and one of my State's most respected and beloved journalists, was honored at a testimonial dinner given by the Cartersville Chamber of Commerce. On that occasion he was installed into the "South's Hall of Fame for the Living," an honor paid to outstanding leaders of the South by the Dixie Business magazine, of Decatur, Ga. No Georgian is more deserving of this recognition than Milton Fleetwood; and I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that the text of remarks by Hon. Hubert F. Lee, for 30 years editor of the Dixie Business magazine, upon the occasion of the installation, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MILTON L. FLEETWOOD INSTALLED INTO THE SOUTH'S HALL OF FAME FOR THE LIVING

(By Col. Hubert F. Lee)

It is an honor and privilege to come back to Cartersville tonight to join in this fine tribute to one of the great men of our time, our mutual friend Milton Fleetwood.

It has been my privilege to have known Mr. Fleetwood for nearly 40 years or to have known of him during almost the years I have been in the newspaper field since 1921.

Milton Luther Fleetwood, president of the Tribune Publishing Co., of Cartersville, Ga., is a leader in the field of publishing and journalism in the South.

The Tribune-News, which he publishes, has won national recognition on several occasions and is considered one of the best weekly papers in America. In 1934, it was selected by John H. Casey, professor of journalism, University of Oklahoma, for a place on his all-American group, an honor which is accorded only 11 weekly newspapers each year. The University of Illinois has pronounced it one of the Nation's most representative newspapers and uses it as a model in the course of study in its school of journalism. In a national survey of weekly newspapers, the Tribune-News, over a period of 12 months, ranked third in paid advertising lineage, carrying more than 1½ million lines. The daily Tribune-News also is one of America's finest.

The success of Mr. Fleetwood is due primarily to worthy traits of character. His perseverance and determination, combined with hard work and a progressive outlook, have enabled him to surmount many obstacles standing in between him and a realization of his ambitions. At the same time, he evidences the highest respect and consideration for the rights of his fellow citizens, whose confidence and esteem he enjoys. He has been honored with a number of important offices—local, State, and national—and has been a strong influence in Democratic State and National politics, without ever seeking public office. In addition, he has found time to take a prominent part in the religious, civic, and fraternal life of his State and community.

The man we honor tonight is truly a modern day Horatio Alger. Success has come to him in great measure but he has used this success to help others. Milton Fleetwood is a fine example and inspiration to every one of us and particularly to the new generation today. I have looked up to Milton Fleetwood for many years as a fine example of a newspaperman and civic leader. Some people think that a leader need hail from a metropolitan center, but I tell you that it is the heart, spirit and willingness to serve others and that some of the truly great men I have known have been known only within their own small communities. That is one of the fine things about the "flowers for the living." It gives friends an opportunity to turn the searchlight on the good deeds of a living man and to honor themselves by honoring him.

Milton Fleetwood, as you know, was born in Asheville, N.C., September 11, 1892. His father, John Webb Fleetwood, was a native of Perquimans County, N.C., and devoted his life to teaching and farming. His mother, before her marriage, was Lenna Leonora Brown, of Thomasville, Ga. The paternal grandparents were John William Fleetwood, a well-known physician of Perquimans County, N.C., and Lovie (Trafton) Fleetwood, a native of Camden County, N.C. The maternal grandparents, Allen and Mary Anne (Duggar) Brown, were among the pioneer settlers of Thomas County, Ga., having moved there from Liverty County, Ga., more than a century ago.

As a youth, Mr. Fleetwood attended the public schools of Thomas County and Thomasville, but was forced by circumstances beyond his control to give up his classroom studies in the first year of high school. He then determined to learn all he could about printing and advertising, working in the offices of the Thomasville Times-Enterprise, and elsewhere, until he achieved some proficiency in his chosen work. Later, he made a more intensive study of advertising and newspaper technique, gaining practical experience by writing for the Times-Enterprise under the guidance and counsel of loyal friends, including Edward R. Jerger and Walter D. Hargrave. They gave Mr. Fleetwood constant encouragement and every opportunity for advancement.

In 1918, he went to Cartersville, upon invitation of the late Oscar T. Peeples, with whom he was associated for 2 years in the operation of the Tribune-News and the commercial printing plant of the Tribune Publishing Co., the plant which Mr. Fleetwood now owns.

This plant, occupying its own building on Main Street, is one of the most modern plants in the South. Its equipment includes two Mergenthaler Linotypes, a Miehle flat-bed press, a Duplex high-speed press, and other machinery in keeping with an establishment of its rank in the printing and publishing field.

For two terms, 1934 and 1935, Mr. Fleetwood was president of the Georgia Press Association, receiving a unanimous nomination, after serving that group as vice-president for 2 years, and in other capacities for two decades. In 1933, he was a member of the special Georgia board named by President Roosevelt to act as mediator and counsellor for the NRA throughout the State. He also served as vice chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee during 1935 and 1936.

Mr. Fleetwood has been active in the civic development of his community. He is a charter member of the Centersville Rotary Club and served as its president during 1932–33. Prominent also in fraternalism, he is, in the Masonic Order, a charter member and past eminent commander of Cavalry Commandery, Knights Templar, a master mason of the Blue Lodge, Chapter, and Shrine. He is a past councillor of the Junior Order in Cartersville and also served as council commander of the Tourist City Camp, Woodmen of the World at Thomasville. In religion, he gives his support to the First Baptist Church of Cartersville, serving as a member of the board of deacons. He has been superintendent of the Sunday school and teacher of a number of classes at various times.

On October 5, 1913, Mr. Fleetwood was married to the lovely Beulah Mae Smith, second daughter of Mary Ella (Shepherd) Smith and the late John Edmondson Smith, Sr., of Thomasville, Ga. Mr. and Mrs. Fleetwood have had four children: Milton, Jr., who was born November 30, 1914, and passed away January 16, 1921; Mary Lenna, born on April 18, 1917; John Trafton, born July 6, 1921; and Betty, born July 23, 1923.

During his leisure hours, Mr. Fleetwood enjoys reading fiction, history, and biography. He follows closely the trend of current events and is a close observer of both State and national politics. He is an enthusiastic motorist and has made pilgrimages to the shrines of many of the Nation's immortals.

Mr. Fleetwood has been invited to address graduating classes in high schools and colleges in various parts of the State, has appeared on programs of State and Southwide import, and has often been called into conference by leaders in the national and civic life of Georgia, the South, and the Nation.

During his long tenure as publisher of the Tribune-News, Mr. Fleetwood naturally has had difficulties to overcome. He has at times been criticized for his vigorous editorial views, but always had the courage, nevertheless, to speak and to write his convictions. Sometimes he has been wrong and when this proved true, he has cheerfully acknowledged it. Upon other occasions, he has had those who were once his most severe critics come to him and candidly admit his position was right. Possessing a generous and understanding nature and big heart, he has been of service as counselor to scores of people in various walks of life. He has helped them solve their problems, through his keen perception and broad judgment. In return he enjoys their confidence, a fact he naturally appreciates more than any other success which may have come to him through the years.

In 1936, the late Gov. Eugene Talmadge, father of the present U.S. Senator from Georgia the Honorable HERMAN TALMADGE, named Mr. Fleetwood to become a member of the Georgia Library Commission for a term of 4 years.

Earlier this year of 1959 he was awarded the 50 Years for Distinguished Service to the Georgia Press Association Award.

Also the Georgia Association of Soil Conservation Districts this year honored him as the Outstanding Man of the Year, for his distinguished service to Georgia in soil and water conservation.

I remember more than 20 years ago when Lake Altoona was only a gleam in Milton Fleetwood's eye and a hope in his heart. I remember talking with him and how great was his enthusiasm and optimism that the lake would bring great things for his beloved Cartersville area. I remember so many fine things about Milton Fleetwood these many years since I was a cub reporter in 1921 and he was an active and enthusiastic leader of the fourth estate and the press circles in Georgia over the years.

As I have watched Mr. Fleetwood, so have I watched with pride the important part

his son John has taken following in his father's footsteps. And the fine spirit of cooperation that flows over into all the activities of all the Fleetwoods.

So it is with vast personal pride that, I come here tonight to give you this token of the high esteem in which you are held by all who know you. On behalf of the advisory council, and editors of Dixie Business and all those who have aided the flowers for the living program, I give you this citation naming you to the South's Hall of Fame for the Living.

At the Crossroads

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. LEVERING
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. LEVERING. Mr. Speaker, Murray D. Lincoln, a very distinguished Ohioan, recently addressed the 41st annual meeting of the Ohio Farm Bureau Federation. Mr. Lincoln is a pioneer in the formation and growth of this national farm organization. He has devoted a lifetime to the improvement of American agriculture. I commend this message to my collegues because it deals in a new light with the crisis in our farm economy and its impact on the health of our national being and, more importantly, with the greater question of how America can use our greatest asset of food abundance in winning the battle of peace and survival.

The address follows:

AT THE CROSSROADS

(Address by Murray D. Lincoln at 41st annual meeting, Ohio Farm Bureau Federation, Columbus, Ohio, November 10, 1959)

I want you to know that it gives me a real feeling of pride and satisfaction to congratulate you on having attained the ripe old corporate age of 41. A brandnew corporation has a life expectancy of maybe 5 or 6 years—so just to be in business at age 41 is quite an accomplishment. So, congratulations.

I'd like to talk with you today not only as one Ohio farmer talking with other Ohio farmers, but also as one member of the world community talking with other members of the world community. For today, more than ever before, the farm has become an important part of the whole world. What happens down on the south 40 helps determine what happens north, south, east, and west, all around the globe.

It used to be that you could look at the farm problem from a fairly simple point of view. As the farmers told me when I went to work as a county agent in Connecticut, fresh out of farm college, all they wanted was more money for milk and cheaper fertilizer. That would just about solve all their problems. Well, I taught the farmers how to home-mix fertilizer and if I remember correctly, it saved them about $17 a ton. Then we started a cooperative milk plant and cut the cost of processing and distributing milk right in two. But still the farmers had problems. And I suppose always will. And, of course, I don't think it helped any, either, that the Department of Agriculture sent a man out to tell me I should stop getting into the business end of agriculture, that it was OK to teach the farmer how to top-dress grass, spray apple trees, kill potato bugs, and stop army worms, but to lay off economic things like pool-buying of fertilizer and starting co-op milk plants.

Well, anyway, farm problems have persisted and grown and multiplied.

Net farm income today is about the same as it was 10 years ago. In 1949 it was $13½ billion. This year it's expected to be under 12 billion. Farmers account for 13 percent of the U.S. population, but they are getting only 3.8 percent of the U.S. income. In 1947 they did more than twice as well; they got 8.6 percent of the total national income.

In the last 10 years retail prices of food have increased 20 percent; prices received by farmers have gone down 8 percent. In 1946 the farmer got 52 cents of each food dollar. In 1959 it's estimated he will get only 39 cents, the lowest it has been since the early thirties. Meanwhile, wages have gone up and processing companies and chainstores show increased profits.

Obviously, a farm crisis is boiling up, and something ought to be done about it.

Reviewing my own experience as it relates to such farm headaches is not always pleasant for me. These agricultural troubles not only seem to suggest impending economic depression, but they're also associated in my mind with something worse, and that is war. From the history of this century, I can't escape the impression that the farmer is really prosperous only just before, during, and just after a war. Other folks may enjoy prosperity in peacetime, but not the farmer. It's hard for me to believe that we must have war if the farmer is to prosper. Yet that's exactly what the record seems to say.

But war has never been a real solution to any problem. And it seems obvious now, at this critical point in human history, that civilization cannot withstand another war, even though American farmers could feed one. Food has won many wars. What we've got to do is find a way for food to win peace. I'm convinced there is a very close relationship between food and peace. That's a big reason why the farm problem doesn't concern just farmers; it concerns everybody in the land, everybody in the whole world. And the problem, strangely enough, isn't that we farmers don't produce enough food, it's that, in this country at least, we produce more than enough—by which I mean more than enough to sell through regular market channels, as they now exist.

In other words, the farm problem has become the plenty problem, and it is global in its scope. A world revolution has occurred which has tremendous implications for the welfare of mankind; it is one of the most important revolutions in the development of man down through the ages. Now, for the first time in history, human beings have the experience and knowledge to make it possible either to eliminate or greatly alleviate all the old scourges of mankind, such as hunger, poverty, and disease. Arnold Toynbee, the great historian, puts it this way: "Our age is the first age since the dawn of civilization in which people have dared to think it practicable to make the benefits of civilization available for the whole human race."

So we are confronted now with a problem never before faced by any people—how to live with plenty, how to make use of plenty so that the whole world, including ourselves, will benefit. We in America have had much to do with creating this revolution of plenty, and it would be a pathetic fact of history if we were not to recognize the full meaning implicit in the creation of an era in which plenty can be the hope of mankind. This is a revolution that does not maim and kill but instead revives and builds. It is a revolution that makes possible the nourishment of life itself on this planet earth. And it has made plenty a problem only because we do not as yet fully recognize the fullness of opportunity it has made available to us.

I spent several weeks in Europe this past summer, and I had the privilege of discussing economical, social, and political affairs with a number of well-informed people in government, in private business, and in cooperative business. I came home convinced beyond the shadow of a doubt that in general there is no such thing as a national problem, there are only international problems. The country crossroads is an international crossroads. It is on an international scale that the decision will be made as to whether democracy will survive the cold war. It is on an international scale that the farm and plenty problem will have to be solved. (That's why, in a world where a billion or so people are continually hungry for food, the word "surplus" makes no sense whatever.)

To my way of thinking, then, people's institutions such as our Ohio Farm Bureau and Nationwide Insurance and cooperatives generally, in this country and elsewhere, must act to take the same positive roles in international affairs that they have taken in domestic affairs. The penalty for failure to act along this line is to struggle to stay alive in a world that could well be hostile to cooperative and democratic institutions.

We have made a small start. I learned the other day that, according to the International Labor Office, cooperatives operate now in 120 countries or territories. The number of people all over the world who are members of at least one cooperative must be approaching 200 million. Those are impressive figures, but I must confess that my enthusiasm is tempered somewhat by the suspicion that, as yet, international cooperative influence has fallen far short of what it should be and what it could be. Cooperatives, I'm afraid, are afflicted with the same mass disease of apathy and conformity that has invaded the rest of society. It distresses me, as I'm sure it must you, to see cooperatives trying to ape their competitors, trying to do as they do—not differently and better than they do.

At Nationwide, we have taken some first steps into the world federation of cooperatives, the International Cooperative Alliance, to promote cooperatives in newly developing countries. Working through the Cooperative League, we've helped set up an International Cooperative Bank in Switzerland and a cooperative lending agency in Rome, Italy. We're trying to make it possible for people in Korea to use rice straw in manufacturing a building product called Tec-Pan, similar to the Tectum which we make. We think Tec-Pan would not only help Koreans solve a bad housing situation, it would also provide additional employment. We do not, furthermore, intend to maintain ownership of a Tec-Pan factory in Korea; we plan simply to help the Koreans set it up, get it going and, when our services are no longer required, get out.

In this connection I'd like to tell you about a conversation I had with a prominent Philippine businessman. He came to this country looking for financial help on a project to develop oil-refining facilities in the Philippines. Somebody in Washington told him to talk to me. He didn't know who I was but he told me what he was up to and asked, "Have you got any answer?" Well, I said at least I have an idea and then I suggested that we help them get going by providing capital and technical aid and then, after we were paid off, we would get out or just provide management service and the oil development would belong to the Filipinos.

He looked at me and he said, "Now you know what you're saying, do you?" I said "Yes, because I've been at it for nearly 40 years." "Well," he said, "nobody else has'

put up that kind of a proposition." I said "No, and I don't believe you'll find anybody else who will." I'll never forget his reply. "Mr. Lincoln," he said, "if you'll help us make this one experiment, then we who are brown can go to our brothers who are yellow or black and say now here's a new way to develop a country that has never been tried before."

And he told me something else. He said, "You know, Mr. Lincoln, you fellows are never going to lick communism for us. You've got to help us lick it if we want to. I happen to be one of those who wants to, but a lot of others there don't know yet, because they don't see that you folks have done much different than others to exploit them, and unfortunately we haven't had this kind of an example to point to."

Well, this was a very illuminating conversation; we're still working to help this Philippine oil enterprise get off the ground. I think we're going to do it, too.

But as I have said, the start we have made is only a very small one. We need a lot of help—from you people and from all people who are concerned with the fate of their children and their children's children in this new era. Obviously, there is much to do before we can make a dent in the farm and plenty problem. I'm convinced that we're never going to solve these bigger world problems until people everywhere have gotten hold of the ability to feed themselves and to get the good things of life that we have, and they know that we have, but that they don't now have. And I'm convinced, too, that as people working cooperatively together to solve our own and each other's problems, we're on the right track to make that very thing possible.

I have spent my whole life in agriculture, farm organizations and industries connected with agriculture. And I've arrived at certain opinions I believe to be true. Perhaps you won't agree with them, but it seems to me worth while to get these beliefs out on the table. It seems to me that in trying to reach any long-term solution of the farm and plenty problems we must stick closely to these four general principles:

1. The solution must follow the plenty way, not the scarcity way.
2. It must benefit the whole economy—all the people, not just some of them, and not just American people.
3. It must seek to cut costs of food and fiber distribution.
4. It must encourage the use of cooperatives.

Let's take up these principles one by one:

1. To me, anyway, it is unthinkable that we should regard the farm problem as one of surpluses or overproduction and try to figure out ways not to produce so much food. That's the scarcity way, and while reducing or stopping production may work to some extent where businessmen and labor are concerned, it just isn't natural and it won't work with farmers. You can't tell a cow to stop giving milk for 90 days without ruining her. You can't ask a bred sow to postpone the birth of her litter until a more favorable market comes around. And once planted and given proper weather, crops have a way of coming on whether you want them to or not. Furthermore, as you lower the price of farm products, the farmer, because his costs are pretty well fixed, has no choice but to try to increase production to stay in business. We Americans cannot for long enjoy a high standard of living while the rest of the world struggles in poverty, hunger, and sickness. You can draw a dramatic contrast of the poor and rich countries by shrinking the 2½ billion people in the world into a town of a thousand inhabitants, keeping approximate proportions and relations of population and national groups. In this make-believe town of 1,000, 60 people would represent the United States in relation to the rest of the world. These 60 people would have half the income of the town; the remaining 940 would share the other half of the total income. The life expectancy of the 60 would be 71 years; of the other 940, 41 years. Now, as one of the 60, would you expect to be loved or trusted by the 940? Especially when you represent a country where every person pays annually somewhere near $257 for military expenditures but spends less than $5 a year to share, through government or private agencies or church programs, anything related to the Christian cause or the Christian way?

Unless we continue to help other people to help themselves attain a higher standard of living, I predict that you will see existing economic, governmental, social, and perhaps religious institutions overturned throughout the world.

So I cannot accept the widely held premise that our vast food and fiber resources are an evil. On the contrary I think our ability to produce this abundance is one of our country's most precious assets. The sole purpose of production is consumption. The purpose of production is perverted when farmers grow for warehouses, not for men, women, and children.

I say emphatically that we will never find a way out of our dilemma by going down the road of scarcity. I respect the motives and efforts of the many people, in and out of government, who have worked many years on the programs now in use. At the same time, I believe we need desperately to about face. It seems to me foolish, as well as dangerous, to try to solve the farm problem with scarcity programs. We must plan for a growing America, not a shrinking America; we must make an intensive study of ways to expand the market for foodstuffs at home and abroad. The preamble of the food and peace bill introduced in the recent session of Congress declared: "It is now possible and practicable for mankind to take cooperative steps to abolish human hunger." Let us be about doing it.

2. Attempts to solve the farm problem must benefit the whole economy—all the people, not just some of them, and not just American people. It must be as much as possible a public interest program as well as a farm program. Every group, whether it be farm, business, or labor, tends to act largely in its capacity as producers, without too much regard for the effects of those actions on other groups or on the consumer economy. So business has its tariffs, its fair trade laws, its tax depletion allowances, and its borderline or actual monopolistic practices.

Labor has its guaranteed minimum wage, unemployment insurance and, in some areas, its legalized featherbedding practices. Farmers have their price supports and protection controls. Now I have a feeling that we are never going to solve our major problems as producers alone. As I see it, our actions as producers are apt to be selfish and divisive. They do not recognize the interdependence of the many elements of American economic life.

Government subsidies, however, which benefit the whole economy as well as the subsidized group itself, are quite in order. And it's pretty well agreed that farmers are one group of people who deserve governmental favors, for they will return those favors to the rest of the economy in the form of food, purchasing power and a stronger, healthier country. The main question, then, is not whether to subsidize agriculture, but how to do it with the most benefit to the whole country. As Kenneth Galbraith, Harvard economist, says: "Any farm policy must put a floor under prices or income. A farm policy that doesn't deal with these matters is like a trade union that doesn't bother about wages."

3. Attempts to solve the farm problem must aim to cut distribution costs to the farmer and from the farmer. The parity formula is based upon farm costs as well as farm income, and one is about as important as the other. When farm income drops, as it has been doing, farm costs—for machinery, supplies, etc.—stay up. During the past 10 years, wheat prices have dropped 16 percent, while cereals, bread and other bakery goods have risen 33 percent.

Furthermore, we are paying far too little attention, it seems to me, to lowering the cost of getting goods to consumers. Farm prices may drop but wholesale and retail food prices keep going higher. Duplication of services, inefficiency, waste, and perhaps profiteering are taking a toll that is preventing food from getting to consumers at sufficiently low prices. Nor is it any explanation to say that two-thirds of every dollar spent for food goes to satisfy housewives' demands for services and packaging. Since 1947, the amount spent on food has increased some $500 per family. Farmers got only $45 of that increase; fish importers got $55, and the other $400 went to food processors. Thus, the consumer pays too much for food, while the farmer receives entirely too little for his share. Both the farmer and the city consumer are victims of the administered pricing practices of middlemen.

4. Attempts to solve the farm and plenty problem must take cooperatives into consideration. Cooperatives are ideally suited to the job of fulfilling farm and plenty needs. Basically, they are democratic people's institutions—owned, operated, and controlled by the people who use them.

Cooperatives are by no means a cure-all for farm or other economic ills. But our success here in Ohio over the last 40 years shows what can be done in reducing purchasing costs and increasing income. Our family of organizations lately have been working together in excellent fashion. Results of our sponsorship arrangement with the Federation have proved the practical value of the theory that people's organizations which have generally similar interests and objectives can multiply the effectiveness of their efforts if they work together on a basis of mutual help. Groups cooperating with each other with similar goals in view can move faster together than they can separately. The arrangement under which Farm Bureau members can obtain Nationwide auto insurance at rates below those ordinarily charged is a case in point. Latest figures show that Farm Bureau members have nearly 45,000 auto policies in force under this special arrangement, and that due in large part to the leadership of women's committees of the Farm Bureau in stressing safety precautions and programs, the loss ratio of this group of policyholders has been considerably less than that for all Nationwide policyholders.

But we can do much more together. We've somehow got to acquire the knack of growing together instead of separately. We've got to put the pieces of our movement together so that it presents a solid front for mutual self-help.

We can set up coperatives all the way from the source of the raw material through delivery of the processed food to the consumer. If we did this in an integrated manner, price spreads would shrink, farm income would improve and consumer purchasing power would gain.

The kind of cooperative structure I suggest would embrace more than farmers alone; it would also include part-time farmers—an ever-growing group of people who encompass city work and a rural way

of life, workers in retail stores, factories, warehouses, and mines, businessmen and consumers—to the benefit of all. Here, I believe, is one way to a true solution of our dilemma. Farmers will get the most for their product; consumers will get the most food and fiber for their dollar. This alliance of farmers and consumers is also needed to help change public attitudes and regain consumer good will for the farmer.

What I am saying is that farmers, with the help of consumers, should get control of more of their own economic machinery through cooperatives. In this way, they could get the added income they need without Government help. For example, the net profits of just three of our big companies, General Motors, Standard Oil of New Jersey, and American Telephone and Telegraph, would equal the entire amount ($2.5 billion) needed to raise the incomes of 5 million farmers to full parity with other groups.

A good example of how cooperative action—with government aid—brought improvement in the farmer's standard of living is the story of our Ohio rural electric cooperatives. Prior to 1935, only 18 percent of the farmers had electricity. The utility companies did not believe farmers would ever use enough power to warrant building lines. We went to work on this with the REA and today, the figure approaches 100 percent, and power rates all over the State have dropped 40 percent.

One of the most interesting developments is in New York State where the 4,000 farmer-members of the National Grape Cooperative Association have acquired ownership of the facilities of the Welch Grape Juice Co. The transfer to ownership took place in 1956, and the grape growers now cooperatively own the $35 million Welch plant. The outlook for these 4,000 farmers is excellent. They have all the advantages that accrue to ownership of an outstanding trademark, including established consumer acceptance of Welch's top quality, well-known products developed by nearly a century of outstanding advertising and marketing achievements. For the consumer it means continued availability of Welch's quality products at fair prices. For the taxpayer it means that these grape farmers need no government subsidy; they're enjoying a real participation in ownership and profits. In my opinion this method of transition to cooperative ownership sets a pattern capable of widespread application.

We've got hold of something unique here. We have in our hands a piece of machinery designed for democracy and freedom that no one else has got. With it we can give everyone a helping hand. We can, indeed, change the face of the world.

So let us close ranks. Let us so combine our manpower and our financial resources that cooperation can take its rightful place as a major world force for human welfare—economically, socially, and spiritually. If we can figure out how to spread and strengthen cooperatives all over the world, we can literally change the course of history.

It is my firm opinion that in this great cold-war struggle between democracy on one side and communism on the other, the victory will eventually go to the side which devises a system to get the most goods to the most people. I urge those of you who believe in the dignity of the human individual and in the intrinsic worth of what we call the democratic process, to concern yourselves more with helping other peoples make some of the material advances we have made in this country. For I believe that in eliminating hunger, disease, and poverty from the world, we will have found the answer not only to our own farm problem but to the world's—and our—plenty problem.

Small Business Opinion Poll

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a tabulation of opinion among small businessmen throughout the country and in New York State, submitted to me by the National Small Business Men's Association. This survey, conducted last summer, deals with five questions of great interest to the small businessman and to the Nation as a whole. It is of interest to note that percentagewise the small business community of New York State—numerically the largest in the United States—is in agreement on all five issues with the U.S. small business community. Each of us—whatever may be our views on each issue—can certainly be helped by this information.

I wish to compliment not only the National Small Business Men's Association for the splendid service they perform in keeeping the Congress informed of the currents of small business opinion—information vital to the effective execution of our legislative duties—but I would like to extend a special word of commendation to the small businessman himself, whose sense of responsible citizenship prompts him to take time out of a busy day to fill out his opinion ballot so that his views may be recorded and made known to us. The motto engraved on the front of each ballot reads: "Eternal Vigilance Is the Price of Liberty." I believe that the small businessman of this country is giving proof of his understanding of these words by his display of civic responsibility in recording his opinion.

There being no objection, the tabulation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

	National percentage			New York State percentage		
	For	Against	No vote	For	Against	No vote
1. Faster tax writeoff for equipment and machinery	83	14	3	87	9	4
2. Ending farm subsidies	87	11	2	90	7	3
3. Fair trade laws	43	52	5	39	55	6
4. Government insurance to provide old folks' medical care	21	76	3	16	79	5
5. Tax-exempt pension plans for self-employed	67	30	3	61	32	7

Mandatory Death Penalty for Oldsters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. KASEM
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. KASEM. Mr. Speaker, I request unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in one instance inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and include therein a letter which I have received from Mr. G. W. Heinecke, 1317 W. Ramona Road, Alhambra, Calif. Mr. Heinecke is a frustrated and embittered man, who feels he has been unjustly treated by the social security program. He has my deepest sympathy and my resolve toward working to correct this foolish defect that makes a farce of our show of caring for our elders. Mr. Heinecke speaks with far greater force and direct eloquence than I. His letter follows:

Hon. GEORGE A. KASEM,
Member of Congress,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. KASEM: I hereby acknowledge receipt of the Washington Letter publication mailed to me by your office, and I am happy to get your views on the work of the 1st session of the 86th Congress.

My analysis of the letter indicates that very little has been accomplished as a result of the enormous amount of work and expense involved, perhaps to a great extent as a result of the attitude of the present administration.

I was particularly interested in the bill setting up a health insurance plan for 2 million Federal employees. That is fine.

Now, how about the health of 15 million aged, who are forced to live on the pitifully small social security or pensions, and pay full doctors' fees, including dentists, and the excessively priced medicines. Or, don't the aged poor fit into the national scheme?

And how about making the so-called social security what it should be, instead of the farce that it is?

I am 67 years of age and have paid full social security taxes since its inception. When I reached 65, I applied for my social security and received it for a few months. However, I told the social security representative that I hoped to earn more than $1,200 in 1958, and was immediately cut off the rolls and was finally forced to return the major portion of what I had received.

Of course, I had to return to full-time employment in order to earn an existence for my wife and myself.

In my opinion, I have been effectively cheated out of all payments due me until I reach 72 years of age, if I live that long, and I feel quite sure that some means will then be found to stop collection of my social security, even then.

In addition, I am now forced to pay full social security taxes on my entire meager earnings, including the amount that would not have been taxable, had I not been cheated out of it.

What kind of a law is it that will deny a man of what is rightfully his, and then tax him on the very thing that he is denied? Some racket.

Some class persons with large incomes get their social security without question, yet some poor oldster, without social connections needs nothing, even if he has paid for it for 23 years in advance. Is it then not even a prepaid dole for it gives to those not in need of it.

Now, Mr. KASEM, we as a Nation must have reached an all-time low when we tax the poor to give to the rich, so the rich can be socially secure.

If that is the case, the poor oldsters are thorns in the side of our society, may I suggest a new national law, essentially as follows:

Make it a felony, punishable by a mandatory death penalty for any persons, male or female, or any couple, to reach the age of 65 without having accumulated a comfortable personal income of perhaps $5,000 per year, or more as required by the men of class. It should make no difference how this income was secured.

This will eliminate perhaps 99 percent of our oldsters and permit raising the social security payments to those in the proper class.

We are at present witnessing the interesting sight of a group of officials flying around the world, at taxpayers' expense, including the aged, and undoubtedly committing us to many more billions, again at our expense. If we can do this, certainly we should be able to help the aged toward a better life. And, speaking of pensions, the head of the group lost no time in signing his $40,000 a year into law, and tax free, but it almost broke his arm to sign the law giving a few pennies more to the aged.

In conclusion, why shouldn't I be permitted to earn enough for a little more than existence, and still be permitted to collect my social security? If not, why am I doubly penalized by being forced to pay taxes on any earnings equivalent to what I would be getting from social security?

I am very much interested in getting your views on the aged and on our great social security and health program, and earnestly request that you enlighten me.

Yours very truly,

G. W. HEINECKE.

ALHAMBRA, CALIF.

Significant Progress in College Integration Reported From Southern States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, very frequently only the adverse or discouraging side of racial and religious controversies in the United States become topics of news in the past. This occasionally blinds us to the genuine progress being made in some areas. Encouraging advances in the integration of white and Negro students in southern colleges have been reported in the Washington Sunday Star of January 3, 1960, by George W. Oakes, contributing writer to the Star and a noted author in the field of educational matters generally.

While much remains to be done in the field of integration in southern colleges, Mr. Oakes has reported that far more progress has been made in college integration than in the elementary schools and high schools of the South. Because integration is a goal of all Americans who respect the U.S. Supreme Court, I ask the consent of the Senate that the article by George W. Oakes from the Washington Sunday Star of January 3 be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COLLEGE INTEGRATION MAKING PROGRESS

(By George W. Oakes)

Integration of Negro students in formerly all-white southern colleges and universities has been making considerably more progress than integration in the public school system in the same section.

In only four States of the Deep South—South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi—is strict segregation in force in all public and most private colleges and universities. Now about half of all southern white colleges are integrated, a remarkable increase since 1948, when desegregation extended to less than 20 border State institutions.

Today more than 250 public and private colleges in the 17 Southern and border States admit Negro students. Integration has proportionately advanced the most in Catholic institutions (80 percent of which are desegregated) and the least among lay private colleges (26 percent desegregated), while public institutions of higher learning are 52 percent desegregated.

However, despite the wide extent of integration, probably only 3,000 or so Negroes attend integrated colleges or universities in the South and are a tiny proportion—perhaps 2 percent—of the total number of students. As might be expected, the higher ratios occur in the border States, like Kentucky, where several hundred attend the University of Louisville. But in many Midsouth colleges there are only a handful of Negro students.

Since integration started at the graduate and professional level, most Negroes in southern universities are doing advanced work or attend university summer sessions. But as integration has advanced—largely, of course, because of the Supreme Court decision of 1954—more southern colleges have opened their doors to Negro undergraduates.

WHY IT IS SUCCEEDING

The Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, an organization devoted to promoting equal opportunity in the South, attributes the greater success of integration in higher education to the following factors:

1. The Supreme Court decision was clearer earlier for professional and graduate education.

2. Negro colleges were obviously less comparable to white institutions than Negro schools were to white schools. Only ardent segregationists argued that the States should duplicate the expensive facilities required for higher education, especially in the graduate and professional schools.

3. Colleges are less influenced by community pressures than schools.

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Mainly for these reasons the most remarkable thing about this revolution in Southern education and race relations is the fact that it has been accomplished so rapidly and so peacefully, according to Prof. Guy B. Johnson of the University of North Carolina, an authority on college integration in the South.

There has been much less difficulty in social relations than many anticipated. Although the dormitory question is the chief social problem in integrated colleges, several like the University of Louisville have Negroes living in the same buildings as white students. At the University of North Carolina Negro girl undergraduates live in dormitories. In one university a Negro was elected president of the men's dormitory association and in another a Negro woman was elected president of her dormitory by her white coresidents.

Professor Johnson points out that "Negro students have shared freely in social affairs such as picnics, dinners and dances. White students have been quick to learn that they can share in such interracial 'social' contacts without feeling any serious threat to their sense of personal privacy. But, while the color line has been redefined, it is still there, for in the more intimate social realm of dating, partying, and fraternity life, the social worlds of the white and Negro students have remained entirely separate." Therefore he concludes that "coracial use of the same schools has little if anything to do with intermarriage." Professor Johnson finds that the "majority of the white students take the Negro as a part of the campus environment—a human being, a fellow student with whom they interact in pleasant and courteous ways."

However, Negroes in desegregated colleges have academic problems. Although many have achieved outstanding distinction, particularly in tough professional graduate schools, a large proportion encounter scholastic difficulties because of their inferior preparation in segregated public schools. For this reason the Negro student probably has more than his share of flunks and academic probations.

In some cases, professors try to compensate for the Negroes' academic handicap by grading them more sympathetically.

STATE-BY-STATE SURVEY

Here are some significant highlights in the integration of Negro college students in various Southern States based on a recent survey by Southern School News.

Arkansas: The first Negro to enter a State university in any of the former confederate States enrolled at the University of Arkansas. This year the university has 15 Negro students in a total enrollment of 5,500, but larger numbers attend graduate summer sessions. In general the university accepts qualified Negro students for graduate or undergraduate work not otherwise available in the state. Negro students are not housed in dormitories but use university cafeteria and other facilities.

There are 25 Negro students in the other six white State colleges. All but one has admitted Negroes.

Florida: In 1958 the University of Florida accepted a Negro Air Force veteran who had won high scholastic standing and had a normal college experience. Last summer the university admitted three Negroes for graduate study and in September accepted a young Negro woman into the medical school.

No Negro applications have yet been made at the University of Miami, the State's largest university, with 11,000 students.

Kentucky: The University of Louisville, first southern university to enroll Negro undergraduates, now has several hundred Negro students in a total of 8,000, mainly because more than one-third of Kentucky's Negroes live in the Louisville area. In 1958 a Negro professor was made head of its sociology department. At the University of Louisville, Negroes reside in the dormitories, use cafeterias and other facilities and are leaders in college athletic and extracurricular activities. The university's success with Negro students has helped considerably in the extremely successful desegregation of Louisville's public school system.

Thirty of Kentucky's 41 institutions of higher education are racially integrated, most in terms of actual enrollment. However, the

University of Kentucky only has 80 Negroes out of 9,019 students.

DESEGREGATION IN LOUISIANA

Louisiana: Eight of Louisiana's 18 public and private colleges and universities are desegregated.

Louisiana State University's New Orleans branch, 2 years old, has more than 400 Negroes attending classes with 1,700 white students, the largest Negro registration in any former all-white State college or university.

Southwestern Louisiana Institute has 150 to 200 Negroes while Loyola University in New Orleans has a handful of Negro graduate students in law and specialized courses.

North Carolina: Desegregation is closely limited to State institutions, with the largest number of Negro students at the University of North Carolina. There 22 Negroes are enrolled out of 7,959—all but 2 doing graduate work, mostly law. At the university's woman's college there are 32 Negro students (20 undergraduates) out of 2,641. The university's technical and agricultural branch, North Carolina State, which had 15 Negroes 2 years ago, still has a few.

Oklahoma: Since 1955 all State and independent colleges and universities have been officially desegregated. In 1957–58 there were 446 Negroes out of some 50,000 college and university students. Many of these were teachers attending summer sessions.

Tennessee: Since the University of Tennessee first admitted Negroes in 1952, the number has increased to 69 students in the current academic year out of 15,300. All of these are in the graduate of professional schools. This fall Memphis State University, with 4,500 students, admitted 8 Negro undergraduates for the first time in its history. Vanderbilt University has 4 Negro graduate students this year out of an enrollment of 1,800.

Texas: Although half of Texas 80 colleges have accepted integration in principle, the number of Negro students remains small. For example, the University of Texas has only 150 Negroes out of a total enrollment of 18,560. Nevertheless, integration has become more accepted in Texas colleges than public schools.

Virginia: Forty-eight Negro students are currently attending six formerly all-white colleges, of which four are tax supported. At the University of Virginia all 18 Negroes are graduate students. The next largest number, 16, attend the Medical College of Virginia.

Salute to National Editorial Association on Its 75th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, we recognize that in a free country a well-informed citizenry is a must, if freedom is to survive.

During the history of the United States—a unique venture in government "of, by, and for the people"—men have risen, fortunately for us, to provide our people with the means of being well-informed, intelligent citizens. This has resulted in outstanding progress in information media.

Among the significant efforts have been the pioneering efforts to create good, hometown newspapers, providing communities throughout the country with a flow of information of local, State, national, and international significance.

To carry out their objectives, an association of editors was formed 75 years ago. It is the National Editorial Association.

Now entering its Diamond Jubilee Year, 1885–1960, the NEA—the oldest national newspaper association in America—can be justly proud of the outstanding service it has performed, not only for its members, but for the citizens of this country.

Upon its anniversary, the association, I believe, merits the warm-hearted congratulations and expression of gratitude of the Nation.

The current issue of National Publisher, the official magazine of the hometown newspaper industry, contains an informative article reviewing the early efforts toward establishing the National Editorial Association. The article is reflective of the pioneering spirit which since then has contributed so much in this field; and I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO: THE BEGINNINGS OF NEA

This is NEA's Diamond Jubilee Year.

The association was founded at a convention that was called to order in New Orleans on February 19, 1885—75 years ago.

Birth was not painless. Benjamin B. Herbert, of the Red Wing, Minn., Advance-Republican, broached the idea of the association at a meeting the previous fall of the Minnesota Editors' and Publishers' Association of which he was president.

At that meeting Mr. Herbert said in his annual address:

"There is no other calling in the country that would be so much benefited by a national organization as would the publishers of weekly newspapers in the smaller cities and villages."

On December 26, 1884, a circular went out announcing plans for a convention in New Orleans, starting February 12, to form the association. Then came trouble—from nature. As Mr. Herbert put it in his history of NEA:

"One of the most extensive snow storms known in history swept over the whole North country, reaching as far South as Georgia.

"The writer, who for months had been patiently working alone for the accomplishment of this one object of organizing the editors of the United States into an association that would benefit them, and the Nation through them, was hopelessly snowbound at the Palmer House, Chicago, until too late to reach New Orleans at the appointed time."

Behind railroad snowplows—at least for part of the way—Mr. Herbert finally got to New Orleans and the convention, a week late.

On the second day of the convention, Mr. Herbert became the first president of NEA. C. H. Jones of Jacksonville, Fla., was vice president; Col. John G. Elliott, of Dallas, Tex., was secretary, and Ezra Whitman, of Baltimore, Md., treasurer.

So NEA started. Although Mr. Herbert in his proposal mentioned only weeklies, dailies have been members from the start.

The diamond jubilee will be marked at the annual convention May 4 to 7, 1960, at the Dinkler-Plaza Hotel in Atlanta, Ga., and at other events throughout the year.

Mr. Herbert was not only a principal founder of NEA. He also founded, and owned the predecessor to the National Publisher magazine. (The present magazine, of course, is not owned by any individual but by NEA itself.)

Harlan P. Hall, founder of the St. Paul, Minn., Evening Dispatch and Daily Globe, explained how Mr. Herbert started his paper for NEA:

"At the meeting of the national convention held at Denver in 1887 he was requested by a unanimous vote, to establish a paper in the interest of the association. He had a previous year been a candidate of his party for Congress, and if he had remained in Minnesota would doubtless have gained much political prominence, but putting these opportunities aside, he decided to establish the desired national publication. With that end in view he bought a printers' paper in Indianapolis, and began his work in that city.

"Mr. Herbert's reputation is no longer circumscribed by State lines. His paper, the National Printer-Journalist, is not only a most excellent typographical production, but its proprietor is also personally popular, and everywhere known in person or by reputation among the fraternity."

At NEA's second annual convention, at Cincinnati in February 1886, Mr. Herbert set forth his ideal of the live newspaper. He said it "transforms every citizen, however remote, into the intelligent ruler." It is "the good family physician to the community in which it is published; the suggester of improvements; the leader in every local enterprise, and the most enterprising of all enterprises * * *. It goes to every hearthstone; speaks to young, old, and middle-aged; catches up the grandest thoughts of the greatest divines."

Establishment of a "college of journalism," he told the convention, should be one of the association's first objectives.

Succeeding conventions were described by Mr. Herbert himself in a style which conforms beautifully with his own luxuriantly bearded appearance. He wrote:

"The third convention took the editors to Denver, the magic city of the mountains and plains, and taught them of the matchless attainments of the Centennial State, aided and accelerated by all the improvements of the century, backed by the wealth of mines, quarries of unequaled stone, and productiveness of irrigated plains, and the push of the most highly educated pioneers that ever settled a new State. The inspiration of the unsurpassed grandeur of mountain scenery, of rocky cliffs, gorges, and dashing cataracts, was experienced, and the results and needs of irrigation in turning arid plains into fruitful gardens, and the wants of mining industries, as well as their possibilities, were studied.

The next year the mighty Empire State of the Southwest—Texas—with a territory six times as large as the great, important, and wealthy State of Pennsylvania, welcomed the association, and made the delegates her guests from the time the State line was crossed. Here, at San Antonio, first settled by the Spainards in 1716, the editors studied not only newspaper making, but the interesting results of the mingling and unifying of varying civilizations under the influence of American institutions; had the fires of heroic sentiment stirred by visiting and re-

hearing rehearsed the story of the Alamo—the Thermopylae of the Western Hemisphere.

"In the State of Michigan, whose educational, benevolent and industrial institutions have served as useful and worthy models for many Western and Southern States, and even in some instances, for old cultured Massachusetts, and for the countries of Europe, the fifth annual convention of the association was convened. The place of meeting was Detroit, the beautiful city of the straits, "those Dardenelles of the new world." From this city, settled by the French in 1701, with its generous hospitality, its magnificent institutions, its healthy, water-girt park on Belle Isle, its cleanliness and refreshing coolness, its delightful rural and water resources, from its model newspapers, flower show and great exposition, the editors carried to their several States many delightful and instructive lessons.

"Cultured Boston, with Fanueil Hall, the cradle of American liberty, the home of the oldest American university, the fountainhead of American scholarship, the mainspring of American literature, philosophy and art, wealthy and refined, welcomed the Sixth Convention of the Association. That welcome was not less generous and hearty than those in the broad and hospitable West, or in the sunny Southland, if it was more graceful by reason of longer practice, the esprit de corps of the more perfect autonomy of this older and wealthier commonwealth.

"More than a thousand miles to the west, in St. Paul—a city that was the home of the Indians, the Dakotas of Longfellow's song—in the land of clear skies, pure air and crystal lakes, of broad prairies and of golden fields, the seventh convention gathered and received another genuine western greeting * * *. The mammoth business blocks, splendid parks, paved streets, electric cars, universities, mills and factories and the immense railway system all built in half a century and centering at St. Paul, at the head of navigation on the Mississippi River, showed as in a glass what the eloquent words of the Senator foretold of the possibilities of the developing trade of a country inexhaustible and immeasurable in its agricultural resources, in its forests, and in iron and copper mines.

"To the eighth convention, the whole State of California gave a greeting as broad, magnificent and munificent as the State is long in its reach of 750 miles north and south, as it is rich in golden fruits, in flowers and genial sunshine, in goldbearing mines and a great-hearted people. Crossing the Rocky Mountains seemed to have warmed the hearts of the residents toward all those who represented the States which these pioneers had left behind them in seeking fortune's smiles.

"No words need be said of the ninth convention, in Chicago, and the visit to the "White City," the very acme and consummation of the grandest dreams of the "Princes of Industry," through all the rapidly progressing centuries since the discovery of the Western Continent touched the latent springs of hope and sent a thrill around the world."

Hon. Gordon Canfield

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to include in my brief remarks a letter dated January 15, 1960, which I have received from the former senior Senator from New Jersey, H. Alexander Smith, who is now special adviser to the Secretary of State. Senator Smith who knows our colleague, GORDON CANFIELD, very well, well expressed his appreciation of his service and his character in the following letter:

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
Washington, January 15, 1960.

Hon. JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR JIM: I have just read in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of January 11 the very appropriate and able comments by yourself and other members of our New Jersey delegation in connection with the announced retirement of our beloved and esteemed friend, GORDON CANFIELD, at the end of his present term.

As former senior Senator from New Jersey, I wish to add my personal word in connection with GORDON CANFIELD'S retirement. GORDON has had a longer service in the House, which included his former secretaryship to Congressman Seger and his own 20 years as Congressman, than any other member of the New Jersey delegation, either House or Senate.

I share with you the high regard and affection we all have for GORDON and the magnificent service he rendered his State and his district as a Congressman. As one of the senior members of the Appropriations Committee of the House he rendered a special service to his State and Nation.

We all regret to see him leave the Congress, and I join with others in extending to him, in which Mrs. Smith joins me, our affectionate best wishes for the full recovery of his health and the wish that he may have many more years of usefulness.

Always cordially yours,
H. ALEXANDER SMITH,
Special Adviser to the Secretary of State.

Retirement of William M. Tugman, Publisher of the Port Umpqua Courier, Reedsport, Oreg.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, one of the most brilliant and outstanding editors in the modern chronicles of the State of Oregon has been Mr. William M. Tugman, formerly of the Eugene Register-Guard and more recently publisher of the Port Umpqua Courier, of Reedsport, Oreg.

Mr. Tugman has been an editor dedicated to the economic and social progress of Oregon. Particularly, he has been an advocate of the preservation of the scenic beauty and recreational opportunities in which our State abounds. I am particularly grateful that Mr. Tugman has been a supporter of my legislation proposing an Oregon Dunes National Seashore Park.

In the Roseburg News-Review for January 4, 1960, Mr. Charles V. Stanton, editor of the News-Review, paid tribute to the distinguished career of Mr. William M. Tugman, as he retires from active participation in the field of journalism. I ask unanimous consent that this editorial, "Tugman Retires," be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Roseburg (Oreg.) News-Review, Jan. 4, 1960]

TUGMAN RETIRES

(By Charles V. Stanton

Retirement of W. M. "Bill" Tugman as publisher of the Port Umpqua Courier, Reedsport, is a blow to the Oregon press. Tugman has long been one of the State's outstanding editors and editorial writers.

It is my prediction, however, that Tugman's public service, one of his principal contributions as an editor and publisher, will not be lost. Bill can no more quit public and civic service than he can quit eating. He is too much a part of what goes on around him.

Following a number of years in various phases of the newspaper field, he became managing editor and editor of the Register-Guard in Eugene, serving that newspaper for nearly 28 years.

He purchased the newspaper at Reedsport in December 1954, stating that he wanted to take things easy. But he found that publishing a weekly newspaper is no easy task. He admits that he worked harder than ever before.

But his work wasn't all connected with running his newspaper. He was constantly on demand for civic service. He was a part of the Reedsport Chamber of Commerce. He spent a great deal of time on highway matters, particularly with regard to the Umpqua highway from Drain to Reedsport, and the route between Sutherlin and Elkton.

ON STATE COMMITTEE

He is serving on the Douglas County Library Board. He was chairman of the travel and information advisory committee of the Oregon Highway Commission, and as chairman directed the committee's study, at the request of then Gov. Paul Patterson, now deceased, into proposed separation of state parks from the jurisdiction of the highway commission.

When the recommendation was made that Oregon's system of state parks as a part of the highway department was far better and more economical than found elsewhere, but that the highway commission should be aided by an advisory committee, Tugman was the commission's selection for the first committee chairman, an office he still holds.

His job of chairman of the advisory committee is almost a full-time position, yet he has carried on the work with outstanding success, and at much personal cost, while still running a newspaper.

In late years Tugman has been subject to heart trouble. His condition indicates the necessity that he slow down in his activities. Yet there has been little slowing down except for the periods spent in the hospital.

He says that he now proposes a slower pace, while continuing to make his home in Gardiner.

He may be freed from the tension of meeting newspaper deadlines, from the strain imposed on the nervous system by the daily newspaper chore, but it is my prediction that he will never slow down in the matter of being of service to the public.

SERVES THE COUNTY

Wherever he has been, Tugman has been dissatisfied and impatient with the rate of progress in the community he served. No matter how rapidly his community might be

advancing, it was never rapid enough to suit Tugman. In that respect he has been of the greatest service to Douglas County. He has been most impatient, most critical, with the Lower Umpqua area and, as its No. 1 booster, has pleaded, argued, and fought to improve the area, culturally and economically.

While he will not have a newspaper to use as a lever in his promotions, I predict he will be constantly prodding the new publisher of the Port Umpqua Courier in the matter of civic enterprise.

The paper has been purchased by Earl Sykes, Jr., a newcomer to the Oregon press from northern California. He comes to Oregon with the highest recommendations as a young man of enterprise and integrity and doubtless will be a fine addition to the publication field.

Incidentally, the transaction is the first to be negotiated by Harris Elsworth of Roseburg who, since retiring from service with the Federal Government, has established a newspaper and radio brokerage service.

Gifts for National Debt Reduction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. BENNETT of Florida. Mr. Speaker, in the January 15 issue of the Washington Evening Star it was reported that a patriotic American, the late Mrs. W. L. (Will) Clayton, has bequeathed a sizable sum "to my beloved country, the United States of America, to be used for the retirement of the national debt." It does not detract from the splendid patriotism shown by Mrs. Clayton to point out that other Americans also feel deeply about the necessity of reducing our national debt and, from time to time, spontaneously come forward with gifts and bequests to reduce the national debt. On September 3, 1957, it was reported that the late Arthur E. Lamper bequeathed U.S. bonds valued at between $5,000 and $10,000 for this purpose. On May 8, 1957, the press carried the story of Miss Sheila M. Martin who gave $120 to Treasury Secretary Humphrey for national debt reduction. On March 5, 1959, it was reported that an 11-year-old Miami, Fla., girl, Kathy Hewitt, had offered her life savings of $61 to help pay off the national debt.

Unfortunately, Mr. Speaker, the Treasury tells me that under present law it cannot give absolute assurance that a gift or bequest for reducing the national debt will be devoted exclusively to that purpose. I have introduced a bill, H.R. 6292, which would make it possible to give such assurance. Once this legislation is enacted, it will be possible for a private organization to make concerted efforts to obtain debt reducing contributions from American citizens who feel that they would like to make special contributions to show their love for their country. If Mrs. Clayton and the others mentioned above will make such contributions spontaneously and without assurance that their gifts will be used to reduce the national debt, how many others will come forward with contributions if given that assurance.

Urgency of School Needs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OREN E. LONG
OF HAWAII
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. LONG of Hawaii. Mr. President, the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, in an editorial entitled "Urgency of Education Needs," published on January 12, effectively summed up the problem now facing the educational system in the United States—the need not only for more schools, but also for a higher quality of teaching. I believe there can be no argument with the Star-Bulletin's statement that "education all over the United States will be put to its severest test in the sixties that are now insistently upon us."

The editorial is particularly pertinent in view of the fact that the Senate will soon be called upon to vote on Federal aid to education and on whether such a program should include Federal aid for teachers' salaries. I therefore ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

[From the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Jan. 12, 1960]

URGENCY OF EDUCATION NEEDS

Education all over the United States will be put to its severest test in the sixties that are now insistently upon us.

At the same time that enrollment is putting heavier demands than ever on schools and colleges there is an insistent cry for better quality in teaching. Not only more but better education is demanded.

The urgency is on the State of Hawaii as on almost every one of our sister States.

It's specially heavy here because of our rapidly increasing population of youngsters; and because building costs are relatively high.

Statisticians give us the formidable national figures. Ten years ago there were 25 million pupils in public elementary and secondary schools.

Now there are 36 million.

Ten years hence there will be 44½ million.

The growth in college enrollment will be even greater.

Ten years ago there were 2 million college students. Now there are just a little less than 4 million. Ten years hence the number will be between 6½ and 10 million.

School costs have grown at an even faster pace.

Ten years ago public elementary and secondary schools cost $5 billion. This year they'll cost $14½ billion.

What the cost will be 10 years from now depends upon too many imponderables to be forecast accurately. But it will be a figure almost incredible today.

Of one thing most educators are sure. More time will be spent in the classroom. There will be longer school days and shorter vacations.

There will be more emphasis on the gifted, the ambitious student, less on shaping all to a common mold.

Some of the demand for better quality in U.S. education is stirred by Soviet Russia's scientific and technological growth. When the Russians launched Sputnik I in October 1957, Americans began to take a more critical look at American education—as compared with Soviet education.

They found the Russians offering more educational meat, more science and mathematics, than American schools. So there was a great outcry for more science and mathematics in our own schools.

Educators hastened to meet the challenge to keep up with the Russians. But the wiser ones among them realized that the need then was not for more classroom hours in scientific or technical subjects, but more attention to quality in all aspects of education—the liberal arts and humanities as well as physical science.

With this came the realization that more attention was being given to the slow learner and the handicapped than to the gifted student in whose abilities lie the best hope for the future.

It was realized, also, that most pupils were not being stimulated to do the best work of which they were capable. Experimental programs quickly showed that bright high school seniors could easily handle work intended for college freshmen. By inference, pupils at all levels were being asked to produce less than their maximum capabilities.

At the same time, taxpayers were being told with increasing emphasis that the best teachers are being lost because their incomes fall far below those paid to professional people in other categories.

Most of this critical examination of public education was a consequence of public clamor to keep up with the Russians. Thoughtful educators do not see this as the mission of education for the sixties.

Rather they are aware of an even greater need to educate mankind to the proper use of the tremendous forces science has placed in mankind's hands. Now more than ever is there need to educate the entire world toward progressive and productive peace with freedom.

The mission of American education in the sixties is not to catch up with or to pass the Russians, but to bring our own education level in the humanities up to that achieved in the physical sciences.

This is going to require great sums of money.

Educators must educate more than the children and young people placed in their charge.

They must educate the taxpayer—not only to financial needs of the schools, but to the urgency of the task of planning a world for peace as the the one sure barrier to calamitous nuclear war.

Adapting to Change

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the following excerpts from President Charles B. Shuman's annual address be-

fore the Farm Bureau convention in Chicago.

The Farm Bureau now has a total membership of 1,608,117. As usual, President Shuman's suggestions for a sound program for agriculture are progressive, forthright, and encouraging to anyone who believes in the future of American agriculture and the future prosperity of the American farmer.

The excerpts are as follows:

ADAPTING TO CHANGE

As the problems and needs of farm families change, as they must in times like these when the business of farming is experiencing such dynamic change, the nature of the Farm Bureau organization must also change.

The continued growth in Farm Bureau membership during a time when the number of farmers is steadily declining is an indication that the organization is successfully adapting to the changing needs of farm families.

The financial future for farmers would be much brighter if we could be sure that agricultural prosperity would be more closely related to our national economic health. This conclusion is based on the assumption that our national economy will continue to be strong.

Government programs which delay or discourage adjustment to change invariably hurt the very ones whom these programs are intended to help.

The Government price-fixing program which generated a $9 billion crop surplus has caused farmers to delay needed adjustments—it has slowed or prevented important changes in agriculture.

The postwar price-fixing and control programs must bear the principal responsibility for the decline in farm income during a period of national prosperity.

There is little point in trying to eliminate surpluses or speed up their disposal until action has been taken to stop the input into the surplus stockpile. The Agricultural Act of 1958 moved in the direction of eliminating Government price fixing for corn, cotton, and rice. The greatest unsolved problem is wheat. The next session of Congress should act to eliminate the price-fixing features of the wheat price support program.

The greatest single threat to a sound national economy is inflation. The principal cause of current inflation is Federal Government spending in excess of receipts.

We are beginning to win the fight against inflation; however, we cannot afford to relax our vigilance.

The economic strength and success of the United States is largely due to our free competitive capitalistic system. If we wish to continue to grow in strength, we must be certain that we do not unduly restrict or discourage new capital accumulation.

If farmers are interested in a continuing opportunity to earn a good income in a healthy industry, they will not seek subsidies or monopoly powers from the Government. Rather, they will work for elimination of existing subsidies and special legislative privileges to all groups.

Government regulation of subsidized business farm or nonfarm reduces income opportunities.

If we wish to have a healthy, competitive economy, we must resist the temptation of Government granted powers for ourselves and attack with every resource at our command the subsidies and monopoly powers of others. The response of Congress to the public demand for labor legislation should be encouraging to farmers and all others who are interested in the future well-being of this Nation.

A healthy two-way foreign trade is another important bulwark for a dynamic and expanding domestic economy.

We should immediately review and drastically reduce our entire foreign assistance program. In doing so, we will gain respect throughout the world. We have a challenging opportunity to take advantage of the growing prosperity in Western Europe and develop markets for an expanded volume of U.S. farm products.

There are five major planks in a platform for a prosperous agriculture geared into a sound national economy:

1. Discontinue Government price fixing and control programs in agriculture so that farmers can intelligently adjust their operations to changing conditions. Cushion the shock of these adjustments by restricting CCC disposal operations, and by temporarily expanding the soil bank in certain areas.

2. Encourage increased capital accumulation as necessary for an expanding economy and a high level of employment by checking inflation and reducing Federal taxes. Decreased Federal Government expenditures is the key to controlling inflation and reducing taxes.

3. Vigorously attack and eliminate Government subsidies to business, labor and agriculture and destroy, or effectively regulate, monopoly powers which have been developed or granted to various groups.

4. Expand two-way foreign trade on a nonsubsidized basis. Reduce foreign aid expenditures which tend to perpetuate Socialist economies and drain our financial resources.

5. Improve the bargaining ability of farmers in ways that are consistent with a free society and a competitive, capitalistic form of government.

Department of Science

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, it is our responsibility as Members of the Congress to do everything within our power to combat juvenile delinquency. I was particularly impressed by recent hearings conducted by my distinguished colleague, the senior Senator from Missouri [Mr. HENNINGS], chairman of the Senate Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee, in connection with the need for additional juvenile judges in the District of Columbia.

These hearings got down to the root of the matter. Recognized authorities in the field were given ample time to express their opinions and to make recommendations. The hearings were conducted with dignity and with a forthright desire to correct an intolerable situation.

The Washington Evening Star, in an editorial which appeared on January 7, 1960, made certain observations which should be of interest to everyone.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE RECORD IS CLEAR

We hope that the congressional leaders will, as Gov. Al Smith used to urge, take a look at the record. And by this we mean the record on Washington's juvenile court problem which has been made before Senator HENNINGS' subcommittee—not the inadequate and misleading record compiled in the the truncated hearings conducted recently by Representative DAVIS of Georgia.

In a 2-day hearing, Mr. DAVIS took testimony from only 3 of 15 witnesses who had expected to testify. Senator HENNINGS, on the other hand, heard many witnesses, including those especially well equipped to discuss the problem. And of these, it seems to us that Chief Judge Prettyman of the U.S. Court of Appeals summed up the case for more juvenile judges in clear and forthright terms.

Judge Prettyman pointed out that our juvenile court was set up with one judge in 1906 when the population of Washington was 300,000. There is still only one judge, although the population has risen to 870,000 and although the juvenile problem has assumed very disturbing proportions. How does this compare, in the same time period, with our other courts? The bench of the municipal court has been increased from 7 to 16, and a 3-judge municipal court of appeals has been created. In district court there are now 15 instead of 5 judges And in the U.S. Court of Appeals there are nine judges where there used to be three. If an expanding population required this increase in judge power in the other courts, how can a lone judge in juvenile court cope with the vastly increased workload in that tribunal?

The answer is that he can't. Last year there were 3,003 hearings in juvenile cases and 2,194 hearings in juvenile court cases involving adults—nonsupport, paternity, and the like. This is an average of 20 hearings each working day, and hearings are but a part of the juvenile judge's work. Obviously, under these conditions, the court will never be able to do a decent job of handling the children, both the dependents and the delinquents, who have been assigned by law to its care.

The "crying need," as Judge Prettyman has put it, is for more juvenile judges. And this crying need cannot be met by such devices as lowering the court's jurisdictional age limit or by reassigning nonsupport and paternity cases to other courts. All of this is part of one package, and it belongs, with one exception, in the juvenile court. The exception has to do with juvenile hoodlums who commit serious crimes. The juvenile judge, however, already has and is exercising the authority to send cases of this type to the district court for criminal trial. As to the other types of cases, nothing would be gained by reassigning them, for this would merely require more judges in the courts to which they might be sent. The end result of such a misguided step would be, we think, to seriously impair the usefulness of the juvenile court.

The Senate last April, without a dissenting vote, passed a bill to add two judges to the juvenile court. It has been buried since then in a House subcommittee headed by Mr. DAVIS. Meanwhile, the juvenile problem in the Nation's Capital goes from bad to worse, and we see no hope of improvement unless the responsible leaders will do two things: First, take a look at the record which Senator HENNINGS has compiled. Second, find some way to go through or around the one-man roadblock which has been raised by Representative DAVIS.

Senator Humphrey for President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. McCARTHY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. McCARTHY. My distinguished colleague from Minnesota [Mr. HUM-

PHREY] is an announced candidate for the Presidency of the United States. In his campaign for the Presidency, he is demonstrating his willingness and ability to discuss the real and serious issues that face this country and the world today. I am pleased that the Berkshire Eagle, of Pittsfield, Mass., has noted this important aspect of Senator HUMPHREY's campaign. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial from this paper on December 31, 1959, be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE HONEST HAT OF HUBERT HUMPHREY

When Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY launched his formal campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination yesterday, he was frank to say that it will be an uphill fight all the way. This was about the only noncontroversial statement in the course of a long and interesting press conference.

Indeed the reaction to his announcement has been almost annoyingly patronizing. Most commentators—even conservatives—concede his very considerable talents. But virtually none takes his candidacy at all seriously, because it is taken for granted that he hasn't a Chinaman's chance of prevailing at the convention.

This in a sense is a sad commentary on presidential politics. HUMPHREY's biggest liability as a White House prospect is the fact that he has strong opinions on most subjects and is not in the least hesitant about expressing them. This is regarded as a serious debit in an era when the smart operators rarely make a move without consulting the opinion polls and when the top prizes generally go to politicians who (as HUMPHREY said of NIXON yesterday) have "several points of view on each issue."

This quality of candor is not, of course, HUMPHREY's only presidential disqualification. As an inheritor of the New Deal tradition (and, as James Reston notes, a "son of the old agrarian reformers") he is deeply concerned with the need for economic reform and the plight of the minority of Americans who have not shared in the booming prosperity of the past decade. At a time when the majority is well-fed and complacent, this is not a popular theme.

But however much HUMPHREY may seem to be out of step with the prevailing mood of complacency, there can be no doubt that his forthrightness and his remarkable familiarity with the issues would make him singularly well equipped for a rough-and-tumble campaign of the sort that the Nixon candidacy will probably impose on the Democrats. As "T.R.B." put it in a recent issue of The New Republic: "He would not approach such a fracas reluctantly nor as a martyr. His eyes glitter at the possibility: frankly he would love it. It would be the bare knuckle battle of the century."

And it is not at all impossible that in the course of such a battle the voters might be jolted out of their complacency, might be made to see the size of the public needs confronting us, might indeed be persuaded that a thaw is not permanent peace and that chromium prosperity can look pretty shabby in a world where hunger and grinding poverty are still the lot of most. It may be only a dim possibility, but it is not one that the Democratic politicians should dismiss out of hand.

The Poland I Saw

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article which appeared in the November 14, 1959, issue of the Saturday Evening Post. "The Poland I Saw" is a revealing, inside story of the tragic plight of the Polish people and bears out the harsh truth that, even though this country has achieved more freedom and independence than any of the other Iron Curtain countries, she is still very much under the yoke of Communist oppression.

The article follows:

THE POLAND I SAW

(By Greta Van Dyke Turska)

When I ended my last visit to Poland I was in tears and could not stop crying—but I clutched in my pocket a few Polish beans. Those beans grew strong and all in the small garden behind my house this last summer as a talisman for the family I had left behind—and especially for my brother-in-law, Stefan, who sent the beans to free soil because he never expected to reach it himself. He thought that if the beans could get to the free soil of America—and if the outside world even knew anything about how ordinary people exist in a Communist country—somehow there still might be some chance for those people, in spite of all the indications.

The later visit of Vice President RICHARD NIXON to Warsaw obviously aroused some similar belief in the shouting thousands who greeted him and reaffirmed the affection of Polish people for America. Stefan wrote to me shortly afterward. Most of his letter concerned family affairs: the drafting of his son into the Polish Army despite poor health; the failure of my letters and packages to get through, although I send mail and small amounts of money weekly.

But he also wrote: "About the politics, we are so happy that yesterday your Vice President arrived in Warsaw. Now I have hope that a change will come. He visited the places of murder and said we never again should permit conflict of that nature. * * * How wonderfully he talked about our universities. * * * Now I close. I am very tired and cannot go on."

I know Mr. Nixon did not see Stefan, who was working in Gdynia and was much too sick and too poor to have gone to Warsaw; but I can hope that he had a chance to look beyond the expectant faces of the crowds to the thousands of people like Stefan, to see a little of the hopelessness which is worse than their broken shoes; their constant fear; the galling bitterness they express in two words—"our friends"—while never mentioning the Russians by name. I hope he saw a little of it and remembered it as I do.

I have been to Poland twice. The first trip was in 1932, with my Polish-born husband, John, a veteran of the U.S. Army in World War I, and our small daughter. I myself was born in Stettin (then in Germany), but came to the United States in 1920.

I shall not forget that first trip. Poland was like a little fairy country, John's home village so beautiful that I wanted to paint the old church on a hill, the houses scattered below it. The church organ still was played by a man who had been John's teacher. The village had only a single water well, but people sang as they carried big wooden buckets to it. In the evenings folk singers serenaded us because we were visitors; and now and again the church bells pealed in the cold air.

John had eight brothers and sisters still in Poland, five in America. His old father, Joseph, greeted me as a daughter. Because one relative was a navy officer, we were invited to an admiral's ball in Gdynia; and the admiral chose me as his partner for the first dance. Christmas was a joyful holiday, filled with celebrations and with all the food a bountiful country could provide. Open markets were in every town—live fowls in cages, produce spread on the ground, pickled fruits, cakes and huge Polish hams for sale. Our Christmas table included a goose and roasts of veal; and hot holiday breads came from the tile ovens in every house. My husband's people had trouble finding a dowry for their last daughter; but they were healthy, happy and thankful for their blessings. Of them all, Stefan was the most gay, proud of his Polish Air Force uniform, strong and confident.

Only once was there a jarring note; the radio blaring some announcement about Adolf Hitler. Then Stefan's face darkened and under his breath he said two words, "psia krew" (dog's blood). For a while they all were quiet; but then the laughter and singing began again.

This was the Poland I first knew: a quiet village, a gay port city, a happy family. Until 1939 I corresponded irregularly with Stefan, he testing his German, I trying a few words of Polish. Then there was no word during the war, only a brief relayed message shortly after the peace: if we could send medicines through the Red Cross, lives of two sisters might be saved. Then more silence. My husband died; but I did not know whether the family in Poland received the news, or whether there still was a family in Poland. My letters were not answered and not returned.

I don't know just when I decided that I must go there again. But I began saving a little each week from wages I earned in a department store, and traveled by tourist-class ship to West Germany in 1955, flying to Berlin. The East German Communist Government gave me a four-day pass; but at a border station within Berlin a female customs guard forced me to strip while all my clothes were examined. Streets beyond the border still were littered with rubble; beggars followed me everywhere, and I could not even find the station for a railroad which might have taken me to the part of Stettin still under German control, and—I hoped—to Poland. Completely unnerved and frightened after only 4 hours, I retreated to West Berlin. In Witten and Aachen, West Germany, I found two of John's sisters. Both families had come to Germany after Poland's defeat in 1939, and the husbands had spent the rest of the war working in coal mines. But each sister had the same story, "We never hear from Poland. We don't know whether any of the family is still alive."

I was out of money and had failed completely. So I returned to the United States and my job. Two weeks later the first letter

in more than 15 years arrived from Poland. In it Stefan wrote: "Those of us still here are anxious to see you. We hear nothing. Is it possible that you still are alive? Will you ever again come to Europe? Why do you never write?"

I wrote to him—and again began saving my money, earning a little extra by doing housework for other people during my spare time. In three years I had enough—just barely. By 1958 restrictions on travel directly to Poland had been eased. I obtained a 16-day visa by sending the Polish consulate $120—$7.50 for each day I would be in the country. In return they sent me the necessary state-travel-agency coupons to be exchanged for zlotys in Poland or used for hotel bills. I took cheap tranportation to Europe. From Amsterdam I wrote Stefan that I would be in Poland in 2 weeks. There was no answer, but I boarded a Dutch airliner anyhow. This landed me on the cold Warsaw airport on November 4.

I expected another disrobing demand, as in East Berlin, but there was none. After 45 minutes I was called into the customs office, where all my possessions were listed, to be checked against what I might take out later. Then I was directed to another room to have my Orbis coupons exchanged. Here hollow-eyed people in shabby dress were all around; but it was minutes before I recognized one sick-looking, old-looking man, hardly more than a skeleton, as Stefan, who had been so strong and so gay. When at last I was free of the officials, Steffan fell on his knees and kissed my hands, weeping. He had stood in the aisles of a train for 8 hours in order to meet me. Slowly we walked out, trying in a few minutes to wipe out the strangeness of 25 years.

In a 1930-model taxi with flapping side curtains, we bumped over rutted streets to a building where an American serviceman stood on guard, barring the way to Stefan, although he admitted me. When I came out, after completing papers in the U.S. Embassy, Stefan still was staring at the American flag above the door. He whispered, "I have never been so close to American freedom before."

In the same weary taxi we rode to a railroad station. New recruits were being sent to army training camps—thin, underfed boys. Waiting, some sang sad, chanting folk tunes; and all around were the bitter faces of their families, ragged, hungry, and dirty. I sat on my luggage while Stefan went to buy tickets for the Gdynia train, and the people stared at my clothes, my shoes, everything. The cold was intense, but the air was foul. I was sure I was having a nightmare.

Finally, a train arrived. We pushed through the crowd to a first-class compartment; but 16 people already were in it, with bundles and rotting suitcases filling the luggage racks. There were no seats for us until one young man gave me his place. I piled all the luggage I could hold on my lap, while Stefan continued to stand, holding other bags. Outside in the train corridor, the army recruits stood or sat on the floor. No one talked. There was no dining car, but I had a sack filled with white bread, butter, meat, cake, fruits, and chocolate I had bought in Holland. After a long time, I offered some of this food to Stefan.

In German he asked, "What about the others?"

I'd bought this food for the family, so I hesitated; but a murmur rose all around me: Food, food, food. Where did it come from? How much does it cost? Does everyone in America have this sort of food? Quite suddenly faces which had been wooden were animated and curious. I could not resist. As I passed bits of food to one after another, the compartment buzzed with more inquiries: What was happening in the West? How was the United States? The train swayed through flat country, stopping at windy stations, while I was battered with questions.

I tried to tell them how an American family lives—the food, the medicines, the freedom. Some things they had not heard about; some they did not believe. They changed places so that each could sit next to me briefly and ask questions. My food bag presently was empty, but I did not care. The train stopped again to disgorge the recruits, and some people left the compartment—but kissed my hand. One old man—he looked 80, but I could not judge these people with their pinched faces and rotted teeth—whispered a parting question, "Does anyone care about us?"

For this I had no answer.

Only three of us now remained. Stefan collapsed beside me. Across the aisle, the one other man watched us thoughtfully. Middle-aged and Russian, he was better off than most Poles in that he did have an overcoat, although his clothing and his briefcase were shabby. He said he was from Moscow, going to a conference in Poznan. "All those things you told the Poles about life in America," he asked suddenly. "Were they really true? I can hardly believe——"

I said I was a working woman and that I had no reason to lie. Oddly, he appeared convinced by these simple statements. He noticed that I was shivering with cold and fatigue and he said, "Come over to this bench and lie down. I will sit with the man." I did so, and he spread his heavy overcoat over me. After 8 hours we struggled off the train at Gdynia. I shook hands with the Russian, but neither of us said anything. He was a gentleman, and he believed me.

My nephew, Boleslaw, was waiting. A tall very thin boy of 20, he had dark circles under his shy eyes, and horrible boils on his face and hands. My surprise must have showed, because he spoke immediately in English, "Yes, Auntie, Boleslaw hungry, sick, tired, not want to live. Mother and father give me their piece of bread and extra potato, but Boleslaw always hungry."

Stefan's apartment was one of four—with a single set of plumbing—on the third floor of a walk-up apartment house. Janina, my sister-in-law, stood on the landing, shouting, "You made it! You made it! God be praised that he let you come so far. Come in, please, and let us realize that it is not a dream."

I climbed to a dark hallway. On one side was a kitchen, on the other a room where the three slept—and beside this, another very small room where one more man stayed, keeping a violoncello beside him. In time I learned that he was a Hungarian refugee, once well-to-do, now destitute, with nothing but the clothes on his back and the cello which he had dragged, somehow, when he fled Hungary. What this man ate I never learned. He must have represented great danger to Stefan; but they did not ask him to leave nor ever explain, entirely, why he was there. To me he said one thing of importance. "Go back to America and tell someone. Tell them how we live; tell them about these Russians. They are glad if we just die."

Stefan suggested that the three members of his family could sleep in one bed and I could have the other in their bedroom. But I chose chairs and a bench drawn together in the kitchen, with a feather bed to serve both as mattress and cover.

Quickly the family story was told. By 1939 Stefan was only a reserve officer and he never had reached his air-force unit during the brief and confused Polish resistance to Germany. When the Germans came to Gdynia, he had refused to swear allegiance and had been sent to a concentration camp in Pomerania, along with a younger relative. Miraculously both had survived, but Stefan never would discuss the terrible scars on his legs.

World War II had been even worse for others. The naval officer in the family had been killed. The admiral with whom I danced had gone down in a submarine. One sister-in-law, seeking to save her children by sending them away, had watched while their ship pulled out of the harbor, only to strike a mine and go down with all hands. John's mother had died early in the war; but Joseph, the old father, had survived, only to die of food poisoning in the early peace, when no one could afford to worry about whether food was entirely fresh. The two sisters, for whom we had sent medicines, nevertheless had succumbed to tuberculosis.

While Stefan told me these things, Boleslaw stood by the door, watching down the hall. Stefan explained, "You never know who may be coming." He said the city had been full of Russians immediately after the war, and Janina had worn a pillow inside her dress to feign pregnancy and avoid rape. Gradually the Russians had restored discipline; and many had departed. But since protest demonstrations in Poznan and the Hungarian revolution, Gdynia again was filled with Russian soldiers—big, well-fed men, their fine boots and uniforms contrasting sharply with the shoddy equipment of the Polish soldiers, who looked only like sick men expecting to be slaughtered.

A woman member of the people's police had been quartered on the ground floor of the apartment house, beginning just before my arrival—for what reason, no one appeared to know. When I presented my passport to her, as required, she spoke perfect English, but did not bother to ask me any questions—only kept the passport overnight. Possibly she knew the answers in advance.

Before each apartment door was a small pile of bricks and mortar. Janina explained, "It is an order. We are to put the bricks into each firebox of our stoves, to make it smaller by half. But Stefan managed to have the installing delayed until after you leave." The family had a cooking range in the kitchen and a ceiling-high tile heating stove in the bedroom; but they were allowed to buy only one small bucket of coal daily and had to haul that up the stairs. This barely heated the food, and tiles of the bedroom stove seldom were even warm in near-zero weather. Sadly used to this, the Poles wore most of the clothes they owned—ragged sweaters over ragged shirts, two pairs of trousers, the lucky few with overcoats on top of everything.

Gdynia, incidentally, is a coal-shipping port; and many of the 90 cranes on the waterfront are used to load it. Stefan was assigned to dock work, although by civilian trade he had been a cabinetmaker. He told me that while the city shivered, Russians were storing tons and tons of coal underwater in artificial lakes; and that Russian ships had made off with American wheat sent to Gdynia for the relief of Poland. Russians, he said, substituted weevily wheat of their own in the relief supplies, then told the Poles it was the best America could produce.

Both Boleslaw and Stefan worked, but brought home only about 2,400 zlotys a month—the equivalent of about $24 at the black market rate of exchange. This had to cover rent, coal, transportation, and meals, which ordinarily consisted of bread, potatoes, and tea or coffee substitute, with fish perhaps once a week. Real coffee was $16 a pound, and the famous open markets offered nothing appetizing. One which I visited contained only a handful of peddlers offering live fish, chunks of pork meat set out in the open, soggy bread, undersized potatoes and a few onions. Butter was absent, milk unpasteurized, and soap missing. At 20, Boleslaw could not remember tasting an orange

or a banana. Stubbornly I hunted a lemon for days but never found one.

After one frustrating visit to a market Stefan said, "Why bother? Let's just buy a herring and eat it raw."

Butter, some meat and Polish money, however, could be obtained on the black market. Although 24 to 1 was the legal monetary exchange rate, 100 or even 120 zlotys could be obtained for American dollars in large denominations. Traders sometimes were shoemakers, sometimes tailors or seamen, operating on the street or on the waterfront. The same man never appeared twice, and the rendezvous always was changed—but always there was someone ready to sell Polish money.

Vodka and beer, however, were cheaper than bread and were sold from stands on the street, where unwashed salespeople poured out purchases, then recapped the bottles. I saw 12-year-old children buy vodka, then sit beside a wall sipping it. But Stefan was not disturbed. "What difference does it make?" he demanded. "For a little while they're warm and don't think about food. Let them enjoy it if they can."

I was required to report to the town police as well as to the woman in the apartment building, and this rapidly turned into another nightmare. Dark halls of the police station were lined with benches, the benches filled with silent people. When I knocked on the door of the proper office, a woman's harsh voice told me to come in—alone. She looked as rough as her voice; and when I started to sit down, she barked, "I'll tell you when to sit down."

My papers appeared to enrage her. "Why do you come here and to whom?" she demanded—and then insisted on my entire family history. She told me to wait, but after a full hour admitted that someone else would have to check my papers. I spent another 2 hours in the corridor with my frightened relatives before she called me into the room again and threw the passport at me.

A few minutes later four of us were standing on a downtown sidewalk when two Russian soldiers suddenly pushed between us and ordered, "Move on." Quickly my family pulled me away as the Russians looked back at us suspiciously. I noticed afterward that no sidewalk group ever contained four Poles: it was too conspicuous. The only large groups were Russian soldiers, moving as if on patrol with pistols slapping their legs.

There were, however, many people on the streets. Dozens merely sat on the sidewalks with their backs against buildings or stone walls, not moving and not talking. Many had small bundles beside them. Stefan explained, "They're people from other towns. They have come here looking for something or someone, but they have no place to go."

Once while I was watching, a police patrol passed, followed by a horse drawing a high-sided cart. A patrolman looked hard at each of the sitting people and now and then touched one with his foot. If the sitter moved, the patrol passed on. But one policeman touched an outstretched foot and received no answering movement. The men muttered to one another and two of them picked up a small body—a young girl or a child—still stiff in the sitting position. Without ceremony they heaved her into the cart.

Stefan said, "The girl is dead. Just come along."

I was shaken and weary. We waited for a bus, but when the ancient vehicle arrived, it was jammed with people. A young woman with a face like a ghost's collected fares and called stops to the driver, who sometimes heard her. Once as we started up again a child tried to hang on in the doorway, but fell off. People screemed, but the driver kept going. I could not tell whether the child had been struck; but as the noise lessened, a woman said softly, "One less mouth to feed." That was all.

I wanted something to take home to my grandchildren and for days tried to find a record of the Polish national hymn or a small statue of the Madonna. But all I found were a few pieces of jewelry set with amber and a small girl's costume vest in velvet. As we came into the street from one shopping foray, however, half a dozen young Russians soldiers strolled ahead of us, and ahead of them an old Polish man propelled himself in a wheel chair. The Russians—I can't say whether they were drunk—chattered to one another, then ran up and dumped the old man into the street. While he cried piteously, they played a game with the chair—two sitting in it and making honking sounds, two others pushing and yelling, "Aftomobilo! Aftomobil!" At high speed they disappeared around a corner.

Dozens of Poles were nearby, but nobody said anything. I turned on Stefan. "Aren't you going to do anything? Stop them! That man could be your father." But Stefan walked away.

I hurried after him, finding him on another corner, his hands in his pockets. He said, "Do you think I want a bullet in the back? Nothing can be done. It is better to leave when 'our friends' are involved. You must do nothing to 'our friends'." I wish I could convey the bitterness of those two words.

The days passed slowly. Boleslaw wondered aloud whether I told the truth about the outside world—perhaps the whole world lived as they did. In evidence, he showed me a newspaper clipping declaring that Americans ate grass and tree bark to keep from starving. I told him the clipping erred only slightly—we used the grass for chlorophyll, the bark for medicines. I had told Stefan I'd like to go to church, and he admitted one evening that we could. But Boleslaw would not go.

Certainly it was like nothing I had experienced before. In secrecy and in the dark we crossed a rough field. Stefan warned, "If anything happens, you both go back. Don't wait for me or try to find out anything." At last we came to a building, but I could see only dark walls, no lights. Stefan stooped, and we followed him through what must have been a window and into a semicellar. All was dark except for a tiny light on an altar. We fumbled for room, with people kneeling all around. Next to me I could see a young woman with a baby nursing. Tears ran down her face as she fingered a rosary and muttered without clear words. Only such murmurs could be heard. If there was a real service, I could not see it. So we only knelt until Stefan touched my arm, then went back the way we had come, alone and in the dark.

Thus one church operated. In John's home village, however, both the Catholic and Lutheran churches were deserted—the Lutheran boarded up.

These people no longer worried about cleanliness. When I tried to show Boleslaw how young Americans wash, he only laughed—and Stefan shrugged. "What's the use?" he said. "I don't care any more. There is no soap, there is nothing." But both men were interested in a small razor I carried to shave my legs. I gave it to them, but had to show them how to keep my only two blades sharp by rotating them in a water glass. Previously they had trimmed their beards with the same old shears they used to cut each other's hair.

In the bedroom they had a small, weak radio which somehow had survived the looters; but the Polish programs were hours apart, many of them political talks. They all knew when the Voice of Free Europe broadcasts were scheduled; but each time howls and squeaks—the deliberate Communist jamming—would drown out the station after a few words of Polish.

One Saturday evening we went to a navy officers' club. One relative still had a navy job, although another young man had resigned his commission and now was a common sailor on a merchant ship. His wife expected that he would jump ship at the first opportunity in a free port; but she said, "It will be all right, if only he can be free."

Perhaps 250 persons jammed the club, including 75 Russian men. Their tables had great platters of food, but the Poles could order only vodka or thick Turkish coffee from a lone, madly running waiter. Because the Polish women would not dance with the Russians, the Poles in their shoddy uniforms did all the dancing. The women were dressed much alike, with flat shoes and no makeup or jewelry; but Stefan had said, "Wear your American clothes. We'll show them how Americans look." So I sat in this somber throng in a new black suit, high heels, crystal earrings, costume jewelry, and ordinary cosmetics. Certainly I attracted enough attention, and we decided not to dance. But a Russian officer, perhaps 20 years younger than I, pushed into the middle of our Polish group. In perfect English he courteously asked me to dance. I hesitated, looking at the people in our party. Immediately the Russian, using English—which my family does not understand—demanded, "Do you have to ask these Polish swine for permission?"

I said, "Perhaps I am Polish swine too."

But he would not go away. To avoid a scene I arose and talked to him at a little distance from my family, while they sat as if frozen. The Russian kept asking personal questions, so I finally told him I was married and had 10 children—and that my husband had stayed home to care for them.

"Don't lie," he said. "I don't believe you even have a husband. From now on, I command you to dance with me."

I told him I was a citizen of a free country, and his command meant nothing to me. But he then insisted that I come to his table and eat some of the heaped-up food. Instead I complimented him on his American-accented English. Immediately he swelled with pride and said he was glad about the accent because he could use it when he came to America. But, he added, "7 years is too long to wait."

I didn't know what he meant—whether he expected to make a visit or whether someone had told him the Russians would be in America in 7 years—but I said, "Well, that's all right We expect you. You just come on. We're always ready for guests, invited or not."

"I don't understand why you're talking to me at all," he said. "Don't the Americans hate us?"

"I do not see your uniform," I told him, "only another human being."

This could have gone on and on, but I felt like a traitor to my family. I returned to our table, but now we were a center of attention. Stefan wished to leave, although the dance was to continue for hours. But at least 50 Russians followed us to the club lobby, demanding that we stay. I told the young officer that we would come back the next night, but that did not satisfy them. Finally they stopped the music and told everybody else to go home, just because we were going.

Quickly and close together my alarmed family and I hurried home through dark streets. As he did every night, Stefan piled furniture against the doors before he want to bed and put old glass jars on top so that the slightest movement would cause them to fall and break. But nothing happened.

The only people who did visit us at night were two strange men and a woman who arrived several nights later. One man handed me two pictures of the Madonna and Child, asking me to give them to some Polish people in the United States. The second had a very large, handmade book filled mostly with snapshots about the life of Polish people since World War II—scenes of misery and poverty. He insisted that I take this with me, so people in the West could know what life was in Poland. He was sure I could get it through customs, perhaps under my clothing; but when I repeatedly refused, he said he would get it to me somehow, perhaps via Sweden; and I agreed to show it to as many people as possible. But in the months since my return, the book has not arrived.

The woman had a different plea: Would I buy the heavy and expensive Persian lamb coat she had wrapped in a bundle? It had survived burial, like most things the Poles still had. Now she did not dare to wear it, but needed food and medicines for her family. I paid her $20 in U.S. currency—all I possibly could afford. The three strangers blessed me as they went out into the dark. Janina and I took a label out of a coat I had brought with me and sewed it into the lamb, and I gave the second coat to her.

After 12 days I became ill, suffering chills and fever. The apartment building had no telephone, and no civilian doctor was available—these people had not even been able to see a dentist in a decade—but Stefan ran in the night to another relative, who induced a navy doctor to walk to see me. But he said, "I know what you need, but I do not have such medicines. Just brew strong tea and drink that." This was the extent of my medication, except for a few sulfa tablets. I lost pounds daily, and my visa was running out. So I gave many of my belongings to the family and packed the rest. On a frigid morning Janina held me close. "You pray for us," she said, "and I will pray for you. Thanks so much for rekindling our hopes."

Stefan and Boleslaw went with me to the airport, where a single-engined airplane waited on an unpaved runway. There was delay after delay, and the tension finally was too much for Boleslaw, who turned away in tears and left. I could say only, "God give him strength."

Stefan stayed, however, and when I finally was told to board the plane, he reached into his pocket. Carefully he dropped a handful of beans into my palm. "Take these," he said, "I will never leave here, but perhaps these Polish beans may grow in free soil."

I knew of nothing to say to him.

On the airplane five men and I sat on wooden benches in the unheated cabin, without safety belts—and the plane took off after another hour's delay. This was the last day in Poland allowed by my visa. At customs in Warsaw, officers confiscated my last 150 zlotys—then took from my baggage all my nylon clothing, a small camera, family pictures, soap and toilet articles. If I could pay a luxury tax, they blandly informed me, I could have them back, although they were things I had brought to Poland. Finally an exit seal was entered on my passport, and I was sent to another building to await a Dutch international airliner. But no plane appeared. Finally I found an official who said the plane to Amsterdam would not stop at Warsaw that day.

I was in despair, alone, sick, cold, my Polish money gone. I begged a Polish policeman to telephone the American embassy; but he said, "Come with me quickly, before the Russian police wonder what all the trouble is." I thought, is there no one in this poor country not living under a shadow of fear?

An embassy chauffeur took me to a hotel, although I had only my handbag. My tiny third-floor room was equipped with a chair and a bed—the blankets dirty, the sheets indescribable. There was no water for washing nor any warmth in the radiator—but there was a chamber pot. Hours later a young man from the embassy brought me 100 zlotys for food, but warned me not even to leave the room. In the hallway, a sleepy maid shook her head at the Polish money, but produced tea and bread when I showed her an American dollar.

I could not stomach the bed, so spent the night in the chair—the longest, coldest night I remember. In the morning another dollar produced more bread and tea, and at 11 a.m. the embassy man came back to take me to the airport. He could not locate my confiscated possessions, but did get me onto a plane for Amsterdam. The last thing I saw in Poland was a Polish officer handing up my passport; and I thought I read in his eyes a wish that he, too, could be going away.

Four men on the plane must have thought I looked like a refugee, because one gave me an orange and another handed me a cooky in a cellophane bag. The stewardess offered the first real coffee I'd tasted in 2 weeks.

I began to cry and could not stop. I still was crying as the plane lifted off the soil of Poland.

Misconceptions in Public Understanding of Monetary Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, the November 1959 issue of the Monthly Review of the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis contains an article, entitled "Some Misconceptions in Public Understanding of Monetary Policy." The article, which was written by Dr. Carl T. Arlt, director of research of the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis and a former member of the staff of the Committee on Banking and Currency, is an excellent explanation of Federal Reserve objectives and controls, and also includes a clear examination of current criticisms of monetary policy.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SOME MISCONCEPTIONS IN PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING AND MONETARY POLICY

The rise in the level of interest rates in recent years, and more particularly the sharp rise since mid-1958, has created considerable public interest in monetary policy.

Public reactions to Federal Reserve policies reflect sharp differences of opinion with respect to the forces raising interest rates and the principles guiding Federal Reserve authorities in this connection. Many people are generally aware of the reasons for current monetary policy and accept the rise in interest rates as the inevitable result of the bulging credit demands of a boom pressing against a supply of credit which is necessarily more limited in amount. There are others, however, who regard the rise in interest rates with alarm and resentment. They consider the present level of rates a product of an inappropriate monetary policy.

The generalizations most frequently used by critics of current monetary policy are the following:

1. Federal Reserve authorities are deliberately fixing interest rates at high levels.
2. Rising interest rates, by increasing the cost of borrowing, contribute to inflation.
3. Interest rates are abnormally high as evidenced by the fact that they are now at a 25-year peak.
4. Federal Reserve authorities have the power to keep rates down and should use that power.
5. Rising interest rates reflect a policy of excessive monetary restraint which inhibits economic growth and full utilization of resources.

The purpose of this article is to suggest that these generalizations in the main reflect (1) public misunderstanding of Federal Reserve policy and operations, and (2) preoccupation with immediate goals without sufficient regard for longer run consequences.

A REVIEW OF FEDERAL RESERVE OBJECTIVES AND CONTROLS

Since many of the above generalizations apparently reflect some basic misconceptions in the public's understanding of what the Federal Reserve authorities are attempting to do and how they are doing it, a brief review of the objectives and the mechanisms of credit control seems to be in order.[1]

Objectives

The primary objective of the System is to influence the monetary and credit situation so as to encourage growth and resist both inflation and deflation.

The focal point of Federal Reserve action is the volume of member bank reserves available for lending and investing, since generally each new bank loan or investment, with its simultaneous creation of a new deposit balance, represents an addition to the money supply available for spending on goods and services.

In a boom period, the monetary authorities will attempt to influence member bank reserves so that the lending ability of commercial banks does not increase at a faster rate than is compatible with the economy's capacity to increase its real product. In other words, as expanding credit demands of the economy impose growing pressures on banks to extend more credit and to seek additional reserves to meet expanding reserve requirements, the Federal Reserve System strives to limit the increase in reserves and total bank credit to an amount compatible with sustainable economic growth without inflation.

Since interest rates are the prices paid for credit, it is not at all surprising that in the boom phase of our economy the strong credit demands of Federal Government, State and local governments, businesses and consumers generate an upward thrust in interest rates. The supply of credit, limited as it is by the volume of current savings, accumulated idle balances, and new commercial bank credit, does not and cannot keep pace with the virtually unlimited credit demands of a booming economy.

Instruments of control

The Federal Reserve authorities have three major instruments for influencing member

[1] For a more detailed description see Board of Governors, "The Federal Reserve System—Purposes and Functions" (Washington, D.C., 1954).

bank reserves and total bank credit—open market operations, discount policy, and changes in reserve requirements.

Open market operations: These are the transactions which increase or decrease Federal Reserve holdings of U.S. Government securities at the initiative of the System. Purchases of securities supply reserves to member banks. Sales of securities extinguish member bank reserves. These operations may be used not only to change the volume of bank reserves within the framework of a credit policy of ease or restraint, but also to offset losses or gains in reserves from changes in such factors as currency in circulation, gold stock, Treasury balances at Federal Reserve banks, and float.

In view of the complexity of forces operating on member bank reserves and changes in the velocity of money, a period of monetary restraint may not necessarily be characterized by net sales of Government securities by the Federal Reserve. The System may find that it has to feed additional reserves into the banking system to offset the absorption of reserves caused by such factors as outflows of gold, increases in Treasury balances, or increases of money in circulation. In this situation the open market operations, although aimed at moderating the growth of commercial bank lending, will involve net purchases of securities to offset the losses of reserves mentioned above. It is also important to note that net purchases of Government securities by the Federal Reserve may be quite consistent with a policy of monetary restraint. Such a policy permits bank reserve growth compatible with a noninflationary expansion of bank credit.

The impact of Federal Reserve policy may be better judged by observing what happens to total bank reserves than by looking at purchases and sales of Government securities. Thus, the most powerful instrument of control, and the one that directly changes the total reserve positions of member banks, is understandably masked and quite likely to be ignored by the public.

Discount policy: This relates to Federal Reserve bank lending to member banks. The initiative in such credit extensions is taken by individual member banks when it is necessary for them to build up their reserve positions to required levels.

The discount mechanism, as now used, is largely complementary to actions in the open market. At a time of credit restraint, for example, open market operations furnish banks less reserves than they need to meet existing credit demands. The impact of such action is generalized for banks as a whole. Necessarily it hits some banks harder than others. Those individual banks which find their reserve positions especially hard hit in the process may borrow at the Federal Reserve Banks as they face prospective reserve deficiencies.

Borrowing by any individual bank is a temporary expedient to carry over until more fundamental changes in asset position can be effected. Under these circumstances the discount window operates as a safety valve, not to frustrate the impact of open market operations, but to permit that impact to be spread more evenly and smoothly over the banking system as a whole.

The member bank tradition against borrowing, in addition to Federal Reserve bank policy on this matter, normally assures that the discount window is no more than a safety valve for individual banks. However, to guard against the use of the discount mechanism as a means of offsetting restraint through open market policy, the discount rate may have to be raised. If, during a period of credit tightness the discount rate is far below the market rate on Treasury bills, for example, banks find it more desirable from the cost standpoint to borrow at the Federal Reserve bank than to sell off short-term Government securities. If the discount rate is raised to a level comparable to the market rates on short-term Government securities, individual banks facing reserve deficiencies may prefer to sell off their securities rather than borrow from the Federal Reserve, thus contributing to the intended tightness in the money markets and passing on the reserve pressure to other banks whose customers may buy the securities being sold.

It is important to emphasize that open market operations are the primary instrument of control and that the discount mechanism and the discount rate serve to reinforce the intended impact of open market policies. More often than not the rise in the discount rate will follow the rise in market rates, reflecting the monetary tensions created by a bulging credit demand pressing against a supply of credit which has not been permitted to grow as fast as the credit demand.

Reserve requirements: The Federal Reserve at its initiative may also diminish or enlarge the volume of funds which member banks have available for lending by raising or lowering reserve requirements. Unlike open market operations, reserve requirement changes affect immediately and simultaneously all banks in each reserve class. It is a powerful instrument which has usually been employed only when large-scale changes in the country's available bank reserves are desired.

Since sharp changes in excess bank reserves are not desired in a period when the Federal Reserve is attempting only to moderate the growth of reserves, the system depends on open market operations and discount policies as the more sensitive and flexible instruments of credit control.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE CRITICISMS OF MONETARY POLICY

Does the Federal Reserve deliberately fix interest rates at a high level? The above review of the basic instruments influencing member bank lending makes clear that it is the lending ability of commercial banks and not the interest rate which is the major target of Federal Reserve credit policy. Unfortunately, from the point of view of public understanding of monetary policy, the most important credit control, namely open market operations, is the least dramatic and least likely to attract the attention of the public. What the public does see, however, is that in a period of rising interest rates the discount rate also rises. Observing no changes in legal reserve requirements and being unaware of the credit impact of open market operations, the public frequently jumps to the conclusion that the rising discount rate is the instrument and the cause of rising interest rates. In so doing they fail to realize that interest rates reflect the interaction of credit demand and supply forces and that the primary cause of the sharp rise in interest rates in 1959 has been the greatly expanding credit demands of a booming economy pressing against a growing but limited amount of credit. In this connection it is appropriate to point out that bank credit is only a portion of the total credit volume, and that an important limit on total credit availability is the volume of savings.

Are interest rates abnormally high? Often heard today is the statement that current monetary policy has raised the interest rate to the highest level in 25 years; that such a rise in rates is clearly abnormal and one that the monetary authorities can and should avoid.

That interest rates are at their highest level since the early thirties is not to be denied. The implication, however, that the low levels of interest rates marking the period from the thirties through the early 1950's constitute a "norm" is indeed suspect. Clearly, the depressed years of the thirties, with business flat on its back and credit demands at a low ebb, do not provide a basis for judging the rate structure of the present day, marked by tremendous credit demands of Federal, State, and local governments, businessmen, and consumers.

It is equally obvious that the low rates of the 1940's and the first year or two of the 1950's are not appropriate benchmarks for appraising the current level of rates. There we had a period in which monetary policy was subordinated to the policy of stabilizing the Government securities markets. That such a policy made virtually impossible effective control over commercial bank reserves, demand deposits, and the money supply appeared to be a consideration secondary to the prevailing fear that any upward movement in rates would bring a collapse of the bond market and perhaps "destroy public credit."

The most recent comparable period free from severe depression and war was that running from 1920 to 1930. Compared with the interest rates of that period, the current rates do not appear to be abnormally high, as some believe. During the first 5½ years after World War I yields on long-term Treasury obligations partly exempt from taxation ranged from 5¾ to 4¾ percent. It may be recalled that that was also a time when the Federal budget was in balance and with the Government debt declining from $26 billion to $16 billion. During the entire 11-year period, the average yield on long-term Governments was slightly under 4¼ percent.

Do rising interest rates raise costs and contribute to inflation? Much of the criticism of current monetary policy centers on the interest rate as a cost element confronting Government at all levels, businessmen, and consumers. Impressive figures on mounting interest costs to Government are intended to show that increased public expenditures and related inflationary pressures are directly attributable to rising interest rates. In short, the system's critics charge that monetary restraint, instead of holding back inflation, actually promotes it by permitting the rise in interest costs.

There is a basic weakness in this position. The critics ignore the fact that rising costs attributable to advances in general price levels are much more substantial than those due to rising interest costs. For example, State and local purchases of goods and services are now four times what they were in 1946. It has been estimated that approximately one-half of this increase has been due to rising price levels since 1946, while the balance of increased expenditures stems from a growth in real State and local needs. Clearly, interest costs which reflect no more than 2 to 3 percent of State and local budgets are not the important factors in the aggravated problems of State and local finance.

It is equally obvious that the cost of servicing the Federal public debt has not played the most important part in the mounting Federal expenditures, built up to a large degree by the sheer magnitude of national security needs and by the rise in prices in the years following World War II.

Although rising interest rates are relatively more important in mortgage financing, it is no less true that rising wage rates and higher building costs have played the dominant roles in determining the size of the mortgage that has to be financed.

The defenders of current monetary policy do not deny that interest rates are costs, and at times, painful to the borrower. They do insist, however, that rising interest rates merely reflect the tremendous market demand for credit pressing against a limited supply which, if expanded substantially in a boom period, would unleash a flow of spending and lead to a costly rise in prices far

more painful and disruptive than the cost impact of interest rates.

Should the Federal Reserve attempt to hold interest rates down? Reflecting the feeling that interest rates are too high and that such rates as costs are contributing strongly to inflation, many have urged that the Federal Reserve Board authorize the buying of Government bonds to support bond prices and thus restrain the rise in yields.

Here again those who support this proposal have failed to look at all aspects of this problem. They overlook the fact that to halt the upward trend of interest rates in this expanding period of our economy would require a tremendous volume of open-market purchases of Government bonds. This could not be done without promoting inflation and, indeed, without converting the Federal Reserve System into an engine of inflation.

As pointed out earlier, when the Federal Reserve purchases Government bonds, it increases the reserves of member banks, and thus their ability to make more loans, in an amount which is a multiple of the increase in excess reserves. Actually, each dollar of open-market purchases of Government bonds by the Federal Reserve makes available about $6 for additional loans or investments—a tremendous inflationary factor.

Most of us recall the difficulties involved when the Federal Reserve System pegged interest rates on Government obligations during and following World War II. The rates were held down, but a dangerous inflation developed under the blanket of direct price, wage, and materials controls, and when these wartime controls were removed the inflation broke out under the pressure of tremendous money demands on relatively scarce goods and services.

Even if the inflationary consequences were accepted, it is doubtful whether the Federal Reserve System could peg interest rates on Government obligations under normal peacetime conditions. The inflationary influence of such huge increases in credit would accelerate a further diversion of savings from investments in bonds and other fixed-income obligations into stocks and other equities. It would lead to speculative buying of commodities and securities to beat higher costs and prices in the future. Thus, such efforts to stabilize interest rates would have a reverse effect and would push up interest rates in most sectors of the credit market.

Does current monetary policy inhibit growth and full utilization of resources? Monetary policy critics frequently point to the existing volume of unemployment and the absence of supply shortages as evidence of an expansion potential that could be realized if monetary restraints were relaxed. Some critics broaden this position to include the general proposition that price stability as an objective of monetary policy is bound to inhibit growth and the full utilization of resources.

A noteworthy feature of this criticism of monetary policy is that it reflects a preoccupation with shortrun objectives while ignoring the importance of long-run considerations governing Federal Reserve policy. If the sole objective of monetary policy is to be considered maximum employment and growth in the short run, the argument of monetary policy critics is plausible. If, however, the objective of economic society is orderly and sustainable growth over the long run, the defenders of monetary policy have some compelling arguments to submit in behalf of a monetary policy geared to the avoidance of longer run consequences of inflation and violent instability.

Utilized resources not evidence of inhibited growth: While the problem of unemployment is never to be minimized, the existence of unutilized resources in an expanding economy does not necessarily argue for additional injections of credit to support a higher money demand for goods. In this type of economy, expansion is cumulative—and at times explosive—increasing at rates that cannot possibly be sustained.

If the objective of society is growth at a sustainable rate, it is quite evident that monetary policy must at times moderate the bursts of expansion that would occur in the absence of some restraint. In other words, it is necessary to impose restraints on demand before it pushes on to the extreme limits of supply, if the economy is to avoid violent downturns in production and employment.

In this case, monetary restraint may be accompanied by an employment and output level lower for a time than that obtained in a high pressure economy with no restraints. In the long run, however, economic activity, although moderated in the short run by monetary restraints, can be expected to enjoy a more sustained and, averaging the boom years with the others, a higher rate. This is, of course, a longrun argument, and since it is always possible to get more out of an economy in the short run by running it at high speed, the advocates of less monetary restraint always appear to have a plausible case.

It is also significant that although unemployment in mid-1959 was substantial—approximately 5 percent of the labor force—it was not generally distributed over the Nation. A significant amount was concentrated in declining industries and distressed areas. Such unemployment does not respond quickly, if at all, to general increases in demand. Any attempt to remove such unemployment by large injections of new money would tend only to strengthen the inflationary pressures on those industries already strong and expanding with little impact on those industries such as coal mining, textiles, and so forth, which have been hit hard by longrun shifts in demand and an uneconomic allocation of resources.

Creeping inflation not a prerequisite of long-term growth: The history of past relationships between prices and growth do not support such a claim. At some times in our history notably in the period 1875 to 1890, a declining price level accompanied an extraordinary rate of growth. It may also be of interest to point out that the greatest economic strides of any foreign country in recent years were made by West Germany with one of the best records of price level stability.

Critics of monetary restraint often point out that the upward price movement in the United States from 1933 to the present was accompanied by substantial growth. This is regarded as evidence that prolonged inflation is not as harmful as alleged.

Those who accept this as evidence overlook the important fact that during this period the price increases were not regarded as inevitable or as a continuing process. There was always the possibility that prices might decline.

The idea that inflation—a creeping inflation—is inevitable and necessary for growth is one that must be resisted by the monetary authorities for reasons well described in the following quotation:

"The distortion of investment decisions, the discouragement of saving, the compulsion to speculate, the misallocation of resources, the strengthening of the monopoly position of firms owning old and low cost equipment—all are familiar dangers that have been pointed out many times. The inherent instability of an economy in which everything is worth what it is only because it is expected to be worth more next year; the fluctuations in the value of 'inflation hedges' produced by the uncertain speed of the inflation; the need to concentrate all efforts on staying ahead of the game—all this does not add up to a satisfactory picture of a stable and rapidly growing economy. And, as the moralistically inclined may feel tempted to add, a society in which all contracts and financial promises are made with the afterthought that they will be partly cancelled by inflation, does not offer a morally elevating picture either.

"Few of the critics of inflation would claim that they can foresee its ultimate consequences. It may lead to collapse into deep depression, or simply to more inflation with stagnating growth. Or more likely, it will lead to price controls imposed under the pressure of impatient citizens and politicians. The immediate sacrifices that a policy of stable prices demands seem preferable to any of these."[2]

The rejection of creeping inflation as a matter of policy is a must if we are to avoid an economic situation in which every decision—whether by business, consumer, or Government—is made in anticipation of rising prices.

[2] H. C. Wallich, "Postwar U.S. Monetary Policy Appraised," U.S. Monetary Policy (the American Assembly, Columbia University, December 1958), p. 102.

The Missile Mess

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, in the January issue of Harper's magazine there is an article titled "The Missile Mess," which makes a searching and disturbing examination of our national deficiencies in the vital field of space and missilery. The author, Frank Gibney, is a journalist by profession, who has made a careful study of this problem for the last 2 years. In 1958 he came to Washington and worked for over a year as a special consultant to the Select Committee on Space and Astronautics, of which I was chairman. Mr. Gibney rendered invaluable service to the select committee. I find this article a challenging appraisal of what this country has failed to do—but must do quickly, if we are to win the critical race for space with the Russians.

The article has received nationwide attention. I append two thoughtful editorials, from the Chicago Sun-Times and the Louisville Courier-Journal, commenting on it. As the Courier-Journal's editorial noted "it should be read by every member of the Space Committee, if not several million other Americans."

THE MISSILE MESS

(By Frank Gibney)

(A former congressional aid tells why we have fallen so far behind the Russians in building the decisive weapon—and how bungling in Washington is making the dangerous gap still wider)

The Americans—as Nikita Khrushchev explained to a Soviet audience after his trip to the United States—have the scientists and resources for successful exploration into space. The reason they have not equaled the achievements of the Soviet Union, he said,

lies in the defects of their Government, of their capitalistic system.

Viewing our space and missile programs, we might easily conclude that our Government is inexplicably engaged in an effort to prove Khrushchev correct. For most of the indignant words said recently about the missile lag and our inglorious second place are all too true. The sugar-coated explanations offered by the American leadership only deepen the impression of a gross national failure.

Briefly, the situation is this:

It is 6 years since the United States discovered the urgent necessity of intensifying its effort both to develop long-range military missiles and to further the exploration of space. The two aims, as we shall see, are indivisible. During this period ample warning has been given of the Soviet Union's huge strides in these fields. The United States has worked out military missile systems and lofted its own earth satellites. A new Government agency, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, has been set up to direct and co-ordinate space projects. A multi-billion-dollar industry has grown out of this work.

But no concerted effort has yet been made to counter the Soviet advantage. The United States—as General Medaris noted before retiring as the Army missile boss—is now roughly 5 years behind in the development of space vehicles. Our relative strength in missiles is little better. In its 1960 budget the administration has committed the country to several more years of inferiority in what is acknowledged as the ultimate military weapon: the intercontinental ballistic missile. Although the Secretary of Defense estimated that the Russians have three missiles to every one of ours, their real superiority is more likely double that.

If this were the result of a spectacular Soviet scientific breakthrough, it might be understandable. It is not. As Khrushchev so rightly conceded, the United States has long had the necessary talent. In 1955, for example—2 years before the appearance of sputnik—the Army first began fruitlessly asking the White House for permission to put up a space satellite. But the talent and the materials—all ready, willing, and able—have been handcuffed by executive mismanagement, apathy, and a feckless Micawberism, almost unparalleled in our history. This has not only exposed us to military danger—it has, for the first time in all our history, turned this country away from the challenge of a new frontier.

This article has been written out of a sense of fear, alarm, and national shame. I am not a technical space "expert," and I am aware of the tendency to dismiss anyone discussing such matters without a "doctor" or at least "general" before his name as equivalent to the scoundrel who practices medicine without a license. Yet space is only one of the complex and partly technical issues which must be decided not by specialists, but by the public debate of ordinary citizens. It is a pressing issue, and largely a political one.

In the spring of 1958, 6 months after the appearance of sputnik, I went to Washington as a part-time special consultant for the newly founded House Committee on Space and Astronautics. The mood in Congress at that time was one of deep, honest concern. A permanent blue-ribbon committee was set up quickly to consider the space and missile problem, chaired by JOHN MCCORMACK, the House majority leader, with JOSEPH MARTIN, then minority leader, as the ranking Republican member. Its sense of urgency was reinforced by the testimony of the specialists already at work on space and missile programs. We received the impression—which turned out to be correct—of a group of talented and dedicated men engaged in the frustrating task of trying to wake up their fellow citizens—and their Government. Our hearings went quickly. Both Houses of Congress passed a bill for a new space agency in record time. With all too trusting an attitude, Congress gave the President virtually a blank check for cleaning up and redirecting the whole space effort. This very authority, concentrated in the White House, later proved to be the chief stumbling block.

This accusation against the Eisenhower administration by no means absolves its predecessor. The Truman administration fostered space and missile developments to a degree. But it displayed little or no imagination in assessing their potential.

It was not that the facts were unavailable. The Air Force signed its first contract for a study of a long-range missile in 1946. By that time the Army had already installed Wernher von Braun and the German V–2 missile experts at a testing range. In 1948 the first report of James Forrestal as Secretary of Defense noted some research work on an earth satellite. But the United States in those days was still recovering from the heady illusion of its early atomic lead over the Soviet Union. Those on high scarcely thought of planning ahead for a less comfortable military future.

In 1953, however, the picture dramatically changed. Scientists at the Atomic Energy Commission reported a thermonuclear breakthrough which permitted a devastating amount of explosive to be packed into a small warhead. This discovery should have moved the most unimaginative minds into a drive for the fastest possible ballistic missile program. The Truman administration might have taken refuge in the then limited scientific knowledge: The only available warheads were too big to be lifted by any feasible missiles. But after 1953, such an excuse was no longer tenable. Every available fact pointed to a speedy development of missilery and space exploration.

There are five specific reasons why this development barely sputtered off the launching pad: (1) A mania for reorganization as a substitute for executive direction—coupled with a disastrous emphasis on "public relations"; (2) the cult of scientists-know-best; (3) budget worship; (4) interservice and interorganizational rivalry; (5) an unwise and unworkable distinction between "military" and "civilian" efforts. These factors all grew out of one overriding deficiency: A lack of decision in the White House and the Secretary of Defense's Office.

Each of the failings can still be corrected. But the time margin for doing so has dangerously dwindled.

THE REORGANIZATION MANIA

At the last reading there were roughly 60 governmental committees and organizations concerned in one way or another with space and missilery. Some are new, some old. Some are military, some civilian. But they all cling tenaciously to life and authority.

The three services have had their own space and missile programs from the beginning. Although the Air Force has lately been assigned most of the so-called military space mission, the Army continues to hold onto some part of it. The latest organization—the National Aeronautics and Space Agency—has expanded in less than 2 years from roughly 8,000 to 18,000. But its forerunners and their affiliates are still there, and woe to the contractor, the military administrator, or any man with an idea who neglects to touch all the bases.

In one year, 1957, the Air Force's leading space and missile officer, Lt. Gen. Bernard Schriever, spent some 200 days appearing before various committees—only a few of them congressional. Dr. Walter Dornberger, the former German V–2 general, now working for the Bell Aircraft Corp., had to make no less than 678 presentations before various groups, in his 6-year efforts to get the Air Force's Dyna-Soar project—the basic step to a manned space vehicle—off the drawing boards.

One way to get order and decision out of this bouillabaisse would be to break through normal service and departmental systems with a centrally controlled project like the wartime Manhattan District, which made the atom bomb. But this involves admitting a national emergency—the very thing the administration has been unwilling to do. Instead it has reshuffled existing agencies and their responsibilities every time a new process is discovered, or a new kind of missile needed. Washington seems actually proud of such constant reshuffling, like a compulsive executive who feels he has done a day's work in rearranging the piles of papers on his desk.

A typical reorganization effort was the transfer to the new space agency of Wernher von Braun's Army Ballistic Missiles Agency at Huntsville, Ala. The decision was made by President Eisenhower last October at a meeting of his nine-man Space Council, and it was presented as another bold step forward. Actually, it settled almost nothing. It left open the question of how much of ABMA would go to the new agency. It gave no firm mandate to NASA for the speedy development of the Army's Saturn, the 1.5 million-pound rocket cluster which holds the most immediate, if not the only, hope for matching Soviet propulsion. It did divorce the most successful single group of space technicians from its long-standing command and logistical support by the Army—a dubious gain.

On September 2, 1959, the able staff of the military subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Organization published a report on the progress of the missile effort. Its tone was patient and objective, its implications disturbing. The record, as the report unfolded it, was not merely an account of interservice rivalry. Underlying the continual changes and counterchanges in administration (e.g., "in March of that year (1956) Secretary of Defense Wilson appointed a Special Assistant in Guided Missiles, thus recreating a post he had abolished 3 years earlier") was a basic confusion over whether the Defense Department should run the missile effort directly, or leave it to the services.

This confusion was never resolved, either by Secretary of Defense Wilson or by his successor Secretary McElroy. And what little action either took seemed disturbingly negative. ("Let's clean up this Democratic mess" was the only mandate one of the first missile czars received.) The temporary departmental organ, the Advanced Research Projects Agency, was founded to coordinate the military missilery effort among three services. It has dragged on long after its important work projects have been parceled out to the Space Administration or the Air Force. And ARPA was not alone.

"It is good sense and sound administration," the subcommittee asked, "to have conjointly an Advanced Research Project Agency, a Director of Guided Missiles [since transformed into the head of the Civilian-Military Liaison Committee], and a Director of Defense Research and Engineering, with their associated technical panels and advisory committees, all seeking on behalf of the Secretary of Defense to keep on top of the fast-moving missile and space programs? * * *"

Within the military programs, the subcommittee found a pattern of hasty improvisations growing into unwieldy institutions. A prime example is the dependence of the Air

Force on private contractors to do its military decision-making. In 1953 the hard-pressed Air Force staff asked two brainy scientific administrators, Dr. Simon Ramo and Dr. Dean E. Wooldridge, to set up a corporation to mastermind the contractors working in the ICBM program. This decision was based on a report of a committee, in which, incidentally, Ramo and Wooldridge were the prime movers.

Since then, through successful corporate reorganizations—and mounting corporate profits—the Ramo-Wooldridge Co. and its independent affiliate, Space Technology Laboratories, have continued to act as a kind of outside brain. They decide, as Dr. Ramos said: "How big the missible should be, what warhead it carries, what accuracy it can be expected to have, now to get that optimum accuracy, etc. • • •"

There is nothing sinister about this. Drs. Ramo and Wooldridge and their executives are dedicated, able men. They have agreed to numerous safeguards to avoid making capital of their privileged position. But the spectacle of a private profitmaking company rendering national decisions makes the old Dixon-Yates concept look as harmless as a Ford Foundation research project.

OPERATION SALVE

The new Space Administration, in contrast, has displayed a violent do-it-yourself mentality—enough to recall Admiral Rickover's general comment that "if we keep on getting every agency in the Government set up with all of its own facilities, pretty soon we will not have enough space for cemeteries." NASA's boss, Dr. T. Keith Glennan, may not have brought a heavy administrative record with him from the Atomic Energy Commission, but he has yielded to no bureaucrat in his zeal to gobble up manpower and facilities.

Yet he views his charter as a restricted one. His philosophy has been to do as much work as possible within the agency—and rely on private contractors, or other Government agencies, as little as possible. The Air Force, for example, had been working on a man-in-space project, the highly touted Project Mercury, for a year and a half before it was turned over to NASA. (At the House hearings in early 1958 the new deputy head of NASA had brushed off a similar man-in-space proposed as a circus stunt "like shooting a lady out of a cannon.") After protracted studies, NASA turned over work on the Mercury space capsule to a new and untried contractor, dismissing the old ones. The result inevitably was an 8-month delay.

The reason for NASA's parochial attitude lies in the agency's origin. Instead of setting up a new organization—a Manhattan District, or a commission like the AEC, as many in Congress hoped—the White House asked permission to entrust the civilian space effort to a body already in existence, the National Advisory Council on Aeronautics. NACA was a good, gray, research organization, but neither its tradition nor its leadership was suitable for the type of operational agency which Congress hoped it would become. As Dr. Glennan himself said in 1959: "We do not conceive our job as taking us into operational systems."

When the Congress was readying its first hearings on the Space Act of 1958, there was a brief orientation session with one of the Washington officials who were pressing the President's proposals. In a tone of patronizing popular contempt, he explained why the space program had been drafted at that time.

"The people in this country," he said, "are getting hysterical about the sputnik business. We thought we'd better give them something to salve their mood."

If nothing else in the missiles and space program has fulfilled its potential, "Operation Salve" has succeeded magnificently. For 2 years the U.S. public has been led to believe that everything is doing just fine. This intensive propaganda effort, one can assume, resulted from a high-level conviction that the public could not be trusted to hear any bad news.

The first Soviet successes, for instance, brought assurances that if Russian "thrust" was strong, American "guidance mechanisms" were far superior. When Russians proved the virtue of their guidance mechanism by hitting the moon (after the United States had failed) the tune was changed. The Washington experts then pointed out the superior "sophistication" of American hardware and lauded our triumphs in "miniaturization." (They did not explain that we had to miniaturize because we lacked the propulsion for heavy equipment.) By virtue of repeated press releases (NASA's public relations staff rose in 1 year from 1 to 28½) the public was led to believe that the seven U.S. astronauts of project Mercury were on the point of going into space any minute in 1959, although it was highly doubtful that any non-Russian astronaut would make a real space journey before 1961.

As chief of NASA, Dr. Glennan became a past master of the salve technique. Headlines like "Administrator Admits Lag in Propulsion but Calls for 'Sane Course'" correctly report the tenor of his message. Other Washington administrators have displayed equal skill. The Pentagon's Director of Research and Engineering, Dr. Herbert York, coined a really happy phrase when he called the Soviet lead in space propulsion more a question of acute embarrassment than national survival. Glennan topped York, admittedly, when he told the country that the Soviet moon rocket achievement, Lunik III, leaves this country no further behind than it was yesterday.

In October, President Eisenhower called the U.S. program in military missiles remarkable. The ICBM, he noted, was operational. (How many ICBM's—as distinguished from the short-range IRBM—are operational, the President did not say; but those Americans who know the true number sometimes have difficulty sleeping nights.) In the same month the Vice President—almost the only administration leader to worry about space—loftily warned against anyone using the space lag as a political issue. If this happened, NIXON said, "the only recourse we would have would be to go into past history to find out why we fell behind."

Unfortunately for Mr. NIXON's premise, a look at past history would be far more damaging to the Eisenhower administration than to anyone else.

THE CULT OF SCIENTIST-KNOW-BEST

Not long ago there was a meeting at the Pentagon to discuss some particular of our hundred-handed space program. A lieutenant colonel was there, in full uniform, to give the presentation. His superiors respectfully introduced him as "doctor." (It seems that he had, somewhere in the past, acquired a Ph.D.) A general who was present stamped out of the meeting.

"They thought," he said, "they were impressing the audience by calling this guy doctor instead of lieutenant colonel. I got mad."

If this case was extreme, it was not untypical of the awe in which Washington holds its doctors these days—an ironic commentary on the administration which so ineffectually opposed Joe McCarthy's anti-intellectualism. If a Government science official did not have the forethought to write his doctoral thesis, he often manages to make do with an honorary degree as a substitute. Dr. Glennan of NASA, for example, never worked for any higher degree than his B.S. from Yale.

The scientific administrator from Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Dr. James R. Killian, brought doctor worship to a new high in Washington during his incumbency as the President's scientific adviser. His successor Dr. George Kistiakowsky, has a going tradition to continue.

"You want to see where this city is run from," said a Washington military man as he stalked past U.S. science's social stronghold, the Cosmos Club, "just go inside and look at those two or three tables having lunch."

No one would quarrel with the proposition that scientists are indispensable in a scientific age. But unfortunately, the scientists have been drifting into the role of policymakers. It is a role for which they are only rarely fitted. In abdicating so much of its authority to this new race of scientific "advisers," the Eisenhower administration is making the classic confusion between the mechanic and the driver of the vehicle.

Nor is it wise to place behind trust in the scientist when he is speaking outside of his own specialty. It was, after all, none other than Dr. Vannevar Bush who assured Congressmen shortly after the end of World War II that any instrument like the ICBM was an impossibility.

Yet the Washington doctors go on influencing and sometimes controlling policy, in default of strong Executive action. It is a peculiarity of some scientific minds that they enjoy running things, but dislike being held accountable for their actions. For this type of mind the present Washington scene is made to order. It was Dr. Killian, for instance, who laid down the law about the civilian use of space, ruling out military applications before the possibilities had been adequtaely explored. But no one in Congress was able even to question him about what may well be a rash decision. The reason? As the President's adviser, Dr. Killian was automatically covered by the doctrine of Executive privilege, as the Eisenhower administration most broadly interprets it. Unlike a Cabinet officer, he was not accountable to Congress.

BUDGET "UEBER ALLES"

Newcomers to Eisenhower's Washington are understandably surprised by the sacramental character of the word "budget." The man from the Bureau of the Budget, in most Government programs, is the man who calls the turn. During the hearings of the House Committee on Space and Astronautics, the accent on budget was apparent in almost every statement from members of the Executive branch. Not only was the language of the bill outlining the new space agency drawn up by the Bureau of the Budget, the Budget experts also pegged the new program at a minimal level of financing.

The result was a paradox. Congress was painfully anxious to give the new space program every penny it needed. The committee to which I was attached, made this abundantly clear. Yet the budget estimates presented were worked out with the caution of the controller's office in a smalltime factory—hardly the mentality expected of people supposed to trail-blaze a new and only partly known frontier.

In the fall of 1959, after the Soviet Lunik bounced itself off the moon, the administration leaders of Operation Salve were able to criticize Congress for having lopped something under $30 million from the latest appropriation of some $485 million. This

particular action of Congress was ill-advised. But there was a huge irony in the sudden howls of criticism coming from voices so long mute on the subject of further money needs. At the 1959 appropriation hearings Dr. Glennan, as Dr. Dryden before him, had answered congressional offers of more money with the usual assurance: "At the present state of our development I think we have the money to carry through this program on an urgent basis. * * *"

This budget-watcher's philosophy does not necessarily save money. There is much sense, on the contrary, in Wernher von Braun's assertion that dragging out a program tends to make it more expensive, and in addition you are likely to wind up with an obsolescent vehicle. For example, work crews on the critical Atlas program have yet to go on a double shift.

Moreover, the really big waste is being caused by lack of purpose at the top—and sheer sloppy administration. Since 1945 roughly $2.3 billion has been spent on missile projects which were scrapped or used only in an extremely limited sense. Most of this money could have been saved if decisive action had been taken in the 1950's on selecting or rejecting various programs.

THE INTERSERVICE MAYHEM

From the start, interservice rivalry—"bloodletting" would be a more accurate term—has existed primarily between the Army and the Air Force. (The big Navy admirals are content to build up their own dubiously effective carrier force on the sidelines; the undersea Navy's own brilliant contribution to missilry—the submarine-based Polaris missile—is so obviously indispensable that even the Air Force has rarely questioned its value.) The Army-Air Force contest has long been far nastier and more destructive than the rough but friendly football game which the defenders of autonomous services like to depict.

The extreme was reached in the development of two rival missiles—the Army Jupiter and the Air Force Thor—and their rival air-defense systems, Nike-Zeus and Bomarc. Each service withheld information from the other and treated the other's representatives as virtual spies. The Army circulated a written memorandum on the virtues of Nike among Members of Congress while the Air Force divulged results of a top-secret test which showed the Nike performing unfavorably under simulated attack.

Each service charged mismanagement. "In the Army's view," as the House Operations Subcommittee report noted, "the failure of the Air Force to employ the retainer fix [a device in the missile's motor] when the Army did in March 1958, led to the destruction of four Air Force missiles at a cost of many millions of dollars and the loss of national prestige, since the Thor-Able of August 1958 failed in the free world's first lunar probe attempt."

Such tooth-and-claw rivalry flourished largely because of inaction in the office of the Secretary of Defense. Charles Wilson, for one thing, allowed both services to build their respective ICBM's for a full year, before deciding which service was to operate them. His successor, Neil McElroy, made so many oversea inspection trips, according to bitter jokers in the Pentagon, that it became virtually impossible even to find him, let alone force a decision from him.

The cost of this rivalry has been staggering. Whatever competitive gain resulted was more than canceled out by the millions thrown away on processes already obsolete or defective—which could have been avoided if there had been any real sharing of information.

The only arbiter of these conflicting interests is the President's Space Council. This body has not been known for its activity—at this writing it has not yet appointed the permanent secretary provided by law. When events forced the Council to bestir itself, the decisions rendered were often contradictory, e.g., the 1959 verdict to send Von Braun's organization to NASA directly reversed a Council edict of the year before. The rare meetings of the Council, incidentally, are hidden from both Congress and the public by the now-familiar excuse of executive privilege.

THE MYTH OF CIVILIAN VERSUS MILITARY

A major part of the confusion in the space effort has arisen from the glib and unworkable distinction between civilian and military components. In particular, the President's insistence on this distinction has been fanatic, his one piece of enthusiasm in the whole space picture. This insistence played a large part in grounding the Army's Redstone powered satellite for over 2 years, while scientists of the Office for Naval Research worked on the ill-starred Vanguard satellite—a precocious technical development with no direct connection to the military space effort. (The Vanguard, incidentally, had cost the country $111 million by the beginning of 1959 as against an original scientific estimate of $20 million. The successful Army Explorer satellite cost all of $5.9 million.)

In a press conference early last November, President Eisenhower gave a revealing look at this philosophy.

"Now, for the life of me," he said, "I cannot see any reason why we should be using or misusing military talent to explore the moon."

Moon exploration, the President explained, "is something that deals in the scientific field, and to give this to the Air Force or Army or Navy, it just seems to me is denying what we really—a sort of doctrine in America. You have given to the military only, only what is their problem and not anything else. The rest of it stays under civilian control and that is the reason for having this agency (NASA)."

The President's intention in trying to separate "military" from "scientific" programs is praiseworthy. But of all the experts called before Congress, not one has been able to make a satisfactory distinction. Most of them have wisely testified that any generic separation is impossible.

What the attempted distinction sometimes amounts to is an effort to keep the military on the missile pads and out of space. But the same principles govern both space exploration and missile-firing. The same discoveries are vital to both.

One of the most provocative spokesman for a military effort in space projects as well as missilery is Brig. Gen. Homer A. Boushey, the Air Force's Director of Advance Technology. Boushey makes the point that military satellites and space weapons at least for the next 20 years will be of primary importance to the defender. Out in space, se suggests, may lie the one possibility of neutralizing the appalling of offensive capabilities of nuclear missile warfare. In other words, space vehicles may provide a deterrent against aggression more stable and enduring than any known system of retaliatory counter-weapons.

Boushey lists the following possibilities for military space use: (1) several varieties of reconnaissance satellite, including an almost instantaneous early warning system against missiles (there are no adequate anti-missile warning systems at present); (2) manned space platforms; and (3) defensive satellites capable of attacking any object in space or of constituting a constant mobile deterrent against attack.

He has also broached the possibility of a military deterrent base on the moon—an idea that brought down the White House's disapproval and either howls or smirks from many scientists. Yet the moon could be the perfect place to locate a system of really massive retaliation. It could not be knocked out in advance. Why? Because it would take a good 48 hours for an earthly-located weapon to travel to the moon—and it would be observed from the moon at the moment of firing. On the other hand, weapons could be directed from the moon to earth in far less time, thanks to the moon's lighter gravitational pull.

Is this fantastic? Many sober, scientifically intelligent Air Force officers do not think so. Naturally no project for a moon base should be put ahead of the urgent demands of the earth-sited missile program—our national survival may depend on its success in the next 2 years. But the point that Boushey and others make is that the two programs are not conflicting. One naturally flows from the other. And with the Russians so close to lunar exploration, this country cannot afford to dismiss uses of space out of hand.

All of the space projects mentioned above have, of course, civilian uses. The gains from the uses of satellites in navigation, communications, and weather forecasting would be tremendous. Satellites might anticipate, also, some of the problems the world is about to face in matters like the split-second scheduling of jet airliners.

In sum, the military and the civilian applications of space and even of missilery can no more be separated from each other than can military and political power, which in an age of such fearful war potential, come inevitably to be seen as one. In the first place, all concede that ultimate military power is too destructive to be used, as long as—and this is an important qualification—the non-aggressor party possesses enough deterrent strength. Where total warfare is accounted impossible, the equivalent of military pressure is exerted by the very fact of a country's technical and scientific achievement.

A so-called scientific achievement like the Soviet sputnik amounted to a military-political victory. Sputnik symbolized what the strategists call a force-in-being, which admitted of no competitor. The effect in sensitive areas, like the Middle East and Eastern Europe, was enormous.

The Russian moon probe has reinforced this political-military lead. Where two systems of great military power are locked in a bitter, but bloodless struggle—and looking for allies—a glance at the chessboard can have the same effect on a neutral as 2 years of World War II. At the moment, whatever the experts in Operation Salve say about "overall U.S. scientific superiority" (which presumably includes advances in American dental equipment and swimming-pool construction technique), the American side of the chessboard looks lousy.

WHAT SHOULD WE DO?

The basis for a successful space and missile effort is not another series of scene-shifting government reorganizations. We do need purpose, authority, urgency, a sense, as General Medaris put it, that we are "in a race." We have had enough broadcasting of our achievements. We now need a few honest words about how and where we are behind, from the people in authority who should have said them long ago.

Of first urgency is a massive speedup of the military missile program. This should not only embrace as yet untested missiles like the Minuteman, but should include our operational ICBM's as a stopgap. The time is fast coming when we can no longer count on the Strategic Air Command as a deterrent against the missiles which Khrushchev boasts are on his assembly lines.

In the field of space, two specific projects should receive top priority besides the much discussed Mercury project. They are: (1) the Air Force's Dyna-Soar, the forerunner of a

manned space vehicle; and (2) the Saturn project for a 1.5-million-pound thrust rocket cluster. The Saturn is the prelude to big-league space exploration. The 1.5 million thrust Nova motor, now under development by NASA, will have to be clustered itself to get into interplanetary space—and the lessons learned in the Saturn cluster are essential for any further steps. The Saturn, furthermore, is necessary for the space stations and heavy satellites in warning and reconnaissance systems. Space is the highway of the immediate future, as surely as Mahan's broad highway of another day was the sea. Its control will be equally decisive.

If any reorganizations do occur, Dyna-Soar, Saturn, and a few projects like them must continue unimpeded beneath the scaffolding.

NASA in its present form and under its present leadership has not succeeded in becoming the directing agency of the space effort. Either it should revert to the status of a smaller research agency, dependent for support on the military services—as many experts suggested to Congress—or it should be integrated into a large new Manhattan project for space. This should be directed by an officer of Cabinet rank, with a Cabinet title. It should incorporate both civilian and military components, in the knowledge that no real separation is possible.

The military services do need a real reorganization, with different services built around the tactical needs and possibilities for armed forces. The decision of the services in the missiles field has only highlighted the fact that the present system is fast becoming archaic. The military themselves are aware of this. Lt. Gen. James M. Gavin's proposals in his recent book offer firm guide lines for such a reorganization.

In its September report, the subcommittee of the House Government Operations Committee thought this service reorganization problem pressing enough to warrant a merger of the Army and the Air Force—the Navy's function remains separate and still capable of departmentalizing. Said the subcommittee:

"The logic of new weapon technology has virtually destroyed the traditional basis for services organized around strategic land, sea, and air missions. * * * Land-based strategic missiles, whether organized in squadrons or battalions, require technical capabilities that have no unique service orientation."

The strategic missile with nuclear warhead is the decisive weapon of the next decade. In its land-based aspect, particularly, it calls for a single military organization to develop, produce, and deploy the weapons.

IS COMPETITION NECESSARY?

The United States is not in the space business as a scientific hobby. The ringing words of Dr. Killian, "the compelling urge to explore the unknown," might make a good motto for a college mountain-climbing society; but an urge, however noble, is not a firm base for national policy. Bluntly stated, the United States must make a major effort at space conquest because the national interest demands it. Khrushchev does not share the President's view that space exploration is not competition. His crude saber-rattling shows his awareness of its political-military importance. To ignore this is as dangerous as if we had failed to develop nuclear physics in the 1940's.

The exploration of space, like nuclear physics, is beyond the point of individual discoveries in the laboratory. It is being translated from a scientific into an engineering problem. Its results have been concrete enough to justify a major national effort. If the expenditures for future big space programs are huge, they are not insupportable. They can be made up partly from the clear economies of a sensible command setup. Ultimately, if some kind of gradual disarmament can be achieved, the money now given to necessary, but unproductive, military costs could be diverted to the peaceful purposes of space exploration.

But let's not enjoy our peace before we win it. The surest way to win it is to march into space first. A sure way to lose it is to continue at our present hop, skip, and crawl—allowing the Soviet Union to command this new realm, and incidentally proving Khrushchev's boast that there is nothing inherently wrong with Americans or their machines: it's just the capitalistic system.

[From the Louisville Courier-Journal, Dec. 31, 1959]

IN THE SHAMEFUL MISSILE MESS, NO TIME NOW FOR COMPLACENCY

Eleven long years ago Defense Secretary James Forrestal, first American to hold that title, publicly announced assignment of the earth satellite vehicle program * * * to the Committee on Guided Missiles for coordination.

Two years ago, when Sputnik I orbited an astonished earth and shocked the United States into alarmed awareness of its missile-and-space lag, there was a general demand for remedial action. Senator MIKE MANSFIELD, of Montana, among others, urged an all-out program, centered in one agency, and provided with whatever funds necessary to win us at least parity with Soviet Russia—the kind of unified program known as the Manhattan project that had given us the atom bomb.

And that was no partisan demand. A Republican Assistant Secretary of the Air Force, Trevor Gardner, had fought for the same thing in 1955, had resigned in grief and anger in 1956 when the Eisenhower administration cut missile-research funds by $200 million. What made things worse than such parsimony and complete lack of imagination, according to Mr. Gardner, was that the whole program was snarled up in bureaucratic redtape.

THE SAME CRY IN SEPTEMBER

The same cry went up in September of this year when the Soviet moon-shot success, dramatically following the failure of our own effort, gave fresh shock to officially encouraged public complacency. Military men and scientists urged that we double our expenditures on missile and space programs. Members of Congress recalled the earlier tart summation of the Army's missile boss, General Medaris, now in retirement with other disappointed men:

"Some place there has to be one man who can make a decision, who can give a command, and who has been given the resources to carry it out."

Instead of that we have today, as Frank Gibney puts it in a disturbing article in the current issue of Harper's, "roughly 60 governmental committees and organizations concerned in one way or another with space and missilery, some new, some old, some military, some civilian"—and all clinging "tenaciously to life and authority."

And today we have official estimates that we are roughly 5 years behind Russia in the development of space vehicles, with our relative strength in missiles little better (a 3-to-1 disadvantage in intercontinental ballistic missiles, if the Defense Department's estimate is not too complacent), while in the 1960 budget, as Mr. Gibney puts it, "the administration has committed the country to several more years of inferiority."

This is the background against which Senator LYNDON JOHNSON and the Senate Space Committee next week will begin a critical inquiry into the Nation's entire space, missile, and defense programs. We hope that every member of the Space Committee, if not several million other Americans, will read Mr. Gibney's detailed description of "the missile mess," written, he says, "out of a sense of fear, alarm, and national shame"—and respond at last with a program that meets "the challenge of a new frontier."

WHAT CONGRESS COULD DO

Congress on its own cannot create a unified agency and program of the Manhattan type. It went as far as it could in giving the administration everything and sometimes more than it asked for in funds, and in 1958 in record time it passed a bill creating a new space agency which might have been a new Manhattan but instead became just one more of the multitudinous groups with "power to say 'No,' when not one of them can say 'Yes'." But it can put enough facts on the line to make millions of long-complacent Americans vehemently opposed to accepting a permanent, inglorious, and perilous second-place in the space age, and they in turn could induce Washington to turn to the Trevor Gardners instead of the Wilsons and McElroys and Humphreys.

[From the Chicago Sun-Times, Dec. 29, 1959]

SPACE: HOBBY OR BUSINESS?

"Bluntly stated," writes Frank Gibney in the current Harper's magazine, "the United States must make a major effort at space conquest because the national interest demands it. Khrushchev does not share the President's view that space exploration is not competition. His crude saber rattling shows his awareness of its political-military importance. To ignore this is as dangerous as if we had failed to develop nuclear physics in the 1940's."

Gibney's article should be required reading for every U.S. Senator and Congressman as they reconvene to decide, among other things, what to do about an administration space budget request that freezes the United States in the No. 2 spot behind Russia for the indefinite future.

Gibney, a former congressional aid who has studied the space mess at close range, cites five reasons for our critical lag—none of which has to do with any shortage of scientific talent:

1. A mania for reorganization as a substitute for executive direction—with a disastrous emphasis on publication relations.

2. The cult of scientists-know-best, which finds power of high policy decision abdicated by those specifically charged with policy responsibility.

3. Budget worship.

4. Interservice and interorganizational rivalry, which has led to such ridiculous practices as mutual espionage and deliberate withholding of scientific knowledge between the services.

5. An unwise and unworkable distinction between military and civilian efforts, when as a matter of fact, all practical distinction between the two has long since been erased by the comprehensive scope of the cold war.

Gibney's indictment is based upon all-too-manifest evidence.

It is incomprehensible that the men charged with responsibility for U.S. space policy should persist in kissing off the whole business as a scientific hobby. But that is the only conclusion that can be drawn from the administration's pinchpenny 1960 space budget, and from the layers of confusion that are smothering the whole program.

Congress cannot run the space program—that's the executive department's job. But Congress can raise questions and demand answers, and we offer a couple to start with:

Why can't enough money be wrung out of the budget for conventional defense costs to provide the space program with the extra couple of hundred million dollars it needs to move into high gear?

When is the world's foremost scientific and technological Nation going to move into the space age?

Program of Weyerhaeuser Co. To Eliminate Stream Pollution From Pulp

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, during the recess, the Senate Select Committee on National Water Resources, under the able leadership of Senator ROBERT KERR, held extensive hearings throughout the country on water, in which one of the major points of discussion was the assurance of water quality. One of the substantial pollutors of our rivers is the pulp industry which utilizes a tremendous amount of chemicals to change wood into wood pulp and wood pulp into an endless variety of paper.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, as the conclusion of my remarks, an article entitled "H_2O" from the December 1959 issue of the Weyerhaeuser magazine. This article describes in detail the efforts being advanced at the Weyerhaeuser Co.'s Springfield, Oreg., plant to reduce the pollution of the lovely Willamette River.

I do not want to imply that the problem has been completely solved, for it has not. However, many concerns like Weyerhaeuser are making strong efforts to find ways to utilize economically and reuse all the material that enters their plant. Success in this endeavor will preserve water purity.

In my talks with industrial leaders in my State of Oregon, I sense a growing awareness that water quality is of paramount concern. Our industrial plants need pure water for their processes and they are affected when up-river firms discharge wastes and pollute the rivers. I have inserted this article because it does tell some of the accomplishments that have been made. I am sure that, as the select committee continues its study, it will chart a course for the purification of our priceless American rivers.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

H_2O: THE MOST IMPORTANT FORMULA IN THE SCIENTIFIC BUSINESS OF PULPMAKING

Water, clear and cold, flashes down from the snowbanks of the high Cascades. Countless tiny rivulets race through mountain canyons to a common meeting point. Here the McKenzie River begins its journey across Oregon's fertile Willamette Valley.

The McKenzie, one of Oregon's finest streams, is a rich natural resource—one that can be used in many ways along the river's 75-mile route to the Willamette River. The McKenzie provides irrigation water for thousands of acres of farmland. The river serves as a spawning ground for great runs of Pacific salmon. It supplies the 45,000 citizens of Eugene, Oreg., with their water requirements. The river water is a vital commodity for industry also. Many plants, among them the Weyerhaeuser pulp mill at Springfield, Oreg., owe their continued existence to this constant source of clean water.

It takes water—plenty of it—to make high quality pulp and paperboard. The Weyerhaeuser plant at Springfield drinks in nearly 8½ million gallons each day to cook and wash wood chips and fibers as they make the transformation from wood to pulp and paperboard.

Once this water has done its work, it is returned to the stream. One of the important tasks facing the men of Weyerhaeuser's Springfield pulpmill is to return the water to the stream clean and suitable for other uses.

Oregonians work hard to keep the McKenzie beautiful. This job falls on the shoulders of the sportsmen, campers, farmers, cities, and industries that rely on the river. Few work harder at keeping the river clean and pure than the crews operating Weyerhaeuser's Springfield mill.

"The company demands that we run this mill to avoid pollution," said Mill Manager J. O. Julson. "Our best weapon is the attitude of the whole crew. We build this attitude by continually emphasizing the importance of pollution control measures."

This emphasis on attitude pays off for the pulp and papermakers at Springfield. They are proving that the water can be used and returned to its stream source without impairing water quality for other uses.

Pulp making, in a modern-day kraft mill like the one at Springfield, is largely a chemical process. Wood chips are cooked in sulfate-base liquids called cooking liquors. The cooking separates the tiny cellulose fibers, which in turn are transformed into strong kraft paperboard.

About 95 percent of the chemical ingredients used in the pulpmaking process are recovered, purified, and reused again and again. Recovery and reuse of the ingredients used in cooking liquids are the keys to maintaining a safe waste disposal flow. If the recovery is high, it pays dividends, not only in lowering the possibility of pollution, but in monetary savings as well.

The spent cooking liquors contain traces of wood residues that could impair McKenzie water quality if they were allowed to enter the stream flow. The small percentage of materials that does enter the mill's waste flow, however, is carefully treated to further reduce any possibility of lowering the water quality. Ingenuity, plus plenty of hard work on the part of Springfield pulp employees, has led to tremendous improvements in pollution control methods in the past 4 years. Today these same employees are working to improve these control measures even further.

Springfield pulp crewmen pride themselves on operating a "tight plant." In everyday language this means that they are cutting off spills of effluents, lubricating oils, or other materials into the waste flow wherever possible. However, pollution control measures include more than just preventing spills. "We are constantly seeking new methods for improving our pollution controls," Julson said. "We're not afraid to experiment. We are willing to try something new," he said, "even though there is a chance the new method may not work."

The scientific problems of pollution control are handled by a technical staff at Springfield and by research personnel from Longview, Wash. For example, Project Chemist Ray Westenhouse devotes full time to water pollution problems. There is a completely equipped laboratory at Springfield built exclusively for this project.

With the help of Analyst Keith Johnson, Westenhouse maintains a constant check on the river waters. Effluent samples are taken daily and tested. If the tests show any indication that waste materials may be lowering the water quality, these two scientific pollution detectives work quickly to discover the source and then take steps to correct the problem.

Pollution control is more than just a laboratory problem, however. An intricate instrumentation system, maintained by instrument technicians like Phil Tussing and Al Buell, keeps its electronic eye constantly trained on the waste material leaving the plant. If the waste materials in the effluent flow go over the maximum limit set, a warning bell sounds at one of the conductivity recorders. The shift foreman can trace the source of the trouble and cut it off fast. When the pulp is being processed, washer operators like Jerry Hampson maintain a regular check on the conductivity recorders as a double precaution.

The big problem, according to Technical Director Oliver Morgan, was to cut down the oxygen requirements of the organic materials in the waste flow. A major step toward keeping the McKenzie River clean was taken when Weyerhaeuser technicians devised a system that drastically cut the oxygen requirements of waste materials going back into the river.

"It has been one of our biggest accomplishments," Morgan explained. "Some of these liquids (called condensates) were going into the waste flow. We knew they were one of the causes of reducing the oxygen content of the stream. We have worked out a system that enables us to accumulate these condensates and reuse them in the pulpmaking process. Now they no longer enter the waste flow."

Oil loss from the big paper machine provided Springfield technicians with what Morgan termed another relatively serious problem. To prevent the oil wastes from entering the stream, it was necessary to channel the flow of effluent to a point where an oil trap could make the separation. This oil trap now skims off the oil wastes. Bernard Sullivan's yard crew tends the trap regularly. They drain off the oil, so only oil-free effluent reaches the retention ponds.

Springfield has additional safeguards against pollution as the papermaking process enters its final stages. Here, after the water is drained from the pulpy material, it is treated once again in a big "save-all" tank. This final treatment prevents all escaped wood fibers from entering the flow of water returning to the river.

A strengthening additive also proved to be another double dividend for the Springfield pulpmakers. They discovered that a starch solution, added to help strengthen the paper, removed a large portion of dissolved materials that had previously entered the effluent.

As a final precaution, effluents are held in a retention pond. Here any remaining heavy materials are allowed to settle to the bottom, and the water is allowed to return to the stream in controlled quantities.

During periods when the river is low, effluents are held in the log pond. Because of this precaution, the quality of river water cannot be impaired during low-flow periods.

The process of pollution control is at best highly complex. It is one that calls for the services of topnotch technicians. It takes more, however, to do the job right. Care and effort by every mill employee is the first requirement.

"It's our job to protect the river," Jo Julson said. "Our best weapon to do this is the attitude of the people who operate the plant. We've got the right kind of an attitude now. We're proving it by helping keep the McKenzie clean."

Gas and Germ Warfare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, I was deeply pleased last week that when the President of the United States was asked in his press conference what he thought of the use of gas or germ warfare, he replied that his own instincts would be against United States use of these agents unless they had first been employed against us.

The President also said that no official proposal had reached him to change the long-standing American policy, which is that only if they are used first by an enemy will the United States employ these agents. But it is clear, as a story in the New York Times of November 10, 1959, said and as a letter to me from the President indicates, that a reevaluation of the policy is taking place. The President's letter to me said that "the Defense Department is reviewing the status of this matter," that is, the use of chemical and biological weapons.

It seems to me that, despite the President's laudable personal view, it is necessary to have a formal national position on record, to stand beyond Mr. Eisenhower's term and to restrain the efforts of certain elements in the Defense Department to free gas and germ warfare to be used "like any other weapon." Last September, I therefore introduced House Concurrent Resolution 433, now before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, to reaffirm the statement of President Roosevelt in 1943 that "the United States shall under no circumstances resort to the use of biological weapons or the use of poisonous or obnoxious gases unless they are first used by our enemies."

I hope that the President's expression of his personal views will serve to stimulate the passage of House Concurrent Resolution 433, and I am pleased to say that there has been increasing public concern on this matter. For the information of the Congress, as to the President's view, I should like to insert at this point in the RECORD my correspondence with him and his statement at the press conference:

DECEMBER 21, 1959.
The Honorable DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER,
The President of the United States,
The White House, Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I write in the wake of your journey for peace to ask you to restrain unpeaceful demands of the Army.

During the last several months, a public relations campaign has been waged in the press by present and retired armed service officers to change our basic policy of not using chemical and biological weapons.

From various newspaper accounts, it now appears that the Army and other groups within the Department of Defense have recommended, both officially and unofficially, that we change our policy concerning the use of chemical and biological weapons.

Many citizens and Members of Congress, including myself, are very disturbed about these recommendations. They negate our position as enunciated by President Roosevelt on June 8, 1943, when he stated that the United States under no circumstances would use poisonous or obnoxious gases unless first used by our enemies. The abhorrence of chemical and biological weapons stems from our basic belief that even in war we must preserve the essence of humanity and humane principles.

It strikes me as utter folly that we should accede to the judgment of certain members of the Defense Department, when it is now more important than ever that the United States continue to express itself as repudiating the use of chemical and biological weapons as a preventive or preemptive means of attack.

It is interesting to note that the Soviet Union has recently been taking the propaganda initiative regarding the use of CBR during wartime. At the end of August of this year, Premier Khrushchev stated in a message to a conference of leading scientists who met in Canada:

"We share the concern of scientists, who justly point out that the use of these weapons may have no less horrible a consequence than the use of atomic or hydrogen weapons. Not by chance were chemical and bacteriological weapons condemned by mankind, and their military use prohibited by international agreement through the Geneva protocol of 1925. As is well known the Soviet Union strongly supports the prohibition of all types of weapons of mass annihilation, including nuclear as well as chemical and biological weapons. We hold that their use runs counter to humane principles, the rules of international law, and the conscience of all peoples."

Conversely, it disturbs me that our Nation, which repudiates naked power politics, should consider sacrificing its unassailable position regarding chemical and biological weapons when the people of the world are hoping for a settlement on the armaments question.

While we may be constrained to develop these weapons qualitatively and quantitatively if international negotiation in the CBR area fails and if the realities of the situation demand that we continue to produce these weapons, we should not change our long-standing policy of not using these weapons first in any eventuality. We must reaffirm our resolve never to initiate the use of these weapons.

Because of this, and because of the urgency of the problem, I earnestly suggest international negotiations in the field of chemical and biological weapons. Although this question is one which will be very difficult to negotiate, this should not deter us from seeking both solution and negotiation in this area of armaments activity.

Because of the urgency of the problem, I have introduced in the Congress a concurrent resolution which will reaffirm our policy of nonuse of biological and chemical weapons unless they are first introduced into warfare against us. I sincerely hope that the American position will not be changed. Knowing of your interest in and admiring your efforts on behalf of world peace, I am sure that our policies will not be changed in this area.

Sincerely,

ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER,
Member of Congress.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, D.C., December 31, 1959.
The Honorable ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. KASTENMEIER: I appreciate the concern which prompted your December 21 letter concerning the use of chemical and biological weapons. The Defense Department is reviewing the status of this matter with particular reference to some of the new features mentioned in your letter. You will of course have a further reply as promptly as possible.

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.

PRESIDENTIAL PRESS CONFERENCE, JANUARY 13, 1960

Ronald W. May, Capital Times, Madison, Wis.: "Mr. President, Representative KASTENMEIER, of Wisconsin, has suggested that there might be a change in our traditional policy of not using chemical, germ, or poison gas warfare first. He said that Army people have tried to—indicated that they believed that maybe we should change our policy and use these first either in a large or even in a small war. Is this true?"

Answer: "I will say this: No such official suggestion has been made to me and so far as my own instinct is concerned is to not start such a thing as that first."

Some Fallacies About Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CARLSON
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, one of the unfortunate situations in our Nation is the misunderstanding that is developing between the rural and urban areas.

This situation is developing largely as a result of press statements and articles written by individuals who are not familiar with the rural areas and the farm problem. The writers of these articles are no doubt honest in their intentions, but, unfortunately, are painting a picture of rural America that is most unfair to the farmers of this Nation.

Everyone must agree that we do have a farm problem. On the other hand, the farmers who are exposed to unusual economic and natural hazards are entitled to the help of Government as a cushion against unfortunate events which they cannot well avert through individual or organized action.

It must be of more than passing concern to our national economy that farm income last year dropped 15 percent, or approximately $2 billion, and present indications are in 1960 the farm income will drop another $1 billion.

This reduction in farm income comes at a time when labor is enjoying ever increasingly higher wages and when industry is operating at the highest level in our Nation's history and at its greatest profit.

The farm problem today resolves itself into one of farm income, regardless of all of the other issues that try to camouflage the major one, which is farm income.

This trend cannot long continue without having definite economic effects, not only on the farmer and the community he lives in, but the Nation as a whole.

Recently Dr. C. Peairs Wilson, director of the School of Agriculture of Kansas State University, presented a paper at

the farm forum conducted by the University of Missouri, which I believe should be read by everyone interested in agriculture and our entire economy.

I ask unanimous consent that this article be made a part of these remarks and printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SOME FALLACIES ABOUT AGRICULTURE

(By C. Peairs Wilson, director, School of Agriculture, Kansas State University)

Agriculture is being misunderstood. The principal reason it is being misunderstood is that a large segment of our population reads metropolitan newspapers and magazines which are written by people who have little knowledge or understanding of agriculture. They see in the present situation a big story on the sizable number of dollars that the Federal Government spends through the U.S. Department of Agriculture and they appeal to the average city dweller who feels his taxes are already too high.

I would be the first to admit that we do have farm problems, that these problems are the concern of every citizen in his country and we ought to do our level best to study our farm problems and give consideration to reasonable alternatives to our present farm programs. But in doing this, let's put farm problems and farm programs in proper perspective. This, the motropolitan magazines, newspapers, and commentators have for the most part failed to do. They have frequently misrepresented facts, given half-truths, or even outright false statements. Let me illustrate what I mean:

(1) The Chicago Tribune: "What industry enjoys an annual subsidy from the Federal Government of $7 billion? The answer is obviously American agriculture."

Let's set the record straight.

The total budget of the U.S. Department of Agriculture is nearly $7 billion. But much of this is not for agriculture at all. Billions of dollars worth of foreign-aid programs and military assistance for other countries are paid for with agricultural commodities, the cost of which is charged to farm programs. But what is the public led to think? The dairy products consumed by our Armed Forces is a part of the $7 billion, but does the public know it? Children in city schools which have a school-lunch program consume some of the $7 billion—but do the children's parents know this? The meat-inspection system that provides city folks with the most healthful food in the world is pair for from the $7 billion. But what has the Chicago Tribune done to clarify the fact that not all of the $7 billion appropriated to the U.S. Department of Agriculture is a subsidy to farmers?

(2) Washington Daily News: "Farmers have an advantage over nonfarm people, because of Government aid to agriculture."

Let's set the record straight.

Per capita farm income in 1957 was $967. Per capita nonfarm income was $2,082.

If we drop out the noncommercial farms subsistence and part-time farms and include only the commercial farm families, the farm family income was $5,415 in 1956. In the same year the nonfarm family income was $6,900 and this includes the unemployed, those on strike, those on sid row, etc. Do farmers have an advantage?

(3) Reprint of an article written by the mayor of New Haven, Conn., on urban renewal, carried in the Kansas City Star: "Congress gives 20 times more aid to the 12 percent of all Americans who live on farms than it does to the 65 percent who live in cities."

How is this for a gross fabrication?

I wrote the mayor asking the source of his figures but I haven't heard from him. As was pointed out earlier, not all the appropriations to the U.S. Department of Agriculture are for farmers. But if you take the $7 billion and divide it by the $1 billion which I understand is the current rate of spending urban-renewal funds you still get less than 20 times as much. But this is not all, city folks get many many other kinds of subsidies which I will comment on later.

Maybe the mayor of New Haven should reconsider his rash statement.

(4) New York Times: "The ordinary Iowa farmer has a minimum of two cars and they are usually brandnew Buicks, Oldsmobiles, or Cadillacs."

Let's set the record straight again.

Wallace's Farmer made a sample survey of Iowa farmers in 1957 and found that 15.6 percent had two or more cars, 5.7 percent owned Buicks, 6.7 percent owned Oldsmobiles, and three-tenths of 1 percent owned Cadillacs.

Now I come to my prime example of misinformation about agriculture.

(1) "We (Life magazine) who have often deplored the blunderland world of unwanted farm surpluses."(See Life magazine editorial, October 26, 1959.)

How big are the "unwanted farm surpluses"? For the period 1953-58 farmers overproduced by about 2 percent. This represents an economic waste of about $4 billion. Industry underproduced by about 5½ percent. Unemployment averaged 6½ percent. Idle capacity in the steel industry averaged 17 percent and in the automobile industry amounted to 25 percent. Total production of the economy fell short by $150 billion, according to the Conference on Economic Development. Which represented by far the greater economic waste?

Let's look at farm surpluses from a different point of view. Through most of history, recurring famine has been the usual experience of man. Everybody wants to eat every day at the lowest possible cost. The amount of agricultural production is not accurately predictable or controllable because of weather, disease, insects, time lags, etc. From a worldwide point of view, how large should world food reserves be? Ask a businessman how large his financial reserves should be? Or how large his reserve stock of goods should be—5 percent, 10 percent, 20 percent, 50 percent of a year's turnover? This will vary. Mr. Volker of the United Nations staff says world food reserves amount to about 10 percent of a year's consumption—enough for about 36 days' consumption. In this light, food reserves do not seem excessive. The trouble is a large share of this is in the United States. There is no way farmers can collect, in the marketplace as it now stands, the cost of carrying this reserve which is the insurance against hunger for consumers in this country and against mass starvation almost anyplace in the world. Hence, it has been shifted to the Federal Government. Perhaps it should be shifted to the U.N. so that the cost of carrying the reserve would be carried by all nations.

Another interesting point was made by Senator DOUGLAS last week when he revealed that the Federal Government is continuing to dispose of large amounts of surplus property for a few cents on the dollar while buying the same or similar items. The Nation would save $2 or $3 billion a year. It is interesting that carrying and disposing of surplus farm products is considered a subsidy to farmers but disposing of surplus industrial products is not considered a subsidy to industry. It is interesting, too, that when aircraft or trucks or other industrially made military or even civilian products owned by the Government become obsolete it is considered one of those things and no criticism is made of the manufacturer even though obsolescence is often built into the product. But let some wheat deteriorate in Government storage and farmers and farm programs are immediately criticized.

Critics of agriculture have pointed out that twice since 1933 the farm program has been bailed out by unexpected events, namely, by World War II and the Korean war. In each case surplus stocks accumulated under the Government farm program were disposed of at a profit. We can't foresee the possible emergency situation that might bail us out again. Let me turn the argument around and say that twice the farm program bailed our consumers and the consumers of friendly nations out of a food shortage situation and it may be as sound an investment to carry a food reserve as it is to carry a reserve of military facilities and personnel when we are not directly involved in warfare.

(2) "As if they (the farmers) can't stand the rigors of our economic climate."

Who can't stand the rigors of our economic climate?

(a) What about all our industries operating behind a tariff wall? Have you ever seen a compilation of tariff regulations? The most enduring and greatest subsidy ever enacted is the tariff designed to protect city industries. What about those industries that protect their market with patent copyrights, trademarks, brands, etc.?

(b) What about the newspapers and magazines that cannot afford the cost of distributing their publications except through a subsidized mail rate? *Hannagen* v. *Esquire.*

(c) What about our industries that produced war materials on a cost-plus basis and then were paid billions of dollars in reconversion payments, including tax amortization benefits?

(d) What about our cities that now receive $2 from the Federal Government for every $1 they put up for urban renewal and are asking for $5 of Federal money for every $1 from the city?

(e) What about our railroads, merchant marine, and airlines that have all been subsidized?

(f) What about all those service industries where licenses are required for the primary purpose of restricting entry into those industries?

(g) What about labor with its closed shop and its monopolistic bargaining?

I see all over the land industries, groups and fractions that can't stand the rigors of a purely competitive system.

If Mr. Canham, head of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, will recommend that we cease treating tariff-protected industries as hothouse plants and make them compete in an open market, make the publishing industry and advertisers pay their full share of mail costs, require cities to pay for their own urban renewal and flood protection, cease the legal protection of patents and copyrights, dispense with licenses as a means of restricting entry, do away with the closed shop and monopolistic practices of both labor and management, then perhaps farmers could reasonably be expected to stand the rigors of our economic climate. After all, tariffs, patents, licenses, and monopolistic practices all preceded farmers' protection by many decades.

(3) He (the farmer) too must go along with the changes which are inevitable in our type of economic order.

What does he mean the farmer must go along—the farmer is leading the way.

We are all familiar with figures such as these: in 1803 one farmworker produced enough food and fiber for himself and three others; today one farmworker produces

enough for himself and 23 workers. But how many are aware of the tremendous increases in efficiency in just the last few years? Big city newspapers and magazines have been telling us of the efficiency of industry—of the increased output per man-hour, how automation is saving man-hours per unit of production, etc. And the record is impressive. For example, during the 6-year period 1951 to 1957, the output per man-hour in the entire nonfarm sector of our economy increased 14 percent or more than 2 percent per year. If we drop out the service and distributive industries the record is even more impressive. Considering only the manufacturing industries, output per man-hour increased 21 percent in the 6-year period or 3½ percent per year. But how many people know that a farm output per man-hour during the same 6-year period increased 42 percent—twice as much as in manufacturing and three times as much as in all the nonfarm sector of the economy?

No; the big city newspapers and magazines have not told us much about the dynamic increases in efficiency in farming. They miss the real story in the farm picture which is the tremendous contribution that American agriculture has made to the economic progress of the Nation.

Economic progress is defined as the ability of a nation to produce the basic necessities of life with a smaller and smaller proportion of its manpower, thereby releasing a larger and larger proportion of its manpower for the production of the comforts and luxuries of life. Food is cheaper in the United States than in any nation in the world in terms of the number of hours of wages required to purchase a family's food. With a smaller number of hours of wages required to purchase food, there are more hours of wages left over for the purchase of industrial goods. This is why we have the high standard of living in this country. The efficiency of our agriculture has made it possible for our large scale industry to develop. Dean Weber recently said: "Those who take food for granted and make snide remarks about farmers forget that few other people in the world can indulge in such extravagances."

Increasing efficiency in agriculture is where every underdeveloped nation in the world has failed. Any nation that must devote most of its manpower to the production of the bare necessities of life cannot have a high standard of living. In my opinion, Premier Khrushchev was more impressed with the efficiency of our agriculture than with any other one thing. Khrushchev was able to brag about the accomplishments of his nation in such fields as space science, satellites, missiles, atomic energy, etc. But he did not brag about the accomplishments of their agriculture after he visited Beltsville and Iowa. He is shrewd enough to know he cannot match our standard of living until he can develop an efficient agriculture. His boast that he will "smother us in the U.S.S.R.'s output of industrial goods" is an idle boast as long as 50 percent of his manpower is tied to the land.

Yet there are those in this country who do not appreciate the fact that it is America's productive agriculture that has made it possible for us to have productive industry and it is productive agriculture and industry that has made America strong. If we do not maintain our agricultural superiority—and by a wide margin—our industrial superiority cannot continue. That is why it is so terribly important that the general public knows the contribution that agriculture has made, is making, and needs to make to economic progress in the future. It is almost inconceivable to me that the big city newspapers and magazines, almost as if by malicious intent, have striven to distort public perspective about agriculture.

(3) He makes reference to endowing into perpetuity the "self-sufficient family farm."

Hasn't Mr. Canham heard that the self-sufficient family farm is as obsolete as the buggy? Does he not realize that today's family farm is a commercial farm? Where does he think industry sells $16 billion worth of farm machinery, petroleum products, electrical power etc.? Does he realize agriculture uses more finished steel in a year than is required for the production of a year's output of passenger cars, more petroleum products than is used by any other industry, more rubber than enough to make tires for 6 million automobiles, more electrical power than is used by the cities of Chicago, Detroit, Houston, and Baltimore? Does he realize that the inventory of farm machinery alone is greater than the assets of the American steel industry and five times that of the automobile industry? Does this sound like agriculture is made up of a bunch of self-sufficient family farms? Where does he think food for 175 million people comes from—from self-sufficient farms that occasionally sell a few dozen eggs or peddle a few boxes of strawberries? Where has Mr. Canham been and where have the editors of Life magazine been since 1890?

(4) "A migration from the farm is inevitable."

Does Mr. Canham, head of the United States Chamber of Commerce and Life magazine know that there has been a migration from the farm every year since 1910 except during the 1930's when city folks could not take care of their own unemployed so they sent them back to the farms and let farmers take care of them? Does he realize that there have been 500,000 people leave the farms of this country each year since 1948. Is the United States Chamber of Commerce and the businesses that support it willing to provide jobs for these farm people at a faster rate than they are now leaving the farm? Are they ready to provide housing for them in the cities? Are they willing to take care of their training for new job skills? It is my observation that business is scarcely able to provide jobs for workers they now have in cities—at least I have heard some rumbling and unemployment in some cities and I have heard of housing shortages in some cities. And city folks seem perfectly willing to have farm communities pay for the primary and secondary education of young farm people who migrate to the cities which is a farm subsidy to the cities that has not been recognized.

Is it any wonder that city folks misunderstand farmers? Is it any wonder that farm people are distressed. Those of us in agriculture have been hit over the head so many times we seem almost afraid to hold our heads up and tell the truth. Maybe we too have lost our perspective and maybe even our confidence. But agriculture has a record of which we can all be proud. We can and should be able to refute those who are misinforming the public. Unfortunately, we have been put on the defensive by our critics. In my opinion the best defense is a good offense so let us come out swinging when our critics stray from the truth.

I suggest that every spokesman for agriculture, whether he be president of a county farm organization, a professor of animal husbandry, a county agent or a Dean of Agriculture write to Life magazine and to the United States Chamber of Commerce protesting this particular editorial in Life or to any other newspaper, magazine or commentator when they treat the truth lightly. I notice in this particular issue of Life, Henry Cabot Lodge is not afraid to set the record straight when Life was inaccurate with respect to his assignment as escort to Premier Khrushchev. Why should agriculture be afraid to set the record straight?

Again, my purpose is not to justify the particular farm program we have at present or to condemn tariffs, patents, closed shop or other programs in the non-farm economy. My only purpose is to try to view the farm situation in perspective.

Congressman Brock Lauds Truckers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD F. McGINLEY
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. McGINLEY. Mr. Speaker, the Midwest provides the Nation with the finest meat to be found in the world, and it does it in great volume. This is no accident and is not the single accomplishment of any one group. It is a huge and efficient industry the effects of which are felt throughout the entire economy of the area.

One of the component parts of the livestock empire is a business that has in itself grown to be a strong and valuable industry. This is the livestock trucking industry.

I think the importance of this industry, made up of many big lines and small, independent truckers, is very well outlined in a speech made by my colleague from the Third District of Nebraska, LARRY BROCK, who spoke to the farm-to-market truckers at their 17th annual get-together of truckers and businessmen in Sioux City, Iowa, last month.

I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following address given by my good friend and colleague, LARRY BROCK:

The trucking industry has often been called the mainspring of the Nation's economy in recent years. Throughout the country the motor truck is the important link in the transportation of virtually all commodities, an estimated 75 percent of all tonnage moving daily in the Nation's commerce moving by this method. Although other means of transportation play an important role, their scope of operations is limited by peculiar facilities requirements. All of these methods of transport must be supplemented by the use of trucks for cargo to reach its ultimate destination. The motor truck is the only form of transportation available to more than 25,000 communities in the United States.

In absolute terms, no single transportation service has advanced so rapidly over the past 20 years. But it is significant that the greatest advances in truck transportation have been accomplished without the impetus of major technological breakthroughs which have so drastically changed the airline and water carriers, and even the railroad industries. Though vastly greater in size, trucking seems not to have changed much in character, being still a highly volatile, competitive industry.

The trucking industry has grown from a few thousand one-man one-vehicle operations to include 18,000 common carrier companies subject to ICC regulation; yet these comprise only one-quarter of the trucking industry, the other 75 percent consisting of private and contract carriers.

Common carriers operate about 1.5 million of the approximately 11 million trucks on the highways. Some 800 class I carriers (those whose annual revenues exceed $1 million) were responsible for more than half the industry's earnings in 1957. An estimated 260,856 million ton-miles of intercity freight traffic moved by truck in 1957.

Freight hauled by trucks during the second quarter of 1959 rose 20.5 percent over the similar 1958 period with all geographic regions showing gains. The growth in trucking was particularly great in the Central regions of the country where tonnages of truck-hauled freight increased 33.4 percent over a year ago.

The trucking industry is both young and dynamic and will continue to grow with the expanding national economy.

Dr. Frank Rose Named to Dixie Hall of Fame for the Living

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, recently Dr. Frank Rose, president of the University of Alabama, was named to the South Hall of Fame for the Living, in Decatur, Ga.

In the some 15 years that this program has been going, three presidents of the University of Alabama have been so honored. They have been Dr. O. C. Carmichael, the late Dr. George H. Denney, and now Dr. Frank Rose.

There recently appeared in the Birmingham Post Herald a news item regarding the naming of Dr. Rose. I ask that this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA HEAD NAMED TO DIXIE HALL OF FAME

UNIVERSITY, ALA., January 6.—Dr. Frank A. Rose, president of the University of Alabama, has been named to the South Hall of Fame for the Living in Decatur, Ga.

Dr. Rose is the second president in the history of the school to be so honored. The late Dr. George H. Denny was previously chosen.

In nominating Dr. Rose, Robert Jemison Jr., one of the honor group said: "The South needs the vision, initiative and accomplishments of its young men, particularly in the field of education. In fact, this is the age of the young man. Dr. Rose is an outstanding example of this age."

Dr. Rose's nomination was seconded by Hill Ferguson, chairman pro tempore of the university's board of trustees.

The University of Alabama president's selection to the group brings the total number of college presidents named to the hall to seven.

Auburn University's Dr. Ralph Draughon is also a member.

The 1960 selections mark the 15th year for the naming of new honorees.

The Man of the South will be selected in the spring from the 200 members of the honor group.

It's There To Be Read: A "Right" of Citizens

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP A. HART
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. HART. Mr. President, the Senate Rules Committee has opened hearings on new proposals now before the Congress to protect voting rights. I ask unanimous consent that a pertinent editorial which appeared just last week in the Detroit News be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. It is my hope that my colleagues will read it and agree with its message: That the Congress must act on the recommendation of the Civil Rights Commission on this question.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IT'S THERE TO BE READ: A "RIGHT" OF CITIZENS

"The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

"The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation." (15th amendment to the U.S. Constitution.)

Nearly 90 years have passed since the above words became part of the fundamental law of the land yet there remain many places in this country where this writ does not run. The Negro's right to vote is denied and in this regard he remains a voiceless slave.

In his state of the Union message on Thursday the President referred to this denial of civil rights in this fashion:

"In all our hopes and plans for a better world we all recognize that provincial and racial prejudices must be combated. In the long perspective of history, the right to vote has been one of the strongest pillars of a free society. Our first duty is to protect this right against all encroachment. In spite of constitutional guarantees, and notwithstanding much progress of recent years, bias still deprives some persons in this country of equal protection of the laws."

The President then said that he hoped the Congress would give serious consideration to constructive recommendations aimed at eliminating practices discriminating against the basic rights of Americans.

The President will be joined in this hope by millions of Americans who refuse to engage in any conspiracy to deny to another American his right to be heard through the ballot. Indeed, we would wish that the second paragraph of the amendment could be itself amended so that it not only granted power to Congress but imposed a duty upon it.

For political reasons that remain constant and obvious, the action to be taken by Congress in this session is at the moment unclear, but it seems certain that there will be action. The House has been invited by its Speaker to force a civil rights bill out of the Rules Committee and onto the floor. The leaders of the Senate have agreed to a full debate on civil rights next month.

The Civil Rights Commission has recommended that Federal registrars be sent where their presence seems required so that the Negro can be registered to vote in Federal elections. Whether this will suffice to overcome the social and economic intimidation and downright terrorism to which the Negro who desires to vote is subjected is an open question. But the law must frequently precede any real move toward elimination of an evil and the presence of registrars might serve to sharpen the issue involved.

There are always those who consider patience to be the ultimate virtue and who will seek to delay and postpone. Ninety years would seem to be a reasonable interval for the United States to devise a method whereby its own Constitution will mean what it so plainly says.

What Will the Western Hemisphere Do About the Rapid Increase of Communist Activity and Power in Latin America, Spearheaded by Red Chinese and Other Communist Agents in Cuba?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include broadcasts by Mr. Ray Henle, editor in chief of the daily NBC news program called "Three-Star Extra." It has been known for some time that while Mr. Khrushchev waves the olive branch toward the West, his partner, Communist China, continues unabated the dirty work of the Communist world conspiracy in Tibet, India, the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America. The chief center just now is Cuba. What will the hemisphere do about it?

The broadcasts follow:

BROADCAST BY RAY HENLE ON JANUARY 12, 1960

Three-Star Extra has just had a revealing interview with Dr. Emilio Nunez Portuondo about the situation in Cuba. Dr. Nunez is an outstanding Cuban citizen—he once was President of the United Nations Security Council, a longtime Cuban diplomat with world standing. He was a foreign service officer while Batista was in power and, therefore, was separated, as foreign service officers almost always are, from the domestic political affairs of his government. Dr. Nunez never did, and does not now, support or defend the Batista regime, and does not now even countenance any thought that Batista should return to power.

Dr. Nunez informed us that he's convinced that the solidification of Communist power in Cuba under Fidel Castro will be the beginning of a Communist sweep throughout the entire Western Hemisphere unless Castro is checked promptly.

He thinks the only practical way this can be done is for the United States to support military intervention in Cuba.

Dr. Nunez thinks we would have a perfect right under the Caracas resolution to intervene in Cuba. He says there is no doubt among the leaders of the Latin American countries that Castro's government is Communist and the rest of Latin America would grant us the right to take action.

He thinks it should be done through U.S. support for an anti-Castro movement in

Cuba which would be started by the Cubans themselves.

Dr. Nunez says the alternative to speedy U.S. action is the loss to the Communist world of all the Latin American Republics. He says that once the Reds consolidate their foothold in Cuba, revolution will sweep the rest of the hemisphere. Pro-Communist governments will be set up, U.S. properties all over Latin America will be seized, and the United States will have lost its own hemisphere.

There was one major surprise in our meeting with Dr. Nunez. Namely, his declaration that the primary influence in Cuba is Red China, not Russia. He says 40 to 50 Red Chinese Army officers are arriving in Cuba every day. They are being integrated into the Cuban Army as fast as they arrive and are gradually assuming control of the army training. Therefore, he says, it will be the policies of Red China, not those of a somewhat more reasonable Russia, which we will face across those few miles of water between Cuba and the United States once the Reds get full control.

Dr. Nunez says that Chinese influence in Cuba is further demonstrated by the fact that "Che" Guevara, Castro's economic czar, has sold 50,000 tons of Cuban sugar to the Red Chinese. This sugar will be delivered during January and February at a price of slightly less than 3 cents per pound. This is just about half the price the United States pays Cuba for sugar.

Nunez told us he had been informed that early in December Castro was becoming seriously concerned over the possibility that the United States might support a movement to oust him from power. He sent emissaries to Moscow and Peking to relay his concern and ask for their support if the United States attempted to overthrow him. Peking replied immediately with assurances that it would give Castro whatever aid he needed. There was no reply from Moscow for more than a week, during which Castro became increasingly alarmed. It was during that period, Nunez says, that Castro remained silent, making none of his long radio and television speeches.

On December 15 Castro received a reply from Moscow. It stated that Russia was willing to give him aid but that there was no need for any. The message said that Russian intelligence in the United States had informed the Soviet Government that the United States would not intervene in Cuba under any circumstances. Therefore, the message said, Castro should feel perfectly free to pursue his anti-U.S. policy with all possible vigor.

On the following day, December 16, Castro resumed his radio and television speeches with new and bitter denunciation of the United States.

BROADCAST BY RAY HENLE ON JANUARY 13, 1960

You'll recall our report last night on our interview with Dr. Emilio Nunez Portuondo who feels that prompt and forceful action by the United States is necessary to prevent Castro-type communism from sweeping all of the Western Hemisphere.

Tonight you may like to hear some additional comments on Dr. Nunez. He is a man you'll be hearing about more and more. He's not the kind of man you forget.

He is a diplomat of world standing, former president of the United Nations Security Council and one of the principal authors of the Caracas resolution empowering the Latin American countries to take action against communism.

Because of Dr. Nunez' denunciation of the Communist policies of the Castro government, he has become one of Castro's pet hates. Castro attacks him on every occasion. He charges him with associations with gangsters and calls him a tool of Batista. Unfortunately, some of Castro's apologists in this country may be impressed with these charges.

Dr. Nunez was a member of the Cuban foreign service while Batista was in power. But he had nothing whatever to do with Batista's domestic policies and he has no ties with him now or with any Latin American dictatorship.

Perhaps Dr. Nunez' greatest crime in the eyes of some who now denounce him is that he has been a loyal and unbending friend of the United States. Our staff reporter, Fred Morrison, recalls how when the United States was being heckled from all sides during the Caracas conference in 1954, it was Dr. Nunez who took the floor in its defense. Mr. Morrison was an eye witness to that incident. When the United States needed support for its proposals in the United Nations, it could always rely on Dr. Nunez.

There aren't too many people in the world who are willing to stand up and be counted in this way. The strength of Soviet policy is that it knows its friends and supports them. It's a good rule for us.

Roscoe Ammon and Airport Facilities for Manchester, N.H.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STYLES BRIDGES
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the New Hampshire Sunday News of January 10, 1960, written by the well-known feature writer for the Manchester Union-Leader and the New Hampshire Sunday News, Mr. Jay Hanlon.

This story deals with the success of one of New Hampshire's distinguished young industrialists, Mr. Roscoe Ammon, who has demonstrated a highly commendable sense of civic responsibility. Recently, Mr. Ammon gave to the city of Manchester a sum in excess of a half million dollars to be used for the development of more adequate airport facilities for New Hampshire's largest city. As is pointed out in this article, New Hampshire is believed to be the only State in the Union which does not enjoy the benefits of a class A, all-weather airport. It is my hope, and one which I know is shared by my distinguished colleague from New Hampshire, the Honorable NORRIS COTTON, that the Federal Aviation Administration will find it possible to provide sufficient matching funds during fiscal year 1961 to correct this situation and justify the confidence which Mr. Ammon places in the future of his community.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FANTASTIC CLIMB TO SUCCESS—AMMON'S 30 PATENTS INCLUDE PARTS TO X-15

(By Jay Hanlon)

When the X-15 eventually takes a man into space and brings him back to earth, that historic flight will be made possible by, among other things, an electronic instrument invented by a Manchester man.

When giant jet airliners crisscross continents and oceans, those flights are made safer by, among other things, electronic instruments invented by that same man.

The inventor is Roscoe Adams Ammon, 41, a tall, rugged individualist who, until little more than a year ago was owner and president of the Marion Electric Instrument Co. here. Now Ammon is retired from business. But hardly is he retired from Manchester's community affairs.

GAVE HALF MILLION

Indeed only last week Ammon executed a promise he had made to the city 6 months ago—he gave the city of Manchester a half million dollars for development of Grenier Field. And because of that gift New Hampshire's Queen City now stands on the threshold of a new era through the prosperity of modern aviation.

Ammon, now a Bedford resident, is quite literally a self-made man. Born into a family of modest means in the Tottenville section of Staten Island, N.Y., Ammon started contributing early in his life to the family income.

Times were generally hard and at the age of 12 Ammon was helping at home. At the age of 14 he opened his own radio repair shop while attending public schools, then under a split-sessions arrangement, in the morning. He studied by day and repaired radios by night.

"I had no particular gift for radios. I just liked to putter over the damn things. Besides, you did what you could for a dollar in those days," he explained.

TURNED TO RADIO

When he completed his education he turned to radios as a full-time business, joining a radio wholesale firm in New York City.

One day the boss sent him to Brooklyn's waterfront where oil tycoon Earl Halliburton's 1,800-ton diesel, twin-screw yacht *Vida* was undergoing overhaul. The radios and sperrygyroscope stabilizers needed some repair.

On the third day of the job, Chief Mate Al Larsen invited Ammon to lunch with the crew and during the course of the meal Larsen discovered that Ammon also was of Norwegian extraction. "That did it," says Ammon. "He offered me a job in the crew and I jumped at the chance."

After a couple years on the *Vida*, Ammon switched to tugboats and plied the harbor of New York. That only lasted a year, however. At 21 he turned his back on the sea and went ashore, rejoining the radio business. "That's when I stopped living by my brawn and started living by my brain," he explains it.

When he wasn't working on radios during the day he dabbled with several projects by night. One of these was an engineroom telegraph system.

Ammon's invention interested a friend, Perry Mack, also a New Yorker, who was one of the founders of the Marion Electrical Instrument Co. in Manchester.

Ammon, then 22, joined the company in 1941 as an engineer and set about reorganizing and building. He worked in various capacities as the company grew by leaps and bounds. He was plant manager when he bought out William F. McElroy in 1953.

In 1955 Ammon moved the flourishing business from the mill yard into the sprawling modern plant, now with 275 employees, at Grenier Field.

He continued to invent and manufacture his own products for the aviation industry. Before many of the new devices were offered to the industry, they were first tested in the company's planes, usually with Am-

mon in the cockpit. Many refinements were made while Ammon worked aloft.

Time and again major companies such as Sperry, IBM, or Bendix came to the New Hampshire company with problems that had not been solved.

FOUND SOLUTION

Time after time Ammon came up with the solution. One of these is a fundamentally new instrument mechanism on the experimental rocket ship X–15, in which U.S. scientists hope to send a man into space. Incidentally, the patent for that particular instrument was issued by the Government only recently.

This instrument, as well as many others that have come from Ammon's brain, has received wide attention in national aviation and electronic publications. Ammon has written numerous technical papers for these magazines.

In all, he holds more than 30 different patents.

All of his patents are assigned to the Minneapolis-Honeywell Regulator Co. to which Ammon sold Marion Electric in the fall of 1958. When Ammon retired last March, he left behind a company which had grown from a dozen employes in 1941 to well over 400; a company which in 1941 had gross sales of less than $100,000 to a company which now records gross sales of well over $4 million annually. Minneapolis-Honeywell itself is a nationally known company with gross annual sales of nearly $400 million.

In 1943 Ammon married Priscilla McElroy and they have four children, Judy, 15, Nancy, 13, Mary, 10, and Roscoe Ammon, Jr., 8. The Ammon family lives on Bedford Center Road in Bedford.

CIVIC LEADER

Ammon has long been active in community affairs. He has long been the champion of civil aviation in the greater Manchester area and led the battle with the Air Force to open Grenier to civil aviation.

That was the first step in Ammon's dream. The second was development of Grenier into a first-class airport of which New Hampshire has none. That was the reason underlying his half-million dollar gift to the city of Manchester last week.

Of that gift, Ammon had this to say:

"I have been asked by the Sunday News to state my reasons for making the recently announced gift to the city of Manchester.

"The general question of giving is substantially a personal one and I have no comment to offer on it. However, the specific objective of this gift does perhaps deserve some comment.

"There are many worthy organizations and projects in this community to which substantial contributions could well be directed with sound but probably transient benefit. The provision of 'seed money' or pump-priming funds for well-directed economic development of our community offers the promise of substantially greater benefits for all of our community and for probably a longer period.

"Economic development for this community and most others has its roots in industrial development. Industrial growth is significantly influenced by the facilities and atmosphere the community provides. The State of New Hampshire is the only one of the 50, and the city of Manchester one of the very few of its size, without a class A all-weather, modern airport—the 'gateway' to nearly all the progressive industrial communities of America.

NEEDS GATEWAY

"Manchester needs this 'gateway' for the specific tangible benefits it can provide in improving our badly deteriorating public transportation system and to serve the needs of our industries, old and new, with improved market access and expedited executive travel. A modern airport can become an impressive 'gateway,' and, one might hope, an attractive symbol of a progressive community.

"One of the major phenomena in the field of industrial development in the last decade has been the growth of the 'airport industrial park' in the Midwest, the Southwest, the Far West and, more recently, in the South. In these areas one rarely finds a modern airport associated with an industrial community that does not have clustered on its periphery thriving young (a few old ones, too) industries that consider their airport locations essential to their growth and success.

"The industry groups which predominate in these airport industrial parks are aviation including services and manufacturers, electronics including component and equipment manufacturers and research and development organizations in many fields.

"With the planned development at Grenier Field, Manchester will have a unique 'first in northern New England' opportunity to offer to airport-based industry some of the finest industrial sites available.

"The foregoing comments are based on some considerable firsthand observations and experience gained in some 10 years of flying all over the United States, and in operating Manchester's first airport-based industry at Grenier. I believe very strongly in the future that this development holds for Manchester.

"When it became apparent that due to other pressing municipal problems, funds for development of our municipal airport could not be made available in the foreseeable future, and believing as I do that Manchester's economy requires a modern airport if it is to remain competitive, I have made this gift which should permit the accomplishment of the development objectives without cost to the city."

Poplarville Editor Defends Hometown and Rejects a Cruel Stigma

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM M. COLMER

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial which appeared in the Jackson, Miss., Clarion-Ledger of Wednesday, January 13, 1960.

Mr. Speaker, because of my personal knowledge of the facts stated with reference to the town of Poplarville and the high esteem I have for Mr. Murphy Weir, editor of the Weekly Democrat, I desire to give wider circulation to Editor Weir's editorial, "Our Town." I can truthfully state without any reservation whatever, that I know of no community in any section of our great common country that is populated by a more peaceful and honorable people than the town of Poplarville, Miss. The fact that a Negro by the name of Mack Charles Parker, charged with a heinous offense, was killed in that vicinity is neither condoned by Editor Weir nor the residents of Poplarvlile no more than the daily murders that occur in Washington, New York, or any other city, are approved by the good people of those cities. The Parker incident could have occurred in any of them or any other community in the United States.

If Poplarville has become a "world-wide symbol of race violence," as Look contends, it is because of the biased and prejudiced reporting.

The editorial follows:

POPLARVILLE EDITOR DEFENDS HOMETOWN AND REJECTS A CRUEL STIGMA

At a time when agitators and hatemongers are heaping abuse upon his Mississippi community, Editor Murphy Weir of the Weekly Democrat at Poplarville has written a calm, dispassionate presentation of facts which deserve nationwide circulation as a matter of fairness.

We cannot, unfortunately, pass it along to the Nation but we can and do pass Editor Weir's editorial, "Our Town," along to our Mississippi readers, in the hope that they may see fit to mail it to friends and relatives beyond the South.

"Why did the people of Poplarville fail to act, making it necessary for the Federal Government to move in? To get this answer, Look writer George B. Leonard, Jr., a native of Georgia, spent several days talking with white and Negro residents of the town that has become a world-wide symbol of race violence" (Look Magazine, Jan. 19, 1960).

To which the Poplarville editor has replied:

"This writer has lived in Poplarville since October 1, 1940. During those 20 years we have come to know Poplarville as an average American town—a town no better or no worse than any other town of 2,000 population in these United States.

"It is a town in which people of both races—white and Negro—live and work in harmony. We do not remember any racial friction of major importance between residents during those 20 years.

"It is a town with an average number of churches of various denominations—supported by an average number of members who gather to worship God in the church of their choice.

"It is a town with average schools, teaching young people ideals of citizenship and theories designed to aid tomorrow's adults to live and work in the free traditions of America.

"It is a town that has produced and trained some fine ministers of the Gospel.

"It is a town that has produced and trained some excellent educators who have contributed to the training of youth in various sections of the Nation.

"It is a town that has produced and trained some honorable political leaders who have contributed to local, State, and national political betterment.

"It is a town whose people pitched in to help a fine Negro couple celebrate their golden wedding anniversary—more than a 100 whites joined the hundreds of Negro people in paying respect to Pete Peters and his wife December 27.

"It is a town whose people pitched in to help secure treatment for a Negro youngster injured in a football accident.

"It is a town whose people annually finance a Christmas party with gifts for children of both races.

"It is a town whose people annually provide funds with which to present Christmas baskets to the needy of both races.

"It is a town and area whose people are now spending almost a million dollars to build entirely new school plants and recreational facilities for the children of both races—between a quarter and a half million

dollars going directly to facilities for the Negro pupils.

"It is a town that has worked to construct new housing and adequate hospital facilities for people of both races during recent years, pouring dollars from its pockets for this cause.

"It is a town with a culture: staging annually flower shows, musicales, religious meetings, band concerts, athletic events and other things that contribute to the inner man.

"It is a town in the process of planning additional facilities for the health and the economic well-being of people of both races. It is a town of progress.

"It is a town in Mississippi, sharing with the State the distinction of having the second lowest crime rate of any State in the Nation.

"It is a town in which members of both races can walk down any street at any hour of the day or night without fear of being molested—something that cannot be said for the cities in which Look's circulation is concentrated: New York, Washington, Chicago, and Detroit.

"Yes, it is an average American town."

To us, these things are elementary things that may be said of the hundreds of towns across this great land—and should not need pointing out.

Knowing that there are good and bad in every town throughout the land, how can any publication violate the traditions of truthful journalism by branding any one town as being the "symbol of race violence"?

Review of 1959 Traffic Through the St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, we recall that during 1959 the St. Lawrence Seaway was completed and dedicated.

After a 50-year struggle for its completion, the seaway now stands as the open door to the ports of the world for the Great Lakes navigation system, the greatest inland waterway system in the world. Overall, it carries about 25 percent of the waterborne traffic of the United States, with both imports and exports, averaging about 227 million tons annually.

In the days ahead, Congress will be faced with decisions on how best this system can be more fully developed in the interest of the whole economy. The decisions will cover such aspects as, first, completion of the Great Lakes connecting channels; second, further development of ports and harbors; third, working out some of the problems that have arisen in the operation of the seaway itself; and other challenges.

We recognize, of course, that it would be strange, indeed, if in an operation of the magnitude and complexity of the Great Lakes-seaway system, difficulties did not arise. However, the increase in traffic through the seaway—following its completion—promises to fulfill, I believe, the expectations of those of us who supported this tremendous project.

During 1959, for example, many "firsts" were established: In Milwaukee—a major port on the Great Lakes—these included, first, oversea commerce tripled; second, port income jumped 50 percent; and, third, waterfront employment doubled. This increased economic activity was a reflection of similar occurrences all around the Great Lakes.

As we face decisions in regard to further improvement of the Great Lakes system in this session of Congress, it is, I believe, particularly important to be fully appraised of the problems, as well as the progress and potentials involved in this system.

Recently, the Milwaukee Journal and the Janesville Daily Gazette—both outstanding Wisconsin newspapers—published articles reviewing the results of the 1959 seaway operation. I ask unanimous consent that these articles be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Milwaukee Journal, Jan. 7, 1960]

MILWAUKEE—MANY "FIRSTS" SCORED IN OPENING YEAR OF SEAWAY

It was a big year for Milwaukee's port following the opening of the St. Lawrence Seaway—oversea commerce tripled, waterfront employment doubled, port income jumped 50 percent, and 332 big ocean ships called here.

These were the important statistics in the board of harbor commissioners annual report. But the report contains a lot of other matters of interest, too. All told there were more than 40 "firsts" chalked up at the port during the year. Consider some of them:

Ten additional shipping lines paid their first calls at Milwaukee.

For the first time a naval task force could get into the lakes, and it highlighted Milwaukee's opening of the seaway with a 2-week operation.

Queen Elizabeth II of England in the royal yacht sailed into Milwaukee bay past the harbor entrance.

For the first time Milwaukee had direct ocean connections with Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, the Sudan, Eritrea, French Somaliland, British Somaliland, Iraq, Iran, Bahrein, Kuwait, Pakistan, India, Ceylon, Burma, Vietnam, Cambodia, Indonesia, and Japan.

Flags of Israel, Switzerland, and Spain flew from the masts of vessels here for the first time. And the first American flag on an ocean vessel was seen here when the *Santa Regina* of the Grace Line put in last May.

Other firsts included shipments of United Nations cargo, South America timber, zoo animals, sake from Japan, and steel scrap to Japan.

There were other "firsts" but they take too long to list. But one must list the biggest of all—the "first" Milwaukee realization of a 50-year dream that one day it would become a real ocean port by means of a direct deep water seaway.

[From the Janesville (Wis.) Daily Gazette]

FIRST ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY SEASON ONE OF BOTH HURRAHS AND HEADACHES

(By William J. Conway)

CHICAGO.—The first deep-water season of the St. Lawrence Seaway was one of hurrahs and headaches.

The huzzas greeted ocean ships that steamed into Great Lakes ports last spring. Those vessels were pennant-spangled symbols of the linking of North America's vast interior with the sealanes of the world.

But the foreign freighters brought problems as well as cargoes. They encountered delays caused by canal bottlenecks, shortages of skilled longshoremen, inadequate loading and unloading equipment.

The Associated Press has made a survey of port cities, looking back to the 1959 season that ended December 3 and ahead to the 1960 season that will open about April 1.

VOLUME INCREASES

The main findings:

Export and import volume in the ports rose to record levels.

But tonnage through the seaway—the 185-mile stretch of canals and river between Montreal and Lake Ontario—fell short of expectations. The total was 20,103,767 tons. That is 20 percent under advance estimates of 25 million but far above the 10 million or so tons in recent years.

There is not so much blithe talk about the future now that the historic opening year has passed. But some planners are moving along the line suggested by the old gambling challenge—"Put your money where your mouth is"—and investing millions in port betterment.

TONNAGE TRIPLED

Here, in brief, are reports from a dozen ports:

Ocean cargo topped 200,000 tons in 1959 at both Milwaukee and Cleveland, tripling their 1958 totals.

Chicago's export-import business added up to 784,206 tons of general and bulk cargoes, exclusive of grain. That more than doubled the figure for the previous year. Grain exports shot up to 384,412 tons from a meager 18,384 tons.

Buffalo's tonnage soared to 108,267 from 12,650 the previous season. Toledo's direct oversea freight totaled 115,383 tons, a gain of 277 percent.

DULUTH-SUPERIOR

General cargo export-import traffic at Duluth, Minn., and nextdoor Superior, Wis., increased to 16,381 tons, while grain exports totaled 86 million bushels, almost three times the preseason forecast.

Muskegon, Mich., with 45,000 tons of foreign freight, doubled its 1958 business.

Some ports handled their first shipments from overseas. Erie, Pa., had 6,359 tons of export-import freight. At the twin ports of Port Arthur and Fort William in Ontario foreign vessels landed 25,000 tons of general cargo and carried away 31 million bushels of Canadian grain. Foreign ships had hauled off slightly more than 1 million bushels in 1958.

SHIPS ARE LARGE

Increasing export and import volume added up to 8,500,000 tons in Montreal at the eastern end of the seaway. Foreign cargo totaled 251,000 tons in Hamilton, Ontario, several times the 1958 handle, and more than double in Toronto in reaching a record 700,882 tons.

Calls at Great Lakes ports by vessels in overseas trade increased from 20 to almost 50 percent. They ranged from 22 at Erie, Pa., and 51 at Bay City, Mich., to 522 at Chicago and 583 at Toronto.

The ships were larger, too, because seaway canals have been deepened from 14 feet to 27.

Eastern ports watched competition get off to a modest start along what has been termed the new north coast.

NEW YORK LITTLE AFFECTED

New York and Boston reported it had little effect on them.

Philadelphia's general cargo volume held to 1958 levels but grain exports declined.

The Maryland Port Authority commented: "Baltimore has suffered mostly in grain and coal exports, along with the loss of some general cargo."

The upturn in seaway traffic did not touch off a wild boom, but it did bring benefits.

In Milwaukee it has been estimated the seaway brought more than $2½ million in additional money into the city and created 200 new jobs, half of them on harbor installations and the others on docks.

WELLAND BOTTLENECK

The big bottleneck was at the Welland Canal, a link between Lakes Ontario and Erie that detours Niagara Falls. As many as 60 ships at one time waited for passage. Delays ranged up to 72 hours.

Improvements are under way, at a cost of $7,500,000, aimed at a 25-percent expansion of the canal's current capacity of 28 vessels a day.

Other programs of the money-in-hand variety, some already in progress, include:

Chicago, dock improvements, $7 million; Milwaukee, pier and rail track projects, $7,500,000; Cleveland, dock and crane additions, $500,000; Toledo, terminal and grain elevator development, $7 million; Port Huron, Mich., port development, $300,000.

The Canadian Government is constructing an $8,500,000 seaway terminal at Port Arthur-Fort William. Montreal harbor officials are working on a 5-year development plan involving an outlay of $66 million.

The State of Television Around the World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the broadcasting industry in the United States is today under the careful scrutiny of committees of Congress, individual Members of Congress, Federal agencies, and the general public.

Television, particularly, is being criticized and defended, dissected and examined from many angles. In our examination of our own television operations, it is appropriate to look at the television situation in other nations.

Mr. George W. Oakes, a Washington, D.C., writer on many subjects, has prepared such a worldwide television roundup, which appeared in the Washington Sunday Star on January 10, 1960, accompanied by a most interesting table:

THE STATE OF TELEVISION AROUND THE WORLD

(By George W. Oakes)

While the United States struggles with the problem of what should be done about television, what are the apparently satisfied customers of TV in other countries around the world doing?

A survey shows that 50 other countries now have television. This is almost all the major countries with the exception of some in Africa and Asia.

The survey would allow these conclusions:

We have the most TV—almost 20 hours a day. Next is Argentina with 15 hours. Most countries have only 4 to 10 hours a day. India has only 1½ hours.

People who make a career of watching foreign broadcasts think that government-owned TV is best, generally speaking, but believe, also, that Italy's commercial TV shows probably the most imagination of any in Europe.

In at least 15 countries no advertising at all disturbs the flow of the programs.

Programs, in general, range from light entertainment to heavy cultural, just as they do in this country, with a larger share of the cultural abroad.

Great Britain is regarded as the top foreign country both in influence and operations.

Here is the way TV operates in the major countries:

GREAT BRITAIN

In 1937, Britain inaugurated over the BBC the first public TV programs anywhere. Today British TV reaches more than 90 percent of the population on 2 networks—the BBC, a publicly owned corporation, and the Independent Television Authority, a commercial chain of stations.

The BBC TV network does not sell advertising but is financed almost entirely by an $11.20 annual license fee paid by 10 million set owners. Although it is a government-established corporation, operating under royal charter, it receives no funds from the taxpayers—only the viewers—and therefore can maintain an independent, non-partisan policy. It is directed by a board of prominent citizens. There is no government censorship.

The BBC broadcasts every day on a national network. There are about 60 hours TV a week, usually 8 hours a day between 3 and 11 p.m.

The programs strike a balance between information, education, and entertainment. On the average they are seen by about 6 million to 9 million people but a big event, such as the opening of Parliament or a championship football game, might reach 12 million to 20 million viewers in a country of 50 million people.

Typical program

A typical program might include: news; a 90-minute play; a light entertainment show; a movie; a "brains trust" discussion among such outstanding talkers as Bertrand Russell, Prof. D. W. Brogan of Cambridge or Sir Isaiah Berlin of Oxford; a "live" broadcast of a big sporting event; music and art items.

In general the BBC is inclined to accent information and cultural interests more than entertainment. This high level policy seems to be popular too, for one of the BBC's best programs, "Panorama" entirely devoted to current affairs, attracts 50 percent of the viewers able to tune in on commercial TV which stresses mainly light entertainment. The BBC has also pioneered in documentary programs sending teams to make animal films in Indonesia or archeological shots in Jericho. It has even dealt with controversial subjects like abortion and suicide. The BBC has been particularly successful in televising the great pageants of British life like the Queen's review of the annual "Trooping the Color" ceremony on the Horse Guards parade ground in London. In major sports programs the BBC has maintained its lead through long-term contracts for the most popular events.

In addition to its general program, the BBC presents daily programs for children and women, regular religious telecasts, special telecasts for the schools in term time, and a weekly farmers program.

The British commercial network is controlled by the Independent Television Authority, a public corporation established by Parliament in 1955 whose chairman was the highest ranking diplomat in the Foreign Office. The ITA built and operates eight TV stations which broadcast 60 hours a week in the major population areas. It is financed on a nonprofit basis by fees which it receives under contract from the private companies that have been formed to produce the programs. Generally each region is served by one company but certain popular TV areas are divided between two contracting companies, one for weekday programs and the other for weekend programs. However, the ITA is responsible for maintaining a proper balance and quality of the presentations.

How sales are made

The program producing company sells commercial spot announcements to the advertiser, usually 6 to 8 minutes per hour. Each commercial, which runs for about 20 seconds, occurs every 15 minutes or so at the start and finish of a program or during a natural break. Perhaps once a day there will be an advertising magazine, a group of commercials in story form. This plan separates the program material from the advertising and thus pretty well keeps the program content out of advertiser control.

Commercial TV has been successful financially. In 1958 British commercial TV accounted for 10 percent of all British advertising revenue of $140 million. The top charge for the peak viewing hour in London is $3,500 per minute.

The independent TV, usually on the air from 12:45 p.m. to midnight, specializes in light entertainment such as variety shows and for this reason attracts twice as many viewers as the BBC in areas served by both networks. Many American TV presentations, especially western movies, appear on this network. It also goes in for several weekly quiz shows, but all prizes never exceed more than $6,000 a week.

However, ITV (as it is called) also produces many public affairs programs, talks, documentaries, etc. There is a separate company that supplies news for all ITV stations and not only produces two 15-minute bulletins but also conducts TV interviews with leading public figures.

In addition, ITV covers musical events, produces special children's programs like "Robin Hood," as well as afternoon school features on science, literature, geography, etc.

In general British observers feel that ITV has had a stimulating effect on BBC programing by providing a choice for the TV audience.

JAPAN

Television has developed tremendously in Japan. Seventy-one percent of all families can receive TV, with a total of 3.8 million receivers. There are two major networks, the Japan Broadcasting Corp., which is comparable in organization and output to the BBC, and a chain of commercial stations.

The Japan Broadcasting Corp., called NHK, has six stations throughout the country each of which has the power of a major station in Washington. The network broadcasts 11 hours a day on the average, and slightly longer on weekends.

The NHK programs consist of 40 percent entertainment, and the rest education, news, sports. The entertainment program encompasses orchestral music, variety shows and plays. Both the traditional and modern Japanese theater are presented on TV. Westerns are given in eastern terms with a samurai warrior and sword replacing a cowboy and his six-shooter.

News usually is televised in the mornings, women's programs in the afternoon and entertainment at night. Quiz programs are presented frequently but the largest prize is about $50.

Two stations, in Tokyo and Osaka, are devoted entirely to educational TV and each broadcasts 4½ hours daily. There is one series of programs lasting 1 hour and 20 minutes for classroom use on weekdays in different public school grades. Once a week in the evening a half hour juvenile and youth program is televised featuring a musical, athletic, and science series. Also

there are youth and adult education programs including courses in languages, fine arts, science for daily life, natural science and the relation of law and economics to daily life.

The programs of the 14 commercial stations divide their time as follows: 45 percent entertainment, 20 percent cultural, 15 percent news, 15 percent sports, 4 percent advertising.

Advertising is handled by placing short commercial announcements at the start, middle and end of the program. Chief advertising sponsorship comes from manufacturing, food, drug, and cosmetics companies in that order of importance.

In general it is estimated that, while viewers watch NHK for news and education programs, the largest audience in Japan probably favors the commercial network because of its stress on the best type of light entertainment.

GERMANY

German TV operates over one national network that has regional subdivisions. It is publicly controlled and is financed by a $5 monthly license fee for the 3 million sets. The network has 4 hours of national programs per day and also 1 hour of a regional program divided into 30 minutes of regional news and 30 minutes of a regional commercial program.

These 30 minutes include the only advertising on the German TV. Commercial announcements are handled in the same way as on the TV in Britain so that the sponsor buys only time for spot advertising but does not control the program content.

German TV accents the cultural or public service program much more than in this country and is modeled largely on the BBC pattern. Some critics regard it as a bit stodgy and dull.

The 4 daily network hours include 1 educational hour in the afternoon for children and students and 3 hours at night. Nighttime programs from 8 to 11 p.m. start with 25 minutes of news, then either a live play or opera or perhaps a documentary film. Opera appears quite frequently on German TV as it is a national art. Particularly on Sundays there is considerable sports coverage, including all major sports events. Quiz programs also are presented.

ITALY

In Italy TV is operated by a private corporation—known as RAI—in which the Government has about a one-third interest. Each of the million and a half sets pays a license fee of $25 a year. There is one national network which can be heard all over the country and on which advertising appears once during the evening for 15 minutes.

Programs usually run from 2:30 p.m. to midnight. The afternoons are largely devoted to education, mainly for children who cannot attend school. They emphasize vocational and language training. At 6 p.m. there is a telenews for 15 minutes, followed by a movie or English and French lessons. Then for 45 minutes a Western movie or play will be given. The major show of the evening runs from 8 to 11 p.m. and usually features a live broadcast of opera, musical revue, or a play, often by Shakespeare or Moliere.

The advertising magazine runs from 8:15 to 8:30 p.m. and takes the form of prominent actors doing skits in which they usually mention the advertised products. In between the skits there are inserted several advertising spots lasting a few seconds each. The use of nationally known actors serves to maintain viewer interest in this advertising program.

The daily broadcast ends with a 15-minute news summary.

American observes regard Italian TV as imaginative, resourceful, well produced, and probably the best seen anywhere on the Continent. Camera teams are sent to all parts of the world to make documentaries. "Brains trust" quiz shows, run as a contest between teams in different cities, stir widespread interest in general knowledge, history, and sports. Considerable attention is given religious programs. Church influence also is evident in a rather strong moral censorship of the programs.

FRANCE

In France TV is completely run by the Government and financed by license fees. No advertising is permitted. There is one national network that broadcasts 5 hours daily, mostly in the evening. Programs are not outstanding because of lack of money to finance them. They include news documentaries, women's and children's programs, old movies, variety shows, and sports events. One outstanding accomplishment on French TV was the relay to France of Bastille Day ceremonies in Algiers in 1958 by means of an airplane flying 20,000 feet over the Balearic Islands.

SWEDEN

Sweden, with one TV set for every seventh person, operates a privately owned corporation which has a TV monopoly and does not accept advertising. There is a license fee for viewers. Programs similar to the BBC are imaginative and are noted for a special TV repertory company that produces live plays. However, only about 18 hours a week are presented.

RUSSIA

Russian TV, state-owned, operates 4 hours on week nights, 6 on Saturdays, and 7 to 8 on Sundays. There are two TV channels in Moscow and a national network. Programs are divided roughly as follows: 30 percent movies, 20 percent live sporting events, 20 percent special official or public events, and 30 percent miscellaneous. Russian TV features live broadcasts of the Bolshoi Ballet and leading dance groups. Although, of course, it is a major propaganda medium, the programs concentrate heavily on entertainment in order to give them a wider popular appeal.

EUROVISION

Eurovision—the European TV network—now unites in a common cultural bond 12 European countries. Five years old, Eurovision links viewers from Scotland to Yugoslavia for major public occasions, championship sports events, religious and musical festivals, etc.

The following countries now participate regularly on a two-way basis: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, West Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, Monaco, Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom. In addition, Eurovision programs are often carried on the Finnish and Yugoslav networks and to Norway on special occasions.

An indication of the frequent use of Eurovision is the fact that during the first quarter of 1958 the BBC received 68 programs or inserts to programs and sent out 30 items.

The most formidable problem faced was not technical (for different screening standards were overcome by converters) but cultural—the language barrier. This has been solved by arranging for a separate commentator on the spot to talk to each nation in its own tongue.

Each country is responsible for originating programs it sends out. Also it pays the transmission tolls. Programs are selected by a joint committee on which all countries are represented. Every member country doesn't carry each program. One result of this arrangement is that Scandinavia can only receive programs if Germany is willing to use them.

Television: Country by country

Country	Daily hours of telecasting	Number of receivers	Public or commercial
WESTERN EUROPE			
Austria	3½	100,000	1 public network.
Belgium	5	350,000	2 public networks.
Denmark	2½	320,000	1 public network.
Finland	4	21,000	1 commercial network.
France	6½	1,300,000	1 public network.
West Germany	5½	3,500,000	1 public network with regional commercial program.
Ireland		60,000	
Italy	8	1,560,000	1 network, limited commercial operation.
Luxembourg	4	4,000	Commercial.
Malta		7,000	
Monaco	2½	11,000	Commercial.
Netherlands	2	500,000	1 public network.
Norway	Irregular	1,800	Public.
Portugal	3	35,000	Partly commercial.
Spain	7	150,000	Do.
Sweden	2½	450,000	1 public network.
Switzerland	3	70,000	2 public networks.
United Kingdom	7½	10,000,000	1 public network, 1 commercial network.
Yugoslavia	4	12,000	1 public network.
ASIA AND AFRICA			
Algeria	6	32,000	Public.
Cyprus	3	3,000	Do.
India	1½	300	Do.
Iran	5	20,700	Commercial.
Iraq	3½	9,000	Public owned; advertising accepted.
Kuwait		600	
Lebanon	4	5,000	Commercial.
Libya		300	
Saudi Arabia	2½	2,500	Privately owned; noncommercial.
Turkey	3	1,000	Private; experimental.
CANADA			
Canada	12-15	3,500,000	2 public networks; 1 English, 1 French, both accepting advertising.
FAR EAST			
Australia	9-14	618,000	1 public network, 1 commercial network.
Hong Kong	5½	3,000	Commercial.

Television: Country by country—Continued

Country	Daily hours of telecasting	Number of receivers	Public or commercial
FAR EAST—continued			
Japan	4½-12	3,800,000	1 public network, 2 commercial networks.
Korea (South)		6,000	
Philippines	5-10	25,000	Commercial.
Thailand	5	40,000	1 commercial, 1 public owned; advertising accepted.
LATIN AMERICA			
Argentina	15	300,000	Commercial.
Brazil	8-12	850,000	8 commercial, 1 experimental.
Chile	Irregular	32	Public.
Colombia	5½	150,000	Do.
Cuba	10-12	365,000	2 commercial networks.
Dominican Republic	2	13,000	Commercial.
El Salvador	8-8½	15,000	Do.
Guatemala	4-4½	20,000	Do.
Haiti			Do.
Honduras		500	Do.
Mexico	7-8	500,000	Do.
Nicaragua	5	5,000	Public.
Panama		8,000	Commercial.
Peru	3	27,500	
Uruguay	5½	13,000	Do.
Venezuela	4	250,000	2 commercial networks, 1 Government station.
BERMUDA			
Bermuda	12	30,000	Commercial.
COMMUNIST BLOC			
Bulgaria	Irregular	3,000	
Czechoslovakia	5	450,000	1 network.
East Germany	6	425,000	Do.
Hungary	2	30,000	Do.
Poland	5	138,000	Do.
Rumania	4	15,600	Do.
U.S.S.R.	7½	4,000,000	Do.
Communist China	3	5,000	

NOTE.—Blank spaces indicate the countries have no facilities of their own or operate under those of other countries.

Propaganda Move by Khrushchev

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STYLES BRIDGES
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, the recent two-pronged pronouncement from the Kremlin has caused quite a stir throughout America, which is indicative of the impact of the Soviet propaganda machinery.

To my mind, Nikita Khrushchev's statements are merely a continuation of the time-worn Russian practice of talking peace and waging war at one and the same. His boasts about Soviet missiles and rockets came on the heels of an offer to reduce Russia's land armies.

A careful analysis of Khrushchev's announcement appeared in the January 15 edition of the Washington Evening Star under the byline of David Lawrence. I ask unanimous consent that this column, entitled "Propaganda Move by Khrushchev," be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROPAGANDA MOVE BY KHRUSHCHEV—TROOPS CUT OFFER AND MISSILES THREAT HELD EFFORT TO BLUFF US INTO SUBMISSION

(By David Lawrence)

The Soviets are great imitators as well as propagandists. Nikita Khrushchev's latest announcement that he is going to cut down on the size of the Soviet Army means really that he is adopting the new look policy which the United States put into effect several years ago.

For there is not much use these days for Russia to spend the bulk of her money for land armies when nuclear weapons are available to threaten attack and conduct what is known as blackmail diplomacy. This Mr. Khrushchev carried on in the same speech in his boasts about the Soviets' incredible weapons in missiles and rockets.

The truth is that there is a stalemate today in nuclear weapons, and all the claims about new rockets and new missiles will not lessen the responsibility of the Soviet regime to refrain from plunging its own people into a nuclear war.

Inside the United States, the new look has resulted in a big debate as to whether land armies aren't still important for what is known as limited war. Undoubtedly, if a foolproof agreement were ever signed that would prohibit the use of nuclear weapons, then conventional forces would come into their own again. In the present stage of international propaganda, however, while conventional forces are not being abandoned, nuclear weapons are being developed with increasing intensity of effort.

One of the troubles with the Khrushchev announcement is that nobody can be sure what he means when he says he is cutting the army by 1.2 million men. It could mean merely the transfer from uniform to civilian clothes of great numbers of men who still would be engaged in arms production. Also, there is no way of knowing what the true potential of the Soviet regime is on the military side, for it can count upon huge forces recruited in Communist Asia.

The United States demobilized shortly after World War II the great bulk of its Armed Forces from a peak level of 12.3 million in wartime, but in view of Communist aggression, as the State Department says, "the level was later raised and stands today at approximately 2.5 million." The Soviets now claim their total forces will be reduced to 2,423,000 in the next year or two.

It has been suggested that Mr. Khrushchev's speech indicates that the Soviet Union is moving more toward the "massive retaliation" strategy followed by the United States in recent years. Although in America this policy has been derided by some critics—largely by those who advocate a buildup of conventional forces for "limited wars"—the fact is that the phrase still carries a world of meaning in preventing a big war today.

The United States does not any longer stress the phrase "massive retaliation" but emphasizes its "deterrent power." It all amounts to the same thing. One side will not start a war without counting the possible extent of destruction that could be inflicted on it by the other side.

There was for a time a belief that the Soviet Union, with its missiles and rockets, could destroy in one "first blow" the bomber bases inside the United States and wreak such wide destruction that the retaliatory power of this country would be frustrated. But since the development of missiles and rockets that can be launched from submarines, there is danger to a country like the Soviet Union that it would receive tremendous punishment if it ever started a war. For, obviously, it would be difficult to find and destroy submarines, and it cannot be forgotten that the water areas of the world are far greater than the land surfaces.

What, then, is the purpose of the Khrushchev speech at this time? Plainly it is a propaganda move. The Soviet dictator believes, as did Adolf Hitler, that the free world can be bluffed into submission. With a controlled press inside Russia and with the press of the free world printing everything the Soviet leader says, the wide circulation of Communist pronouncements is assured.

But it is apparent the West is not going to be fooled by the propaganda. The comments from Members of Congress, irrespective of party, are highly critical of the Khrushchev speech. Senate Democratic Leader JOHNSON declares the Soviet Premier "holds out an olive branch and at the same time tries to hit us over the head with it."

It certainly is a contrast to the so-called spirit of Camp David which only a short while ago gave the world an impression that peace was just around the corner and that tensions certainly would be eased in the year 1960.

There are, to be sure, important negotiations going on with respect to disarmament, and it would be a big victory for Mr. Khrushchev if he could get the West to disarm on the basis of a paper agreement, while he would refrain from giving the necessary guarantees that would make it possible for outside inspection teams to determine whether the terms were being carried out.

The West is not likely to be cowed by the Khrushchev utterances, and the world will witness in the next few weeks a resumption of threats and counterthreats and warnings. It makes one wonder what all the summit meetings really accomplish.

The Other Side of the Coin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues

the following article by Ben Segal as it appeared in the Progressive, September 1959 issue.

Mr. Segal is director of the educational department of the International Union of Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers. He was formerly on the staff of the Fund for the Republic.

The article, under unanimous consent, is as follows:

"Labor Monopoly Endangers Economy."
"Corruption Permeates Labor Movement."
"Financial and Political Power of Unions Threatens Democracy."

These are the themes of the current barrage of essays, reviews, speeches, newspaper, and magazine articles on labor unions. The New York Times' labor reporter, A. H. Raskin, recently commented: "In the last few years a discernible shift in sentiment [among college professors toward labor unions] has set in. The sordid revelations of the McClellan committee on racket penetration into unions and on the abuses committed by union autocrats have been a major factor in this shift. Professors who rallied to labor's standard when they felt unions were underdogs are finding it hard to applaud the tactics of some unions in their emergent role as overdogs."

This shift in the academic image of organized labor reflects a more general public change of attitude. Both images result from the tendency to generalize from a few sensationalized cases; both are based on assumptions which require careful reappraisal. On the basis of many years of work in the trade union movement. I would like to challenge some of these underlying assumptions.

Perhaps the assumption that demands the greatest scrutiny is the glib assertion that unions have come of age; that labor-management relations have reached maturity; that industrial warfare is a thing of the past, that management accepts unions as here to stay. Yet there is growing evidence of continuing and even intensifying efforts by industry to weaken or destroy free labor unions.

Take the southern textile industry, for example. Of 550,000 workers in southern mills, the unions claim only about 70,000 members, and even this low figure is constantly being reduced because of the determination of the industry to eliminate unions from their mills.

The Harriet-Henderson Colton Mills in Henderson, N.C., had been under union contract since 1944. When the contract expired in 1957, the company refused to renew, and for a year the employees worked without a contract. Finally, in November 1958, the Textile Workers local announced that it was willing to renew the old contract without wage increases or other improvements. The company, however, demanded a no-strike clause and the elimination of a standard arbitration clause which had been in the contract for 14 years. The removal of arbitration provisions in the contract would give the company complete freedom to handle job classifications, grievances, hire and fire, with the union virtually powerless to protect the workers.

The company closed down for 3 months and then began importing strikebreakers from Virginia and elsewhere. During this strike, on February 24, 1959, Boyd Payton, TWUA vice president and regional director, was attacked and beaten by company hoodlums in Henderson. As this is being written, 400 bayonet-armed North Carolina National Guardsmen still surround the mill to ensure safe entry for the scabs. The outcome is likely to be decertification of the union when a new election is held in which only the scabs will be allowed to work and vote—a provision of the Taft-Hartley Act that has given union-hating employers a powerful weapon with which to break a union.

This bitter opposition to unions is not confined to the South. The Chemical Workers Union struck the Mastic Tile Corporation in Long Beach, Calif. The next day the company obtained an injunction imposing severe limitations on picketing. It followed this with advertising in the local press for scabs. Approximately 1,200 jobless workers applied for the openings to replace the 275 strikers. The company hired some 350 workers and is now moving to decertify the union.

Antiunionism is even more menacing when it occurs among the large employers. The International Union of Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers represents more than 100,000 workers employed by the giant General Electric Co., recently cited by the Kefauver Subcommittee Investigating Antitrust and Monopoly as one of four companies which together control more than 50 percent (sometimes as high as 90 percent) of the business in 79 product lines. GE made the highest profits ($247,851,871) in its history in recession year 1958 despite reduced sales.

The corporation spends tremendous sums to convince the public and its employees that "progress is our most important product." Yet there is probably no company which devotes more money, staff, and time to fighting the unions. GE's vast propaganda machine utilizes daily employee newspapers, news bulletins, special memoranda for all employees, letters to employees, full page advertisements in newspapers wherever plants are located. In addition, GE has a mailing list of prominent members of the community who receive frequent letters and periodic bulletins. GE also sponsors a number of radio and TV programs which it uses for antiunion commercials.

GE deliberately overemphasizes strikes by the IUE and other unions. Almost every issue of its various publications has a report of a strike or a reference to IUE as "a strike-happy union." GE was especially active in the autumn of 1958 during negotiations on employment security when strike authorization votes were being taken in the various locals. The company's propaganda was effective, and several large locals in the GE chain, including Schenectady, the largest, voted against striking. In Schenectady the propaganda barrage was particularly heavy. An article in the Wall Street Journal, October 10, 1958, reported:

"Through a concentrated campaign in newspapers, on the air, and by letter, GE dramatized the crippling impact a strike would have on that upstate New York community of 142,000 and what the loss of the company's $4 million weekly payroll would mean.

"Talk with a drill press operator in a medium motors shop. He digs into his pocket and produces a letter from his department manager warning that he will be voting on whether or not you will sacrifice your livelihood for the program of the National IUE.

" 'My wife and I get a letter from the company every day,' he smiled."

The strike scare is only one technique employed by GE. It uses the divide and conquer method, playing off the Communist-dominated United Electrical Workers Union against the IUE; the production workers against skilled or white-collar employees; white against Negro; union members against the union leadership. It alleges that dues and assessments of unions are excessively high and hints at improper expenditure of funds. It urges members to quit the union during the 10-day withdrawal period each year—GE calls it the escape period. It attempts to cast doubt on the legitimacy of all union elections. It plays up every derogatory piece of news about unions that it can get hold of. It ridicules union organizers. It blackmails the community with threats to move out unless the proper business climate is maintained. It takes credit for gains by unions, calling the benefits negotiated in the union contract, "GE's 5-Year Better Living Program."

GE's tactics are an extension of a policy which originated in 1950 and has become known in labor-management relations as "Boulwareism," after its author, GE Vice President Lemuel Ricketts Boulware. According to Harvard's professor of business, Benjamin M. Selekman, writing on Cynicism and Managerial Morality, in the Harvard Business Review, Boulwareism has these principles:

Management knows best what should be done for its employees.

It should, therefore, make up its mind prior to any negotiation what should be the maximum offer.

It should refuse to recede from or alter this offer in any substantial way.

It should take a strike, if necessary, and hold out until the union capitulates.

Even in the steel and auto industries where observers have glibly said for so long that unions were at least accepted, there is evidence in last year's auto negotiations and this year's steel talk of a much tougher policy.

Boyd Leedom, NLRB Chairman who has been frequently criticized by union leaders for antilabor bias, in a speech to the Florida Bar Association recently laid the blame for much union misconduct on some companies' "behind the scenes, illusive, undeclared warfare" against union activities. Behind the facade of general acceptance of our national labor concept, great segments of employers, Leedom charged, "take every legal step possible—and many employers overreach legality—to thwart their employees' efforts to organize even when the union involved is a respectable decent union." He cited the philosophy of "avoiding dealing with a union even at the expense of going out of business."

He added: "Since hostility is likely to beget hostility, I raise the question as to whether this attitude may in turn be at least partly responsible for union conduct that many people regard as quite unreasonable even though lawful. It is quibbling to embrace the abstract principle of collective bargaining and then fight tooth and nail to deny it to one's own employees."

While the instability of industrial relations should not provide an excuse for whitewashing the shortcomings of unions, it provides a clue to understanding why many unions still behave as if they were the helpless insecure underdog of the pre-Wagner Act days. The fact is that many unions still are. Many unions still face a long slow uphill fight for basic gains, with the law on the other side—especially in the South.

Another basic assumption of the new attitude toward unions which also springs from the tendency to generalize from the revelations of the McClellan committee, is a belief in the absence of democracy in local unions throughout the labor movement. This belief goes hand in hand with the notion that tremendous power is wielded by the international, in whose hands the local unions are merely pawns in a giant chess game with management and, perhaps, with Government.

This picture simply does not stack up against the realities of the situation in most local unions. On the contrary, in any number of local unions, internal democracy is carried to the point where it has interfered with the effective collective bargaining of the union. In the IUE, for example, the refusal of several locals in the General Electric chain to back the negotiating committee with a strike vote crippled the international's efforts at negotiating on employment security. As a result, the company broke off negotiations.

There are many examples of the international union's name being blackened because

of the local's refusal to follow the parent union's position in support of racial desegregation and nondiscrimination. Unfortunate as it may be, it can hardly be called a case of the international dominating the local union or inadequate internal union democracy.

There are locals that devote so much time and effort in campaigning for local union office that they weaken the effectiveness of the local union in looking after the economic interests of the membership. As one international representative put it, "They spend so much time fighting each other they have no time to fight the boss—the boss just waits around and picks up the pieces."

With all the headlines on labor racketeering and corruption, very little is said about the great many positive efforts of unions to strengthen constitutional guarantees of the individual's basic rights, to prevent corruption and abuse of power by union officials, and to increase participation in the activities and decisionmaking functions of the union.

The IUE, for example, was one of the first unions to develop an ethical practice code. At its 1958 convention, the union incorporated the major provisions of the code into its constitution. To cite just a few examples: The funds of the international may not be loaned, invested, or dealt with in any way that results in personal benefits to the officers or employees of the union. No officer or employee of the union may have personal financial interests which conflict with performing his duties; or have substantial interest in a business enterprise with which the union or one of its subordinate bodies bargains collectively or which competes with such enterprise; or have an interest in an enterprise dealing substantially with an employer with whom the union bargains.

In the section dealing with health and welfare funds, no rebates, retention of dividends, or payment of any kind can be accepted by union representatives, nor may they have any personal ties with outside agencies. Program administrators must make full disclosures to beneficiaries and to the union at least annually, including a detailed statement of receipts and expenditures; salaries and fees; retentions, claims paid, dividends, commissions, and charges; and a detailed account of the manner in which funds are invested.

One would be hard put to find a corporation which could match these standards of financial responsibility.

Members' rights are guaranteed in other ways: Biennial conventions, election of officers, local and international, every 2 years; referendums and secret ballots, and a host of other protections. Elaborate trial procedures have been designed to protect the rights of members threatened with expulsion. These include the right to have charges presented, to hear all evidence, cross-examine witnesses, right of appeal to the district council, the international executive board, and finally the convention. Barred from holding elective or appointive office in the union are persons convicted of any crime involving moral turpitude offensive to trade union morality or anyone who is commonly known to be a crook or racketeer preying on the labor movement. Determination of ineligibility is based on regular trial procedure.

The pending labor reform bill, even with the McClellan so-called bill of rights amendment, would not require changing in any way the policies, practices, rules, constitutional provisions or bylaws of the IUE, financial or otherwise. Its only effect would be to provide burdensome forms to be filled out with information which is already readily available to IUE members and the public.

Similar safeguards are provided in the constitutions and practices of other unions—the United Rubber Workers and the UAW, for example.

The United Auto Workers' quasi-judicial protection of membership rights, the public review board, merits special attention. This seven-man tribunal includes three clergymen, the president of one of America's largest universities, two judges, and a nationally known professor of economics. The board serves as a kind of supreme court in cases involving alleged violation of the appellant's right as a union member and alleged violation of AFL–CIO ethical practices codes.

In the first report of the public review board, which covered an 18-month period, the chairman, Rabbi Morris Adler, said that "the very existence of the public review board as an impartial tribunal, uninvolved in the mechanisms of union operation and government, is eloquent assurance to the most humble member of the smallest local that when the need should arise, he can have his day in a 'court' that is neither influenced by partisan considerations nor related to any group in power."

The report commended the UAW as being "free from corruption and gross perversions of the democratic procedures." It pointed out that in addition to the public review board there were many other "instruments of self-discipline which the UAW has developed in the course of its growth. * * * The entire democratic process by which its leadership, local, regional, and international, is selected is a safeguard against the seizure of authority by those who do not reflect the will of the constituency. The constitution under which the UAW operates and the principles of the AFL–CIO of which it is part are similarly restraints upon the usurpation of power and the performance of acts that contravene justice and democracy."

A heartening example of a union's attempt to rid itself of its corrupt elements is the story of the American Bakery and Confectionery Workers Union (ABC). ABC was chartered by the AFL–CIO in December 1958, after the federation expelled the old bakery union on corruption charges. The infant union has organized more than half of the members of the old bakery union. At its convention in September 1957, the ABC adopted a series of constitutional provisions, some of them unique in union history, and hailed even by the Wall Street Journal as important and workable guarantees of rank-and file control of the union.

For example, the constitution includes a new system dealing with trusteeships. This calls for a hearing by a panel of 20 local union officers who are not on the payroll of the international. Also, the union's general executive board must always have a majority divorced from any financial connection with the international. Rank-and-file control is assured by the provision calling for the election of 10 out of a total of 18 general executive board members who must be nominated and elected by the locals and membership in each of five regions. None of these 10 board members can be nominated if he is on the payroll of the international union.

The American Newspaper Guild's Representative Assembly is an excellent illustration of how unions are striving to increase membership participation. Guild locals in such cities as San Francisco, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, and New York have had for almost a quarter of a century a representative assembly system which encourages the membership to take part in decisionmaking through their elected representatives.

It would be extremely difficult for the Guild's New York Local 3, for example, to have effective and representative local union meetings. Local 3 has 8,400 members employed on some 50 different newspapers, news services, news magazines, a radio station, and miscellaneous publications, scattered throughout five city boroughs, Connecticut, and New Jersey.

Local 3's representative assembly was deliberately patterned after the representative assembly idea used by Congress, and for similar reasons. Assembly delegates are elected by units; a unit is a shop division. The New York Times employees form one unit; Saturday Review employees form another. The assembly meets once a month; it elects its own chairman and vice chairman. The local executive board members have no votes in the assembly unless they are given votes by their respective units. The assembly reviews or requests board decisions; it may authorize a strike subject to unit approval.

I have attempted to question some of the glib assumptions made about the maturity of labor-management relations, to indicate how different the situation looks to someone working on a daily basis within the trade union movement, and to point out a few of the many sincere efforts currently being made to strengthen internal union democracy. At the same time, I do not want to minimize in any way the importance of exploring further possible remedial steps that might be necessary to eliminate all vestiges of union corruption and racketeering. But this exploration should take place not within an abstract academic framework, nor in the heated and distorted atmosphere of sensational disclosures of a McClellan committee, but should be based on firsthand observations and understanding of the changing nature of the problems that confront the labor movement today.

Treatment of Albania by the Soviets

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, recently I received a letter from an old friend of mine who enclosed a copy of a letter that he had written to Nikita Khrushchev, Prime Minister of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. At the time Mr. Grant sent this to me he said that he had received no acknowledgment from the Soviet Embassy. Later, however, he wrote me that he had received an acknowledgment.

Hugh G. Grant, of Alabama, served 4 years as U.S. Minister to Albania, September 1935 to October 1939, or until after the great war broke out in Europe on September 1, 1939. He was in charge of the American Legation at the time of Mussolini's invasion of Albania on April 7, 1939, he, Mrs. Grant and the legation staff housing several hundred refugees at the American Legation in Tirana during the Italian Fascist attack. Minister Grant had the last audience granted to any foreign representative by His Majesty, King Zog, on the day Mussolini delivered his ultimatum to the King to capitulate and surrender the sovereignty of his country. King Zog re-

fused. The little Albanian Army of less than 15,000 men attempted to defend the country, but was soon overwhelmed by some 50,000 Fascist troops. King Zog, his Queen, Geraldine, her 2-day-old baby, and members of the Albanian Cabinet escaped to Greece and have been refugees from their beloved country since that time. The German Army followed Mussolini's Black Shirts in Albania and finally the Russian Communists arrived, subsequently taking over control of Albania through a puppet government.

Mr. President, believing this is a matter of general interest, I am asking unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the letter to Premier Khrushchev and the copy of Mr. Grant's letter to the Soviet Embassy.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COUNTRY CLUB APARTMENTS,
Augusta, Ga., September 13, 1959.

OFFICE OF THE EMBASSY,
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIRS: I would appreciate your courtesy in transmitting to the Honorable Nikita Khrushchev, Prime Minister of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, during his visit in the United States, the enclosed letter.

Thanking you for your courtesy, I am,

Sincerely,

HUGH G. GRANT,
Former U.S. Minister to Albania.

OPEN LETTER TO THE HONORABLE NIKITA S. KHRUSHCHEV, PRIME MINISTER OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS, CARE THE SOVIET EMBASSY, WASHINGTON, D.C.

DEAR MR. KHRUSHCHEV: Coincident with your visit to the United States, upon invitation of President Eisenhower, I wish to suggest and urge that you give serious consideration to the views of many American citizens in regard to the tragic situation of the smallest Soviet Satellite. I refer to Albania, located on the shores of the Adriatic Sea, far removed from the frontiers of your country, Russia.

I have read with great interest press reports of your recent visit to Albania. According to these reports you spent 12 days in Albania together with a large Soviet delegation, including your Defense Minister, and in addition East Germany's Prime Minister and Communist China's Defense Minister. You and your associates were reported to have visited most parts of Albania in the company of Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Bey Shehu, leaders in the seizure of Albania in the name of the so-called "People's Democracy" near the end of World War II and today the puppet rulers of the freedom-loving Albanian people.

You spent 12 days in Albania. I was there 4 years, as the representative of the U.S. Government. On the basis of this long residence and personal contacts with thousands of Albanian citizens in every walk of life, I can say with the utmost sincerity that in all of my travels in many parts of the world I have never witnessed a more intense patriotic feeling for their country and its ideals than that exhibited by the Albanian people.

This love of country has existed during the long history of Albania, whose people are believed to be the oldest race in southeastern Europe. Despite countless military invasions of Albania throughout the centuries from the days of the Romans, the sturdy Albanians have retained their national language, their customs, their way of life, and their intense love of individual freedom.

Symbolic of this national patriotism is the thrilling story of Skenderbeg, Albania's national hero, who, as the leader of the Shqipetars, the Eagle Men, in the 15th century, fought and held back the invading Turkish armies for a period of 20 years.

After nearly 500 years of Turkish rule the independence of Albania was proclaimed on November 28, 1912, and 3 weeks later, the Conference of ambassadors of the Great Powers, Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Great Britain, and your own country, Russia, recognized Albania as an independent and sovereign state.

The independence of Albania was confirmed at the end of World War I at the Peace Conference of Versailles. About this time there emerged in Albania a young military leader, Ahmet Bey Zogu, member of an old Albanian family. Zogu was destined to become minister of the interior, prime minister, president of the republic, and finally, on September 1, 1928, King of the Albanians, Zog I.

As the accredited U.S. chief of mission to Albania during the last years of Albanian independence (1935-39), I had the opportunity to observe first-hand the activities of King Zog and his government. I came to the conclusion that Zog was a true Albanian patriot, with the best interests of his people at heart, a very capable leader, and that he and his government were making real progress in the face of great obstacles, chief of which was the poor economic condition of Albania. This resulted from the fact that less than 10 percent of the land surface of the country is arable, while some 90 percent of the population is dependent upon farming for livelihood. The Albanian people were intensely patriotic, but desperately poor.

Fascist Italy, under Mussolini, pretending friendship for her neighbor, made loans to the Albanian Government and then, on April 7, 1939, following a stern ultimatum to King Zog, designed to destroy Albanian sovereignty, invaded the little country with some 50,000 troops. The small Albanian Army was soon overwhelmed and Mussolini's Fascists took over control of the country through a puppet Albanian regime, as King Zog, his Queeen, with a 2-day-old baby, and members of his Cabinet, left Albania, to become wandering exiles from their beloved country. Queen Geraldine's mother was American born, her father a Hungarian count.

The Albanian people are today again controlled by a puppet regime which has ruthlessly destroyed the forces of resistance of freedom-loving Albanians. Back of this puppet regime are the power and military might of Soviet Russia and the object—not the welfare of the Albanian people, through communism, socialism, or any other ism, but solely to capitalize upon the strategic importance of Albania as a military base of the Soviet Union in the prosecution of the cold war. Obviously, your recent visit to Albania in the company of the Defense Ministers of the Soviet Union and Communist China point up to this fact.

On August 30, Mr. Prime Minister, you were quoted in Moscow by Tass, as having declared that you were going to the United States with a burning desire to relieve international tensions.

May I respectfully suggest, Mr. Prime Minister, that the abandonment of Albania as a Soviet military base and the withdrawal of Soviet agents from Albanian territory would go a long way toward relieving one cause of the international tensions, of which you speak, and at the same time provide the opportunity for the restoration of Albania as an independent nation.

Sincerely,

HUGH G. GRANT,
Former U.S. Minister to Albania.
AUGUSTA, GA., *September 13, 1959.*

Lyndon Johnson Stands Out Among Democratic Contestants

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB CASEY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, many Members of the House of Representatives, like myself, fully endorse our great Senate majority leader, Senator LYNDON JOHNSON, to receive the Democratic Party's nomination for President. In this respect, the Houston Post of January 9, 1960, summed up more eloquently than I possibly can the many qualifications of this distinguished American, and the reasons why he should be nominated to lead the Democratic Party ticket.

Under unanimous consent, I include the editorial from the Houston Post at this point in the RECORD:

SENATOR LYNDON JOHNSON STANDS OUT AMONG DEMOCRATIC CONTESTANTS

The American people, in this opening year of a new decade, face the necessity of making a political decision which will affect most profoundly not only their own future but the course of human history for the next four and perhaps eight years.

The man they choose as President of the United States in November, by virtue of his office, will be the most important and the most powerful single leader of the Western world. His selection calls for exercise of the soundest judgment and the greatest wisdom of which we as a people are capable. It also calls for recognition by all participants in the electoral process of a responsibility that transcends all partisan considerations.

By November, the choice will have been narrowed, for all practical purposes, to the two men chosen as nominees of the Democratic and the Republican Parties. This year, more than ever before, these partisan selections are of the most crucial concern for all Americans regardless of party affiliation, inclination or sympathies. Both major political parties are under a greater obligation than at any time in the past to nominate men who have the talent, experience, capacity for leadership and dedication that the times demand.

As things now stand, it appears practically certain that Vice President Richard M. NIXON will be the Republican candidate. It seems equally probable that the Democratic nominee will be one of five men: Senator Hubert Humphrey, of Michigan, Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, Senator John Kennedy, of Massachusetts, former Gov. Adlai Stevenson of Illinois or Senator Stuart Symington of Missouri.

All of the Democratic possibilities present excellent credentials of experience, intelligence and integrity in the conduct of public affairs. Four of them have had distinguished careers in the U.S. Senate. The fifth served creditably as Governor of Illinois and, in the course of two campaigns for the Presidency, established himself in the eyes of the world as a thoughtful and able leader.

Of the five Democratic candidates, however, only Senator JOHNSON has been in an official position during the past few years that has brought him to grips with the entire broad range of complex problems that will confront the new President during the fateful years ahead.

Senator JOHNSON stands out among the contestants for his party's nomination as a man of stature, breadth, ability, temperament, and character who is preeminently qualified for the duties and responsibilities of the Presidency. As minority and later majority leader of the Senate, he has been concerned with the entire spectrum of international and national problems. He has an intimate knowledge of them in all their complexities and ramifications. He has, even more importantly, demonstrated a greater capacity for leadership, for statesmanship, for diplomatic skill and for human understanding than any other leader of his party.

There would, of course, be political handicaps to JOHNSON's candidacy, and those handicaps should be taken into account by any citizen in deciding which of the Democrats he believes would make the best President.

Senator JOHNSON has had a heart attack. But, as far as one can judge from the pace of his activities, he has fully recovered. Three of the other Democrats have had serious ailments requiring surgery within the past few years. Yet the illnesses of Symington, Stevenson, and Kennedy are not urged against them. And indeed they should not be.

Senator JOHNSON is a southerner and a Texan. It is regrettable but true that in some areas of our Nation, these labels are accounted political liabilities. Geographical prejudice is no more rational than racial or religious prejudice, but no less real.

Senator JOHNSON may lack the political glamor of, for example, a Kennedy or a Stevenson, but he would be an eminently suitable man to head the Democratic ticket in November.

Sugar and Coffee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STYLES BRIDGES
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, in a column appearing in the January 14 edition of the Washington Post, George E. Sokolsky decries the policy of the United States in paying more than the world market price for such commodities as sugar and coffee.

I certainly agree with him that such a practice is tantamount to subsidizing another nation by placing a hidden financial burden on the American consumer.

I think our policy regarding the purchasing of sugar is particularly disturbing, Mr. President, in light of the anti-American attitude of the Castro government in Cuba, during the past year. If we must pursue such a practice at all—and I definitely do not subscribe to this theory—then we can at least stop paying premium prices to those who are constantly attacking us.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Sokolsky's colum entitled "Sugar and Coffee" be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 14, 1960]
SUGAR AND COFFEE
(By George E. Sokolsky)

The principle of subsidizing a nation out of the pockets of the American people, not by taxes but by agreeing to increase the price of that country's commodity in our stores, is wrong. It places upon the American people a heavy but hidden burden. When Americans buy sugar, they do not realize that they are subsidizing Cuba because Americans pay more than the world market price; when they buy a pound of coffee and pay an outrageous price for that commodity, they do not know that they are paying a hidden tax to aid the economy of such countries as Brazil and Colombia.

All reports establish that there is a surplus of coffee and by the law of supply and demand, the price of coffee should decrease sharply. However, by market rigging and price manipulation, the price of coffee is kept high. This is policy designed to aid the coffee-growing countries. It is the economics of the good neighbor policy.

But the American consumer was never asked whether he wanted his coffee to cost so much that he has to drink the new-style powdery stuff that provides more cups of coffee per pound. This is an ingenious method of beating the high price of coffee.

As things still stand, the United States is subsidizing the Castro government in Cuba by paying higher price for sugar than sugar costs in world markets. We are doing the same with coffee. It is one thing, having an item in the budget, including it formally and legally in an aid program against which a protest is possible in Congress; it is another loading it on the price. The gimmick used in the matter of sugar and coffee is to tell the people nothing but to make a deal with a country to fix a price for a commodity which Americans like to buy. How false such a policy is became clear in the conduct of Fidel Castro who despite the fact that the American Government is subsidizing Cuba through the price of sugar, operates an absolutely anti-American government. Do we need to subsidize our enemies too?

As regards coffee, no coffee country is our enemy, but is that a reason to subsidize this product? To what extent is the American household to be taxed? And how is it possible for the American people not to become demoralized by the enormous burden of taxation, high cost of living, subsidy prices?

This then, is the major problem of this campaign year and the politicians ought not to be permitted to confuse us with side and unimportant issues. If prices continue to rise, we shall have an increasing number of strikes. These strikes occur during a period of the devaluation of the currency and thereby endanger the value of the dollar. The basic peril to the United States, at this particular moment in our history, is not bombs or missiles or rockets but the value of the dollar—that is, what happens to our money.

A Free America: It's Up to You

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, it is most fitting that portions of Mrs. Haven Smith's address before the Farm Bureau's annual convention in Chicago appear at this time in the Appendix of the RECORD.

Mrs. Haven Smith is the chairman of the American Farm Bureau Women's Committee. She is typical of the life and thinking of the women of this great organization, which is constantly growing and now represents over 1,600,000 farm families in our Nation.

The programs and ideals that these farm families believe in are the programs and ideas that made our country great and that will insure her future.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

A FREE AMERICA: IT'S UP TO YOU

We live in a land where we have more freedom than any other people have ever known. We were dropped in a land where there is happiness and laughter; where there is generosity and compassion; where church spires rise from every city, town and hamlet; where there is triumph of merit over family and poverty; where there is absence of fear; where there is freedom of choice—the right to speak, to worship, to dissent, to dream, to build, to fail, to succeed, to fall down, to get up and try again. Yes, that's our country. And what a proud heritage.

When I was a youngster, one of my Sunday School classmates went abroad with his Senator father. People didn't go abroad much in those days. He told us that every night they draped the U.S. flag, which they carried with them, over the head of their bed. His father told him it would protect them—that no one would dare molest anyone under the protection of the powerful "Stars and Stripes."

Then there was the little speech my father made about the silver dollar. "Virginia," he said, as he laid a dollar on the table, "this is the strongest money on the face of the earth. All people of the world want our money." This, too, impressed me greatly.

Well, we have come a long, long way.

Is there anyone, anywhere who is no naive as to think the Stars and Stripes could protect him in the world of today? And what about our dollar? Well, it is no longer the kingpin of the world's economy. We, ourselves, are destroying it.

For 20 years we have been spending more money than we have been taking in. We have been giving ourselves and also foreign countries handouts of money—much of which we had to borrow. Our money has eroded 2 to 3 percent every year for 20 years and now is worth 47 or 48 cents on the dollar, compared to 20 years ago.

We have an unbalanced Federal budget. We owe almost $292 billion, up $12 billion, a billion a month in the last year. We are losing our industrial leadership because of our eroding money and we are also losing the respect of the world. And still our Federal spending merrily rolls along at $80 billion annually.

Fiscal experts have warned us that if our Government continues to spend money it doesn't have, the spiral tornado of inflation will destroy us. In that case, communism will have won without dropping a bomb. It doesn't make much sense to spend billions for defense when we ourselves are imperiling the Nation's safety.

Recently I heard a man bemoaning that there were no more free frontiers. A historian notes "there never were any free frontiers."

Frontiers are never free, and they are not east or west or north or south. They are found wherever men face a new threat—a new danger.

We are facing a new danger today. We have a frontier to conquer.

You are leaders of the Farm Bureau women. You have chosen me as your chairman. I plead with you—make your first responsibility this year to stand shoulder to shoulder with your men in restoring fiscal responsibility to this Nation.

I urge every Farm Bureau woman to write to her congressman showing informed intelligent concern over the fiscal condition of our country, demanding that unnecessary spending and waste be eliminated, that our budget be balanced, and telling them that if they can't do this we will seek to replace them with people who can.

We must recognize the forces which will be lined up against us, and prepare ourselves to meet them.

1. The Communists, who wish us to bankrupt ourselves, so they can take over the free world. For I say to you that only as we remain rich and powerful, does freedom have any hope in this whole world.

2. The centralizers—perhaps the most dangerous of all. The Federal aid to education issue will be on the front burner this year. To win on this, everyone of us will have to be on the job.

3. The spenders and wasters, who regard our tax money as only "silly dollars."

4. The do-gooders who think our unique gifts rightfully belong to the world.

5. The foreign aid program, which needs closer scrutiny as to need, quantity, and methods.

6. Ourselves. It is easy to say what the other fellow should do, but much harder to push the elixir of Government handouts from our own lips. But it is our responsibility to work for farm programs that are less of a burden on our Government Treasury.

We contain within ourselves resources of strength and power which will enable us to do whatever needs to be done. There is enough power and strength right in this convention to change the course of this Nation.

Roscoe Drummond Asks if Steel-Strike Settlement Will Contribute to Inflation in Prices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, one of the fairest and most prudent syndicated newspaper columnists in the Nation is Roscoe Drummond. He is not an extremist, nor is he given to making extravagant charges.

In the Washington Post and Times Herald for January 16, 1960, Mr. Drummond asks some very penetrating questions regarding the recent settlement in the steel strike. He wants to know, for example, if the general public soon will pay the price for the settlement in terms of higher steel costs. And Mr. Drummond expresses his skepticism over the insistence of certain participants in the steel controversy that the settlement is not inflationary.

I shall ask unanimous consent to include Roscoe Drummond's column in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD because many great issues of a similar nature soon will face the United States—the wages and working conditions of railroad employees, the pay of Federal Government employees and Post Office Department workers, and so forth. The administration, having sponsored the handsome steel-strike settlement for the steelworkers, now faces the dilemma of what it is to do in these other situations. Will the administration be consistent, or will it be only unilaterally interested in the steelworkers and nobody else?

What will be told a faithful letter carrier earning $4,800 a year by an administration which promoted a generous pay increase for a steelworker already earning $5,600 a year?

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Roscoe Drummond's article, entitled "Has the Public Been Had?" be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STEEL SETTLEMENT—HAS THE PUBLIC BEEN HAD AGAIN?

(By Roscoe Drummond)

There is no doubt that many people, including the Eisenhower administration, have drawn a tremendous sigh of relief to see the 116-day steel strike ended without a further walkout.

That's understandable, but nothing could be more awkward than for these people, including the politicians, to hold their breath until it is shown that it is a good settlement.

What can be said is that it is a settlement which the steel companies and the labor unions deem to be in their own best interests.

It cannot be said that it is a settlement demonstrably in the public interest.

As the President stressed many times, the public interest could only be served by a settlement which was not inflationary, which did not add a further push to the wage-price spiral.

It is perfectly true that it is not instantly provable that the wage-and-benefits package which prevented a second walkout will generate a sequence of price rises throughout the economy. But there are many indications that it will.

The cagey way the steel agreement is being expounded by those who have been closest to the facts must cause those who read the small type to be apprehensive that the public has been had again. What I am trying to say is that the razor-fine words which the defenders of the settlement use to show it is good, increase my doubts about it.

Secretary of Labor James Mitchell, who certainly knows what he is talking about, says that the settlement will not have highly inflationary effects. But the settlement does not have to be highly inflationary to be hurtfully inflationary.

Vice President NIXON, who is chairman of the administration's anti-inflation committee, says, through an authorized spokesman, that the settlement is "not largely inflationary." But it wouldn't have to be "largely" inflationary to be inflationary enough to abet seriously the wage-price spiral.

The defenders of the settlement point to the fact that the increase in wages and benefits is fully 50 percent under the other postwar agreements and is only 65 percent as high as the pattern of wage increases in other contracts this year.

On the ground that the steel settlement this year is not as high as in other postwar years some of its defenders argue that "it is not inflationary," when, in truth, all that can fairly be said is that it is not "as" inflationary as the earlier agreements.

The Eisenhower administration was making a real impression upon the public consciousness, including management and labor, of the critical necessity of holding the line on further wage increases which mean further price increases. It had, for a time, succeeded in stiffening the steel company negotiators to resist a kind of settlement, the costs of which would have to be passed along to the consumer.

But, if the best that can be said for the agreement which the administration helped to bring about is that it is not highly inflationary, it seems to me that the administration's whole crusade has been unhorsed in midstream.

Perhaps Secretary Mitchell can himself help avert the inflationary impact of the settlement by using his credentials—which ought to be very large—with both sides to bring them together on work-rule improvement. The goal would be to raise productivity sufficiently to avoid a steel-price increase a few months hence. If he can do that, he will deserve the Republican vice presidential nomination.

My own conviction is that nothing in the steel settlement assures that the public interest is going to be protected in the next round of collective bargaining at the end of which the public pays the bill and others collect.

Salute to Deeds of Non-Ugly Americans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article which appeared in Life magazine by William J. Lederer and Eugene Burdick, the authors of "The Ugly American." In this article the authors pay well-deserved tribute to certain Americans who are winning friends for their country abroad by their devoted and selfless assistance to the world's needy.

The article follows:

SALUTE TO DEEDS OF NON-UGLY AMERICANS

Last year we wrote a novel called "The Ugly American." It was about Americans at work overseas in the service of the United States and freedom. Some of the people we described were doing a great job. Others were stupid, fearful or just plain incompetent—and a few of these were the very people who ran our various foreign aid programs at the local level. We wrote the book hoping it would stimulate Americans to think about the mission of our country in foreign lands all over the world.

We were hardly prepared for the explosion that resulted. Although thousands of readers understood the book and wrote us asking how they could help make America's foreign aid more effective, thousands more were outraged. Streams of angry letters poured in to Congress asking why, if the foreign aid programs were so badly run, taxpayers should support them at all. "The Ugly American" became one of the most frequently mentioned books in the recent history of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Senator WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, of Arkansas, its sharpest congressional critic, recently called it "sterile, devoid of insight, reckless and irresponsible." Angry letters came to us, too, attacking us

for daring to say that Americans overseas are all doing a bad job.

We were astounded and dismayed. Astounded because the book told about a number of people—including specifically the "ugly American" of the title—who with intelligence and devotion were bringing practical, human help to backward areas. We were dismayed because, although the book was intended to help correct the errors in America's foreign aid programs, it was now being used as a weapon to destroy foreign aid entirely. Canceling the foreign aid programs now on the ground that they contain weaknesses would be as illogical as throwing away a rifle because it sometimes jams—just when the enemy is about to attack.

More than anything else we were depressed that so many readers should fail to appreciate the fact that thousands of "ugly Americans" overseas are doing practical work with a no-nonsense application of elbow grease. These men and women should be supported. In a large sense we wrote our book to praise them. Thousands of these Americans are performing their good works in the line of duty, as employees of the State Department, the International Cooperation Administration, and other Government agencies. Still others are doing it entirely on their own—which, in a way, makes their efforts even more spectacular. We would like you to meet some of these people:

THE SERGEANT AND THE SCYTHES

M. Sgt. Eugene Hoops is a balding, muscular, outspoken man of 40 who has made the Air Force his career. He was raised in Nebraska's Keya Paha County, a district of thin land and hard farming.

"You can bet a pretty penny that the farmer who makes a living in Keya Paha is a good one," Hoops says. "Lots of erosion, tricky rainfall. You get smart quick or you're in trouble."

When Hoops was assigned to Korea in 1954, he could not resist walking out into the fields, running the soil through his hands, watching the farmers at work. What he saw made him itch with excitement.

"It was like Keya Paha, except these guys didn't know what to do about it," Hoops said.

For one thing they were not harvesting their cereal crops efficiently. Using a small blade attached to the end of a long handle, they were cutting only a fistful of grain at a time. On a trip to Japan, Hoops picked up an American scythe. Back in Korea he took it to the main office of the Ministry of Agriculture in Seoul. He took along a Korean friend to translate.

Things started slowly at the ministry, but soon Hoops and his translator were moving from one room to another. Each time the room got more elegant and the Koreans more excited. The translator was beginning to sweat. Finally he stammered to Hoops that they were now in the office of the Minister of Agriculture himself. Hoops made a few swoops over the carpet to demonstrate the scythe. These regal gentlemen asked Hoops if he would give a practical demonstration of the strange instrument.

A half hour later he was standing in a small field that was ready for harvest. Within a short time Hoops had cleared an area that would have taken five times as long to do with the old tool. The Koreans were delighted. An official asked if the scythe might not be too heavy for small-statured Koreans to operate.

"Why hell, mister," Hoops said, "when I was a 12-year-old boy, smaller than anyone here, I would sometimes work one of these 4 or 5 hours a day." The sweating translator produced a more respectful and elegant version of Hoops's words. The official was pleased and even tried a few swipes himself.

Then, with Hoops's scythe as a reminder, someone remembered that several hundred scythe handles had mysteriously arrived from the United States months before, but no blades had accompanied them. The Koreans had pored through an old Sears, Roebuck catalogue until they found a scythe and had them attempted to hammer out some blades, but they were unsuccessful. The handles were put aside and forgotten. Now Hoops, who had once been an apprentice in a blacksmith's shop, helped the Koreans figure out how to forge the blades.

Only later did Hoops learn that the crop he had harvested was cannabis sativa, or marijuana. The crop, Hoops reasoned, was not his concern; what mattered was the technique. He was right. For Hoops's blade has become the model for thousands of others.

There are other things that disturbed former farm boy Hoops. "When it rained, the farmers would squat there and watch the red topsoil run off into the Han River until I damn near wept. I asked them about cover crops and the like, but they never heard of them. I remembered that back home wherever wild plum trees were, the soil held and didn't erode. So I wrote my sister in Nebraska and she sent me 15 pounds of wild plum seeds. I showed the Koreans how to plant them. So far they're concentrating on growing a seed crop, but after they get those new seeds planted they're going to stop losing that topsoil. You watch."

Hoops is now stationed in Japan, but his interest in Korea continues. On a visit to the United States some time ago he found an old-fashioned corn planter and shipped it to Korea. Hoops is now assembling it. He is sure it will be ideal for Korea's present level of agriculture.

"Right now a tractor is a joke to them," Hoops explains. "Too expensive, too hard to maintain. But those bulls they have are stronger than a horse. Of course, they'll have to drive the bull instead of leading him by the nose, but once they learn that they'll be in business."

Hoops has other ambitions for Korea. First, he would like to recruit a half-dozen Amish families to go to that country.

"See, those Amish are patient, independent people who don't go for big machinery or expensive equipment," Hoops explains. "An Amish farm is a complete unit by itself. An Amish family could teach Koreans exactly what they need to know. I don't know if the Amish would do it, but I wish someone would give them the chance."

Hoops would also like to use the rich adobe hills of Korea for building materials. The Koreans have never found the knack of using adobe properly for building, although they have tried. Hoops would like to bring some Mexican-American boys from the United States and have them show the Koreans how to convert this cheap material into snug houses. Wood in Korea has little strength and tends to split when a nail is driven into it. A few teams of efficient adobe-brick makers could well change the building pattern of the country.

Are there enough Americans willing to do these things all over the world? We are convinced that there are thousands of them. All they need is the chance and some idea of how they can help.

Hoops', example illustrates some vital principles of grassroots foreign aid. First, the initial steps should involve simple tools which can be understood by the user. Second, more complex tools should be introduced systematically when the user is ready for them. Third, the recipient should be encouraged to help himself. Fourth, the American in the field should have a powerful voice in what kind of aid is to be delivered from the United States and when it is to arrive. His bosses in Washington should listen to him, not dictate from behind a desk.

This is not easy when big bureaucracies are involved. Projects recognized as sound in India or Indonesia or Ghana tend to be shifted aside as they go through official channels in Washington—especially if the projects are small. Bureaucracies, by their nature, tend to prefer big projects, sweeping proposals. One reason that private citizens often are able to accomplish so much is that they do not have to route their requests and suggestions through the labyrinth.

A HAPPY MOUNTAIN FARM

They asked me: "How can we help 90 million Japanese live off these islands? Only 16 percent of the land is arable. The rest is mountains," said an American with crinkles around his eyes. "I gave them the only answer I could: find things that will grow on the mountains. That was the problem and we solved it."

The man is a chunky, ruddy-faced sophisticated Kentuckian named Paul Rusch, who not the least bid embarrassed about being a complete amateur in agriculture. He is, in fact, mildly proud of the fact. He should be, for there is a good chance that what he has accomplished may bring about important agricultural changes in Japan.

Rusch has done his work on the cold, stark slopes of Mount Yatsu, which rises out of the warm rice plains 70 miles west of Tokyo. His farm is not much to look at: a break in the scrub pines, a few barns, some buildings, a hospital. It is called Kiyosato Educational Experiment Project, or KEEP for short.

"I was teaching at Rikkyo University in Tokyo before the war," Rusch says. "The Japanese Government arrested me on Pearl Harbor Day, and I spent 7 months in a concentration camp. Then I was exchanged. I came back to Japan as a G–2 colonel on MacArthur's staff. Some of my former Japanese students were around and began pressing me for a precise definition of 'American democracy.' I was damned if I knew, but I began to think about it."

Although Rusch twinkles like Mr. Micawber, he can talk like Thomas Jefferson. When his students came back for an answer, he was ready. He explained how the Pilgrims, arriving in a bleak wilderness, had threshed out political problems in town meetings, helped one another raise barns and houses, and slowly clawed out a mastery over both their physical and political environment. The lesson was simple, but it was hard: self-help and optimism. No one else can do it for you, Rusch explained. Let America or the Communists or the Samurai run Japan for you, and the result will be something other than democracy.

The Japanese listened, discussed and finally agreed with Rusch. But in a Japan that was racked with the guilt of a catastrophic war, faced with shortages of all sorts and lacking a tradition of local cooperation, the problems seemed insurmountable. Finally debate and a relentless logic squeezed out an answer: Japan needed more food and better kinds of food. The warm, wet rice plains that make up half of Japan's arable land had been developed to a fantastic level of productivity, but the rest of the land had been virtually ignored. In any case a rice diet was inadequate. Children needed milk, adults needed protein. The first objective seemed obvious: raise dairy and beef cattle on the unused 84 percent of Japan's land. If a start could be made, it might set an example that would help millions of Japanese peasants who live at the very edge of subsistence.

Rusch and a few of his former students agreed to make the experiment. They approached the Japanese Government and were given 857 acres of unwanted mountain land that used to be the imperial household's hunting area. The mountain was covered with a jungle of scrub pine and azaleas. "Nothing else will grow there," said the offi-

cials. "It is 5,000 feet high, cold, and mostly rock. But we wish you luck."

Rusch then approached his fellow officers on MacArthur's staff and asked for their financial support. For members of a victorious army at the end of a bitter war, this was a strange request—but it worked. They gave Rusch almost $14,000 and KEEP was in business.

The problems were enormous. The wild azaleas, which had spread over the mountain for centuries, had turned the soil acid. The land was studded with rocks and ancient roots. There was no strain of cattle in Japan adapted to mountain foraging. But in a nearby hill Rusch and his people found lime that could be used to sweeten the soil. On a junk heap in Tokyo they discovered a 17-year-old bulldozer. They bought it and nursed it back to life. It still rips out roots and rocks with gusto. Hundreds of cattle were donated by people in the United States and other countries. A Nebraska farmer sent a prize bull.

The first building that went up on Kiyosato was, true to the Pilgrim example, a meetinghouse and church. Later there was a small hospital and a nursery school. There was also a library. Almost everything was secondhand, inexpensive—and still is. The place has an ancient bus, an antique dentist chair, a discarded X-ray machine. But everything now works and works well. The roads around Kiyosato are incredibly bad, but they do carry vehicles.

"If this place were surrounded by hard-topped roads and glittering machinery marked 'Made in America,' it would reassure American farmers," says Rusch, "but it would depress the Japanese. They would know they could never afford it. Kiyosato is an example, the beginning of hope for people who had almost lost it—so it has to speak in their terms."

This does not mean that Kiyosato speaks in a somber or dismal voice. The place has a rowdy, puckish, happy air about it. On cold mornings one hears student farmers singing on their way to work. There is constant joking. Everyone seems determined not to take himself too seriously. Much of this is due to the volatile personality of Rusch. He loves a joke. But he is as practical as a Yankee trader. He had the problem of getting a first-class staff, so he quite deliberately saw to it that his bachelor Japanese chaplain was introduced to an attractive young female doctor from Tokyo. Today she is the chaplain's wife, the head doctor at the Kiyosato hospital and the mother of four children.

Has this small, inexpensive, bold experiment been successful? It would seem so. Ten years ago there were only a few cows. Today more than 2,000 fine cattle graze on the hills around Kiyosato. Almost every peasant in the neighborhood has a cow staked in his yard. Parents who never tasted milk as children watch their children drink two brass bowlfuls a day. And the children are taller, their teeth finer, their health better than their parents. All this has been accomplished without 1 cent of expense to Japanese or American taxpayers. Paul Rusch has done it with nickels and dimes he has raised from private citizens.

Other areas of Japan have asked Rusch to do for them what he has done for Kiyosato. Rusch politely declines but points out that what he has done any Japanese could do. He suggests that they send young farmers to be trained at Kiyosato and this they do. Helping one's self is faster and more dignified than asking for help. Apprentices from all over Japan are beginning to sign up.

Foreign governments such as Canada and New Zealand have expressed great interest in the project. The Communists have paid the place a great compliment by their implacable opposition. They have fought KEEP at every step, but lately their opposition has been tempered by the simple fact that peasants do not take kindly to criticism of Kiyosato.

The surest tribute of all to the success of KEEP occurred some months ago. On Children's Day, one of Japan's favorite holidays, almost 70 local villagers who could have been relaxing at home appeared at one of the particularly beat-up roads around KEEP. Without a word they began to work cheerfully on the road. Later that afternoon they walked up to Rusch's small cabin and sang two or three songs in his honor. He came to the doorway, waved to them and expressed his thanks. But he made no speeches. It would not be in the spirit of the man or the place.

We are not, of course, suggesting that all agricultural problems can be solved by the easy introduction of Sergeant Hoop's scythe, or by the intuition and energy of one man such as Paul Rusch. Some solutions involve great expenditures of money, especially on such things as dam construction in areas where there is not enough water. The ICA and its ancestor agencies have done a magnificent job in many cases. The drilling of tube wells on some farms in India, for example, has increased the yield per farm by 45 to 100 percent. Potato yields in Indonesia were boosted 80 percent by the use of fertilizers and insecticides. Yet there is a place for men like Hoops and Rusch alongside the great agencies. And their work need not be limited to the field of farming.

A DOCTOR OF DEMOCRACY

The life expectancy of Americans is 69 years, that of Asians 48 years. Even this brutal statistic does not reveal the character of the truncated life that the Asian lives. One day in a Southeast Asian country a doctor interviewed a group of laborers. Most had malaria. Seven had trachoma. Eight had intestinal worms. There were 52 rotted teeth among them. Twenty-two had festering sores, origin unknown.

These men were cheerful and they drove their imperfect bodies hard. But they were forced to live their short lives against a constant dreary background of pain. Our doctor friend estimated that the expenditure of $23, 1 day of work by a doctor and a half-day by a public health specialist and a dentist could have made the majority of these men almost healthy again.

A single disease such as malaria can cause a staggering loss of productivity. In the relatively small country of Thailand, time lost from malaria is estimated at 9.5 million man-days of work per year. In India the total is a fantastic 130 million man-days. Bilharziasis, an exhausting parasitic disease of the intestines, affects half the people of Egypt. It could be cured by eliminating the snails that transmit the disease.

One person who has recognized the necessity for bringing health to the people is Dr. Tom Dooley. While serving as a Navy doctor at a refugee camp just after the fall of Dienbienphu in 1954, Dr. Dooley saw at first-hand the iron-hard link between malnutrition, ill health, and ignorance on one side and the appeals of communism on the other. He was aware that the Russians, quietly and without fanfare, are sending medical and surgical teams through Asia. In a world of misery the healer will be admired—so medicine had become a branch of Communist politics.

Dr. Dooley responded in the only way he knew. Three years ago he resigned from the Navy, organized a volunteer medical team that was supported partly by the royalties from his book, "Deliver Us From Evil," and partly by generous contributions from individuals and American pharmaceutical firms, and took off for Laos.

Since then Tom Dooley has traveled widely in the Lao back country, caring for the sick and training native workers to treat the more common diseases. On his trips back to the United States he has raised large sums to further the work. Last August he underwent a successful operation for cancer. Staying on in the United States to recuperate, he has made double use of his time by scheduling a grueling round of lectures—51 talks in 36 cities—to get money for medical work in Laos. In less than 3 months he raised more than $200,000.

Dooley plans to return to the Far East next month to rejoin his workers in Laos. He has two assistants there, both volunteer Americans. They go into the steaming jungles without families or luxuries. They are paid $100 a month. Another American doctor, Emmanuel Voulgaropoulos, of Lowell, Mass., also is working in the area—one more "ugly American" who was ready to do a needed job in a foreign land once the way was opened for him.

WOMAN'S WAR ON ILLITERACY

Ho Chi Minh, a thin, sparrowlike man, has a rasping voice that can set a crowd to jangling with excitement or hatred. He is the leader of the Communist Vietminh across the border from Laos in North Vietnam. Following a trip to Communist China he once said, "China is 100 percent literate." To many Americans Ho's statement will seem unimportant, almost trivial. It happens also to be a whopping lie. But all over Asia his words caused a restless ripple, a muttering of wonderment—for Asia is overwhelmingly illiterate and does not like that condition.

Take India. In a sense this great land is a vast sea of illiteracy. In some areas the percentage of literacy is below 8 percent and seldom goes above 20 percent anywhere. More than 400,000 of the nation's villages have no school at all. The most sophisticated arithmetic the villagers know is the mahajan (moneylender) system, an elaborate series of marks on a stick that help the villager know if he is being cheated.

A woman named Mrs. Welthy Honsinger Fisher decided to do something about this.

The American widow of the late Methodist bishop of India and Burma, Mrs. Fisher, has an astonishing ability to understand common problems. With the daring that comes from innocence she aimed at teaching everyone in India to read. The prospect was heartbreakingly difficult, for Mrs. Fisher had no money and the people she hoped to teach had very little spare time. She wanted to teach adults who in turn could teach their children, but in India the adults work from dawn to darkness. There are no lights in the villages at night, and the people are tired.

Besides, new teaching techniques had to be developed before the project could even get started. Mrs. Fisher found that she could not use children's primers to teach grown-ups. Indian villagers are proud, dignified people. They were embarrassed by primers that said, "This is a cat. Sirona sees a cat."

Mrs. Fisher and her Indian staff wrote new primers that used the rhythm of the seasons, seeds, political parties, and agricultural lessons as examples. Slowly the numberless tongues of India were worked into primers: Tamil, Telugu, Bengali, Gujarati, and others. Methods of instruction were streamlined.

Today Mrs. Fisher's establishment, Literacy Village, and its itinerant teachers can teach a farmer to read and write within 5 months. Working with the CARE organization, Mrs. Fisher has developed a "literacy kit." This consists of slates (paper is too expensive), slate markers, primers, and exercise books. It also includes a kerosene lamp. Now the villagers can study at night.

One literacy kit can help 25 people learn to read and write. In hundreds of villages little groups squat around the lamps and scratch on their slates. Those who have learned to read and write are proud of their accomplishment. They, in turn, become teachers to their friends and children.

Mrs. Fisher's records show that the cost of teaching an Indian to read and write is only $10. "It is interesting," Mrs. Fisher said recently, "that for the price of one Sherman tank I could make 5,000 people literate."

One of her students replied, "Yes, and you also get 5,000 people who can learn about truth for themselves and who will always love the person who taught them to read."

Bearing in mind the low pay and the hard work, we asked Mrs. Fisher if there is a sufficient supply of Americans to volunteer for her organization.

"Of course there are enough," she said. "Give me the money to transport them and maintain them, and I'll find you enough Americans to wipe out illiteracy from the whole world."

We are not suggesting that the massive and difficult problems of the uncommitted countries of the world can all be resolved as simply as in the cases we have cited. At the same time that Americans are doing these things, we must also do others that are terribly expensive, complex and sensitive.

But we do suggest that the perspiration of the ugly Americans is a magic medicine that can cure some ailments of our foreign policy. It should be encouraged. Unfortunately it sometimes is not.

In one South Asian country a number of our soldiers who in civilian life were skilled workers formed a volunteer team of carpenters, plumbers, electricians, and painters to help the natives improve their homes. They simply could not stand by and see things done badly. They met a blank, unyielding wall in the person of their commanding officer: he refused to let them do the work on the grounds that they might get in trouble with native women.

The fact is that if our entire foreign aid program were conducted with the spirit these men displayed, the program might be in less trouble today. We are fast becoming frustrated and fearful over the program's past performance and frequent scandals. There is a rumbling both from the public and the Congress to terminate all overseas assistance.

"I helped start the foreign aid program," one Senator told us recently, "and I have worked hard to make it operate. Now I'm about to give up. If things don't improve by next year, I'll recommend that we cut out the whole thing."

This would be a deadly error. Foreign aid is one of the major weapons in our struggle to keep free nations from turning toward communism. It is a vital element of our current foreign policy. To give up because we are discouraged and lack the national vigor to take corrective action would be to stick our heads under the blanket and invite communism to take over the world.

Foreign aid probably will grow more expensive. America must realize that if we and other prosperous nations do not help the restless millions of the world, the Communists surely will. If we withdraw from the struggle, we must realize the terrible price. We will become slack and fat spectators to one of history's great dramas—and we will be the last victims in the tragic last act.

The Lag in Statesmanship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STEWART L. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, the quality of American statesmanship has been the object of frequent comment by students of American history.

A perceptive analysis of the present condition of American statecraft written by the eminent historian, Dr. Henry Steele Commager, appeared in the New York Times Sunday magazine yesterday.

Dr. Commager's article is highly provocative, and I know that his insights will be of interest to many of our colleagues.

The Commager piece follows:

URGENT QUERY: WHY DO WE LACK STATESMEN?—A HISTORIAN ARGUES IT IS MORE THAN CHANCE WE HAVE HAD SO FEW SINCE OUR FOUNDING

(By Henry Steel Commager, professor of American history at Amherst College, has written many books, including "The American Mind" and "Freedom, Loyalty, and Dissent")

The United States of the seventeen seventies and eighties was a new nation on the frontier of civilization, with a population of some 3 million (far less than that of Los Angeles County today) spread thin over an immense territory, without a single real city, without an aristocracy or a ruling class, and with few of those institutions of science and learning that sustained the societies of the Old World. Yet out of this America emerged, in a single generation, Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, Hamilton, John Adams, James Wilson, John Jay, James Madison, John Marshall, and a score of others scarcely less distinguished in the realm of statesmanship.

Now we have everything that we then lacked. Our population is 50 times as large as that of 1780, our territory spreads across the continent, we count a hundred cities larger than the largest of that time, we boast an educational level higher than any other in the Western World, as well as immense wealth and power. We have, in fact, all the elements that should produce statesmen. Yet in the past half century we have produced perhaps three men comparable to those of the Revolutionary generation: Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, and Franklin Roosevelt (some would add Adlai Stevenson but he is as yet untried).

Indeed, the most conspicuous feature on the American political landscape is the absence of statesmanship.

Nor is this a matter of individuals or of personalities; if so, our analysis might well be suspect. If we look away from the great figures of history to the principles they formulate, the contrast between the Revolutionary generation and our own is even more striking. The generation of the Founding Fathers invented—or perfected—almost all of our major political institutions: the Federal system, the Constitutional Convention, the written Constitution, a new system that did away with the colony-mother country relationship, a system of checks and balances that really checked and balanced, and even the modern political party.

What has the 20th century invented, in the realm of politics? Two things, perhaps, that can bear comparison with the great institutions of the past: the concept of regional development crystallized in TVA, and the Marshall plan. Both both of these, important as they are, are chiefly administrative contrivances rather than political institutions. The fact is that for a century and a half we have been living on the political capital piled up by the generation of the Founding Fathers and have added little to it.

How explain what appears to be a precipitous decline in statesmanship? Why is it that a nation so great and a people so fertile in so many fields are so unproductive in this field of such paramount importance?

It is not easy to answer questions of this kind, for we do not know what accounts for greatness. How, after all, explain the outburst of genius in the Athens of Pericles and Sophocles, the Florence of Michelangelo and Raphael, the England of Hakluyt and Shakespeare, the Copenhagen of Hans Andersen and Kierkegaard and Thorvaldsen, the Vienna of Haydn and Mozart and Beethoven?

It would be absurd to ascribe all these to coincidence or to chance. Sculptors and painters didn't just happen in 15th century Florence, nor navigators and poets and dramatists in the little England of Elizabeth; nor was it chance that frontier Virginia, with a white population less than that of Knoxville or Syracuse, gave us Washington, Jefferson, George Mason, John Marshall, James Madison, George Wythe and a dozen others of distinction. Perhaps if we can find out why art was the specialty of Florence and Venice, music of Salzburg and Vienna, and statesmanship of Revolutionary Virginia, we can find some explanation of the decline of statesmanship in our own day, and some clue to the secret of its revival.

The most obvious consideration is that of contingency. Talent is infectious, even genius is infectious. In a society where everybody is interested in art, where artists are the objects of admiration and of patronage, where the visible achievements of the artists confront one at every turn, every boy will want to wield a painter's brush or a stonecutter's chisel. In a society where to be ignorant of music is to be ignorant of life, the most natural thing is to learn to sing, to play a fiddle or a pianoforte. A society where to sail in the service of the Quen is the highest honor, where all the talk is of new lands and new oceans, is one that almost inevitably produces Drakes and Frobishers and Raleighs.

What is decisive, in each case, is the standard of excellence and of patronage or—to use the current idiom—of prestige. And a society where lawyers argue political principles before the jury, where parsons expound them from their pulpits, and judges from the bench, where the talk is everywhere of great political issues, is one where everyone of talent naturally gravitates to the public service.

For the young are creatures of contingency. They pattern their lives on the standards which their society in fact (not in theory) exalts. They will adopt standards that are held up to them, but only on the condition that these are genuine standards, only on condition that their elders do subscribe to them and live by them, in deed as in word. Thus, as Pericles asserted, they "draw strength not from twice-told arguments * * * but from the busy spectacle of our great city's life, as we have it before us day by day, falling in love with her as we see her."

What is that busy spectacle which our young see before them day by day, from which they are to draw inspiration? What are the things we most admire and most generously reward? And let us not ask what is said in commencement addresses or at Fourth of July celebrations, what is earnestly argued in unread editorials or in the solemn articles sandwiched between the advertising matter in the popular magazines, what is expounded on the public service programs of television and radio. Let us ask rather what it is the newspapers put put in their headlines; what programs are assigned the choice spots on radio and television; what aspects of school life really command the enthusiasm of the public?

If we ask what our young people are expected to admire and to emulate, the answer is easy enough. It is private enterprise. The great rewards in our society go to the leaders of business, industry and finance. It is the businessmen, the bankers, the corporation executives, who run their communities. They are the men who sit on the boards of the universities, the hospitals, the

orchestras and the museums; they are the men who garner the richest harvest of honorary degrees from universities whose business is presumably scholarship.

They are the men President Eisenhower appoints to Cabinet or ambassadorial posts, puts on committees—even on committees dealing with education or with science—and invites to his important White House dinners. As the specialty of 18th-century Virginia and Massachusetts was statesmen, our specialty is businessmen and technicians.

"What is honored in a country will be cultivated there," said Plato. We are reminded, too, of the proud boast of Pericles:

"Our citizens attend both to public and private duties, and do not allow absorption in their own affairs to interfere with their knowledge of the city's."

Washington might have made the same boast, and Jefferson, but how many can make it now?

There are a number of reasons for this:

Consider first the connotations of the terms involved. The term "private enterprise" has glamour; the term "public enterprise" is dull and prosaic. Day in and day out, in a thousand media, private enterprise is equated with the American way of life. It is "private enterprise" that has made us what we are. It is "private enterprise" that most sharply distinguishes us from the Communists. It is "private enterprise" that will save us. One of our major political parties poses as peculiarly the spokesman and champion of private enterprise, and its two titular leaders never cease to extole that concept, or to throw suspicion on the alternative. Witness the attitude toward the TVA or public housing or socialized medicine.

School boards enjoin teachers to indoctrinate students with the glories of private enterprise, and textbooks are required to celebrate its virtues. The man who devotes himself to private enterprise is looked upon as a public benefactor.

Public enterprise, by contrast, is either tiresome or suspect. The label "politician" is one of opprobrium and, since Senator McCarthy's crusade, a faint aura of suspicion hangs over the term "civil servant" as well. The head of a business firm is an executive, but the head of a Government office is a bureaucrat.

As for public enterprise itself, it conjures up such images as public housing, Federal dams and hydroelectric power and public health programs. To many minds these have the taint of socialism which, as everyone knows, is next door to communism. Certainly, if we hearken to some of our medical spokesmen, a plan for national health which enlists the Government in the enterprise is a plot hatched in Moscow.

It is natural enough that with this attitude we reward private service much more generously than public—not only in money but in respect and prestige as well. The contrast between the pay of the Supreme Court Justice and the corporation lawyer, the TVA engineer and the engineer of the private power company, the scientist in the Public Health Service and the surgeon in private practice, is too familiar to rehearse; it is not, perhaps, of central importance.

More important are the conditions of private and public service. Not only is public service badly paid; it is exceedingly vulnerable, and more so now than at any time in the past. It was Horace Greeley who observed bitterly during the campaign of 1872 that he didn't know whether he was running for the Presidency or the penitentiary. A good many politicians, and not presidential candidates alone, must have felt that way during some of our recent campaigns—the 20 years of treason type of campaign, for example.

The civil servant, too, is at all times fair game: fair game for demagogues making political capital; for congressional committees which allow themselves a degree of irresponsibility unparalleled in other English-speaking countries; for security investigators whose work—witness the Service and the Condon cases—is never done; even for newspapermen who yield nothing to these investigators in their contempt for privacy.

Another reason we are short on statesmen is that we no longer train for service to the commonwealth as did the generation of the Founding Fathers. At no time, to be sure, has there been more provision for formal training: Syracuse, Tufts, Harvard, Princeton, American and many other universities maintain flourishing institutes for the study of public administration or the Foreign Service. But valuable as this training is, it comes too late, and in a form too academic. The time to excite the imagination and stir the sympathies is in early youth, and the place is in the home and the community.

Thus the patriot Josiah Quincy left to his son "the Works of Algernon Sidney, John Locke, Bacon, Gordon's Tacitus, and Cato's Letters when he should have reached the age of 15" that he might be trained to the love of liberty. Thus George Mason—author of the great Virginia Declaration of Rights—charged his children "on a father's blessing, never to let the motives of private interest or of ambition induce them to betray nor the fear of danger or death deter them from asserting the liberty of the country and endeavoring to transmit to their posterity those sacred rights to which they themselves were born."

This attitude of the 18th century suggests another explanation of the decline of statesmanship in our time—the decline not only of the study of history but of the study of history in terms of great men and heroic enterprises.

The generation that won independence and created a nation was deeply versed in the history of Greece and of Rome, the history of Switzerland, of the Low Countries, and of England—which is another way of saying the history of freedom. They were familiar with Thucydides and Plutarch and with Milton and John Locke; they thought of themselves as part of a great tradition and immersed themselves in that tradition in order to perpetuate it.

We study history, to be sure, but in terms of impersonal forces or, worse yet, in accordance with the headache theory that history is just one problem after another. And when we teach it in the schools (we have to require it) we manage to drain it of heroes and heroics and reduce it to a drab level guaranteed to frustrate interest and smother imagination.

"After history has done its best to fix men's thoughts upon strategy and finance," said Justice Holmes, "their eyes have turned and rested on some single romantic figure—some Sidney, some Falkland, some Wolfe, some Montcalm. * * * This is that little touch of the superfluous which serves no mechanical end. Superfluous only as glory is superfluous, or a bit of red ribbon that a man would die to win." To which we may remark. "Not if our schools can help it."

Somewhere, too, we have lost that passionate concern for the future that animated the generation of Washington and Jefferson, that sense of responsibility to "our descendants to the thousandth and thousandth generation" to which Jefferson referred so movingly in his inaugural address. We have lost not only the 18th century faith in progress, but Victorian optimism as well; few of us really think the best is yet to be, the last for which the first was made. We want the best to be now, and we want to enjoy it ourselves.

We may believe in a future where airplanes fly twice as fast and all drudgery is eliminated by gadgets, but we do not believe in a future which will unveil comparable advances in the moral or cultural realms.

The generation of the Founding Fathers was extraordinarily conscious of posterity. As John Adams wrote of the signing of the Declaration:

"Through all the gloom I can see the rays of ravishing light and glory. Posterity will triumph in that day's transaction."

In a curious way, we no longer believe in posterity; perhaps we no longer believe in the young. We do not, for example, believe enough in posterity to save the forests, the soil, the water and other natural resources as fiduciaries for future generations. It may even be questioned whether we believe in posterity enough to persuade us to small efforts or small sacrifices. The 19th century could support a "St. Nicholas" and a "Youth's Companion"; we fob our young people off with television programs inculcating violence and sadism.

The 19th century permitted the young to keep their games and sports for their own enjoyment; we professionalize even school sports for the enterainment and profit of adults. Domestic architecture, that almost infallible index of a people's philosophy, proclaims our indifference to the claims of children. The 19th century could afford to build houses with nurseries, verandas for rainy days, attics and lumber rooms for play, even with rooms for books and a piano. We build more expensive and more hygienic houses with no room for privacy or for play.

Other people, more concerned with the health of their children, can afford bicycle paths; we drive our children off the roads with our giant cars. Other people, poorer than we, can afford parks and squares in their great cities; we take all available space for parking lots.

We can submit this attitude toward posterity to another and simpler test: the Founding Fathers, for all their misgivings about democracy, write no limitations on the expression of the popular will into the Constitution. It has remained for our generation to provide a massive vote of no-confidence in the political judgment of the future: by the 22d amendment we substitute our judgment for theirs on the crucial matter of electing a President.

Two final considerations illumniate the problem of statemanship, particularly in the last quarter of a century—the emergence in the United States of a patriotism that is narrow and chauvinistic, and the growth of statism.

The men who won our independence and laid the foundations of the American Nation were devoted patriots but they were, too, men of the world. For all their devotion to the Nation they were creating, they were children of the enlightenment. Reason taught them that all men were brothers, that purely national distinctions were artificial, and that there existed a great community of art and letters and philosophy and science cutting across and transcending mere national boundaries. The Declaration of Independence, it is relevant to recall, appealed to the opinion of mankind, and asserted the rights of man.

The nationalism of the 18th century, then, did not rest on a narrow base but on a broad one. It was not exclusive but inclusive. It did not find nourishment in fear and suspicion, or in hatred—as so much of our current patriotism does—but in faith and confidence. Perhaps one reason for the decline in statesmanship is that we have hemmed our potential statesmen in, we have denied them, as it were, tolerant and spacious ideas.

This has had two deplorable consequences. In the first place, it has put a premium on

ostentatious displays of chauvinism, and discouraged patriotism that is high-minded and disinterested. A kind of Gresham's Law has set in in the realm of public policy, bogus patriotism driving out the real thing, rhetoric supplanting eloquence, lip service substituting for true loyalty.

In the second place, it has steadily narrowed the concept and constricted the practice of genuine statesmanship. For years now the test of statesmanship has not been broad horizons, catholic sympathies, spacious ideas, but energetic hostility to communism or to ideas that some might think subversive.

This is not the way to foster love of country and service to her; it is rather the way to create a shabby concept both of love and of country, and to turn service into disservice.

The same cast of mind and the same pressures that have encouraged chauvinistic nationalism have stimulated the growth of statism. Its emergence can be most clearly seen in the new doctrines that require travel to be "in the best interests of the United States"; that regard the gathering of information about a foreign country as a "function of the conduct of foreign policy"; that subordinate the rights of freedom of speech, of the press, of association, to congressional notions of what is in the "national interest"; that take away even the citizenship of a native-born American if Congress thinks his conduct interferes with the conduct of foreign policy.

In a hundred other ways, too, we are enhancing the power of the state—making science, education, art, and letters handmaidens to the state. Nothing will more surely dry up the wellsprings of a genuine patriotism than the creation of a mystique of the state. All those who think it appropriate to subordinate the interests of freedom to the supposed interests of the state should heed the admonition of John Stuart Mill:

"A state which dwarfs its men, in order that they may be more docile instruments in its hands even for beneficial purposes will find that with small men no great thing can really be accomplished."

The Federal Budget and the General Welfare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, a most timely and relevant publication has reached my desk. It is entitled "The Federal Budget and the General Welfare," issued by the Conference on Economic Progress on January 11 of this year.

A summary of the entire pamphlet is contained in less than six pages of chapter I. I think this summary is worthy of wide readership, and it is for this reason that I am inserting it in the RECORD.

The summary will indicate, I believe, that the study seeks to formulate a Federal budget which reconciles competing needs in balanced proportion. Likewise, it seeks to measure what the Federal budget as a whole can and should do, by fitting the budget into the framework of the entire national economy in operation.

For those interested in reading the entire study, I might point out that it arrives at some interesting conclusions about economic growth, price stability, and how the Federal budget can be balanced without higher general tax rates and without sacrifice of vital national interests which the budget should serve.

With the President's budget message fresh in our minds, I respectfully urge my colleagues to peruse the following summary of the report issued by the Conference on Economic Progress.

I. SUMMARY AND THEME: TO REVERSE THE GREAT NEGLECT OF THE GENERAL WELFARE

For a number of years, the Federal budget has shown a marked trend toward dangerously inadequate outlays for national security. Similarly, it has shown a marked trend toward grossly inadequate outlays for domestic programs, essential not only to individual well-being, but also to the overall health and growth of the American economy.

This neglect over the years is not yet being reversed. The general nature of the proposed Federal budget for the fiscal year 1961, which goes from the President to the Congress in January 1960, is now known. This budget continues this neglect.

OUR MANY-SIDED NEEDS AND THE FEDERAL BUDGET

Even from the limited viewpoint of the national security, many experts and informed laymen are now agreed upon this: a deficiency in weaponry is compounded by deficiencies in education, health services, and basic research. As a nation, we are piling up supplies of the trinkets which many enjoy, but slighting the basic services which everybody needs. Taking a broader viewpoint of the world challenge confronting us, we cannot afford a further neglect of insistent human needs, on the spurious ground that we cannot afford to do better while still in an arms race. To survive the all-pervasive race that we are really in, we must demonstrate mature awareness of the need for progress on many fronts, and dedicate ourselves to this well-balanced progress.

All who point this out recognize fully that this many-sided progress requires vigorous and sustained efforts by individuals, private organizations, State and local governments, and the Federal Government. But they further recognize that the Federal Government must take the lead, and largely through the Federal budget. The Federal budget determines our national priorities; it is the most important tool for identifying and helping to accomplish our greatest purposes as a nation. If the Federal budget falls down on its tasks, others cannot rise fully to theirs.

OVERALL FEATURES OF THIS STUDY

Many specialized studies have dealt very competently with our needs in one specific welfare area or another, and proposed increases in some category of the Federal budget accordingly. But generally, these segmental demands upon the budget have not been reconciled sufficiently with the total demands placed upon the budget. Nor has the total Federal budget been reconciled sufficiently with the needs and resources of our total national economy. In consequence, each portrayal of a specialized or segmental need generates a host of objections. This quickly overwhelms those who urge fulfillment of responsibility.

This study is pointed toward avoiding this frustration.

First, it quantifies, for a number of years ahead, the desirable size of a group of programs immediately related to the personal well-being of the American people. It selects programs which directly service individuals, such as education, health, and protection from the hardships accompanying old age, unemployment, and poverty.

Second, it estimates how much the Federal budget should contribute toward meeting these needs, after proper allowance for outlays which the private economy and other levels of government should make toward meeting these needs.

Third, it reconciles the proposed Federal budget outlays to meet these needs with all of the other responsibilities which the budget should assume, so that we do not rob Peter to pay Paul.

Fourth, it sets all of these proposed financial efforts, public and private, within the framework of our total national economic resources, to avoid the beguiling notion that spending money can achieve more than our economic resources can produce, or the dangerous notion that we should not spend enough to achieve what our economic resources can produce. It thus reappraises our true capabilities, both economic and financial. By showing what we can do, it points the way to what we must do.

Through this rational portrayal of the problem in its entirety, this study seeks to substitute unity of effort for cross purposes, rapid positive achievement for creeping negativism, and public comprehension for public confusion.

THE CURRENT CONFUSION ABOUT OUR CAPABILITIES

The study seeks to dispel current confusion on these salient fronts:

(1) Some people say that we are now so well-to-do as a nation that we should meet our public needs mainly by a forced shift from production of private goods to production of public goods, rather than mainly by overall economic growth. This position is economically wrong, because the volume of private poverty in our midst is no less challenging than the starvation of public services, and because the thrust of the new technology requires an immense growth of both private and public enjoyments to avoid chronic mass unemployment of plant and manpower. It is psychologically wrong, because only rising private living standards and expanding personal security can generate popular and political assent to much larger public programs.

(2) Many people now accept the truth that a high rate of economic growth is essential to serve our expanding private and public needs. But many new converts to the growth idea insist that we should postpone essential public programs until a few years of high economic growth enable us to afford them. These people ignore the fact that inadequate public outlays, as well as inadequate private outlays, contributed to the very low growth rate and very high unemployment rate averaged since the Korean war. Adequate levels of both types of outlays are indispensable to adequate economic growth.

(3) With simulated heroism, some people who do not really want larger public outlays and larger public programs warn us that these can be accomplished only through higher rates of taxation and great sacrifices by the people. But the $199 billion shortfall in total national production for the 7-year period 1953 to 1959, inclusive, resulting from a very low average annual rate of economic growth and a very high average level of unemployment, caused a shortfall of about $65 billion in public revenues at all levels of government at existing tax rates. And if our economy grows as it should from now forward, it

will generate, during the 5-year period 1960 to 1964, inclusive, about $350 billion more total national production, and almost $100 billion more public revenues at existing tax rates, than if it grows only at the rate registered since early 1953. These data are all in uniform 1958 dollars. The spund road to higher public revenues is higher economic growth, not higher tax rates. The latter, by repressing growth, would be self-defeating.

(4) Those now initiating the Federal Budget are confusing the absolute size of the budget with its size relative to the size of the total national economy. By trying to hold the line on the budget, they are formulating a budget which is far too small relative to the programs it should serve, but which nonetheless is much larger relative to the size of the total national economy than if a properly expanding budget were made part of a comprehensive program for adequate overall economic growth. Hence, the recent inability to balance the budget in a repressed national economy.

PROPOSED WELFARE PROGRAMS

The welfare programs upon which the study concentrates are these:

(1) Education: A 5-year program, starting now, is designed so add more than half a million classrooms and almost half a million teachers to the elementary and secondary public schools, with average teacher salaries rising from about $5,100 to about $7,500. Comparable programs are advanced for an expanding system of Federal aid (a) to scholarships for higher education and (b) for plant expansion at the college and university level. The Nation's total educational outlays at all levels are projected to rise from about $22.3 billion in the school year 1958–59 to about $38 billion by the school year 1964–65. This would present a rise in total educational outlays from 4.8 percent of our total national production in 1958–59 to 5.8 percent in a fully expanded economy by 1964–65. Proposed Federal budget outlays for education would rise from an estimated $549 million in fiscal 1960 to about $2.2 billion in calendar 1961 and about $5 billion by calendar 1964. Related to our total population, these Federal outlays would increase from $2.97 per capita in fiscal 1960 to $25.97 by calendar 1964. Measured against total production, these outlays would rise from 0.11 percent in fiscal 1960 to 0.78 percent by calendar 1964 in a fully expanding economy.

(2) Health: The study proposes immediate expansion of the social security system to provide health insurance for the aged, and gradual development of much wider protection by the mid-1960's. It proposes Federal outlays to help (a) work down a substantial part of the nationwide shortage in hospital facilities, estimated at about $16 billion, (b) build new medical schools, and (c) facilitate medical research. Federal budget outlays for all health purposes, estimated at $823 million in fiscal 1960, are proposed at $1.2 billion in calendar 1961 and $3.3 billion by calendar 1964. Related to our total population, Federal outlays for health would rise from $4.46 per capita in fiscal 1960 to $17.14 by calendar 1964. They would rise from 0.17 percent of our total national production in fiscal 1960 by 0.52 percent in a fully expanding economy by 1964.

(3) Protecting our senior citizens: Among individuals in the United States aged 65 and over, three-fifths subsist on per capita money incomes from all sources below $1,000 a year; 80 percent are below $2,000. The study proposes that average monthly retirement benefits under the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance system be lifted from the August 1959 level of $72.46 for a retired worker to approach twice this level by the mid-1960's. Correspondingly, the study proposes that monthly old-age public assistance to individuals not covered by insurance be lifted from an average of $56.14 in monetary payments to a much higher level over the same period of time.

(4) Protecting the unemployed and the disabled: At the depth of the recent recession, less than half of the unemployed received unemployment compensation, and in August 1959 the average weekly benefit was only $29.76. It is proposed that, by the mid-1960's, the average benefit be lifted to $50 a week, or about half of the projected weekly wage in that year, and that improved protection be extended to many more people. It is also proposed that programs be established to cover loss of wages during illness; that disability benefits, now provided for those aged 50 and over, be extended regardless of age; and that Federal legislation establish standards to promote comparable improvements in coverage and benefits with respect to workmen's compensation. The insurance programs are supported through payroll taxes, and how to obtain revenues sufficient to cover increased costs is indicated. The cost of these programs, in terms of our national economic resources, are reconciled with other private and public requirements throughout the economy.

(5) Public assistance: The study proposes additional Federal assistance to State programs to expand aid not only for the elderly, but also for dependent children, the blind, and the permanently and totally disabled, and also proposes that the Federal Government should initiate contributions to State programs for general public assistance. In these areas, it is proposed that Federal outlays be lifted from an estimated $2 billion in fiscal 1960 to $2.6 billion in calendar 1961 and $3.2 billion by calendar 1964. Related to population, the increase would be from $11.12 per capita in fiscal 1960 to $16.62 by calendar 1964. This rise would be from 0.42 percent of estimated total national production in fiscal 1960 to 0.50 percent in a fully expanded economy by calendar 1964.

ADJUSTING THE OVERALL FEDERAL BUDGET

The total proposed Federal budget incorporates not only the foregoing programs, but allows also for balanced expansion to meet needs with respect to all programs in the budget. Outlays for national security and international affairs would rise from $47.8 billion estimated for fiscal 1960 to $54.9 billion in calendar 1961 and $61.4 billion by calendar 1964. Over the same period, measured against our total population, this rise would be from $258.60 to $299.68 to $318.96 on a per capita basis. Over the same period, outlays for all domestic purposes would rise from $31.1 billion to $34.6 billion to $41 billion, or from $168.60 to $188.86 to $212.99 on a per capital basis. The total Federal budget would rise from an estimated $78.9 billion for fiscal 1960 to $89.5 billion in calendar 1961 and $102.4 billion by calendar 1964. On a per capita basis, the rise would be from $427.20 to $488.54 to $531.95. With the rate of overall economic growth projected in this study, however, the Federal budget would decline from 17.2 percent of our total national production during the calendar years 1953–59 to only 16.1 percent by calendar 1964, and the national debt as a percent of our total national production would fall from 66.7 percent during the calendar years 1953–59 to 45.8 percent by calendar 1964. The Federal Government's revenues flowing from sufficiently rapid economic expansion would balance the Federal budget before 1964, and maintain a surplus thereafter.

COMBATING INFLATION

The study rejects the spurious thesis that meeting the great priorities of our needs, with a sustained and high rate of economic growth, would be inflationary. The approaches set forth in the study would help to contain inflation. For the inflation during relevant recent years has been due to (a) cost inefficiencies arising from too low a rate of economic growth, too much economic slack, and effort to compensate for these deficiencies by administered price increases, and (b) shortages of important goods and services. These shortages result from neglect of our great priorities of need.

PROJECTED GROWTH IN THE OVERALL ECONOMY

The study projects an overall economic growth rate of 5 percent annually after the economy is restored to full employment and full production, and a higher rate until such restoration. It proposes various policies toward this end, including an expanding Federal budget and abandonment of the tight-money policy. The study computes that this high rate of economic growth would yield in the aggregate for the 5-year period 1960 to 1964, inclusive, about 19 million more man-years of employment, and about $350 billion more of total national production, than would be yielded by a low 2.3 percent growth rate (the actual annual average during the past 7 years). Even with the public outlays projected in the study, the high growth rate in contrast with the low rate would yield for the 5-year period as a whole about $5,200 more in average multiple-person family income, about $225 billion more in personal consumption expenditures, and about $55 billion more in private investment.

The study proposes a national prosperity budget, of which the Federal budget would be a part, to suggest long-range guides for concerted private and public action to achieve both the private and public economic progress which our material and human resources make entirely feasible.

The study has been directed by Leon H. Keyserling, with staff work by Mary Dublin Keyserling, Philip M. Ritz, and Lawrence A. Leonard.

Federal Censorship by Taxation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Rock Hill Herald of January 13, 1960:

IN OUR OPINION: FEDERAL CENSORSHIP BY TAXATION

The Internal Revenue Service and the Federal Power Commission recently made a ruling which amounts to Federal censorship by taxation.

The Federal agencies ruled that certain advertising by electric power utilities cannot be listed as a business expense for income tax and rate-making purposes.

Some electric companies used advertising to inform the public about threats to their industry from Government encroachment. In turn, the Government agencies ruled that such advertising to air political views was taxable.

An editorial in Editor and Publisher, journalism trade magazine, says: "In our opinion this ruling is un-American if not unconstitutional. Because of our severe income tax laws it gives the Government the power to censor political views by taxation. Only the wealthy will be able to express

views on pending legislation through mass media even if the proposed statute means financial disaster to them.

"The free press guarantee of the Bill of Rights was designed to give everyone equal opportunity to write as they pleased and to use a printing press to disseminate those opinions about public affairs, legislation, etc. The guarantee no longer is operative if the Government can rule that the expression of certain opinions is taxable and the utterance of others is nontaxable. Once the precedent is established there will be nothing to prevent an extension of the ruling to enlarge the taxable opinions—those opinions about public affairs, governmental procedure, and legislation which may not be uttered without penalty of taxation by the Government."

Representative OVERTON BROOKS, Democrat, of Louisiana, warns that if a Government agency has the power to say what kind of advertising is not a proper business expense, soon the agency will assume more control over the advertising and eventually business will need to clear all copy with Washington.

Representative BROOKS also says, "Whether advertising is done to meet private competition or competition from Government cannot make any difference in principle. In fact * * * we should be even more jealous of the right of private business and industry to protect itself against Government than against private competition because of the people's power inherent in Government."

The Federal agencies have, indeed, ruled dangerously, if not unwisely, concerning taxation of certain advertising. The agencies are assuming controls which are contrary to the principles of free speech and freedom of the press.

It is manditory that the agencies reconsider their ruling before they chip away two of the most precious, and necessary, cornerstones of freedom.

Hope for Success in Dealing With Communist Expansionism Worldwide Depends Heavily Upon Unity of NATO in Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Mr. Edgar Ansel Mowrer, published on January 13, 1960. Under Secretary of State Dillon deserves great credit for having apparently succeeded in convincing the European members of NATO of the absolute necessity to subordinate old political and economic rivalries to putting the strength and unity of NATO first.

IKE'S BID FOR PEACE NEEDS BASE OF UNITY

(By Edgar Ansel Mowrer)

President Eisenhower in his state of the Union message repeated what most Washington newsmen have long known: During the last 7 years his primary aim has been peace. He also stated that he believes the current year may produce a step on the way to such a peace. If so, the coming summit meeting of the Big Four in May should be the most important international conference since the end of World War II.

Since success at this meeting would not only relieve the world of the nightmare threat of nuclear war but help the Republican Party win the coming election, the President must and will do everything he can to make that meeting at least the beginning of a new era.

Mr. Eisenhower seems to believe that it all depends upon the sincerity of the Soviet leaders: Do they really want the peace, disarmament, and cooperation they chatter about incessantly or are they trying to dope the free world into neglect of military strength and further inner division?

Nobody in the West can answer this question with certainty, but the Soviet leaders, I believe, will act at the summit according to their judgment of the strength and unity of their opponents. If the free world turns up divided and gullible, the Kremlin men seem almost sure to push their advantage to the utmost—and give nothing while asking a lot.

ONLY THEN

If the free world has reconsolidated its shaky position and the three Western leaders speak with a single voice, Mr. K. may really decide he has something to gain by acting in a civilized manner, at least temporarily.

If this is correct, instead of talking so much about Russian sincerity or issuing weak-sounding appeals to Moscow, the West's first need is to recement the cracks in its major shield: The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

One of NATO's widest cracks is the cleft within Europe between the six-power Common Market and the European Free Trade Association (the "Outer Seven"). This cleavage has been an often unacknowledged source of bitterness to Britain. Although invited, that nation does not yet feel it can accept becoming just another European country along with Germany and France.

It first sought to prevent the Common Market with its aim of eventual political as well as economic integration, and failing in this, demanded the advantages without joining. When France (just imagine) refused, British leaders threatened and, again failing to get results, organized another free trade area as a rival.

HARMFUL

Though the Seven are far weaker than the Six, this division threatens the harmony of the 13 European countries within NATO and harms American interests. The United States has wisely supported all reasonable efforts toward European political integration but also desires low tariffs and less exclusion of American goods. (Cutting aid to Europe will hardly affect the U.S. deficit in the balance of payments—it is a political gimmick.) Nonetheless the Administration stood aloof from the European squabble until last December when Under Secretary of State Dillon got into the picture at Paris. Now he is back in Europe attending a special 12-country economic conference to be followed by a meeting of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, Europe's device for using Marshall plan aid. We want:

(a) Harmony between the two European organizations on a low tariff basis.

(b) Europe's cooperation in a plan of aid to backward countries, the "internationalization of development loans." (This does not yet mean making all such loans through NATO, as I think it should, but it is a good start.)

If Mr. Dillon can succeed in these two aims, he will not only have greatly solidified the West economically but brought the NATO countries politically into the kind of unity from which they may just be able to negotiate a beginning of peace with Mr. K. at the summit.

Pitt N. Moon, Jr., Elected Birmingham Western Section's Best Citizen for 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, each year the Industrial Press, an outstanding weekly newspaper in the Birmingham area, sponsors an activity wherein the best citizen of the western section of the metropolitan area is selected. This area is the circulation area of the Industrial Press.

This year an active civic and church leader, Mr. Pitt N. Moon, Jr., was selected. I am pleased to insert in the RECORD the article from the Industrial Press of January 16, 1960, giving full reason why Mr. Moon was this year's choice.

The article follows:

CHURCH, YOUTH, PTA ARE AMONG 1959 BEST CITIZEN'S INTERESTS

Pitt N. Moon, Jr., is a railroad man, an active worker in his church, a man interested in youth, a father whose children have acclaimed him as best citizen and the western section's best citizen for 1959.

Announcement of his selection for the annual title and trophy is made today by the Industrial Press.

Judges returned a unanimous decision early this week bestowing the title on the Ensley man. Each of the five judges have previously been accorded the best citizen trophy.

The new best citizen was born in Bessemer. His father was P. N. Moon, an accountant who later operated his own business. He passed away in 1957. His mother is Mrs. Grace A. Moon and her letter of endorsement in the annual contest said: "of course he is my son, but to me, he has always been a best citizen."

Pitt Moon has left that impression with many persons. Letters of endorsement continually pointed to his civic activities which benefit children, his neighbors, and friends. It seems Pitt's interest in his fellow man is just natural with him.

His family moved from Bessemer to Crumly Chapel in 1939. Pitt completed high school at West Jefferson High. It was after this he began working with Seaboard Air Line Railroad as a trainman. That's the job he holds today.

Pitt was working for Seaboard when he became seriously interested in courting Miss Lillian Virginia Deason. "I had known her about a year and a half," Pitt told us, "but I actually only courted her about 5 or 6 months before we decided to get married."

The young couple was married in 1941 by one of Pitt's first pastors. They planned the wedding and went to Calera, Ala., where the pastor conducted the marriage ceremony.

That year saw two impressive changes in Pitt's life. The first his gain of a wife. The second, a call into military service. He entered the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 3 days prior to Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941.

His Army career lasted some 4 years, 3 years spent at Fort Belvoir, Va., and the remaining year in charge of a separation center near Sacramento, Calif.

Pitt Moon III made his entrance into the family during the war years. June 1942. He's 17, the oldest of five children in the best citizen's family, and a student at Ensley High. Tommy is next in line. He's 12 years old. John Wayne is 11 and Jimmy Luther is 10. Youngest member of the family is Virginia Lynn, age 6 next month.

A primary activity of the best citizen is the PTA. He is a member of Ensley High School PTA, a member of Charles A. Brown PTA, where his sons attend school; and a member of Minor Elementary School PTA, and, none of his children have ever attended Minor.

Pitt began his PTA work at Minor in a round-about way. The unit sponsored a Cub Scout Pack. It needed a pack master and Pitt took the job. In the course of working with the boys, he worked with the PTA at Minor, became a member of its executive board, staged the first of its Halloween carnivals and continues to work with the unit and school.

The best citizen is active in his church, Ensley Highlands Methodist. It was his fellow members of the board of stewards there who nominated him for the honor. His children endorsed his nomination and pointed out "our daddy has helped by painting the young peoples rooms, cooking food, etc." They were right. Their daddy was painting in the church Tuesday of this week. He says he has enjoyed helping the young people in the church.

Pitt is widely known for his work with Ensley Little League. He first began managing a team there in 1956, and wound up being president of the league in 1958–59 and 1960.

An insight to Pitt's home life was given by one of his friends and neighbors. She said maybe Pitt wouldn't like her telling on him, but that he was most helpful to his wife at home in doing household work.

The best citizen, who lives at 2513 Avenue Q, Ensley, is active in Lodge 590, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, serves its auxiliary as a past counseler; is a member of Ensley Post 35, the American Legion; and this year became a member of Ensley Civitan Club—where he sold 366 pounds of fruitcake this past December to aid the club in its community service work.

Pitt's work with the railroad keeps him out of the city every other day, but he's a busy person helping others when he is in town.

Lead and Zinc Miners Still Seek Justice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, the lead and zinc miners of the United States are still looking to Washington for justice.

Last week, the Tariff Commission began its third series of hearings in 7 years into the unquestionable distress and injury of our domestic lead and zinc producers.

Another strong showing was made that hundreds of American mines are still shut down, and thousands of American miners are still unemployed, as a result of recordbreaking foreign imports of lead and zinc.

There can be no serious question of the fact that quotas imposed by the administration in October of 1958 are not doing the job of reopening our shutdown mines and restoring the vitality and prosperity of our domestic lead and zinc producers.

From coast to coast, the evidence points in the other direction: the quotas have failed in their purpose, and must be strengthened or supplemented by other measures.

One of the splendid statements made on this point before the Tariff Commission was made by my distinguished colleague from Idaho, the Honorable GRACIE PFOST, who testified on January 12, 1960.

Mrs. PFOST, who has been one of the finest champions of the domestic miner in this body throughout her period of service, called for prompt and fair conclusions by the Tariff Commission.

The complete text of Mrs. PFOST's statement follows:

STATEMENT OF CONGRESSWOMAN GRACIE PFOST BEFORE THE U.S. TARIFF COMMISSION ON INVESTIGATION OF THE DOMESTIC LEAD AND ZINC INDUSTRY, JANUARY 12, 1960

Mr. Chairman and members of the Commission, I appreciate the opportunity to appear here today.

As a Representative of a congressional district in Idaho which is a heavy producer of lead and zinc, and as a member of the House Subcommittee on Mines and Mining, I am especially interested in this investigation by the Tariff Commission.

I understand Mr. Charles E. Schwab, of Kellogg, Idaho, who was until recently executive secretary of the Emergency Lead and Zinc Producers Committee in Washington, D.C., will appear later during these hearings and will give a very comprehensive picture as the situation exists in the lead-zinc field.

He did a tremendous job in coordinating the presentations made in behalf of industry before this Commission and the Congress. Mr. Schwab has recently been appointed superintendent of operations of the Bunker Hill Co. in north Idaho, and while he will be missed here, we are glad to have him home again where he will continue working toward a solution to our problem.

First, I want to express my appreciation to the Commission which has been tremendously helpful in making an objective analysis and the unanimous findings of serious injury in 1954 and 1958. These findings have laid the foundation for this hearing, and for your report to the Congress which I hope will be coming shortly.

This investigation, pursuant to Senate Resolution 162, and passed by the 86th Congress, deals with the full range of lead and zinc products, whether manufactured or unmanufactured. The investigation is timely in view of the clearly adverse effect imported ores and products have upon the depressed lead and zinc mining industry in Idaho and other mining States.

In my judgment, even with quotas operating throughout the entire year, no lead-zinc producer operated at a profit in 1959. In Idaho, the lead-zinc picture has progressively deteriorated since January 1, 1952, the date selected as the base point by the Tariff Commission for its first unanimous finding of injury (May 1954).

In the great Coeur d'Alene mining district in my State, one complete section known as the Pine Creek area, has only one mine working today, where seven mines previously operated.

Underground employment has declined 40 percent in the Coeur d'Alenes during this period and practically all of the moderate and small-size producers have been forced out of business. An estimated 2,000 workers have lost their jobs.

You have only to examine the annual financial reports of those mines still operating to see that the steady and excessive influx of metal imports continues its devastating and fatal impact upon this area.

It has been conservatively estimated that committees, school districts, counties, and State tax revenues during these 7 years have declined about $5 million a year in the Coeur d'Alenes, as the mines have closed down. Let me point out too, that the shutdowns do not eliminate the cost of maintaining the mines to prevent serious damage and to protect investments. Large expenditures are needed for pumping, retimbering, and other upkeep to forestall mine flooding and cave-ins.

The citizens of the mining areas in Idaho have had faith that the mining problem will be corrected. They have gone forward with building a new hospital, a new school, and other community projects. The Commission has the opportunity now, because of prior decisions to recommend an answer which will again provide a healthy economic climate in ours and other domestic mining areas.

The need for relief to the domestic mining industry in general has been abundantly established by hearings held last year before the Subcommittee on Mines and Mining on House Concurrent Resolution 177. I commend to the attention of the members of this Commission the record of these hearings and the committee's report, House Report No. 708.

The hearings contain statements by 21 Members of the House, 2 State Governors, and 67 other persons. All that these people ask is that the domestic mining industry be allowed to maintain itself in a sound and healthy condition. Such a condition is essential to the wise use of natural resources and the long-range growth and defense of the country.

The domestic industry is entitled to a fair share of the domestic market where economically feasible. The economic feasibility of domestic lead and zinc mining to supply a substantial share of the domestic market has long been established.

The mineral output of the United States in 1959 did not follow the upturn in economic activity. The total value of all minerals, including fuels, was less in 1959 than in 1957. Low metal prices and other factors dropped domestic mine output of lead to 251,000 short tons, the smallest since 1900. Mine output of zinc in 1959 was no higher than in 1958, despite the quota established in October of 1958. The combined price of lead and zinc metals is at present not materially higher than immediately after the imposition of the quotas, and is substantially below the level indicated by domestic mining interests as essential for restoration of production.

Perhaps the most disturbing element in this situation is the severe decline in employment for mining workers. Our so-called magnanimous foreign policy has backfired on U.S. workers.

American know-how has gone abroad. Now cheap foreign labor and the newest machinery installed in foreign lands is causing an invasion of our own shores.

It would be one thing if this invasion had come about gradually through the free enterprise of individuals and firms. Then our domestic firms and workers could have made normal readjustments. But the Government itself has directly stimulated the situation through loans, grants, barter, technical assistance and otherwise in foreign lands.

National policy requires that domestic production at least be reasonably protected from undue hardships arising from the Government's own actions in the economic sphere.

The folly of counting unduly on foreign sources of essential raw materials has been demonstrated once again in the new export taxes on minerals and related measures taken by the Cuban Government of Fidel Castro. The policy of the Congress, expressed in House Concurrent Resolution 177 and numerous earlier measures, is to avoid critical dependence upon foreign sources. It is essential to maintain a sound and stable domestic mining and minerals industry.

The law as it now stands delegates control over tariffs to the executive branch acting on the basis of investigations of the Tariff Commission. It has been urged that Congress should reestablish and exercise direct control over tariffs. In the meanwhile, the existing process should be effectively employed.

Time is of the essence in the Commission's current lead and zinc study. Undue delay in making the report would compound the current injury and might impede the consideration of related measures by Congress.

I urge that the Commission give its close and speedy attention to the testimony presented in this hearing, so that prompt and fair conclusions and recommendations may be made.

Shipping Outlook

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PORTER HARDY, JR.
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Speaker, during my service in the Congress much of my effort has been directed toward promoting governmental efficiency and eliminating unnecessary expenditures. Often it has been observed that governmental red tape has been a major cause of wastefulness, and frequently I have observed that the requirements imposed on private industry for reports and recordkeeping often have become quite burdensome. Some of these requirements are, I believe, unnecessary, and certainly those which cannot be eliminated can be sharply reduced. This ought to be done promptly to promote better functioning of private concerns, particularly those which affect the public interest.

An illustration of the seriousness of this situation as it affects private industry, and a plea for the elimination of unnecessary expenditures of time and money was recently presented by the distinguished presidents of two large maritime associations in the United States. Ralph E. Casey, president of the American Merchant Marine Institute, and Ralph B. Dewey, president of the Pacific American Steamship Association, have combined their efforts in an urgent request to the Federal Government to eliminate the antiquated and burdensome documentation in regard to the operation of steamships by American-owned companies.

These executives make a strong case for the adoption of simplified practices. Their presentation is impressive and I hope appropriate action will be taken promptly to accomplish their meritorious objectives.

A most interesting and timely editorial by Stanley Mantrop appeared in the New York Journal of Commerce of January 8, 1960. I think it will be of interest to my colleagues.

The editorial follows:

SHIPPING OUTLOOK—CUT THE REDTAPE

(By Stanley Mantrop)

With shipping costs mounting, the time seems ripe for the Government to make a determined effort to seek international cooperation in eliminating much of the unnecessary paperwork which annually is costing the maritime industry more than a million dollars in added overhead.

For over a decade the industry has been rapping on the Government's door for some relief from this mountain of paperwork presently required to keep this Nation's ships moving here and abroad with very little success.

Now with cargoes on the downbeat and costs climbing, the industry is again pressing the Government for new action on an international scale. The plea is certainly worth some serious consideration.

There is much merit to the industry's argument that no other form of international transportation, and this includes air, is so thoroughly saddled by documentary redtape.

Paperwork requirements of governments here and abroad all add to the cost of doing business by ship, substantially so, in fact.

However, there are indications that international cooperation on the subject is closer than it has been since the industry began its battle some years ago, but plenty of pressure is still needed to complete the job.

That the subject is a vital one to shipping is evidenced by the international interest in the paperwork problem. Already it is under discussion by the Council of the International Maritime Consultative Organization, the International Chamber of Shipping, the International Chamber of Commerce, and the Organization of American States. And many maritime nations have alerted their governments to the need for an international housecleaning.

Government agencies also agree that the number of separate documents required by any ship—passenger, cargo, tanker, or bulk carrier—is staggering. To list just a few they include customs forms, immigration, public health, as well as a long list of local papers to satisfy police, Coast Guard, ministries of transport, animal quarantine, and a host of others.

The new appeals have come from two of the Nation's top maritime leaders, Ralph E. Casey, American Merchant Marine Institute president, and Ralph Dewey, Pacific American Steamship Association leader, both of whom call the existence of burdensome and wasteful paperwork required archaic.

An indication of what ship lines are up against these days in the way of unnecessary documentation can be gleaned from the fact that Manila, for example, requires 34 documents to accomplish what 19 will do in Bangkok, and perhaps 11 in Rotterdam. In short, most of the documents required by the various countries are duplicates.

Added to this international problem of doing business is the variety of forms and the number of copies required, the added burden of meeting local language conditions, measurement requirements, consular visa regulations, arbitrary variances in size and form of documents—even the quality of the paper stock used.

There is no reason why, now that a greater air of international cooperation exists, some concrete steps toward eliminating this costly and unnecessary waste of time and money could not be taken.

In the interests of keeping the American merchant marine on a strong competitive basis the request for simplification is worthy of some serious consideration by the United States and other governments.

Presidential Misses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, President Eisenhower, in his state of the Union message, made great political capital over the fact that the Atlas missile has been developed to such a high degree of accuracy that it is within 2 miles of an absolute bulls-eye at 5,000 miles.

His second point of political capital was the rather startling prediction that his 1961 budget will contain a $4.2 billion surplus.

It is, I think, significant to observe the reaction of the editor of the Lexington (Ky.) Herald, who prays that the President, in his budget prediction, might be as accurate as the Atlas missile.

The Herald goes on to point out that in previous years the President has not even been close enough in his budget estimate to achieve a near miss.

Furthermore, the editorial points out, if the President is accurate in his prediction of a sizable surplus for fiscal 1961, that goal will be achieved at the expense of the school children of America, the depressed areas, and, in in general, the domestic economy.

It will be noted that the President has omitted doing anything whatsoever for the depressed areas, and his only reference to building up the Nation's capacity to provide far, far better training for our boys and girls was a mild pat on the head for a bill introduced last year, which is completely inadequate and which is so confusing and so complicated that every educational system in the 50 States would have to obtain the services of the proverbial and traditional Philadelphia lawyer to determine if it qualified for the limited assistance made available.

Furthermore, it has now become evident that the President, while using a few ill-chosen words to pay tribute to improving education, at the same time seeks to curtail one of the few programs that sees the Federal Government supporting in any way, shape, or form local educational efforts.

Last year the President proposed a bill which would drastically curtail payments made to local educational agencies located in what we term a federally affected area. This bill, H.R. 7140, was eventually referred to the General Education Subcommittee, of which I am the chairman. We conducted rather extensive hearings and attempted to inform everyone who was interested in this legislation that they were being conducted, so that there would be ample opportunity for all sides to be heard.

The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Arthur S. Flemming, and Commissioner of Education Lawrence Derthick dutifully and loyally defended the administration's position.

Not one witness appeared before our subcommittee in support of that position. Not even the author of the administration's bill. Furthermore, two other Members, representatives of the President's party, had introduced bills that would embody parts of the President's program to curtail payments under Public Laws 815 and 874. Neither of these two Members appeared before our subcommittee, although they were issued special invitations.

At the conclusion of the hearings, the subcommittee met in executive session and rejected H.R. 7140 by adoption of a formal resolution.

Now we find that the President is submitting a budget which assumes that the Congress enacted H.R. 7140 and that it has been signed into law.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include, as a part of my remarks, the editorial published by the Lexington (Ky.) Herald on Saturday, January 9, 1960.

The editorial follows:

EVEN A NEAR MISS WOULD BE GOOD NEWS

President Eisenhower, in his state of the Union address, told America's millions that in 14 recent tests this country's Atlas missile had hit within some 2 miles of bullseye at ranges of more than 5,000 miles. We hope that the President's estimates on the budget attain equal accuracy. In the past he hasn't been credited even with a near miss.

The President's report to the Nation, following the usual pattern in a presidential election year, contained little that was new. He devoted much of the talk to the need of greater expenditures for defense, switching from praise of long distance bombers, as stressed in earlier state of the Union messages, to a certain insistence on missiles. We probably would have been in better position, defensively, if the stress had been placed on missiles earlier in the Republican regime.

Greatest applause came when President Eisenhower predicted a budget surplus of $4.2 billion for the end of fiscal year 1961. We hope that his figures are verified by actual records on June 30, 1961. So far the President has been considerably off target in his budget predictions. In his 1958 message he predicted that the fiscal year-end deficit might reach $400 million but it finally was tabulated around $2.8 billion. The next year's budget came up with a resounding deficit of more than $12 billion dollars, to set another Eisenhower peacetime deficit record. In his 1959 address he suggested a $70 million surplus as likely to be recorded on June 30, 1960. In his address this week he upped that estimate to $200 million. We hope that he is correct, but recent history does not give much hope in this connection.

The President said that he would present Congress with a balanced budget for 1961 of approximately $79,800,000,000, and that prospective income would produce the 4 billion plus, surplus. That would be about half of the surplus provided in 1 year of the Truman administration when a record surplus was shown, but something startlingly new for a GOP administration.

On domestic problems the President gave little hope that his new program would contain any provisions for education or help to depressed areas. School authorities who had expected the message to hold out some hope for aid in school construction found nothing tangible in the President's statement that "the route to better trained minds is not through the swift administration of a Federal hypodermic or sustained financial transfusion"; and his further assertion that "the educational process, essentially a local and personal responsibility, cannot be made to leap ahead by crash, centralized, Government action." His suggested plan of relieving current educational deficiencies apparently is the same as offered in previous messages. "It is designed to stimulate classroom construction," the President said, "not by substitution of Federal dollars for State and local funds, but by incentives to extend and encourage State and local efforts." Your guess as to what he means by this is as good as the next.

President Eisenhower again asked that this country provide billions of dollars for foreign aid but he had no proposals for helping our own country's economically depressed areas. Some of our people, epecially those in economically depressed eastern Kentucky, to use one of the President's choice expressions anent the steel strike, "are getting sick and tired" of seeing millions of dollars squandered in some of the foreign-aid programs while the administration turns a deaf ear to needs of our own people. It is repugnant to them to see news pictures of some foreign potentate being presented with gold equal to his own weight by his loyal subjects, and at the same time realize that our country is pouring unlimited dollars into such areas under the guise of economic aid.

Representative BAILEY, of West Virginia, in discussing the foreign aid program in the House, declared last year that "when I was leading the fight for school construction legislation, I showed a total of 84 contracts that the Government had to carry out educational programs abroad. They were actually building school buildings. * * * There were nine agricultural high schools in one particular country where they were paying the teachers' salaries in addition to building the buildings. And that has to do with our situation of a shortage of 140,000 classrooms." It is in areas such as these that many Americans find themselves unable to wax enthusiastic over the administration's program or to applaud the unsupported promise of a surplus.

On the whole the President's address was just what the Republicans needed to send them forth to render a verdict they've already made in the selection of Vice President RICHARD M. NIXON as Mr. Eisenhower's successor. The President even brought in the settlement of the steel strike but ducked all implications as to its inflationary certainties. "It is gratifying to note," he said, "that in spite of the increase in wages and benefits, several of the major steel producers have announced that there will be no increase in steel prices at this time." GOP leaders hope that this will be the situation at least until after the election. We don't believe that it will last that long.

The President's remarks about his efforts to bring peace to the world were warmly received by all. His recent oversea visits seem to have brought good results and we look hopefully to his later trips to South America, where our relations certainly need improving. Maybe we can pick up support from this area and let's hope that it will replace, in part at least, what we have lost in our relations with France.

We believe that the whole speech would have been better received if the President had suggested just one thing that showed a sympathetic understanding of some of our domestic problems and if he had shown a disposition to make a more careful study of our foreign aid expenditures. The speech, on the whole, was a fitting valedictory of his service as President and perhaps also will serve as a farewell address in behalf of the administration that has been with us since 1952.

Washington's Lady Ambassador for Christ

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. ROSS ADAIR
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, in the August 1959 issue of Christian Life magazine an article appeared which I think is of general interest as it concerns an aspect of Washington life not frequently enough made known. Accordingly, I include, herewith, a condensation of "Washington's Lady Ambassador for Christ," by Donald H. Gill:

WASHINGTON'S LADY AMBASSADOR FOR CHRIST
(By Donald H. Gill)

One morning recently in Washington, D.C., the wife of an Indiana Congressman was busily engaged in the routine activities of getting a husband off to work. Juggling household responsibilities, she wondered how she could find time to fulfill the multitude of official duties Washington social life had heaped upon her.

The door closed behind her legislator husband, bound for the House Office Building. She breathed deeply, sat down with her daily devotional book, "My Utmost for His Highest," by Oswald Chambers.

Weight of responsibilities still in the back of her mind, she turned to the reading for that day. Words of the Scripture text leaped out to satisfy her thirsty spirit: "Casting all your care upon Him, for He careth for you."

Instantly she realized that she had been trying to carry her responsibilities in her own strength. Then she saw that Scripture also declares that "the government shall be upon His shoulders."

She was jubilant. Why hadn't she seen this before? She had given her life to Christ, but here she was, trying to do her work by herself.

Overjoyed at her discovery of another secret in Christian living, she walked to the telephone and called her close friend Alicia Abrahamsen. It had been Alicia—of the International Council of Christian Leadership, the well-known organization of Christians in Washington—who had led her to Christ during a trip through Europe the summer before.

As Alicia picked up the telephone at Fellowship House, ICL headquarters in Washington, several prominent persons in the Nation's Capital were on their knees in prayer in the front room at Fellowship House. Mrs. Abrahamsen could still hear the petitions as the voice of the congressman's wife came bubbling with the blessing of her new spiritual discovery.

Before the conversation finished, the two women, at two different locations along embassy row, had bowed their heads in prayer. Once again Alicia Abrahamsen thanked God for another evidence that the Holy Spirit was taking hold of a life.

In her contacts with scores of congressional wives, cabinet wives, diplomats' wives and other prominent women in Washington, Alicia Abrahamsen has one aim: to share genuine Christian experience with these

women so they, too, will be led to draw on the spiritual life in Jesus Christ.

The Congressional Wives' Prayer Group which Alicia started has been so used by the Holy Spirit that two similar groups are now being organized—one for cabinet wives and the other for wives of diplomatic officials along embassy row.

It might seem natural that the daughter of Abraham Vereide, executive director and founder of ICL, head up such a ministry among the women of Washington. And yet she confesses that an overwhelming sense of inadequacy almost kept her from undertaking the task.

After the war Alicia faced the challenge. She moved to Washington, D.C., to live with her mother and father and open Fellowship House, a Christian embassy. The task wasn't easy, for she knew that many people would be looking at her life to see if it demonstrated the victory she talked about.

As time went on Alicia knew that the women of the capital needed the kind of prayer group which was proving so successful with the men. When her father spoke to her in January 1955 about starting such a group, again she shrank back. But this time she knew where to go for strength and assurance.

Among those who responded were Mrs. Walter Horan of Washington, Mrs. Sidney Herlong of Florida, Mrs. Harmar Denny of Pennsylvania, Mrs. Charles Bennett of Florida and numerous others. Such women were soon to be numbered among Alicia's closest friends. They shared with her both their problems and their blessings. Their meetings became a means of pooling their deepest inspirations on the application of the Scriptures to their daily lives.

The Congressional Wives' Prayer Group, comprising about 15 to 30 women, usually meets in the homes of members at 10:30 in the morning. After coffee, the chairman opens with prayer, makes announcements and introduces a speaker—usually a Bible teacher, missionary or a member of the group. The theme is generally on the power of prayer and what Christ can mean to individuals and to the Nation. Specific problems are discussed and prayed about. Everyone is invited to pray aloud in the prayer period with which the meeting closes.

The wives of every Member of the House and Senate are invited to a tea each spring sponsored by ICL. Last year Mrs. Olin Johnston, wife of the Senator from South Carolina, was chairman. A missionary from Hong Kong spoke of miraculous answers to prayers. Mrs. Peter Marshall shared experiences from her life, and Dale Evans Rogers gave her testimony.

Alicia's faith is not a vague sort of thing, a rosy optimism. It has an object, an unshakable foundation—that God is at work in this world, using people to His glory. Whatever He has promised He is able also to perform. She searches the Word—and is always encouraging her friends to do the same—for God's specific promises and for the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

Many women in Washington can testify to the spiritual help which they have received through Alicia Abrahamsen and her prayer groups—such as Mrs. J. Edgar Chenoweth of Colorado, Mrs. Charles B. Hoeven of Iowa, Mrs. Walter Riehlman of New York, Mrs. E. Ross Adair of Indiana and Mrs. Clifford G. McIntire of Maine—all wives of U.S. Congressmen.

The clue to Alicia Abrahamsen's ministry lies in her statement: "The deeper spiritual life is an absolute necessity to live the victorious life and to have the overflowing life that is a blessing to others. The world is hungry for reality and we have failed to make Christ real in our lives. We are so apt to become self-righteous or narrow and condemning. Christ wants us to be in love with Him so that everyone who comes into our presence might sense the loveliness of Christ."

Alicia Abrahamsen does more than say it. She lives it. And therein lies the success of her witness in Washington.

Donald Comer Writes New York Times on Textile Import Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Donald Comer, chairman of the executive committee of Avondale Mills, Inc., one of the leading cotton textile manufacturing companies in our Nation, on November 23, 1959, addressed a letter to the New York Times, in which he very clearly and forcefully presented the viewpoint of the American textile manufacturers on the need for taking some immediate steps to curtail excessive foreign imports.

Believing the letter to be of importance and interest to all those interested in the welfare of our cotton economy and all our domestic industries, I am pleased to insert it in the RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues.

The letter follows:

NOVEMBER 23, 1959.

Mr. L. P. HUGER,
Letter Editor, New York Times,
New York, N.Y.

DEAR MR. HUGER: In your paper of November 19 you have a news items headed U.S. Protectionists Seek Rise in Tariffs, you say "Protectionists have been arguing this way for years without much success." I wonder how you measure success. Under the protection started by Alexander Hamilton down to this good day, American industry with American wages have led the world. Today our income from both industry and farm have resulted in so vast a purchasing power that the rest of the world looks our way with a hungry eye for a marketing place for their wares. They offer them to us, not because of anything new in style, design, or originality, but only because they are a cheaper imitation of ours. Cheaper only because of their lower wages and lower standards.

In the beginning, our tariff was needed only for protection against European things. Don't you think the results proved the wisdom of the plan? In the beginning, the South opposed this tariff protection of industry, because we sold our cotton at the world prices in competition with Africa and Asia, and the rest of the world. If Hamilton had lived, I think he would have corrected that situation. We had to wait until Franklin Roosevelt and the 1933 Congress for our farmers to get their protection. A.A.A. guaranteed them a parity price. This was direct protection, industry's was indirect. In Hamilton's day, it was only Europe that threatened. Today, it is not only Europe, but the rest of the world, with Asia out front. In the early days, we had the machines, Asia had only their hands. Today those millions have not only their hands, but the same machines that we have and they are just as adept and skilled as are we.

Senator DOUGLAS asked how much longer our textile industry would be before the Congress asking for help. I answered, "Certainly as long as Congress fixes our wages and working standards (the highest in the world), and the price of our cotton; certainly as long as they fixed the price of this same cotton to our foreign competitors at 8 cents per pound cheaper than to us." Our relative high wages help create our relative high purchasing power. It appears very tempting to our competitors across the oceans. Are you surprised that they look with hungry eyes and continue to reach for it? Do you know of any wise farmer who prepares a lush pasture for his cows, who doesn't put a fence around it to keep out the hungry cows of those less provident or even less fortunate? If you had a cotton mill, what would you do? You would have to have a fence or move your mill to Asia, and Mr. Robert Stevens calls that exporting jobs instead of things.

In our misnamed reciprocal trade program, Secretary Hull is quoted as describing it "selling what we have in overabundance that the other fellow needs and taking our pay in what he has in overabundance that we need. With some three-way trading, we speak of our need of raw products from abroad." We wind up, though, in shipping our raw products to Japan, our cotton which she needs, and taking our pay in her manufactured goods which we don't need. She could ship her cotton goods to Indonesia and take her pay in tin and rubber, etc. She could ship her cottons to South America and take her pay in coffee, cocoa, bauxite, etc., and ship those things to us which we need. That is the kind of foreign trade we believe in, plus something extra, and we call it living and helping live. That is why we agreed to a quota of Japanese imports of unwanted and unneeded cotton goods. You might ask the Singer Sewing Machine Co. if Japan reciprocated. We have for several years begged the administration to correct this situation, particularly because of the increasing threat. The President, at this late date has asked the Tariff Commission to start a protracted hearing to prove that our Government, selling our competitor cotton at 8 cents per pound less than they sell it to us, hurts us. To prove that two and two are four, we are asked to suffer and wait.

The President continues to refuse to recognize the double hurt that is coming from the foreign lower wage standards. Mr. James M. Chapman, president of A.C.M.I., was quoted in the Southern Textile News as follows: "Chapman hits limited imports survey order," and says it was "another victory for the State Department over the welfare of the country." The number of our fellow sufferers, because of this, are rapidly increasing. Chinaware, tuna fish, plywood, woolens, etc., wire, iron, pipe, stainless steel, and a thousand and one other things. I was recently in the store of an importer in the East and was shown some turkish towels made in Turkey and was told that the Turkish Government was trying to build a large addition to their towel mill and was over in this country looking for some help in the way of management and know-how. I immediately thought of my friends Joe Lanier, Charlie Cannon, Buck Dumaine, and John Cheatham. I am sure they want to supply America with turkish towels made in America, not in Turkey.

This is all so contrary to his "Dear Joe Martin" letter promising that his foreign trade program would be administered without hurt to a single American industry. We have a $41 billion defense budget. This is to prevent the invasion of soldiers, a future threat. May I suggest that our very present danger is the increasing invasion of things.

I hope this is not too long for you to read and I hope you will believe me when I tell

you that I think we are going to have to get help from Congress, and I might add that this is a vital threat and it is later than some of us think.

Yours very truly,

DONALD COMER, Sr.

Hon. Thomas Kennedy of Hazleton, Pa., New President of the United Mine Workers of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include two editorials, one from the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader, Evening News of January 14, 1960, entitled "Tom Kennedy Heads UMWA," and the second from the Hazleton Plain Speaker of January 15, 1960, entitled "Kennedy Election Brings New Honor to Hazleton." Also included is a column which was featured in the Hazleton Plain Speaker of January 15, 1960, entitled "Tributes to Thomas Kennedy," as well as a biographical sketch of Mr. Kennedy from the Plain Speaker of last Friday, January 15.

The editorials follow:

[From the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader, Evening News, Jan. 14, 1960]

TOM KENNEDY HEADS UMWA

The formal installation of Thomas Kennedy as president of the United Mine Workers of America in Washington today to fill the vacancy, created by the retirement of John L. Lewis, provides a fitting climax to an outstanding career in the field of labor with excursions into the realm of public service.

Primarily, Tom Kennedy has been a labor leader, despite his eminence in State and local politics. His main interest has been, is, and always will be the miners' union, although his extracurricular activities have not been without significance.

The Lansford native and Hazelton resident has traveled a long way on the journey through life. The eldest of eight children, he left public school in the fifth grade at the age of 12, switching to the alma mater of so many successful men of that period—the breaker—to help support the family. Four years later, his father was killed in a mine accident and his obligations increased.

There is nothing like adversity and responsibility to make an individual mature. Tom Kennedy is no exception to the rule. He grew up rapidly and soon was secretary of his local union. At night, in his spare time, he studied to prepare himself for the challenges ahead in life.

In 1910, at the age of 23, he left the mines to take over the presidency of District 7 of the United Mine Workers of America and the rest is history, for his qualities of leadership soon asserted themselves and he continued up the ladder until he took over the helm this afternoon.

No individual could possibly be better prepared for a post than Tom Kennedy is for the presidency of the United Mine Workers. He possesses ability, experience and a well deserved reputation for sagacity and resourcefulness. He knows the ropes and is not given to excesses. While he is not John Lewis in personality, he has the will, integrity and knowhow of his colorful predecessor.

The affairs of the United Mine Workers of America are in capable hands, as another of Luzerne County's sons comes into his own on the national scene. This is a big day for anthracite region, as well as for the United Mine Workers and for Tom Kennedy personally.

[From the Hazleton Plain Speaker, Jan. 15, 1960]

KENNEDY ELECTION BRINGS NEW HONOR TO HAZLETON

We join today in a salute to Thomas Kennedy, who yesterday afternoon assumed the presidency of the United Mine Workers of America, a worthy successor to John L. Lewis.

Our fellow townsman received a justly deserved and highly merited honor, following a lifetime of service to the great organization that he now heads.

The anthracite region should be especially proud of Kennedy's achievement in becoming the first man from the hard-coal fields to head the national union.

The Governor of this great Commonwealth, David L. Lawrence, in paying tribute refers to the fact that the life of Kennedy reflects a remarkable history of personal leadership. The State's chief executive says that it is particularly fortunate that Kennedy has a record of solid achievement in the field of government. "He knows the goals and purposes not only of his mineworkers, but the entire Nation and all its citizens," declares Governor Lawrence.

Attorney James P. Costello, of this city, emphasized another side of the life of the noted labor leader. "Tom Kennedy's greatest accomplishments," he says, "is not so much the high quality of his administrative skill and industrial leadership as it has been the development of a personality and a set of personal traits which mark him as the most human and humane of men."

Following the ceremony that attended the inaugural rites in the Nation's Capital, Kennedy and his wife will return to Hazleton to receive the friendly and personal plaudits of the homefolks. This has occasioned a proclamation by Mayor S. Thomas Capparell, of Hazleton, designating today as a day set apart and to be known as Thomas Kennedy Appreciation Day.

The chief executive recommends its due observance by our citizenry. We know this appeal strikes a responsive chord and neighbors and friends will make it known that Tom Kennedy has the best wishes of all for success in meeting the tasks that will confront him as president of the United Mine Workers of America.

TRIBUTES TO THOMAS KENNEDY

David L. Lawrence, Governor of Pennsylvania:

"I salute United Mine Workers President Thomas Kennedy as a man whose life reflects a remarkable history of personal leadership.

"It is particularly fortunate that the man the mineworkers have chosen to succeed John L. Lewis also has a record of solid achievement in the field of government.

"With his experience as a former Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania, Kennedy knows the goals and purposes—not only of his mineworkers—but of the entire Nation and all its citizens," said Lawrence.

"I join with you tonight in congratulating Tom Kennedy on the honor he so richly deserves," added Lawrence. "And I join with you in praying for his continued success."

Attorney James P. Costello, president of Luzerne County Bar Association and former mayor of Hazleton:

"Tom Kennedy's greatest accomplishment is not so much the high quality of his administrative skill and industrial leadership as it has been the development of a personality and a set of personal traits which mark him as the most human and humane of men.

"There are those who may think that material progress is the hallmark of success. Not so with our humble friend, Brother Kennedy. To him highest achievement consists of lending a helping hand, extending a warm smile with a needy dollar, helping men in the adversity of industrial problems, of unemployment, of sickness * * * yes, and also of being willing to share expenses that are coincidental with death.

By DANIEL J. FLOOD, Congressman from 11th Congressional District, Luzerne County:

"Back home we know him as a friend, neighbor, and a leader of organized labor, but in the Nation's Capital he is known as a statesman. He has served four Presidents of the United States ably and well not only on commissions dealing with the welfare of the United States, but also representing this Nation upon important international commissions all over the world."

"He is known in Senate and House committees not only as a servant for his union, but in reference to many domestic affairs," FLOOD said.

"His great repute for integrity is recognized by everybody in Washington of both great political parties. I am proud to say in Washington that Tom Kennedy is a friend of mine and comes from my hometown," the Congressman added.

"Here is a man from our hometown streets who comes to us in the Nation's capital who sits with kings, presidents and leaders of great nations bringing to them from his knowledge and from his heart and from the warmth of his spirit and the understanding of people those things which makes America great. And so in Washington we are just as proud of Tom Kennedy as you are back in Hazleton."

Msgr. Francis Schmidt, director of St. Michael's Industrial School for Boys, Hoban Heights:

"This is an honor he justly merits after long years of devoted, effective service to this great organization. We here at St. Michael's are especially happy to see a new honor come to Mr. Kennedy. He has been our friend for many, many years; he has shown great interest in our work for underprivileged boys and he has supported it generously in very many ways.

"Speaking for the entire community of St. Michael's, for the assistant priests, the sisters, the members of our lay staff and of our family of 250 boys and for myself, I pray that the good Lord will bless Mr. Kennedy with many, many active and helpful years to come; and, I further pray that the organization over which he now presides will enjoy an increasing measure of prosperity and good service for a strong and wise leadership."

Mart F. Brennan, president of District No. 7 and international representative of Districts 1, 7, and 9, United Mine Workers of America:

"The true worth of anyone may be measured by his contribution to the welfare of his fellow man. Throughout a long and distinguished career, Tom Kennedy has given of himself unstintingly to uplift the working man to a position of honor and dignity in society. In this endeavor he has filled many positions of honor and trust.

"During wage negotiations, at innumerable conferences, in the councils of the

mighty, Tom Kennedy fought for the hopes and aspirations of the coal miner, and indeed all labor.

"Down through the years he has also carried the message of democracy to other lands. His name is familiar to many peoples in the scattered places on the globe. His voice is heard and respected by downtrodden people everywhere. To those shackled by the bonds of poverty and despair he brought hope of a better day. He has been a staunch defender of freedom and human dignity, and against the atheistic ideology of communism."

Dr. Edgar L. Dessen:

"I am honored and privileged to be able to speak a word of tribute to Tom Kennedy as he ascends to the presidency of the United Mine Workers of America. I speak for Can-Do, and through Can-Do the Greater Hazleton Chamber of Commerce and its affiliated agencies.

"Tom's lifelong struggle to help the miners needs hardly be amplified. His ideas of labor and social reform were many years ahead of their time, but he has lived to see them accomplished. He has been a giant of strength and wisdom to the United Mine Workers.

"His efforts for his community are less well known, mostly because of his modesty and self effacement. He has helped practically every worthwhile project conceived in Hazleton during his lifetime. He has helped Can-Do and our industrial rebirth in more ways than I can describe."

Peter Flyzik Lansford, international representative of the United Mine Workers of America:

"Tom Kennedy is more to us than a leader of our great organization. He is a former neighbor and a good friend; who can better understand the problems of the miners.

"Tom Kennedy will be the first man from the anthracite region to head the United Mine Workers of America and we are sure he will do everything in his power for the mine workers everywhere."

Vic Diehm, president of the Northeastern Pennsylvania Industrial Development Commission:

"As president of the NPIDC we found Thomas Kennedy ready and willing to help not only in matters affecting the anthracite region insofar as coal itself is concerned but to help the entire neighborhood in its chance to go ahead industrially speaking. He has been a great citizen in our region, his heart has always been here in Hazleton. His efforts have been directed not only for the entire organization of the United Mine Workers and the labor movement but always ready to extend a helping hand to those of us back home."

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF TOM KENNEDY

Thomas Kennedy was born at Lansford on November 2, 1887, a son of Peter and Mary (Boyle) Kennedy.

His formal education lasted only 6 years when he was forced to take a job as breaker boy at the age of 12.

When only a lad of 16 he was elected to his first union office, a post with Lansford local 1738.

In 1908 he was elected to the District 7 Executive Board and 2 years later, at the age of only 23, he became district president.

In 1925 he became international secretary-treasurer of the UMWA and in the interim had served as a member of the Anthracite Conciliation Board from 1910 to 1924. He was named vice president of the UMWA in 1947.

In 1936, Kennedy was elected as a delegate-at-large to the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia and in 1938 he was a candidate for the Democratic nomination for Governor. He was defeated, however, because the State Democratic organization opposed him.

He served from 1935–39 as Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania and was recognized as one of the ablest parliamentarians ever to preside over the State senate.

His other activities in the past have included visits to various European cities as a representative to the Miners' International Federation and also representing the union at meetings of the International Labor Organization, and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions; service on various importance committees at national conventions of the AFL and CIO; and member of the Pennsylvania Post-War Planning Commission. In recent years he was a member of the Governor's Tax Advisory Committee in Pennsylvania during the administrations of Gov. George M. Leader and David L. Lawrence.

Kennedy is also a member of the board of directors of two historic organizations which were formed largely to promote the use of coal. The first is American Coal Shipping Co., Inc., which was formed in 1957 by the UMWA, coal operators, and the coal originating railroads to foster shipment of American coal to foreign nations. The other organization is the National Coal Policy Conference, Inc., which was formed in 1959 to reawaken Americans to the prime importance of coal to the Nation's economy. Represented on its board are the UMWA, coal operators, coal-carrying railroads, public utilities which use coal, and manufacturers of coal mining equipment.

Kennedy has been active in religious circles, particularly in the promotion of Catholic charities to which he has given both his time and money. He is a member of the board of directors of the Hazleton Catholic Charities, a board director of the Hazleton United Givers Fund, and was a board director of White Haven Sanitorium in Pennsylvania from 1936 to 1956. Before the sanitorium was turned into a home for retarded persons, Kennedy had been instrumental in arranging a program for the treatment of anthracosilicosis by the Barton Memorial Hospital, at Philadelphia, and the Jefferson Medical Hospital.

He is a member of St. Gabriel's Roman Catholic Parish, the Knights of Columbus, the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, the Fraternal Order of Eagles, Hazleton's Good Evening Club, the American Academy of Political and Social Science, and the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

Kennedy has been awarded doctor of laws degrees by three universities, St. Vincent College, Latrobe; St. Francis College, Loretto; and the University of Scranton. He is a longtime promoter of and contributor to St. Michael's Industrial School for Boys, Hoban Heights, which he terms the "Boys Town of the East."

Kennedy was married in 1912 to the late Helen Melley, of Coaldale. There are two children from this marriage, Thomas, Jr., an attorney of Hazleton, and Mrs. Thomas B. Noonan, of Barnesville, Schuylkill County. There are five grandchildren.

On November 12, 1959, Kennedy married the former Evelyn Summers, of Washington, D.C.

Status of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN B. DOOLEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. DOOLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include a resolution of the Board of Trustees of the Village of Larchmont, N.Y., that has to do with the critical financial status of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad.

The importance of the railroad to commuters in the county of Westchester is tremendous, and it is urgent that the dilemma in which the utility finds itself at the present time be solved as quickly as possible.

Following is a transcript of the resolution unanimously adopted by the Board of Trustees of the Village of Larchmont, N.Y., at a meeting on January 11, 1960:

Whereas, in view of the crisis in the financial status of the New Haven Railroad, and the threat to the vital transportation service it provides in four States; and

Whereas in view of the fact that the communities served by the New Haven here in Westchester County have submitted to a series of four increases in commuter fares in a little over 3 years, totaling 47 percent, and will soon pay higher taxes as a result of tax relief granted to the railroad by New York State: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the members of the Board of Trustees of the Village of Larchmont, N.Y., hereby appeal to the Governors and legislative bodies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and Rhode Island to take immediate action to aid the New Haven Railroad through additional tax relief or loans on easy terms or such other measures as will in their judgment prove effective in preventing the further deterioration or stoppage of service; and be it further

Resolved, That we hereby appeal to the Senators and Congressmen of these four States to introduce legislation in Congress which will provide immediate emergency aid to the New Haven Railroad through subsidies or loans for repayment on generous terms. A delay in extending this help may mean much greater costs and losses to the public and to both State and Federal Governments.

MARGARET E. LORD,
Village Clerk.

Cascade National Park Study

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an editorial which appeared in the Wenatchee Daily World on January 10, 1960. The editorial relates to a bill I have introduced providing for a study by the Secretary of the Interior in cooperation with the Secretary of Agriculture to determine the feasibility of establishing a national park in the north Cascades region of Washington. I do not know whether a park should be established, but I do think it is extremely important that we obtain an expert opinion as soon as possible so that plans for a permanent policy for the best utilization of the area can be made.

The editorial, which gives an excellent analysis of some of the land-use problems involved, follows:

THERE ARE THINGS TO BE SAID FOR CASCADE NATIONAL PARK

Reappearance of the proposal to establish a national park in the Cascade Mountains took many local folks by surprise.

All the talk of late has been about the Glacier Peak wilderness area. It had been assumed the national park idea was out the window.

But it was given new life last week when the Cascade National Park bill was introduced in Congress. The bill is not to establish a national park. It only orders a study of the possibility of establishing one.

Why not a national park?

The furore that the Glacier Peak wilderness proposal stirred up would be but a gentle zephyr to the storm that may greet the park idea.

There was bitter opposition over the wilderness boundaries. But those opposing groups may stand shoulder to shoulder to fight the national park.

The mountaineering clubs opposed the wilderness boundaries as too small. Even if the national park takes in a much greater area, at least one mountaineer group—the Mazamas of Portland—has said it will oppose it because a national park isn't maintained as wilderness. Roads and tourist facilities are built into it.

And the mountaineers want their area shut away from civilization. They want only people who hike or ride horseback to get in. They don't want roads, cars, or thousands of people there.

The lumbering industry opposes the wilderness idea because it closes areas to lumbering. Chambers of commerce oppose it because of a fear it will reduce lumber payrolls. These same groups will oppose a national park just as strongly for the same reasons.

The national park concept can't be disposed of quite that easily, however. It's certainly not all bad.

A national park would produce wealth for an area—maybe more wealth than the lumbering payroll that would be lost. Roads would be built into it. Tourist facilities would be developed. People—tourists—would come in. Look at Mount Rainier, Glacier National Park, Yellowstone Park. The wealth they've produced in tourist dollars is probably many, many times more than the value of their timber as lumber.

Unless chambers of commerce have just been paying lip service to this concept of tourism as an industry, they're going to have to think pretty seriously before they turn down a national park.

There is majestic beauty in the area considered as the North Cascade National Park site. There are mountain meadows knee deep in flowers whose springtime bloom is July. There are passes on which you can stand and gaze, awe stricken, over the vast panorama of jagged peaks that seem to stretch into infinity.

This is the area the wilderness area advocates want to close. But if they are successful, who will see these sights? Only a comparative few who will hike or ride the long trail miles beyond the ends of the roads.

A national park would open the back country to all. Just as tourists from all over the world thrill to the drive up the Going to the Sun Highway in Montana, they might step out of their car on Buck Creek Pass to view the unexcelled sight of Glacier Peak.

This would be done without destroying the wilderness beauty of the place, either. In just a few hours hike from Lake McDonald Lodge in Glacier National Park you can be in country just as wild and unspoiled as at Image Lake in the Mount Baker Forest.

Should we make it easy for people everywhere to enjoy the majestic beauty of the Cascade back country? Or should it be reserved as a special prize for those who are willing to hike back to it?

Certainly one thing to be considered in any national park proposal would be the size.

We would not want a national park to lock up valuable timber any more than we would want a wilderness area to do it.

We would consider the boundaries mentioned in connection with a national park proposal last summer ridiculous. It contemplated a park extending from Stevens Pass on the south to Foggy Pass, a dozen miles beyond Harts Pass in the north.

It took in all of the proposed Glacier Peak wilderness area, all of Lake Chelan above Twenty-Five Mile Creek, far down the Skagit, the Suiattle and Sauk. It was an ultraambitious proposal, covering roughly four times the 422,000 acres in the Glacier Peak wilderness proposal.

We've always looked to our back country for lumber, grazing, recreation, and possibly most important of all—water.

Any attempt to restrict it to any single use is regarded with natural suspicion.

Wilderness areas and national parks dedicate it only for recreation.

This is in direct conflict with the present "multiple use" policy of the forest service. It allows some timber cutting, but requires reforestation. It allows grazing, but protects the watershed. Its trails and campsites encourage recreation.

It wouldn't be fair to close our minds to the values of a North Cascade National Park. But its advocates will have to go some if they are to produce a plan that makes better all-around use of our Cascade back country than the forest service's multiple use program now in effect.

An Attack on Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, people of all faith have been shocked by the repeated acts of bigotry and vandalism which have spread like wildfire through every major city. The fact that these deplorable incidents have invaded the United States must be a matter of intense dismay and disgust to every responsible citizen.

When we consider that our very forefathers came here in search of religious freedom, we realize that this is an attack on the very core and fountainhead of our democracy.

As President Eisenhower said, in a message to religious leaders last Tuesday:

The virus of bigotry seems to be ever present in the body politic. We cannot ignore it nor can we allow it to spread 1 inch. For when it becomes rampant it can cause the destruction of freedom and decency everywhere.

Mr. Speaker, no one is in a position to assess how much of the anti-Semitic outrages in this country is the work of organized bigots, and how much is the product of misguided cranks and adolescents looking for excitement and notoriety. No doubt much of this vandalism can be attributed to twisted teenage pranks.

But this is a matter of no less concern.

There is a very, very serious difference between painting swastikas on houses of worship and between popularizing the latest teenage fad, and if we have failed to impress upon our youngsters the vile significance of the swastika we have failed, very seriously, to fulfill our educational responsibilities.

It is intensely distressing to me to realize that the Nazi lesson may not have been really learned; that a few short years after the war our youngsters may already be so unaware of the Hitler horror that they can circulate that Nazi symbol of death and vilification. In my opinion, this implies a weakness in our moral fiber and a degeneration in our sense of values which amounts to moral bankruptcy.

But the evidence shows that these acts are not all teenage pranks. The use of a stencil to draw swastikas in Baltimore, recently, may or may not have been instigated by more adult minds. The circulation of printed pamphlets of hate is certainly not the work of adolescents. The fact that Nazi slogans have appeared in German in some places is equally frightening.

I do not know, nor does anyone else, what motivates those individuals who perpetrate these virulent acts. I do know this, however: we cannot permit this cancer to take root. It must be made absolutely clear that America cannot and will not tolerate this outrage to democracy.

Educators must make this absolutely clear to their students. Communities must root out the bigots in their midst and hold them up to public shame and disgrace. Local officials must constantly be on the alert to apprehend violators of the law.

Mr. Speaker, I feel very strongly that no Member of Congress can ignore these undemocratic activities. The pressure of concerted public opinion and censure must immediately be brought to bear.

I am therefore introducing a resolution, identical to that already introduced by Congressman FLOOD, which strongly expresses the sense of outrage and indignation of the Congress at this deplorable display of bigotry and hate.

I am also inserting a clipping from the Newark Star Ledger, which describes some of the more recent incidents:

[From the Newark Star-Ledger, Jan. 13, 1960]

MORE SWASTIKAS FOUND, DEMAND FOR ACTION RISES

Discovery of more swastikas on the walls of schools and synagogues swelled demands yesterday for action against the bigots and vandals responsible.

The crooked cross, symbol of Nazi anti-Semitism, was found daubed or scrawled on public buildings, cars, and homes in Los Angeles; Chicago; St. Louis, Mo.; Omaha, Nebr.; La Crosse, Wis.; and Lowell, Ind.

Police at first had discounted the rash of swastikas across the nation as twisted teen-

age pranks, probably inspired by similar anti-Semitic demonstrations in Western Europe.

But top policemen and Jewish leaders warned that the ugly fad also could be an outlet for real religious bigotry. A German-born Chicago psychiatrist, who asked that his name be withheld, said, "This is just the way it started in Germany 14 years before Hitler came to power."

Wisconsin Attorney General John Reynolds ordered the State's top crime-fighting equipment into the investigation of two swastikas painted on a La Crosse synagogue.

The words "Jews get out" were also smeared on the synagogue. Reynolds said the State crime lab was sending a mobile unit to analyze paint scrapings and other evidence.

Other incidents of the same stripe included:

One hundred headstones in a Jewish cemetery on Staten Island smeared with yellow paint, with swastikas, and the word "Jew" painted on several.

Nine swastikas outlined on the walls of the Omaha Central High School, another at the B'nai Jacob-Adas Yeshuron Synagogue, and yet another at a grocery store.

A break-in at a school in the Los Angeles suburb of Lawndale, where vandals tore up an American flag, scrawled swastikas over a music room, and wrote in German, "Down with Americans, hail good Germans" on a blackboard.

Two black-painted swastikas on the front doors of the Bethesda Lutheran Church in the St. Louis suburb of Pine Lawn.

Three golden swastikas painted on the car of Chicago high school student Robert Meyers, a non-Jew.

Vandals' invasion of the little town of Lowell, Ind., where few, if any Jews live. A green swastika was painted on the door of John Miller, who is not Jewish, and paint was smeared on his home. Green swastikas were daubed on the wall of a nearby school and the school's flagpole rope was cut.

Nazi, anti-Jewish pamphlets with such titles as "Jews Are Through in '72" found on 200 cars at University of Maryland parking lots.

A Statement Concerning the Use of the Means of Mass Extermination in the Waging of War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, the members of the faculty of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary of the University of Dubuque, Dubuque, Iowa, have signed a statement concerning the use of the means of mass extermination in the waging of war.

The thoughts expressed in this statement are worthy of consideration and under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to bring the statement to the attention of the Members of Congress and ask that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The statement follows:

A STATEMENT CONCERNING THE USE OF THE MEANS OF MASS EXTERMINATION IN THE WAGING OF WAR

In view of the fact that the Government of the United States has not yet repudiated mass extermination as a method of waging war, we the undersigned, members of the faculty of the Theological Seminary of the University of Dubuque, confess the following truths:

1. God has revealed Himself in Jesus Christ as the loving Creator, Preserver, and Redeemer of human life.

2. Jesus Christ is at once God's word which assures us of life in Him and which commands us to do all to preserve the life of our neighbor.

3. For the preservation of the life of the neighbor for whom Christ died and rose again, God has appointed the state with the task of providing for justice, freedom, and peace by means of the threat and exercise of force. In the fulfillment of this task the state may, as a last resort, wage a domestic or foreign war.

4. But the threat and exercise of the means of mass extermination in waging war is blasphemy against God the Creator, Preserver, and Redeemer of human life and is sin against the creature for whom Christ died and rose again. It defeats the very purpose for which war may lawfully be waged, and a state which employs such means becomes (in this respect) a nihilistic state by the indiscriminate destruction of the evil and the good, the just and the unjust, the defenseless and the armed, the living and those not yet born.

5. In modern times the state of Adolf Hitler revived and perfected the barbaric horror of genocide whose military counterpart is war by obliteration of defenseless civilians, e.g., the bombing of Warsaw, Rotterdam, and Coventry, and the annihilation of Lidice."

6. The initial horrified reaction of the United States and her allies to these crimes gave way during the years of fighting to the acceptance of Nazi policy. Pinpoint bombing of exclusively military targets was followed by saturation bombing of whole cities. Napalm, jellied gasoline, enabled us to make raids in which women and children were roasted alive.

7. The perfecting of the atom bomb provided us with a diabolically efficient instrument for waging war by the extermination of whole civilian populations.

8. Although the war's outcome was not in doubt, we dropped this bomb on two Japanese cities, immediately killing more than 100,000 men, women, and children and maiming thousands of others not only then living but in generations yet unborn.

9. Even before Soviet Russia possessed the atomic bomb, we relied principally upon the threat of massive retaliation, that is, nuclear mass extermination, rather than upon the conventional weapons of war, in pursuit of the policy of containment.

10. Moreover, since Nagasaki we continued to maim others both living and yet unborn by numerous tests of nuclear weapons with a callous disregard for the rights of neutral nations.

11. Meanwhile Russia and other nations have developed, or will develop, these weapons and are relying upon our policy of mass extermination in waging war.

12. There is, however, no conceivable end that justifies these means—neither the salvation of the West with what is here called Christian civilization, nor the salvation of the East with what is there called the achievements of the Socialist revolution.

13. "Do not be deceived: God is not mocked, for whatsoever a man sows, that he will also reap." (Galatians 6: 7.) All men and nations who follow the policy of war by mass extermination provoke the wrath of God and His just retribution, whether they deny Him or whether they profess their worship of Him.

14. Nevertheless, "if we confess our sins, He is faithful and just, and will forgive our sins and cleanse us from all unrighteousness." (I John 1: 9). We therefore confess our sin and the sin of our people to Almighty God and to the survivors of those whom we have wantonly destroyed. We further confess that we as Christians have been shamefully weak and tardy in this our confession of guilt.

15. As "fruit that befits repentance" (Luke 3: 8), we declare that we can no longer support the Government's policy of the threat and exercise of the means of mass extermination, whether nuclear, chemical or biological. We cannot sanction the production, testing, and application of the means of mass extermination, nor can we approve of any military service that involves the use of such instruments of warfare.

DAVID I. BERGER.
DONALD G. BLOESCH.
ARTHUR C. COCHRANE.
GEORGE B. EHLHARDT.
ROBERT M. HEALEY.
JOSEPH L. MIHELIC.
C. HOWARD WALLACE.

JANUARY 12, 1960.

Huntsville Parades Fond Farewell to Retiring Hero General Medaris

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, Gen. John B. Medaris, one of our Nation's finest military leaders and a key-man in the establishment of our missiles system, will unfortunately leave the Army January 31, 1960.

The whole Nation regrets General Medaris' retirement, but the people of Alabama who have come to know him especially well as he commanded the Redstone Arsenal Army Ordnance Missile Command at Huntsville will especially miss him. As an indication of this fact, I am pleased to enclose an article from the Birmingham Post-Herald of Saturday, January 16, 1960, telling of the Huntsville tribute to this retiring hero:

HUNTSVILLE PARADES FOND FAREWELL TO RETIRING HERO GENERAL MEDARIS

(By Clarke Stallworth)

HUNTSVILLE, ALA., January 15.—Huntsville said goodbye to Maj. Gen. John B. Medaris today.

General Medaris, who played a large part in putting America's first satellite into space, is the retiring commander of the Army Ordnance Missile Command. He will leave the Army January 31.

The general and Mrs. Medaris, riding in an open convertible, led a parade in his honor through the streets of Huntsville.

Later, standing on a reviewing stand in front of the Madison County Courthouse, Medaris smiled and waved as 11 bands and numerous floats passed by.

When the parade was over the general was mobbed by a group of children seeking autographs. He smiled and signed them all.

One majorette, Martha Campbell of Scottsboro, asked him to sign her baton. He shook his head, and signed.

At a banquet here tonight, Courtney Johnson, Assistant Secretary of the Army for Logistics, eulogized Medaris.

Said Johnson: "When the news came that night of the first sputnik, Dr. Wernher

von Braun and General Medaris seized the opportunity. In 90 days, they assured the Secretary [of Defense], the Army could launch an American satellite."

EXPLORER SOON ORBITED

"Eighty-three days later, after the go-ahead finally came, Explorer I was fired into orbit under the personal direction of General Medaris.

"The Nation owes an everlasting debt to the courage, the farsightedness and the firm leadership that made this possible."

Medaris established the Army Ballistic Missile Agency February 1, 1956, said Johnson.

"When General Medaris came to Redstone Arsenal the unique capabilities of the technical group supervised by Dr. Wernher von Braun were largely unrecognized outside the Army. Yet they represented the Nation's only experience in the successful development of long-range ballistic missiles.

"They had hopes and plans about exploring outer space that could not then be disclosed without risking public ridicule. Who, in retrospect, was mentally prepared to accept the fact that man would travel to the Moon?"

INSPIRED OTHERS

"There were a few who could understand these ideas—one of them was General Medaris, whose creative imagination quickly inspired his design team.

"A profound change in atmosphere and attitude came over Redstone Arsenal as General Medaris swung into action. He instilled a sense of urgency and pride of accomplishment.

"He tolerated no delay. He made the necessary decisions without hesitancy."

Medaris refused to answer any questions put to him by reporters—on any subject.

MUM ON FUTURE

But Johnson said Medaris "will enter a new career wherein I'm sure he will continue to improve our educational system, to keep this country in the forefront of technological development essential to international leadership."

The festivities began with the 3:15 parade through the streets of Huntsville, then there was a 5:45 reception for Medaris at the Russel Erskine Hotel, and a 7 p.m. banquet at the community center.

Dumping of Atomic Waste Into the Waters of the Gulf of Mexico

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN YOUNG

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Speaker, I want to take this opportunity to call to the attention of the House of Representatives a most serious and hazardous proposal now under consideration by the Atomic Energy Commission which may have far-reaching and injurious effects on every American citizen now alive and on generations to come.

On January 13, 1958, a private industrial company, the Industrial Waste Disposal Corp., of Houston, Tex., filed application with the Atomic Energy Commission for a license authorizing this company to receive, package and dispose of certain radioactive waste materials by placing this radioactive material in cement containers and dumping them in the waters of the Gulf of Mexico. On December 5, 1958, the Atomic Energy Commission published in the Federal Register a "Notice of Proposed Issuance of Byproduct Material License to the Industrial Waste Disposal Corp.," which would authorize the disposal of this radioactive waste in this manner. The notice stated that the license would be issued unless formal hearing was requested.

Immediate public interest was expressed in this matter and various municipalities and groups demanded a hearing. The State of Texas also requested a hearing. Hearings were held in Houston on January 22, 1959. After these hearings, the AEC issued an intermediate decision the effect of which was to approve the dumping license of the disposal company. An appeal to the full Commission was taken by interested parties, and final hearings are set here in Washington on January 20, 1960.

I most firmly believe, and I think a majority of the Members of this body will feel as I do, that the dumping of atomic waste into waters of the oceans touching our shores poses a possibility of a serious hazard to the health and well-being of our citizens. At best, the evidence introduced by the AEC at previous hearings was speculative and conjectural. I believe the U.S. Congress would be derelict in its duty to the people of this country if we stand idly by and allow without protest a branch of the Federal Government to engage in a practice which may have far-reaching ill effects upon the health of the citizens. I most seriously object to the approval of this disposal license by the Atomic Energy Commission until such time as it has been established beyond any doubt that the dumping of this atomic material in the waters of the Gulf of Mexico will not be harmful to human life or marine life in the disposal area.

I feel, likewise, that it should be definitely determined at this time to what extent this disposal program will be accelerated or expanded in future operations for the disposal of atomic waste. I understand it has been the experience of other waste disposal areas, both in Europe and off the shores of this country, where dumping and disposal operations have been inaugurated, that these dumping operations tend to expand and increase to the point where the number of curies contained in the original operation may be infinitesimal as compared to the vastly increased number of curies contained in the cumulated subsequent dumping operations.

This is not an isolated matter, pertaining to the citizens of the States bordering the Gulf of Mexico alone. I have in my files a list of proposed dumping grounds running the full length of the Atlantic seaboard, around the Florida coast, and the entire Gulf of Mexico. Thus, today we are concerned with one dumping operation in the Gulf of Mexico, tomorrow and in future years if we open the door for this proposed plan, we may be faced with radioactive waters lapping our shores from Maine to Texas, and from Oregon to California. This would indeed be a Frankenstein monster which we might not be able to control or rectify.

This problem not only has national significance, but has now become a matter touching on our relations with our neighbor to the South. About a month ago the Government of the Republic of Mexico, acting through channels, protested to our Department of State the dumping of this atomic waste in Gulf of Mexico waters. In a letter dated November 18, 1959, to the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, Mr. Rubottom, Assistant Secretary of State, adcised the AEC that the Mexican Government is making formal protest to this proposed action by a branch of the U.S. Government. In his letter of protest to the Atomic Energy Commission, Mr. Rubottom states:

From the note of the Mexican Embassy it may be inferred that the Mexican Government believes disposal of radioactive wastes so close to its shores would be interpreted in Mexico as a unilateral and arbitrary act in the part of the United States, adverse results from which would present virtually identical hazards to the residents of the two countries. Our Embassy at Mexico City concurs in the Department's view that Mexico's reaction to the granting of the license would be uniformly adverse and would cause harm to our relations with Mexico, regardless of any explanations that might be given. Furthermore, it would be difficult to explain why the United States unilaterally and without the concurrence of Mexico selected a site for disposal of radioactive wastes in an area approximately 180 miles from the shores of both countries, particularly as so little can be known with certainty in Mexico regarding the possible adverse effects oceanic waste disposal might have over a long period of time.

Mr. Speaker, I share the concern of the Government of Mexico for the future health and well-being of its citizens, and it appears to me that the U.S. Congress might do well to follow the example set us by the Republic of Mexico and express a similar concern for the people of our own country whose lives and health are endangered by this proposed action on the part of one of our Federal agencies.

A Surplus of Snake Oil Can't Cut Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROSS BASS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. BASS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include the following editorial which appeared in the Nashville Tennessean on January 13. In my opinion, this is an excellent article and one which merits the attention of the entire membership of the Congress.

The editorial follows:

A SURPLUS OF SNAKE OIL CAN'T CUT TAXES

The Eisenhower administration is ballooning hypothetical legislation into a mythical budget surplus and an imaginary tax cut. The only thing real in this parlay is the election year politics from which it derives.

The President himself tossed the balloon aloft in his state of the Union message, when he predicted a $4.2 billion surplus in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1961. That was snake oil. Such a surplus depends entirely on improbable developments.

Congress, for instance, would have to pass postal rate increases, a highway users' tax increase, and farm legislation that it has already rejected. Our farm economy would have to improve enough so that farm expenditures would be cut by almost $1 billion without legislation. All spending, even for defense, would have to be held at or below present levels, no matter how much the economy and the population expand.

Moreover, the long steel strike cut revenues by at least $500 million and by how much more nobody yet can be sure. And the administration's own tight money policies choke the economic growth upon which increasing revenues depend.

The President at first proposed to use his illusory surplus only for debt reduction. But hardly was he off the podium before a high official, who declined to be quoted by name (there are a lot of those in the White House crowd) told the Associated Press that the administration would favor a tax reduction next year if the predicted surplus is used for debt reduction.

Thus Congress, in one stroke, was tempted to knuckle under to the President's pinchpenny policies and threatened with the blame for no tax relief if, instead, it provides money for the Nation's needs. And the public was beguiled with the notion that a tax cut is just around the corner if the Eisenhower budget line is followed.

The hard fact is that no surplus is likely and even if it develops, tax relief is less important than recovering our military supremacy, aiding our neglected schools, developing our national resources and facilities, and assisting the underdeveloped nations.

Hinting at tax cuts, however, is always good, cynical politics. In this case, the Eisenhower administration won't even be around in 1961 to be held accountable. And Mr. NIXON is too shrewd to offer such spurious hopes in his own name.

Senator Green To Retire

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AIME J. FORAND
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. FORAND. Mr. Speaker, it was with mixed emotions that I received the announcement that Senator GREEN would not seek reelection.

The Honorable THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN, now in his 93d year, is the senior Senator from Rhode Island, and has been in the Senate since January 1937. He has the distinction of being the oldest man ever to serve in Congress.

I am saddened at the thought that such a great statesman and so excellent a representative of our State will not be with us in the Halls of Congress after this session.

I am happy, however, at the thought that after so many years of arduous service as Governor of our State and as one of our U.S. Senators he will have an opportunity to relax and take life easy.

We will miss his sage counsel and advice in the Halls of Congress but I am confident that while he will withdraw from active service he will continue his keen interest in politics and will be available to us whenever we call on him.

His leaving active political life will leave a void that will be hard to fill. His long experience in public affairs, both foreign and domestic, has been invaluable to our State and country, both under Republican as well as Democratic administrations.

About a year ago Senator GREEN gave us an example of his greatness, of his patriotism, and of his love for America. He did what few, if any, Member of Congress has ever done—step down voluntarily from the chairmanship of a great committee.

He relinquished the chairmanship of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee because he felt that his impaired sight and hearing made it impossible for him to discharge the duties of that high office as he felt it should be done.

He now informs us that medical attention has remedied the condition although it has not done so to a degree sufficient to permit him to discharge his congressional duties as he feels should be done and, therefore, has decided not to seek reelection.

I have known Senator GREEN intimately for more than a quarter century. I served under him while he was Governor of our State and we were both elected to Congress for the first time, on the same ticket, in 1936, he to the Senate and I to the House. I cherish the fact that he has been my friend, and I am thankful for his wide counsel.

He is a man of wealth with a heart of gold. Although endowed with this world's goods he has always taken a keen interest in those less fortunate than himself.

He was one of the first to sponsor cafeterias for workers in plants, and one of the originators of a banking system that made loans to needy people.

He always has taken a great interest in education and made possible the education of a number of youngsters who, without him, never would have been able to attend college.

He has devoted himself to the care of the unfortunates and during his service as Governor of our State he rehabilitated and expanded the facilities at our State institutions. The new and up-to-date buildings that he sponsored there is a monument to his humanitarianism.

This is only a minor part of what could be said of this great man.

Is it any wonder, then, that the leaders and Members of the Senate, and, particularly the members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, should have tried to prevail on Senator GREEN to continue as chairman, and paid such high tribute to him when he announced that he would retire? They know of his devotion to duty and his unrelenting efforts in the interest of our country.

In his retirement I wish him health and happiness. He can well rejoice at his many accomplishments for the benefit of humanity and I am sure he will take with him many fine memories that will help him in his retirement.

We of Rhode Island salute Senator GREEN. We love him.

Huntsville Says Farewell to Big M

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, on the occasion of his retirement as the head of the Army Ordnance Missile Command at Huntsville, Ala., and his retirement from the Army, Alabama and the city of Huntsville have expressed their sentiments about Gen. John B. Medaris by a citywide celebration in his honor. The following account from the Birmingham News of January 16, 1960, tells of this tribute to General Medaris, and I am pleased to insert it for the benefit of my colleagues.

COUNTDOWN ZERO—HUNTSVILLE SAYS FAREWELL TO BIG M

(By Dan Roper)

HUNTSVILLE, ALA., January 16.—This spreading young giant of a town shined its shoes, came to attention and saluted the man who put the rocket in "Rocket City" Friday.

"Big M Day" exploded here with the thrill of a missile piercing the sky.

What's the "Big M"? It's Maj. Gen. John B. Medaris.

It was the city's official sendoff to the two-star general who put white-coned missiles in its cotton fields and sent its name orbiting around the earth.

The head of the Army Ordnance Missile Command retires January 31 after 26 years in uniform.

Its a uniform the lean, steel-grayed general wore with style Friday afternoon as he stepped from the lead car with his Mrs. to review the parade in his honor.

From a bunting-bedecked stand on the west side of Madison County's Courthouse Square, Medaris saluted, waved and smiled, almost continuously, as 11 bands, 35 cars, marching units and floats passed.

The whole Tennessee River Valley was there—Scottsboro, Decatur, Athens, Florence, Sheffield, and the rest—with high school bands, civic club cars and citizens lining the parade route.

The Army's powerful family of missiles paraded past the man who helped engineer them and this country's first space satellite.

There were bare-shouldered high-school queens, getting a gloved-hand wave from the mustached general.

School patrols' snake-lined formations were met with a smart salute.

And there was a big grin when Emma Sansom High School's champion band,

formed an "M" and played, "After You're Gone," and a solemn, straight ahead stare with "The Battle Hymn of the Republic."

Along the parade route, flags snapped in a strong wind under 45-degree gray skies.

Red, white, and blue posters on every lamp post wished the general "Lots of Luck." Parade units carried similar greetings.

Medaris and Mrs. Medaris stood at one end of the reviewing stand. At the other stood a hatless and coatless Dr. Wernher von Braun, Medaris' missile scientist team chief.

Between stood Courtney Johnson, assistant secretary of the Army for logistics. He had huddled earlier in the day, and the previous, with Medaris on next year's budget requirements of the Army Ballistic Missile Agency.

A reception followed the parade and at 7 p.m., Huntsville's Community Center was packed with nearly 1,100 who ate chicken and heard Secretary Johnson describe Medaris as a "brilliant executive talent," and "magnetic personality."

After reviewing the accomplishments of ABMA under Medaris and crediting him as the only man with "creative imagination" to inspire von Braun's team, Johnson said:

"The record of performance General Medaris has built up has made him an outstanding executive in the entire Defense Establishment. The Army rates him peerless in his field."

Then came the presentation to Medaris. There was a portrait, to be hung in the local University of Alabama Extension Center; five albums of congratulatory letters from National, State, city, and business leaders, including Vice President NIXON and Governor Patterson.

Mayor R. B. Searcy, of Huntsville, presented the general with a plaque from the city which grew to 65,000 under the 4-year command of Medaris.

And Big M Day was over.

Medaris will review his last parade as missile chief January 30. He and his wife will fly to Florida for a vacation and then to Washington to testify at congressional hearings on our space program.

And, as a civilian, Medaris will announce his future plans. And, not before then.

Outstanding Community Service Award Given by Wilkes-Barre Kiwanis Club to Dr. Eugene S. Farley, President of Wilkes College

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following news article from the Wilkes-Barre Record of January 8, 1960:

OUTSTANDING COMMUNITY SERVICE AWARD GIVEN BY KIWANIS CLUB TO DR. FARLEY

Dr. Eugene S. Farley, president of Wilkes College, last night received the Wilkes-Barre Kiwanis Club Award for outstanding community service "as a symbol of the esteem of the entire community."

A scroll was presented to Dr. Farley by Benjamin Badman, Jr., during the annual ladies night program at Hotel Sterling.

More than 150 persons watched as the college president received the award commending him for his "clear vision, sound perspective, infectious enthusiasm and resolute faith." He was praised as leader of the college and community activities.

"In 1936, he became the youthful president of a small Bucknell Junior College," the scroll states. "He has since directed its transformation into a mature, accredited Wilkes College with a superior faculty, a commodious campus and thousands of loyal, grateful graduates. His broad concept of the function of such an institution in its community has made Wilkes College a prime asset to the Wyoming Valley in many facits of its complex life.

"Throughout those busy years he has generously contributed his time, his thought, and his talent for leadership to many laudable civic and cultural activities—notably to the Osterhout Library, the Boy Scouts, the Family Service Association, the United Fund, the Playground and Recreation Association, the Philharmonic Orchestra, the Sesquicentennial Commission, the Wyoming Valley Hospital, the Chamber of Commerce, the Industrial Fund and its committee of 100, and the Wilkes-Barre Kiwanis Club and its student loan fund. To all of them he has brough clear vision, sound prespective, infectious enthusiasm and resolute faith."

A telegram was received from the congregation of Temple Israel joining in tribute to Dr. Farley "for his constructive and creative efforts for the total community."

Members of Dr. Farley's family, Wilkes College trustees, and the college administrative council were introduced by Rev. Dr. Jule Ayers. Adm. Harold R. Stark, one of the guests, was given a rising ovation.

During his remarks, Mr. Badman, immediate past president of Kiwanis, said Dr. Farley has been "ready and willing to accept any job given him for any worthwhile endeavor or cause in the community." He commented the college president "has not hid in the ivy-clad walls of the college" but has gone out into the community "and done things." He reported Dr. Farley has been a Kiwanian 23 years and was president in 1943.

General Medaris Is Dynamic, Forceful Missile Command Leader

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, the accomplishments and contributions relating to the development of our missile system and our national defense of Gen. John B. Medaris have just been especially acknowledged in the course of a celebration in his honor at Huntsville, Ala., where he has commanded the Army Missile Command. General Medaris retires from this command and from the Army on January 31, 1960.

I am pleased to insert in the RECORD an article from the Birmingham News of January 16, 1960, outlining these great contributions to our Nation and to us all, knowing of the interest of my colleagues and the Nation at large in this outstanding military leader.

MAN OF MANY TALENTS—GENERAL MEDARIS IS DYNAMIC, FORCEFUL

(By Dan Roper)

HUNTSVILLE, ALA., January 16.—What type of man is honored with an hour-long parade, smiles from youngsters, and praise from leaders in a town in which he has only lived 4 years?

John Bruce Medaris is such a man.

"He is a man of many parts and many talents," Courtney Johnson, Assistant Secretary of the Army for Logistics, said Friday night of Medaris.

The man, and the legend, are indeed difficult to separate.

To his senior officer aid, Maj. Gen. J. B. Medaris is "without a doubt, as close to genius as any mortal human being can be."

To Congressman CHET HOLIFIELD, if Medaris "was put in charge of our missile program, we would not be behind Russia."

To Mayor R. B. Searcy of Huntsville, Medaris is "dynamic and forceful. The reason Redstone Arsenal is what it is today • • • and Huntsville and the surrounding area."

To Eighth District U.S. Representative BOB JONES, Medaris is "the most knowledgeable man in the whole missile business."

And to hundreds of Huntsville kids, he's "the general."

A man who has traveled with and known General Medaris perhaps best is Capt. Bill Brooks, who for 2 years has been his senior aide.

The crew-cut young officer knows the missile chief's many personal likes and dislikes; his penchant for swagger sticks, perhaps acquired as an under-age Marine recruit in World War I.

Medaris has a collection of swagger sticks. He has formal ones, informal ones; some fancy, some plain, and a dozen or more for every season and occasion.

Medaris is a coffee drinker, too, the captain reported. He prefers it black, with saccharine.

"We once made it in a motel bathtub for him," Brooks said. "The only container the manager could give us was so large that was the only place we could make it," he explained.

Medaris is a reader, too. He awakes at 5:30 a.m. each day, opens a book and reads. He prefers philosophy, history, and science, but will read fiction, often suggested by his wife, Brooks said.

He also reads from noon to 1 p.m., his lunch hour, the aide said.

Medaris is a pilot. He's made made than 80 trips to Washington since taking over at Redstone. He built up the base's air wing, and urged other officers to fly, Brooks said.

"He's told me that flying is the only thing that requires so much concentration that all other things are cleared out of his mind," Gordon Harris, PIO officer for Medaris, said.

Medaris also plays golf, but not as much now as before he took over the command, Brooks said.

The general has a photographic memory, too, his aide says. "Six months later if you miss one figure in a row of columns, he'll call you on it," he said.

Medaris also is an advocate of what he terms "prevision."

"He's not thinking today. He's thinking 5 days from now," Brooks said.

The general, who fought in Africa and Europe in World War II, also is a sentimental man, his aide revealed.

"This year on Christmas Eve, as in other years, the general spoke to all the people in headquarters building he doesn't normally get to talk with. Like the janitor and secretries. He also called them by name," Brooks reported.

What is this man to others, though?

He's the 57-year-old, ramrod-straight general who came to Redstone in February 1956, as head of the new Army Ballistics Missile Agency.

Under his command the Army launched the Nation's first earth satellite, developed the Jupiter intermediate range ballistic missile and others. In 1958, he became head of the Army Missile Command.

On January 31 he retires. He hasn't announced what he'll do, but has indicated it'll be in the field of education.

That is part of John Bruce Medaris—and only a small part.

The Steel Settlement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. BYRNES
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of Members of the House an editorial appearing in the Green Bay Press Gazette for January 7, 1960:

THE STEEL SETTLEMENT

Settlement of the steel strike is, of course, wonderful news for America. Yet the manner in which it was brought about, and the terms of the settlement, leave unsolved several important problems in the labor-management field.

The steel industry and the Steelworkers' Union simply couldn't reach an agreement by themselves, so finally the Government stepped in. True, the Government played its role circumspectly and tactfully, with Vice President NIXON and Labor Secretary Mitchell acting as mediators in unpublicized meetings, rather than flamboyantly and with a flourishing of the state's police power a la Harry Truman. Yet the fact remains that a group of privately owned companies and their employees could reach agreement only through the so-called good offices of high officials of the Federal Government, which means of course that they were faced with the threat of open governmental interference in their affairs if they did not give ground.

In other words, collective bargaining in our basic industries is still not completely free; since both sides know that at a certain point the government will step in, they design their proposals and their postures with this in mind. Perhaps this will always be the case; after all, it is a fact that the country cannot tolerate a really prolonged strike in a basic industry, and the Government's role in these negotiations can be said to merely represent this fact. Another way of putting it would be to say that the Government's part represents the public's interest in the negotiations, an interest that certainly should be represented.

Another great problem that was not resolved is that of wage and price inflation. The settlement is not anywhere near as inflationary as the union wanted, yet it is not a non-inflationary settlement as was originally called for by President Eisenhower. The heads of the larger steel companies have announced that they will not raise prices immediately but they have carefully left the door open for increases a little later on; we have no doubt that such increases will come. Thus we have not won a victory against inflation, although the steel companies' determined stand against another round of highly inflationary wage increases apparently has brought about a slowing down of inflationary forces. For this we can be thankful; the Eisenhower administration's greatest contribution to our welfare—next to its work in the cause of world peace—may well be the at least partial stabilization of the dollar. We have been in considerably greater danger of a dollar panic in recent years than most people have realized.

And finally, the settlement included no real agreement on the problem of work rules; the union merely agreed to a joint study with management of this question. Yet here again, perhaps, we should be thankful for a small gain; the union at least has admitted, if only inferentially, that the problem exists. Next to inflation, the greatest challenge facing labor leaders today is the necessity of eliminating work rules which were written in a bygone era when jobs were scarce and unemployment was the economy's gravest problem, rather than productive efficiency. Such rules cause economic waste which eventually penalizes everyone including the workers.

Vice President NIXON's part in the settlement is another feather in the cap of this man with the amazing ability to appear in the right places at the right times, and to come up with the right answers. In the space of a year he has become the man who told off Khrushchev and set up the exchange of Khrushchev-Eisenhower visits which so far have turned out so well for this country and the free world; the man who started the chain of public acclamation of the United States in other countries including those behind the Iron Curtain, and now he is the man who "settled" the steel strike. No wonder Governor Rockefeller left the field before a shot was fired.

Some Suggestions for a Farm Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, when I was in the district this fall, I talked to as many farmers as I could in order to bring back a cross section of ideas which might improve some of the inequities in the farm program.

In many instances, I asked the farmers to whom I talked, to set their ideas down on paper so that I could make them known to Congress.

Mr. Emery Hemingway, Rural Route No. 5, Iowa City, Iowa, a long-time friend and a successful Johnson County farmer, is one of the first to outline the basic ideas which he feels will improve the farm program.

In presenting these suggestions to the Members, I do not make a wholesale endorsement of all of the ideas, but offer them for consideration with the hope that there may be some proposals here which can be incorporated into farm legislation and improve conditions, not only for midwest farmers, but for the entire farm economy.

Mr. Hemingway's proposal follows:

Any farm program must have at least three goals:

First. Full parity for agriculture.

Second. Be fair and equitable between producers, and protect the smaller family farm from being taken over by the larger farms.

Third. Promote good soil conservation.

Historic bases are erroneous and unfair between producers and we must have a sound base to start from such as the crop acres in the farm.

Some suggestions for a long-time farm program are, first, applying flexible price supports to soil conservation; or second, the higher the soil-depleting crops to the crop acres in the farm the lower the price supports; and third, let the farmer decide at what percent of parity he wants his crops supported, or not at all.

In the old AAA farm program the number of crop acres in every farm were recorded.

Now, let us have this sound fair, base to work from and apply flexible price supports to a soil-conservation program in about these percents:

First. The farmer who keeps his intertilled crops-soil depleting crops under 30 percent of his crop acres the Government gives him a price support of full parity.

Second. The farmer who plants between 30 and 35 percent of his crop acres in soil-depleting crops the Government gives him a price support of 90 percent of parity.

Third. Between 35 and 40 percent—80 percent of parity.

Fourth. Between 40 and 45 percent—70 percent of parity.

Then if you want to go farther than that, classify the farms according to their capabilities and let the higher capability farms have a higher soil-depleting base, or crop base, than the lower capability farms.

No producer should be able to turn all of his crop over to the Government to market in any 1 year.

The Government should only handle surpluses and not become the marketing agency for a producer's whole crop.

A better way would be to use the sound base we started with—crop acres in the farm—and let the farmer deliver up to 10 bushels to the acre times the crop acres in the farm as a limit.

What we need are longer crop rotations on a lot of farms that have been causing the surplus trouble.

By longer crop rotations some of us have held down our feed grain crops and built a soil fertility bank at our own expense, but the farmer who has been over-producing feed grain crops has destroyed the price and we are penalized for practicing soil conservation.

The soil-bank program has some good features, but in most cases only rewards the producer who has been causing the most trouble by over-croping his land, and puts all his poor land in the soil bank and lets the Government pay him to build it up again.

If we do not apply flexible price supports to a soil conservation program then we must set a crop base using the crop acres in the farms to start from, and have this base include cotton as well as the feed grains—corn, sorghums, and beans—and the farmer keep the production of all these crops under this base or no supports.

This would bring about cross-compliance on these crops.

Wheat has its own program and there should be some regulation so the wheat producer, if he keeps under his acreage

for price supports, he cannot put in other crops that will help defeat the other programs.

Rice, peanuts and tobacco have more or less a program of their own. We should have found out before this that no program will work without some cross-compliance.

A farm program of price supports and acreage controls, two price systems or commodity by commodity approach, will work if you put regulations and controls on the right producers in the right way at the right time, but none of them will work without these controls.

Not enough farmers will self-discipline themselves to make any voluntary program work.

This is the legislation that needs to be enacted right now.

Now, that Congress and the Department of Agriculture apparently have done nothing to keep production in line with market demand without building up huge abnormal surpluses of feed grains, and are creating an over production of live stock, the farmer is producing at an average of around 78 percent of parity. He is not getting his rightful share of the national income and the livestock producer is entitled to some consideration.

The sheep men have their subsidy program.

The hog producer should have a program in which the Government pays a subsidy between the market price and $21 for No. 1 hogs, market price; $20 for No. 2 hogs, market price; and $19 for No. 3 hogs and only on hogs weighing between 190 pounds and 240 pounds. This is to be based on 400 pounds to the crop acres in the farm up to 75 crop acres or 30,000 pounds as a limit to any one regular farmer producer.

Do the same for the cattle feeder. Pay him a subsidy between the market price and $32 for prime cattle market price; $30 for choice, market price; and $28 for good grade. The same to be paid on 400 pounds to the acre times the crop acres in the farm up to 75 acres and 30,000 pounds limit. No subsidy paid on cattle weighing over 1,250 pounds.

The Late Honorable Alvin R. Bush

SPEECH
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1960

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in paying tribute to ALVIN R. BUSH, one of the outstanding members of our Pennsylvania delegation. His untimely death brought sorrow to those of us who were privileged to serve with him on the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

AL BUSH was admired and respected for his humbleness and sincerity. He was a conscientious legislator with strong beliefs and courage of his convictions. We will all miss his contribution to our deliberations in the crucial months of this session.

To his family I extend my heartfelt sympathy.

Amesbury, Mass., Hat Firm Gives Scholarships

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. BATES
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, the Merrimac Hat Co., Inc., of Amesbury, Mass., continues to do the unusual.

In 1958, after more than a century of operation, the firm closed its doors. With no bidder for the plant, the Hatters Union made a proposal, began operations, and a year later declared a quarterly dividend of 50 cents a share. It was a new venture in business operation and it received nationwide publicity.

A few days ago, the company announced it would award four annual scholarships, each worth $1,250, to graduates of the Amesbury High School, starting this June. The scholarships are being given to the Amesbury Classroom Teachers Association for administration. It is the company's way of saying "thank you for helping us out when we were reorganizing." Members of the teachers association bought company stock from their own pockets, the dividends to be used for their association's own scholarships. The action of the company is a distinct gain for youth and education in Amesbury. I desire to insert in the RECORD the following article from the Amesbury News:

MERRIMAC HAT FIRM TO GIVE SCHOLARSHIPS

The Merrimac Hat Co. of Amesbury, announced today it will award four annual scholarships—each worth $1,250—to graduates of Amesbury High School.

The scholarship awards will start this June.

Making the announcement, company president Hans Rie said the decision to award the scholarships was made at a recent board of directors meeting.

Details of the scholarships were worked out at meetings between Rie; International Union Vice President Frank Cynewski; Joseph Dollen, member of the board of directors; Hawley Patten, purchasing agent; Robert Kozacka of the Amesbury Classroom Teachers Association; and Carleton D. Skillings, Amesbury High principal.

Rie announced that the scholarships will be awarded to four Amesbury High School graduates who have been accepted at a degree-granting college for a 4-year course.

A $500 scholarship will be awarded the first year with $250 grants for the second, third, and fourth years.

Administration of the scholarships has been delegated to the Amesbury Classroom Teachers Association.

Rie pointed out that there are no restrictions as to whom the scholarships will be awarded.

"The student may wish to study liberal arts or to become a doctor. He or she does not have to be an engineer," he said.

This year the Merrimac Hat Co. will be awarding $2,000 in scholarships with $3,000 next year, $4,000 in 1962, $5,000 in 1963, and $5,000 each year after that.

Cynewski said the administration of the scholarships was being given to the Amesbury Classroom Teachers Association in appreciation of the group's support during the days when the company was being reactivated.

Cynewski pointed out that each member of the teachers group purchased company stock "with money from their own pockets." Dividends from these stock purchases were to be used for their association's own scholarships, he said.

Voicing appreciation to the hat company, Amesbury High School Principal Skillings said:

"I am very pleased at any move being made in furthering education. The more young people in America who gain education in 1960—the better communities we will have in the country."

Robert Kozacka, president of the teachers association, said:

"The Amesbury Classroom Teachers Association takes deep pleasure in expressing its joy and gratitude at the happy announcement by the Merrimac Hat Co.

"We feel that these scholarships will do much to induce a higher scholastic achievement at the school.

"We also are grateful to our fellow townspeople who contributed stock in making possible the reactivation of the company which is so mindful of the importance of education on the community level.

"We also have a deep sense of responsibility at being entrusted with the administration of the scholarships. We shall make every effort to discharge our trust with justice and equity."

Why the Secrecy About the Steel Settlement?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, on January 15 the Washington Post printed a letter to the editor from Wisconsin Assemblyman Frank Nikolay. He raised some pertinent questions about the secrecy which has shrouded the terms of the steel strike settlement. Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include Mr. Nikolay's letter in the RECORD:

BEHIND STEEL DOORS

I happened to be in Washington last week when the steel strike was settled. I looked in vain in several newspapers for a full report on the terms of the steel strike settlement. Yes; I know that the steel companies made concessions to the United Steel Workers, but what concessions did Vice President NIXON make to the steel companies?

All during the steel strike, the newspapers and the prosteel company columnists continued to indicate that the steel strike was a matter of national welfare and therefore the intervention of the Federal court was warranted. I am inclined to agree with this viewpoint, but what possible justification can there be for conducting the public's business in secret conclave?

If Vice President NIXON, the representative of the steel companies, and the representative of the United Steel Workers had nothing to hide in their negotiations, then why has not a transcript of the conferences been made available for public scrutiny? This is public business and the public is entitled to know.

I hope that responsible newspapers, such as your own, will raise this question again, again and again until Messrs. NIXON, McDonald, Blough, et al. make a full disclosure of the terms of the steel settlement.

FRANK L. NIKOLAY.

ABBOTSFORD, WIS.

Cleveland Editorial Comment on State of the Union Message

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1960

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, President Eisenhower's inspiring state of the Union message has received wide acclaim both here and abroad. In its central theme of dedication to the cause of world peace, the address eloquently testified to our continuing efforts to reduce international tensions. In its review of the Nation's economy, the message was confident and reassuring. Estimates of a $4.2 billion budget surplus during the current fiscal year have been greeted with enthusiasm, while the President's warning on inflation sounded an important note of caution.

The positive response to the state of the Union message may perhaps best be seen in editorial comments from various areas. As particularly thoughtful editorials appeared in the January 8 editions of the Cleveland News, the Cleveland Plain Dealer, and the Cleveland Press.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

[From the Cleveland Press, Jan. 8, 1960]

STATE OF THE UNION

There was a strong note of national reassurance in President Eisenhower's state of the Union message to Congress. He spoke as a man who has an admittedly difficult situation reasonably well in hand.

On the two items of greatest interest, the prospect of peace and of national prosperity, his outlook was greatly improved as compared to that in his report a year ago.

At that time he was compelled to stress increasing tensions between American and the Soviet Union. Yesterday he spoke of a "somewhat less strained period."

In the economic field, the contrast from a year ago was even more marked. Last January he spoke hopefully of recovery from recession and offered, a few days later, a budget that was admitted to be precariously balanced.

Yesterday he could say with confidence that "1960 promises to be the most prosperous year in our history." Despite the crippling steel strike he could anticipate a $200 million surplus for this year and announce, surprisingly, that a surplus in the substantial amount of $4,200 million is in prospect for next year.

He proposed to use this as:

PAYMENT ON THE MORTGAGE

The President's estimate of a $4,200 million surplus by June 30, 1961, surprised everyone. This would be the biggest Government surplus since 1948—and the second biggest of all time.

The instant reaction, in some quarters, was either to spend more or cut taxes. This the President tried to spike when he said:

"Personally, I do no feel that any amount can properly be called a 'surplus' as long as the nation is in debt. I prefer to think of such an item as a 'reduction on our children's inherited mortgage'."

If the Government does manage to take in more than it spends, Eisenhower suggests the right place to put it: toward reducing the $290 billion debt.

Such a rare action would have these signally healthy effects: it would put the brakes on inflation; it would save the taxpayers $200 million a year in interest charges alone; it would mildly ease the complex problem of managing the debt.

The President eloquently urged:

HELP FOR THE NEW NATIONS

The President's major foreign policy appeal was for ample and cheerful free world support for the gigantic struggle to make democracy work on the Indian subcontinent.

He spoke as one just returned from a historic trip to the area where, in India and Pakistan alone, nearly half a billion people scratch to eke out an unbelievably wretched living. It also is an area where the temptation is very great to junk the slow, democratic methods and try the opium of totalitarianism.

As a course of action, he espoused the proposal sponsored in the Senate on a nonpartisan basis 2 years ago to enlist the help of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation to work out a program for India.

On another point, he entered a field of controversy in his discussion of:

SPACE AND MISSILES

The President's promise to practically double expenditures on space exploration will soften some of the past criticism that we are not trying hard enough to catch up with Russia in this field.

Overall expenditure for space and air research and development is about $800 million which, presumably, puts the 1961 figure at around $1,500 million.

But the relatively optimistic picture he painted of the military missile program—skipping all mention of any gap with the Russians—probably will intensify election year debate. Ike's critics insist a lot more should be spent for military missiles.

[From the Cleveland News, Jan. 8, 1960]

"PEACE AND PROSPERITY THEME"

President Eisenhower said what he was expected to say when he delivered his state of the Union message to Congress. Few surprises, no evasions, no sensations.

Most of the message is good commonsense, based on the best information available and solid conservative thought. The proof of its soundness is the Democratic reaction—weak criticism and half-hearted attack.

The general theme of the message—"peace and prosperity"—finds general acceptance in the country, simply because there is no denying the facts as outlined by the President. Moreover a balanced budget, plus a surplus will be applauded.

The United States and the Eisenhower administration are dedicated to the cause of peace and the President has carried out a crusade that has found wide support.

Actual achievement of peace, however, remains something for the future, based mainly on how far the Soviet will go on disarmament and honest control machinery. The best approach is one of cautious optimism.

A major point made by the President, one which deserves the closest attention, is that the United States missile strength is on a par with that of the Soviet Union and that the Nation retains massive power. Missiles, believed as accurate as it is possible to make them, are available and have proven their worth in test after test. Coupled with strategic bombers, American strength packs a wallop.

A most reassuring note is this statement by one of the world's most authoritative military statesmen:

"It is my studied conviction that no nation will ever risk general war against us unless we be so foolish as to neglect the defense forces we now so powerfully support."

On other topics, mostly domestic, Mr. Eisenhower followed the usual pattern. Inflation is a danger; Executive-Congress cooperation is necessary; agricultural surpluses must be reduced, and civil rights must be guaranteed to all citizens.

The Eisenhower message was a state paper of fact and substance. It should impress Congress as it does the people.

[From the Plain Dealer, Jan. 8, 1960]

STATE OF THE UNION

President Eisenhower's state of the Union message yesterday may well go down in history as one of the greatest state papers of these times. Certainly it will be classified as one of the most outstanding addresses of his administration.

Perhaps because this is his last year in office and he need not concern himself with reelection problems, the President deviated from the usual procedure of promising something for everybody and, instead, submitted to Congress a calm and reasoned view of world problems and how they affect the United States, as well as a review of our domestic affairs.

The prospect of world peace, naturally, took precedence over all other topics. He reported an apparent lessening in the strained relations with the Soviet Union, but whatever optimism he saw in the situation was tempered by caution that we must not be misled by pleasant words.

The President reiterated our position that we will not interfere in the internal affairs of other states, while serving notice that we will reject any Soviet attempt to impose its system on us or any other people by force or subversion. He expressed his belief that as long as we maintained our defenses no nation will ever risk war against us and, in rebuttal to those who moan about the "missile gap" and other alleged deficiencies in our arsenal, he expressed confidence that the weapons we have and those under development are adequate to deter aggression.

Mr. Eisenhower acknowledged that we are behind the Russians in the development of our space program, but he made the point that the conquest of space should not be confused with defense. Moreover, our expenditures for space exploration will be doubled this year, he assured the Congress.

The President devoted considerable attention to the problem of aid to underdeveloped nations and pointed out that this help should come from the free world if we want to prevent these nations from being absorbed into the Comunist orbit. But, he added, the United States cannot continue to bear this burden alone; other free nations must share it to the extent of their abilities. To which we say, Amen.

An analogy made by the President, that we must help in developing nations "just as we drew on Europe for help in our earlier days," was not well taken, however. It was private investments, not public money, which

stimulated the development of this country. Moreover, we had no restrictive laws which prevented private capital from reaping the profits of its investments and we did not nationalize or expropriate the properties developed in this country by foreign investment. If private capital is to be attracted by what Mr. Eisenhower called an age of productive partnership, it must have these safeguards too.

The President confirmed what the economists have been saying, that 1960 promises to be the most prosperous year in our history. But he warned against the futility of labor-management strife, saying it seemed absurd for us to advocate cooperation among the nations if we are unable to have cooperation among the segments of our own free society. His proposal for regular discussions among labor and management groups outside the bargaining table, with the public interest in mind, was in line with a suggestion made by George Meany, president of the AFL–CIO.

Mr. Eisenhower devoted more attention to the danger of inflation than he had in any previous state of the Union message. We must fight inflation like a fire that threatens our homes, he said, and this, of course, is the area in which most of the conflict between the administration and Congress will be centered during the next 6 months. For the Democrats in control of Congress appear oblivious to the effects of inflation. They are more interested in reaping the votes that come from big spending than they are in putting out the fire.

The administration expects to do its part, however. The President predicted a balance of $200 million when the books close on fiscal 1960 next June 30. And the fiscal year of 1961, he predicted, would produce a balance of $4,200 million to be applied on the national debt. He preferred not to call this a surplus, but a reduction on our children's inherited mortgage. This one reduction, he pointed out, would save the taxpayers $200 million in interest charges every year from then on. Succeeding reductions would pave the way for tax relief, he added.

Well, we can hope, can't we?

The Late Honorable Richard M. Simpson

SPEECH

OF

HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, the sudden and unexpected passing of Congressman DICK SIMPSON has left a vacancy in the House of Representatives which will be impossible to fill.

DICK SIMPSON was a close personal friend of mine, and his sturdy character, high integrity, unquestioned loyalty, and honest conviction commanded the respect of all of his friends and acquaintances.

He was not the type who would yield to expediency and was always ready and willing to use his great influence to protect the people of the district he represented as well as all people throughout the Nation against any attempt to subvert or subordinate the power and dignity of the United States.

It is difficult to express in words the feelings you have for the loss of a close personal friend.

I wish to join my other colleagues in expressing my sincere sympathy to his beloved wife and family for the great loss they have sustained.

The Need To Redefine Disability

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, our social security program is now on the eve of its 25th anniversary. During the almost a quarter of a century that the program has been in operation we have come a long way in securing the future of our workers and their families. But any program needs to be revised from time to time in order to strengthen the areas in which it is weak.

I feel that one of the parts of the social security program which needs to be reexamined and revised is the portion dealing with disability benefits. During the first session of the 86th Congress, I introduced a bill to eliminate the 50-year age requirement for the payment of disability benefits under social security. Today I am introducing a measure which would provide a more realistic definition of the term disability.

Under the rigid requirements of the present law, many thousands of men and women who are considered to be totally disabled by employers and by competent medical authorities still cannot secure disability benefits or qualify for the disability freeze of their incomes. For if such a person can perform any kind of work at all, no matter what it is or how far removed it may be from the type of work for which he is trained, then he is not disabled so far as social security is concerned.

Take, for instance, an accountant who has spent 40 years in that profession and who now is not physically able to continue in this field. If he still is able to sell apples in the street he does not qualify for disability benefits under social security.

This narrow definition of disability works a very real hardship on our senior citizens who no longer work on their regular jobs. Many of these people have no other skills. Employers are reluctant to train older people for new jobs that they would be able to perform. Unskilled jobs usually involve physical labor which is beyond the strength of the aging. As a result, these people suffer financial hardship and the humiliation of having to ask local welfare agencies for assistance.

As a woman from my home district in Wisconsin so ably put it:

You have to be ready for the coffin before you can draw social security disability benefits.

The bill I have introduced would change the definition of disability in the present social security law to provide that an individual shall be considered unable to engage in any substantial gainful activity if he is unable, by reason of his physical or mental impairment, to engage in the occupation or employment last performed by him on a regular basis before he became disabled.

In other words, when a person is disabled to the point where he no longer can do the job for which he has been trained and in which he has been working for years, then he will be eligible for social security disability benefits or the disability freeze.

We can not turn our backs on our responsibility to this country's senior citizens. When President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the original Social Security Act, he called it "a cornerstone in a structure which is being built but is by no means complete." It is up to us to see that the resulting structure is worthy of its fine foundation.

The Late Honorable Will E. Neal

SPEECH

OF

HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, it is with profound sorrow that I join in paying tribute to our late colleague, Dr. Will E. Neal, who represented the Fourth Congressional District of West Virginia during the 83d and 85th Congresses.

A hard, conscientious worker, Dr. Neal was an outstanding public servant, a man greatly admired and respected by all who knew him and by all who were associated with him. By formal training, he was a doctor, a profession which he practiced with honor for over 50 years. His complete, unselfish interest in the welfare of others led him into public service where he served with distinction his community, his State, his Nation.

As a young man, after completing his medical studies, Dr. Neal established himself in the growing city of Huntington, W. Va., across the Ohio River from his place of birth. From his busy medical practice, he found time to devote to the civic affairs of his community. He served his city as mayor for two successive terms. In 1950, at the age of 75, he was elected to the West Virginia Legislature. From 1953 to 1955, and again from 1957 to 1959, he was a Member of this body.

Will Neal loved people. He loved his country. His life was dedicated to his fellowman and exemplified the true meaning of the word "humanitarian."

My heartfelt sympathy goes out to Mrs. Neal and the other members of his family.

Education—Investment in America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BRADEMAS
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the RECORD, the text of an address I was privileged to deliver at the seventh annual National Conference on Federal Legislation of the National Education Association in Washington, D.C., on December 11, 1959.

The text of the address follows:

EDUCATION—INVESTMENT IN AMERICA

I am delighted to have the opportunity to take part in the seventh annual National Conference on Federal Legislation of the National Education Association.

ROBERT WYATT OF INDIANA STATE TEACHERS ASSOCIATION PRAISED

It is a particular pleasure for me to be introduced by Robert Wyatt, executive secretary of the Indiana State Teachers Association. I think it is fair to say that Bob Wyatt has done more than any other man in recent years to win greater public support for education in Indiana.

I am glad, too, to be able to talk with leaders of the NEA. I come from a family of teachers, and my mother, who started teaching in a one-room country schoolhouse in Indiana and is still teaching school today, is a life member of the NEA as was my late grandfather, who was a teacher for many years in central Indiana.

During my first year in Congress, I have been deeply impressed by the splendid leadership which the NEA as a national organization and your representatives here in Washington have given to the cause of education. This conference is a first-class example of the continuing dedication of the NEA to lifting the level of education in America.

One of the reasons I have so much enjoyed my first year in Congress was my good fortune in being named to the General Education Subcommittee of the House Education and Labor Committee and thereby having the high privilege of serving with men like CLEVELAND BAILEY, FRANK THOMPSON, and STEWART UDALL and coming to know a person like LEE METCALF—all men who are deeply devoted to education and all unquestionably among the ablest Members of Congress.

My brief experience on the committee has only reaffirmed my conviction that, as Adlai Stevenson once said, "Our children's needs—the needs of education—have first priority over all other civilian needs."

Today we have more discussion of education, its purposes, its methods, and its facilities than we have seen for many years in this country.

SOVIET GAINS SPARK NEW LOOK AT U.S. EDUCATION

It is unfortunately true that the American people have been jarred into this reassessment not by any apocalyptic vision but by the sudden impact of the technological achievements of the Soviet Union.

We had until recent months been living under what Prof. Denis Brogan of Cambridge University describes as "the illusion of American omnipotence." Our reaction to the symbol of sputnik is represented by the fact that in order to pass an education bill, we had to call it the National Defense Education Act.

Yet Soviet competition should not be the only, nor indeed, the most important cause for our taking a new look at American education. It was Chet Huntley who said last year, "If tomorrow Russia became a pro-Western, two-party democracy, and international communism disappeared from the face of the earth, we should still need more engineers than we have, and many more poets."

STUDENTS MUST LEARN IMPORTANCE OF HARD WORK

Let me suggest that there are two major areas in education today to which we should give our concern.

First is the problem of quality. What are we turning out in our schools and universities?

A late president of Princeton once remarked, "Madame, we guarantee results or we return the boy."

For those of you whose chief responsibility is public education, there is no such simple solution to the problem of the student from whom no results can be guaranteed.

With respect to this first problem in education, I should like to say only this: in our pursuit of equality of opportunity for education, we must give far more attention to the element of quality of education. We must insist in the education of our young people on the central importance of hard work, on the futility of the search for shortcuts.

Let me give you the answer that Soren Kierkegaard, the 19th century Danish theologian, gave to the question, "What is education?"

He said, "I should suppose that education was the curriculum one had to run through in order to catch up with oneself, and he who will not pass through this curriculum is helped very little by the fact that he was born in the most enlightened age."

AMERICA HAS SHORTAGE OF CLASSROOMS AND TEACHERS

My chief concern this evening, however, is not with the problem of quality but rather with a problem with which Members of Congress can deal more directly—the resources education has for doing its job.

The simple facts are these:

We have in America a continuing shortage of buildings.

We have in America a continuing shortage of qualified teachers.

The result of these shortages is a serious crisis in meeting the Nation's needs in education. And if the crisis is with us today, consider the fact that within the next 20 years the present school-age population of this country will have increased by 60 percent.

Last August, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Arthur Flemming declared that "the number of pupils whose education is being impaired by the classroom shortage is about 10 million."

On October 14 of this year, the Secretary spoke of a shortage of between 130,000 and 140,000 classrooms. Yet he warned that the latest figures on school-bond sales—which showed a drop of fully 20 percent during the most recent 12-month period from the preceding 12 months—indicated that "marked declines in school construction are to be expected.

The State superintendent of public instruction in Indiana said this year that my State was short 3,000 classrooms.

There is widespread agreement then, that we need more school buildings in this country.

There is, however, another serious deficiency in our resources for education. We do not have enough qualified teachers. At the beginning of the 1958 fall term, our school systems were employing 92,300 full-time teachers with substandard qualifications.

INADEQUATE SALARIES A MAJOR CAUSE OF TEACHER SHORTAGE

Study after study has provided evidence of this shortfall, and study after study has pointed to inadequate teachers' salaries as a major cause of the trouble.

President Eisenhower himself, in speaking of "the importance of raising the standing of our teachers in their communities," said, "Higher salaries are a first requirement."

The president of the National Science Teachers Association blames low pay as a key reason for the lack of qualified science teachers.

The Rockefeller Bros. Fund Report on U.S. Educational Needs declares, "the root problem of the teaching profession remains financial. Salaries must be raised immediately and substantially.

And I am sure you are all familiar with Secretary Flemming's contention that doubling teachers' salaries in the next decade is a reasonable national goal.

It is clear then that we are not investing enough money in education, either in my home State of Indiana or in the Nation, either in classrooms or in teachers' salaries.

I use the phrase "investing in education" advisedly. In the American language, to "spend" suggests using up scarce resources—a wasteful and profligate notion. To "invest" however, suggests that dividends will be forthcoming—a wise and prudent course to follow.

INVESTMENT IN EDUCATION PAYS DIVIDENDS

Of perhaps no other area in our national life can the concept of "investment" more accurately be used than education. Some 10 years ago, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce published a book entitled, "Education, an Investment in People." The study showed dramatically that those States and communities in America which had the best educational systems had the highest levels of real income as well. The chamber of commerce survey showed that it paid, in dollars and cents, to invest in education. It was good business to put money into schoolrooms and teachers' salaries.

Again, let's look at my State of Indiana. Are we investing enough money in education there? The apostles of States rights piously tell us that there is no need for Federal support for education, because, they blandly assure us, the States can do the job.

The State of Indiana ranks 15th in the Nation in per capita income. If the State-righters were doing their job, Indiana would logically be 15th in the Nation in per pupil expenditures for public education. But we are 31st.

Indiana provides from State sources some 30 percent of public school expenditures as against a national average of 40 percent—so that we rank 32d in the Nation in this respect.

HOOSIER GOP POLITICIANS SHORTCHANGE EDUCATION

These facts are telling evidence of the intellectual dishonesty of those who argue that the States are meeting their responsibilities, and I remind you that there are few

politicians in America who preach the States' rights doctrine more but practice it less than Gov. Harold Handley and his political godfather, ex-Senator William E. Jenner.

At a recent subcommittee hearing, I asked the legislative representative of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, which opposed the Murray-Metcalf bill on grounds that education was a job for the States and local communities, to provide me with a summary showing how State chambers of commerce across the Nation were leading the fight in their respective States for more money for education.

I am still waiting for that summary, not, I may say, breathlessly.

In Indiana, moreover, our State constitution limits the bonding power of school districts to 2 percent of their assessed valuation, a limitation which has forced schools to turn from general obligation bonds, ranging from 1½ to 2½ percent interest, to the transparent device of setting up holding corporations and issuing revenue bonds at 4 to 5 percent interest. How do you like that for sound, businesslike fiscal responsibility? How's that as an example of deep concern for the taxpayer's dollar?

PROPERTY TAX INCREASE NOT THE ANSWER

There may still be a few persons who contend that the way to raise more money for education is to raise the property tax. To understate the case, this is not an exceedingly popular approach in my part of the country, and any Republican who wants to run against me on a "let's raise the property tax" platform will be a more than welcome opponent.

We simply cannot get much more blood out of the property tax turnip.

The several considerations I have suggested with respect to financing education in Indiana and the Nation were among those which led the House Education and Labor Committee this year to report favorably H.R. 22, the Murray-Metcalf bill, a bill which now languishes in the House Rules Committee, another victim of the continuing Republican-Dixiecrat effort to starve America of vital resources at a time of great peril to our country.

MURRAY-METCALF BILL DESCRIBED

Because the NEA played a most significant role in the shaping of the Murray-Metcalf bill, most of you already know that this legislation would provide financial assistance for the support of public schools by appropriating Federal funds to the States to be used for constructing classrooms and/or improving teachers' salaries.

The bill provides a program of $1.1 billion a year for 4 years. Each State would receive $25 per school-age child.

Each State would be free to divide its allotment between classrooms and salaries, as it saw fit. Any portion of the funds expended for salaries would be distributed within the following guidelines: one-half to school districts on a per teacher basis and one-half on an equalization basis.

BRADEMAS STRONGLY OPPOSES FEDERAL CONTROL OF EDUCATION

We are all aware that one of the chief obstacles to the passage of the Murray-Metcalf bill is the issue of Federal control. As a former teacher, I certainly want no Federal control of what is taught in our schools. I am, therefore, very glad to say that this bill contains very effective safeguards against such control.

First, the procedures for the administration of the program by the U.S. Office of Education are so simple that the Office will have no opportunity to coerce the States.

Second, the bill provides that once Federal funds reach the State, they are thereafter deemed to be State funds.

Third, the bill explicitly provides that in the administration of the law, the Federal Government shall exercise no direction, supervision, or control over policy determination, personnel, curriculum, program of instruction, or the administration of any school or school system—which is about as clear a declaration of purpose as the English language can supply.

Fourth, each State education agency is required only to certify that funds granted under the act have been expended in accordance with the provisions of the act, the same procedure for Federal fiscal control which has been followed historically under the land-grant college program.

FEDERAL FUNDS NOW USED FOR EDUCATION WITHOUT FEDERAL CONTROL

I think finally that the best evidence that Federal funds can be used for classroom construction and teachers' salaries without Federal control is the fact that we have been using them for both these purposes for some years now.

It has been a source of constant surprise to me to learn that very few citizens in my district—indeed, very few schoolteachers—know that under Public Laws 815 and 874, the impacted area programs for school districts near defense plants or military bases, for example, Federal funds are now being used not only to build classrooms but to pay teachers' salaries and even to buy textbooks.

As a member of the General Education Subcommittee, I asked several witnesses, including Members of Congress and the U.S. Commissioner of Education, the following question this year during hearings on the administration's ill-advised proposal to cut funds for education under the impacted area programs: Have you any evidence that the use of Federal funds for calssrooms and teachers' salaries has led to any Federal control of education in these districts?

Here is a typical answer:

One Republican Congressman whose views are normally very conservative but whose conservatism was apparently greatly tempered by the fact that his district receives substantial amounts of such Federal aid to education replied, "I have not, sir. I think that has been one of the outstanding virtues of Public Laws 815 and 874. There has been no Federal control curriculumwise."

EISENHOWER EDUCATION COMMISSIONER ADMITS NO EVIDENCE OF CONTROL

Here is Commissioner Derthick's reply: "I am glad to say * * * that the question has not come up. On the contrary, there was a doctrate study done up at Teachers College, Columbia University, * * * to determine whether there had been any semblance of Federal control in the administration of these laws throughout the United States; and the conclusion was impressive and complete, that there has not been any indication in any of these approximately 4,000 school districts."

And the Commissioner went on to assure the committee that his statement applied to the use of Federal funds both for school construction and for teachers' salaries.

For those persons, therefore, who are sincerely troubled about the issue of Federal control but who base their conclusions on facts, I urge a look not only at the safeguards built into H.R. 22, but the actual record of the administration of Federal funds under present law.

I have tried to suggest why we must invest more in education. I have tried to suggest why it is imperative that we make use of Federal funds for building more classrooms and raising teachers' salaries.

I have tried to suggest why the Murray-Metcalf bill is the most effective avenue for achieving these goals.

And finally, I have tried to suggest that Federal funds can be used to support State and local efforts in education without infringing on their control of school systems.

INCREASED U.S. INVESTMENT IN EDUCATION ESSENTIAL TO SURVIVAL OF FREEDOM

Let me now attempt, briefly, to put the problem of increasing our national investment in education in a somewhat different perspective.

No one who watched television or heard the radio or read the newspapers during the time that Mr. Khrushchev moved across the face of this land can fail now to understand that in him we are confronted with an alert, intelligent, aggressive, and articulate leader and by a people in the Soviet Union who can be described in similar adjectives.

In the decade of the 1960's to begin in just a few days now, the American people will be faced with the most powerful challenge to our survival as a free society that we have known in all the history of this Republic.

It may well prove to be true that the struggle between ourselves and the Communist world that side—a struggle both economic and moral as well as political and military—will prove triumphant which more effectively marshals its brainpower.

Whether we are able to maintain a free and vigorous and civilized society here at home and to encourage such societies abroad will, in large measure, depend on the quality and resources of our education.

OUR MOST VALUABLE NATURAL RESOURCE: EDUCATED MEN AND WOMEN

It seems to me, therefore, that we, in America, must invest far more of our national resources in the most valuable renatural resource we have: educated young men and women.

I salute you of the National Education Association for your dedication to the purposes of education. We share a common conviction that, as Adlai Stevenson has said, "The goal of education is to teach Western man not just to survive but to triumph, not just to defend himself, but to make man and the world what God intended them to be."

Words To Live By

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON CANFIELD
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, Benjamin Franklin was born in Boston on January 17, 1706.

It has been said that other men may have been greater than Benjamin Franklin, but few have been more human. Philosopher, statesman, man of letters, Franklin was first, of all a man. That he was a witty and wise one, the New York Herald Tribune, in its magazine, This Week, contends is borne out by the following sayings which are described as "Words To Live By":

Lost time is never found again.

In this world, nothing can be said to be certain except death and taxes.

Laziness travels so slowly that poverty soon overtakes him.

Virtue may not always make a face handsome, but vice will certainly make it ugly.

A penny saved is a penny got.

Glass, china, and reputation are easily crack'd, and never well mended.

Wish not so much to live long, as to live well.

If you know how to spend less than you get, you have the philosopher's stone.

You may talk too much on the best of subjects.

Let thy maid servant be faithful, strong, and homely.

All would live long, but none would be old.

Marry your son when you will, but your daughter when you can.

He that falls in love with himself will have no rivals.

Washington Report by Hon. Bruce Alger, of Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include my newsletter of January 16, 1960:

WASHINGTON REPORT BY CONGRESSMAN BRUCE ALGER, FIFTH DISTRICT, TEXAS, JANUARY 16, 1960

The machinery of congressional legislation is picking up speed. Committees are meeting to evaluate their pending bills, Members are preparing speeches, political motivations of candidates and parties are becoming more evident.

The ingredients of this legislative year are these: (1) An election year for Representatives (2 years), the President (4 years), and some Senators (6 years); (2) split government—the legislative body, Congress, under Democrat leadership, and the administration, Republican; only Congress makes the law; (3) various problems or trouble areas, highly controversial, which are, (a) the military and economic cold war with Russia; (b) the monopoly power of unions and dictatorial power of labor leaders; (c) the fiscal situation—a national debt of $290 billion; plus already incurred c.o.d. bills of $440 billion or more ($90 billion now owing and $350 billion committed as future obligations); plus a $2 billion built-in budget increase; plus hundreds of billions of legislative proposals for additional spending now pending; (d) a financing problem—Congress expects the Treasury Department to borrow money without a flexible interest ceiling, thus forcing the Government to borrow in the short-term market competing with individuals and businesses; (e) a heavy tax burden with progressive rates that kill incentive; (f) civil rights, welfare programs, and other controversial bills, all politically explosive, are pending.

What will Congress do? The answer will result from the people's demands, of course. (1) The election year issues and solutions can be politically expedient or statesmanlike as to motivation and outcome. (2) There could be a rash of new spending proposals adopted or a balanced budget with debt repayment and an aim toward tax adjustment and reduction. (3) There will be blaming of the administration for congressional shortcomings or responsible acceptance of the legislative role by Congress. (4) There can be more regimented planned economy or an emphasis on free competitive enterprise. (5) There will be more labor domination by law or placement of unions under antitrust law. My recommendation is the acceptance of the second of each of these alternatives.

The citizens of this great Nation and the Congressmen have reached the place, as I see it, where we must either restate and practice our belief in free competitive enterprise or abandon it, as we continue to legislate ourselves into the planned, regimented society. We don't need more law; we need to examine, evaluate and eliminate stifling, antiquated policies. Balancing the budget, reducing the debt, and lessening the tax burden are what this Nation needs most, not more welfare spending. The basic choice is between siphoning off money into Federal programs or leaving the money in the hands of the people to reinvest as they see fit. The latter course is the only one possible for sound economic growth and prosperity for all. Only in producing more can we all have more.

The purge of 56 Congressmen threatened by Jimmy Hoffa, head of the Teamsters (including myself) will be met by a counter-offensive by those members who are now uniting for this effort.

The Ways and Means Committee (of which I'm a member) will: (1) Hold hearings February 1 on the taxation of cooperatives; (2) Bring out a social security revision, possibly including the Forand, allegedly "socialized medicine" provision, as an amendment; (3) Possibly permit a revision of the interest rate ceiling. Some of the language used in the Ways and Means Committee illustrates the special world of taxation (not all are self-explanatory, either)—multiple trust, retroactive correction, conduit, throwback rule, partial distribution, corpus, aggregating, spin-off, collapsible corporation, traps, loopholes, pitfalls, blind alleys, distribution in kind, election of choice, etc.

The weekly newsletter is available to anyone in Dallas by request.

The Late Honorable Richard M. Simpson

SPEECH
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, it was with great grief and sorrow that Mrs. Bentley and I recently learned of the untimely passing of our beloved colleague, RICHARD M. SIMPSON, who had represented the 18th District of Pennsylvania in the House ever since 1937. We were particularly shocked over the sad news since we and the Simpsons were close neighbors in Chevy Chase, Md., and since one of our own children was a good friend of one of the Simpson boys.

While Congressman SIMPSON's notable achievements both before and since his first election to Congress have been fully covered in the remarks of his sorrowing colleagues, I merely wish to say that I considered DICK SIMPSON as a close personal friend and feel a personal sense of loss at the news of his passing. Mrs. Bentley and I certainly extend our deepest and heartfelt sympathy to the sorrowing members of the bereaved family.

Roman Holiday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. RHODES
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously granted, I would like to include in the RECORD a speech delivered by Mr. Landon Nichols at a toastmasters' club breakfast, Phoenix, Ariz., December 1959. Mr. Nichols is 24 years of age. He majored in advertising at Arizona State University and is presently a copywriter for the promotion department of the Phoenix Republic and Gazette, Phoenix, Ariz.

The article referred to follows:

ROMAN HOLIDAY

The moral fiber of the Nation is weakening under the rapidly spreading "gimme" attitude.

People who don't work want to get paid. Some unions demand more money for less work. The Northwest States want cheap or free electricity. Arizona educators want free Federal aid to schools. Big city mayors and railroad men want the Federal Government to subsidize a nationwide commuter system.

"GIMME, GIMME, GIMME"

The decline of the Roman Empire started with a "gimme."

In one loud voice the unemployed hoards of Rome demanded relief. They yelled "gimme" to the Emperor. The Emperor was like politicians today, he was afraid of losing his office, which in those days also meant his head. He gave free bread to the masses. This increased the tax load, which increased the number of unemployed. The philosophy behind this move was, "Why work and pay heavy taxes, when the government will give us free bread and exempt us from taxes?" With nothing to do, the jobless soon became bored and demanded entertainment. The Emperor again relented and gave them entertainment. He declared a holiday and produced a circus. One holiday followed another, and soon every day was a holiday, and everybody quit work to see the circus. When the Germans invaded, the Romans didn't have the will to resist. They paid for their Roman holiday with their freedom.

Today, we have people yelling "Gimme." They don't feel that they should have to work for what they are asking free. The "gimme" people feel that the world owes them a living. They feel that the Government should assume responsibilities that are a little too rough for them to handle.

What happened to the responsibility of the individual? Abe Lincoln didn't have a GI bill to give him a free education. Paul Revere didn't have a guaranteed price for his silver products. Our Arizona pioneers didn't ask for Government subsidies or three squares a day and a guaranteed annual wage.

Individualistic action, free enterprise, and pride in accomplishment are the human elements that made this Nation great. There was no widespread "gimme" attitude in the building of this Nation. It couldn't have been built with this attitude.

We'll never get back to this frame of mind if the liberal politicians have anything to say about it.

They want to give money to people who won't work, force everyone to join a union,

give free electricity to everyone, and control education from a Washington bureauracy. They seem to be willing to give free medical aid to the aged voters, cheap housing to everyone, and aid to anyone who'll build an airport. They completely disregard the fact that somebody has to pay these programs.

Where can these giveaway programs stop? The ultimate end is to give everybody everything. This final step will eliminate worry and the individual will be cared for from the cradle to the grave. The programs cost more than money * * * they cost freedom. For everything that is given away, there must be control attached, and the individual must give up a freedom. Ultimately, you would not be able to choose which house you wished to live in or which job you wanted to work at. For some, this is good. It is not the life I choose. I choose to be free.

Dean Alfange has written a creed that speaks for me—I quote:

"I do not choose to be a common man. It is my right to be uncommon, if I can. I seek opportunity, not security. I do not wish to be a kept citizen and dulled by having the State look after me. I want to take the calculated risk to dream and to build, to fail and succeed. I refuse to barter incentive for a dole. I prefer the challenges of life to guaranteed existence, the thrill of fulfillment to the stale calm of utopia. I will never cower before any master nor bend to any threat. It is my heritage to stand erect, proud and unafraid, to think and act for myself, enjoy the benefit of my creations and to face the world boldly and say 'This I have done.' All this is what it means to be an American."

The battlelines are drawn—on one side are those who work for what they want, on the other is the "gimme guys."

You have a stake in this fight—your freedom.

Too many say: "I'm against handouts. Don't give any more to anyone else. Just keep my check coming, but no more for anybody else," or they say, "I'm against handouts, but as long as the Government is stupid enough to give it to me, I'll take it."

Any time that you receive anything without working for it, you are indebted. Now is the time to pay your debt. Stand up and be counted as one who believes in the worth of the individual.

Find out how your public officials believe. I don't necessarily mean the President or the Governor. I mean your school board members and I mean your district representative in the State legislature and I mean your city and county officials, and your Congressmen. How much of your money and your freedom are they willing to give away? Find out how your public officials feel. Then tell them how you feel. Let's stop this "gimme" attitude, before we have a Roman holiday.

The Late Honorable Hubert Ellis

SPEECH
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join with my colleagues in paying tribute to our late colleague, the Honorable Hubert Ellis, who died on December 3, 1959.

Mr. Ellis represented the Fourth Congressional District of West Virginia in the 77th, 78th, 79th, and 80th Congresses. It was our privilege to serve together in the 79th Congress.

Hubert Ellis was a warm and considerate man, a highly respected public servant, who served faithfully his State and the country.

To Mrs. Ellis and the other members of his family I extend my sincere sympathy.

How Many Farmers?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE BROCK
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, the advance of the technological age in agriculture has depleted the farm population to the extent that now only one out of eight people live on the farm and produce agricultural products. It is a far cry from 50 years ago when one out of every three people lived on the farm and produced our agricultural products for the rest of the Nation.

While the technological advance has depleted our farm population, it also has increased our surpluses of agricultural products to the point where we have an overabundance of our needs.

In most of our industries the financial rewards are great for the finding of new and better methods of operation, for improved products, for efficiency in production, and for the many engineering skills and chemical and scientific findings of the new age. Unfortunately, these financial rewards have not been made to those engaged in the field of agriculture, despite their advances in the technological age. On the contrary, the annual income for agriculture has steadily declined while annual income for the industries has steadily gained over the same period of years.

The Omaha Journal Stockman, a very informative agricultural publication, has pointed out this lack of balance in our national economy in a recently published editorial.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the editorial herewith:

[From the Omaha Journal Stockman, Jan. 15, 1960]

HOW MANY FARMERS?

Latest word on how many people are living and working on farms comes in the form of a special report by the Bureau of the Census, the Department of Commerce and the Agricultural Marketing Service. This tells us that today's farm population is 21.2 million, which compares with 25.1 million just 10 years ago (1950). That is a drop of 15½ percent.

In simpler terms, one person in eight among our national population now lives on the farm. Back in 1950 it was one in six. Fifty years ago it was one in three.

These figures tell, as graphically as anything could, the story of agriculture's progress in America. Shortly after the turn of the century it was necessary for every third person to be engaged in farming in order that enough food and fiber could be produced for the Nation's needs. Now it is necessary that only every eighth person be a farmer. This frees the others for work in other industries and is one reason America is able to have so much of material goods above and beyond the basic needs of food, shelter, and clothing.

The decline in farm population is in no sense a defeat for agriculture. On the contrary, it is a victory, for it means that agriculture has progressed to the stage in which a relative minority can supply the majority with food and fiber in abundance. It means, too, that the farmer has progressed beyond the stage barely above subsistence and has become an effective, efficient, economic unit capable of carrying more than his share of the Nation's economic responsibilities.

The only deplorable aspect in this situation is that the farmer is not being consistently rewarded properly for his contributions to the Nation's well-being.

Two Souls Dwell in American Breasts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JEFFERY COHELAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, in the following essay by D. W. Brogan, a distinguished British political scientist and author, the question of the role of government in the United States is discussed in terms of the American voter's attidues.

Professor Brogan notes the tendency to "let Sam not do it," the feeling that "Government is a nuisance that we could get rid of if all good men got together," the fact that "old and not so old men still dream of a country in which politics will be art for art's sake and Government will be confined to keeping the Indians on the reservation."

At the same time, he underscores these equally valid facts:

(1) Of course, the average citizen knows that he needs schools, roads, bridges, and he expects the Federal Government to help pay for them.

(2) A great deal of the current talk about giving power back to the States is nonsense, since it ignores the financial limitations of the States.

(3) There are lots of States and still more lots of cities which can't make ends meet, which never will be able to make ends meet out of local resources.

Under permission to extend remarks, I submit this article, which was printed in the Washington Post, January 17, for inclusion in the RECORD. Professor Brogan's conclusions are all important, for while he notes the American voter's antagonism to government, he gives full measure to what the same voter expects of his government.

MANY U.S. VOTERS CLING TO PAST

(By D. W. Brogan)

When I first went to the United States in 1925, there were tens of millions of American citizens who, post office apart, had no dealings with and no interest in the Federal Government. Not only was the in-

come tax low but, given the income level of those times, many didn't pay it. There was no pay-as-you-earn system, and unless for the rich, the direct taxes levied by the Federal Government, which had been quite high during and just after World War I, were minimal.

If you smoked, you helped to pay for Uncle Sam's little luxuries, but if you merely drank, you didn't, thanks to the 18th amendment. Nor did the Federal Government do much for you even if it did little to you. There were national parks, and pork barrel projects, and there was a Navy and an Army that only a minority of the population ever set eyes on.

Washington itself reflected the remoteness of the Union from the affairs of the Nation. The Plaza in front of the station was full of rusty war shacks. That masterpiece of the Grant era, the old State Department, housed not only State but War and Navy. Government offices in that pre-Hoover era were often hidden in shabby office buildings.

Pennsylvania Avenue was lined with shacks that Hollywood would hardly dare to show as background to a sophisticated western. Washington was still a village and, according to repute, many of the diplomatic missions of the minor nations (a third or so of those represented today) were useful to their occupants and their customers as high-class and legally immune bootlegging joints. It was an idyllic time—and it is over.

But, and it is an important but, many, many millions of Americans still live, emotionally, in that idyllic world that died in the New Deal and whose grave was bulldozed flat in World War II. Government is all around them; it affects every aspect of their lives. They know this; the tax bite makes that unavoidable, but old and not so old men still dream of a country in which politics will be art for art's sake and government will be confined to keeping the Indians on the reservation.

And a consequence is that the American's attitude to government is ambivalent. He is proud of the Constitution, of the Monroe Doctrine; he is all for Lincoln (deeply misrepresented as being first and last a kindly and ethical type, a sublimated Sunday school teacher). But he is unwilling to accept the fact that for good or ill, mostly for ill, big government and mostly big national government has come to stay.

"The business of the United States is business," said Cool Cal Coolidge in those days when "cool" had no musical or artistic meaning. Today the United States is the business of the United States (including business. United States Steel is big but U.S. Government is bigger. There are many reasons for this, but the impact, scale, cost of World War II, and the cold war are enough to explain most of the phenomena.

It was all very well for President Eisenhower's first Collector of Internal Revenue to dream of working himself out of a job by abolishing the income tax. But it was a dream, and yet so many millions of Americans live in the dream world of T. Coleman Andrews.

Government is a nuisance that we could get rid of if all good men got together. A strong tendency to anarchy, finding expression in some of the dreams (not in the practices) of Thomas Jefferson, is part of the American way of life. It shouldn't be taken too seriously, but it can be a nuisance.

For example, it bedevils sensible discussion among citizens about the role of the States, cities, counties. A great deal of the current talk about giving power back to the States is nonsense, since it ignores the financial limitations of the States. Sometimes the difficulty could in great part be dealt with by legislation or amending the State constitution, as in Michigan and New Jersey. Sometimes even cities could be solvent and competent if State legislatures extended their boundaries and relaxed too-jealous controls. But there are lots of States and still more lots of cities which can't make ends meet, which never will be able to make ends meet out of local resources.

Yet the tradition that I have talked of, as far as it does accept the necessity for governmental activity, wants to pass the buck to the State, the city, the New England town. Let Sam not do it. That way lies fiscal sanity. Maybe, but that way lies a Government that denies its responsibilities in the public sector from sputniks to schools.

The tenacity of the idea can be illustrated from an issue of the most serious journal in the United States, a copy of which has recently come my way. (I mean the Harvard Alumni Bulletin, of course.) A member of the class of '37 takes Senator CLARK of Pennsylvania to task for advocating Federal aid to education, asking with crushing scorn "an economically literate explanation of how a dollar raised by Federal taxes differs from a dollar raised by State taxes."

Senator CLARK does not need my help, but the author of the letter might reflect that in his State, which is also Senator CLARK's, the taxable revenue per head is far greater than in, say, Mississippi. Left to itself, that State and many others can't provide, no matter how willing they are, the minimum social services that not only they want but that they need—and that it is desirable from the point of view of the Nation that they have.

No doubt this means raising money in one State to spend in another, but it is a long time since Lee surrendered and States' rights, hostility to internal improvements, etc., etc., have never been the same since.

Of course, the average citizen knows that he needs schools, roads, bridges, and he expects the Federal Government to help pay for them. Schools? Not yet, but soon. I have been struck in my recent peregrinations in areas like upstate New York with the resistance to the rising school taxes not because they are proof of extravagance, though sometimes they well may be (it depends on how important you think basketball is), but simply to the often unjust effects of the local tax system. Federal aid will come, and it is needed.

Then it is hardly necessary to contrast the theoretical hostility of the embattled farmer to all Government interference, with the sad reality of his no doubt shamefaced and resentful, but still steady, acceptance of those horrid parity payments. Nor, indeed, are business, so much of it dependent on the Pentagon, or the stiff-necked bourgeois, who don't necessarily despise the resources of the social security system, really hostile to the Government. And the sturdy, independent striker, member of a big union, does not always remember how much that union owes to Federal patronage.

Back to Jefferson, back to Calhoun, if you like, but only in dreams.

Two souls, as Goethe put it, dwell in American breasts. What are the consequences for politics, for the role of the citizen? As I have said, politics 35 years ago, when I first began to study the system at firsthand, was a game. It was not in Harvard, when I arrived there from Oxford in the golden age of Cal, a popular game. My habit of slinking off to political meetings, listening to former Mayor Curley or former Mayor Fitzgerald, even to Congressmen and Senators, was frowned on by all my friends. Why was I wasting my time like this when I could be in the library or in a speakeasy?

I did get to the library from time to time, but I also got out and about among the politicians, and I should say that today the average American, if his sense of duty as a voter is not impressive, does take more interest and a more intelligent interest in politics than he used to do. By British standards, he is idle and indifferent, but by the standards of 1925, he is Cato or John Quincy Adams.

But what kind of an interest? In his interesting panegyric of the U.S. Senate, "Advise and Consent," Allen Drury makes the valid point that many Americans, perhaps most active politicians, get their initiation into the political way of life by running for office in high school or college or in some organization. "Heeling," as I believe it is called at Yale, is a political education. But it is a political education of a special type.

It is about people, not projects, about men, not measures. The doctrinal content is nil or fictitious, like near beer in the 1920's. In the spring of last year I ran across one or two college elections, with parties, primaries, pamphlets, campaigns. They provided political education of a kind, but not of the best kind. For the parties were artifical divisions like the blues and the greens in Constantinople or like scratch sides of softball got up among more or less willing parents and children.

There may be campuses where there are genuine college issues debated and settled that way, but I haven't been on them. What was decided was the pecking order of the campus elite. What is often decided in local, State, and National politics is the pecking order of the political elite. There are other issues in politics; they are neglected, on the campus and on Capitol Hill.

I rush in to say that I am not demanding and would be horrified to get that panacea of so many political scientists, a rational political system. Parties based on defined and deeply dividing doctrines are what the United States, luckily, hasn't got. When she did get such a system in 1860, she got a civil war thrown in. But it seems to me that one reason for the comparative idiocy (in the Greek sense of the word) of the average American is his frustration when confronted with his duties as a voter.

He votes the straight ticket and what does he get? He doesn't know even what to expect, what to hope for. What has the big Democratic majority of 1958 got from this Congress? In State politics, the outrageous gerrymandering at the expense of the cities, as its worst in Georgia but bad in Iowa and existent everywhere, depresses the good or even the sporting citizen. After all, at the racetrack, your horse starts. In politics it often doesn't. The division of powers into three branches accounts for a lot of this frustration; so does the necessary ambiguity of party platforms.

But whatever the cause, boredom, frustration, apathy are not unpatural results.

The American citizen is asked to do more than any other citizen since the great days of Periclean Athens. (And the Athenian had often little else to do and was paid for a lot of his political duties.) There are too many elections, for too many offices. From President through Governor to dogcatcher. From U.S. Senator to selectman. No one has the time, energy or knowledge to do all that he is asked to do—well.

It is a surprise that so much intelligent cross voting takes place, that primaries and final elections so often make the right choices. Happy citizens of the District of Columbia, who have no rights, duties or worries.

Nor is this all. In too many States they have direct democracy. They elect practically every public official; they have initiatives and recalls. I remember in the election of 1952 looking at the ballot paper and the accompanying literature issued to the inhabitants of San Francisco County (Calif.).

There were propositions for the county and the State and endless officeholders were to be chosen. There were explanatory pamphlets. Altogether, the documentation issued to the voter weighed 14 ounces on this, bad paper and small type. It would have taken an expert a week's exclusive study to begin to know how to vote.

No wonder the American dreams of simpler days, no wonder he forgets to vote or to register, no wonder he doesn't know the name of his Congressman. Yet things have improved.

Everybody knows the name of the Vice President, which wasn't true in 1925 (who was he now? Dawes? Curtis? Marshall?). The presidential is a sporting event that eclipses the world series or the Preakness. And that justifies all the ballyhoo that the heirs of Washington and Jefferson are going to go through this year.

Even if millions of Americans won't vote, all will know who is running. In that lies the safety of the Republic.

Is Patriotism Old Fashioned?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I am including a letter received from one of my constituents, together, with an editorial from the South Milwaukee Voice-Journal, with regard to loyalty oaths and affidavits required of students receiving grants. I am including this letter in the hope that it will be included in the RECORD.

SOUTH MILWAUKEE, WIS.,
January 10, 1960.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ZABLOCKI: I'd planned to write you giving my views on the loyalty oaths and affidavits required of students receiving grants under the National Defense Education Act. But, I find that Mr. Gordon Lewis' editorial in the January 7 Voice-Journal pretty well expresses my view as well as my wife's. I've included it with this letter, with the hope that it might be read into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as a grassroots opinion on loyalty and patriotism.

Sincerely yours,
RAYMOND J. BRONIKOWSKI.

[From the South Milwaukee Voice-Journal, Jan. 7, 1960]

IS PATRIOTISM OLD FASHIONED?

We're beginning to get an inferiority complex because of the recent furor over the loyalty oaths and affidavits required of students receiving loans under the National Defense Education Act.

Apparently it's becoming so old-fashioned to be patriotic that we're going to let students bite the hand that feeds them.

What, we'd like to inquire, is so dreadfully wrong about requiring students to state their allegiance to the U.S. Government if they are going to accept financial handouts from that Government?

Why should U.S. taxpayers pay for the schooling of those who either can't or won't take an oath attesting to the fact that they do not support or believe in organizations aimed at the destruction of our form of government?

We may be old fashioned and we may be wrong, but we fail to see why requiring loyalty to the Government is too big a price to pay for providing a youth a good share of his higher education.

Exploding a Popular Myth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. RHODES
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously granted, I would like to include in the RECORD an editorial entitled "Exploding a Popular Myth," which appeared in the Arizona Daily Star, Tucson, Ariz., on Wednesday, January 6, 1960:

EXPLODING A POPULAR MYTH

One of the favorite practices that is going the rounds today among political and intellectual leaders and numerous commentators is the way they pontificate about our gross national product or income and its rate of growth. They assure us that our past rate of something like 2½ percent a year is not enough, because the Soviet Union has a rate of growth of 7 to 10 percent.

Therefore, they caution that unless we get busy and raise ours to at least 6 percent, we will fall behind the Soviet Union and inherit still more dangers. It is up to the Government to do something about this situation, because, they imply, our free enterprise system cannot assume such a task.

When it is remembered that possible presidential candidates as far apart as Nelson Rockefeller and Senator HUMPHREY have spoken out openly to this effect, it cannot be called a partisan matter. It does make a good political issue, because it is like siding with virtue against sin. Who doesn't want growth and prosperity?

However, the subject is not the serious one that so many of its sponsors say it is. Growth has been going on in the United States ever since the Constitution was adopted. It is going on today, and it will be going on tomorrow and in the coming years. It has been going on because here in America we have made a free society function. We have created a society whose Government has provided an atmosphere in which human beings could take the initiative to satisfy their desires and the desires of their fellow men.

The results speak for themselves. We have done a job that has made us the wealthiest and most powerful nation the world has ever known. It has ben done without economists and other thinkers, including political leaders, eulogizing gross national product, and its rate of growth.

Just why must we now look upon our record and system as outdated, and therefore find it necessary to turn over the task to politicians to direct? For that is what the demand for a doubling of our rate of growth implies. The Government would adopt a plan—similar to the way Moscow does it. It would give the orders and impose the discipline.

Those who assume that this kind of government-planned economy would work better have only to look at Great Britain and even France. If the gross national product is to be increased, an enormous increase in productivity must be made. If the Government is going to provide orders to make such an increase, it will have to increase taxation, or finance such increased spending by printing money in the form of bonds.

If the plan is really going to work, all strikes and lockouts must be brought to an end. All featherbedding must cease. Britain found out that dissatisfied workers will strike in government-owned industries. It would be a cinch that Americans would, too, just as they have always done.

Thus, the doubling of the rate of growth of the gross national product would be stymied. Those political and economic leaders who calmly assume that their plan would work better, because the government would be calling the turn, would find out how mistaken they are.

If we look on the past 10 years, the record will show that America has staged a truly remarkable growth and has done it at a time when her responsibilities abroad increased enormously. The 1960's can see equal and probably greater progress, if our Government maintains the healthy atmosphere of a free society in which the creative ability of the American people is free to work.

Cleveland's Veterans' Administration Regional Office Makes Outstanding Record in 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, the Veterans' Administration can well be proud of the work accomplished in its Cleveland regional office during 1959. The area under the jurisdiction of this office includes 38 northern Ohio counties, wherein reside more than 713,000 veterans.

I have just received a copy of the annual statement of the regional manager, Col. William Holsinger, which shows that in spite of a reduction of full-time employees from 530 in 1958 to 500 at the close of 1959, or a virtual 6 percent loss in full-time personnel, the office had an unprecedented output in all operating programs, except that of the educational which is now tapering off to some extent. This record of production represents the untiring and conscientious energy of all employees of the Veterans' Administration in Cleveland and northern Ohio. Colonel Holsinger and the men and women who serve under him have every reason to be proud of their endeavors. Their record and achievement should serve as a stimulant and a challenge to all departments of our Government.

Believing my colleagues will be interested in reading the statement in its entirety, I ask unanimous consent that it be included as part of my remarks.

ANNUAL STATEMENT

The course of 1959 and that of the 1950's has been run and there can be no return by that route. Consequently, the Veterans' Administration program moves on to greater achievement and efficiency of operations.

The year just closed may be designated as the year of automation and mechanization and the introduction of electronic data processing systems into the tabulating and statistical phase of our official lives. No program as vast as that of the Veterans' Administration can progress in the tight competitive business world of today without modernizing fully every single adaptable step required in the pursuit of its objective. By virtue of the installation of this equipment our operations already demonstrate not only unprecedented speed of production but also a mechanical accuracy never before attained by human competations or performance.

Recognition by the national headquarters of the Veterans' Administration has been accorded the Cleveland office on a number of occasions during the year just ended. Particularly gratifying was the selection of the Cleveland Veterans' Administration Contact Division as the second most outstanding and efficiently operated Contact Unit of any Veterans' Administration field station or hospital in the United States for the preceding calendar year. This contribution paved the way for a subsequent rating by our superiors in Washington of outstanding in the field of community relations, thus fortifying the agency with the very durable fabric of public confidence.

Not by any means of lesser stature is the national award conferred by appropriate ceremony on the Cleveland Regional Office in September 1959 for having the best and most exemplary record of safety and fire protection of all the regional office installations of the Veterans' Administration in the United States. This is a highly coverted award and the employees of our station deserve great praise for their safety achievement.

During the year a number in our midst have answered the summons of the grim reaper and have crossed over to their eternal reward. Even in the closing days of December a great cloud settled over us all with the passing of Dr. Harold P. Timberlake, chief of the medical division, whose service to veterans extended over a period of 40 years. He was outstanding in his profession and all veterans mourn his death on Christmas eve. We reverently record our sorrow over these broken links in our chain, but the inspiration of their lives of service to this cause impels us forward with all the greater zeal in assisting him "who has borne the battle, his widow and orphan."

In spite of a reduction of full-time employees from 530 in 1958 to 500 at the close of 1959, or a virtual 6-percent loss in full-time personnel, the station wrestled with an almost unprecedented increase of pressure in all operating programs, except that of the educational.

The unusual growth in business in the Claims Adjudication Division receiving substantial impetus from action of our central office in decentralizing death claims to the field stations. As a consequence of this decision many thousand running awards were added to the normal caseload processed by this office and payments to beneficiaries further expedited. However, it must be recognized that this action created an almost phenomenal increase in workload pressure on the Administrative Division where our active file housekeeping detail has reached the rarified area of just short of 1 million files.

It will be observed that in spite of the steel strike and certain related industrial stagnation our GI Loan Division accomplished a 33⅓-percent increase in guaranteed loans for home building and buying during the year representing a $61,074,311 volume of business in this field.

True, the Vocational Rehabilitation and Education Division continues to show some decline since the World War II and Korean GI educational objectives come closer each year to achievement. But in spite of operating personnel reductions in this division, the quality of training and college instruction remains high and public reaction most gratifying.

Finance Division operations bear the brunt of our conversion to mechanization. This division has toiled conscientiously to service the financial aspect of our official functions and services. They have sustained personnel reductions but have shouldered their new responsibilities under the conversion procedure with remarkable restraint and composure. In the face of changeovers in processing methods this division shows a cash disbursement volume of beneficiary payments well above that of the preceding calendar year. Even further growth here will develop in 1960.

The area under the jurisdiction of the Cleveland regional office includes the 38 northern Ohio counties on a line extending from Belmont County on the east to the southern boundary of Defiance County on the west, wherein reside more than 713,000 war veterans serviced by this office.

	Year ending—	
	Dec. 31, 1958	Dec. 31, 1959
1. Number of veterans who visited the Cleveland regional offices and branches during year	160,237	182,213
2. Veterans given vocational training/education	21,502	16,442
3. (a) GI Loans guaranteed	2,900	4,581
(b) Net dollar value guaranteed loans	$38,146,720	$61,074,311
4. Grand total of running award benefits to veterans	81,808	102,678
5. Number of medical examinations/treatments	157,260	167,063
6. Total number of active veterans' files for all purposes in Cleveland regional office at end of year (32,263 files retired)	830,474	837,848
7. (a) Average number of beneficiary checks issued per month	98,069	99,173
(b) Average monthly beneficiary payments	$6,282,272	$6,490,559
8. Average full-time employees	530	500

This record of production represents the untiring and conscientious energy of the 500 employees of the Veterans' Administration in Cleveland and northern Ohio. Our Nation, grateful beyond mere words for the service of America's veterans in time of war, will tolerate no compromise with quality in administering their entitlement.

We who serve in the public trust of public office are delighted to expend our maximum capacity in the performance of duties entrusted to us, but signs and portents are discernible to the effect that further losses in operating personnel and the corresponding additional operating cost reductions may place in serious jeopardy the element of quality in our end products. It is on this basis that we plan the future.

WILLIAM HOLSINGER,
Manager.

The Late Honorable Alvin R. Bush

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARROLL D. KEARNS
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. KEARNS. Mr. Speaker, in the death of Al Bush the country, the Congress, and the people of the 17th Congressional District of Pennsylvania lost the services of a most capable legislator.

Al Bush was a man of outstanding character, ability, and great courage. His affability and warm smile brightened many days for all of us. Personally, his friendship and consideration will always be one of my precious memories.

Again, I extend to Mrs. Bush and the family my deepest sympathy.

William R. (Bill) Boyd, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, during the month of November 1959, Texas and this country lost a civic and religious leader in the person of William Boyd, Jr., of Teague, Tex.

During World War II, he served in the capacity as chairman of the Petroleum Industry War Council and was given a Presidential Award of Merit for this service to his country.

I am happy to say that I counted Bill Boyd as a close personal friend of mine and on my visits to Teague, Tex., it was always a pleasure to sit and chat with him on matters of National and State importance.

Bill Boyd was a great American, a great Texan, and will certainly be missed in this great country of ours.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a reprint of an article which appeared in the Teague Chronicle, of Teague, Tex., concerning this great individual:

WILLIAM R. BOYD DIES

Funeral services were held Saturday, November 7, 2 p.m., at the First Methodist Church in Teague for William Rufus (Bill) Boyd, Jr., Teague oil man, civic and religious leader.

Mr. Boyd died at his home Friday of a heart attack. He was 74. He was found in bed about 10:30 a.m.

Rev. Jewel McClure, pastor of the local church, officiated at the funeral, and Ham Bros. Funeral Home was in charge of arrangements. Brother McClure was assisted by Rev. Bob Kalb, Wills Point pastor. Burial was in Greenwood Cemetery.

Mr. Boyd was Teague's first mayor when he was only 21. He wrote most of the city ordinances, and many of them are still in effect.

He was born January 7, 1885, in Fairfield. His father, W. R. Boyd, Sr., was a lawyer and district judge in Freestone County. Mr. Boyd also studied law at George Washington University in Washington, D.C., and practiced in Teague with his father until he went into the oil business in 1920.

Mr. Boyd was owner and operator of a general store in Fairfield when he was 16. He also worked as a printer's devil on the Fairfield Recorder.

He founded the American Petroleum Institute in New York in 1920 and was president from 1941 to 1949.

Mr. Boyd came back to Teague when he retired in 1950. The whole town turned out

to celebrate all day. There were speeches and banquets in his honor.

Lone Star Gas Co. spudded in the Bill Boyd No. 1 on his farm east of Teague the same day, but it was a dry hole.

During World War II, he served the United States as chairman of the Petroleum Industry War Council and was awarded the Presidential Medal of Merit by President Harry Truman in 1946.

Two years ago, Mr. Boyd organized the Methodist Men's Club with only 20 members.

The membership has now risen to 1,154, and the club is now called the Inter-Denominational Men's Club of Teague.

Mr. Boyd changed the name because people of every faith joined. Members are from 35 States, England and Brazil.

Monday night, November 2, Mr. Boyd presided over a meeting of the club in which Secretary of State Zollie Steakley was speaker.

Mr. Boyd was a steward in the First Methodist Church, and an ardent worker in all activities. He was a member of the Teague Chamber of Commerce and several other civic organizations.

He married Miss Gertrude Watson, of Fairfield. She survives him.

Five generations of the family have the same name, William R. Boyd.

His son, William R. Boyd III, is assistant to the president of Cities Service Oil Co., in New York; his grandson, William R. Boyd IV, is assistant vice president of the First City National Bank in Houston. He also has one sister, Mrs. John W. Carnes, of New York. Also one great-grandson, William R. Boyd V, and two other great-grandchildren survive.

Gen. Dougas MacArthur 80 Years of Age January 26

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, Gen. Douglas MacArthur will observe his 80th birthday this month, January 26. General MacArthur is one of the great men of world history. This Nation and the free world might well be under Communist domination today had it not been for his foresight in the Far East.

Mr. Speaker, I greatly fear some day we will fight a war at a great disadvantage with 1 billion atomic-powered Chinese Communists. This tragedy will face the next generation because we did not back up General MacArthur in 1951. Practically every person I talked with from Syngman Rhee on down in Korea, the Prime Minister of Japan, every member of the Japanese Diet, every high ranking U.S. officer of the Army, Navy, or Air Force, the enlisted men at the front all agreed the Chinese Communists were ready to be destroyed. Had General MacArthur's plan been followed of bombing the bases in Manchuria and driving again north, the Chinese Communists would have collapsed then and there.

We gave Red China the time she so desperately needed to liquidate the opposition and again build up her armed might.

Mr. Speaker, the following article by Saul Pett, of the Associated Press, which appeared in the Greenville (S.C.) News will be of much interest to General MacArthur's friends here in the Congress and throughout the country:

WALL OF SILENCE SURROUNDS "MAC"

(By Saul Pett)

NEW YORK.—Gen. Douglas MacArthur will be 80 years old January 26 and, as usual, will appear somewhat larger than life size.

There will be birthday greetings from all over the world for the general of the Army, the senior officer of all branches of the American military service, possibly the most decorated soldier in American history, a hero of St. Mihiel, Bataan, Corregidor, New Guinea, Manila, Tokyo, and Inchon and the man whose life has probably touched more history than any other living American.

There will be messages from presidents and prime ministers, from general and admirals, from the great, the near-great, the never-great.

But the climax of the birthday will come in the evening, as it has every year for the past 8 since General MacArthur returned under forced draft from Tokyo and Korea. At about 6:45 p.m., he will accept the arm of an escorting general, depart from the splendid isolation of his Waldorf Towers apartment and descend by elevator to a stag reunion of his old World War II staff.

AN OLD RITUAL

Judging by past birthdays, the ensuing program might remind viewers of the late show of the regimental ritual of the old Bengal Lancers back when India was still a Kiplingesque outpost.

As the general approaches the door of the hotel's Jansen suite, his old staff will be assembled inside, in black tie or uniforms for those who can still get into them. At a given moment, someone will shout "tenshun" and the general will enter, himself in black tie.

As he moves in, the men will sing "Happy Birthday." The general will pass among them, shaking each hand firmly, gazing deeply into each pair of eyes from a face which, though thinned by age, remains chiselled in epic lines. It is still a face which seems to suggest that it alone stands between mankind and Armageddon.

After a drink or two—during which the men will begin to refight the Second World War—the party will then pass into the mirrored dining room, to an elaborate three-wine dinner.

At the table, General MacArthur will be flanked by the ranking officer of each branch of the service under him in the Pacific—Gen. Walter Krueger, of the ground forces, Adm. Thomas C. Kinkaid, of the Navy, and Gen. George C. Kennedy, of the Air Force.

As the brandy glasses are drained and the old warriors light fresh cigars, the roll will be called and each man will rise and answer in alphabetical turn. Some names will be followed by goodhumored cat-calling even occasion bun throwing.

FRIVOLITY IS OVER

But there will be none of this when MacArthur rises. If there were, said one general and admirer, it would be "followed by the most silent moment in history."

Birthday greetings will be spoken for each branch of the old command by Kreuger, Kennedy, and Kinkaid. Then, General MacArthur will speak, perhaps in recollection or on the general theme of leadership or the state of the world. As always, he will speak in Ciceronian rythms, rolling phrases and rising clauses, each marching by in highly polished cadence.

The evening will close with all members of the staff rising and singing the old barracks ballad which ends, "old soldiers never die, they just fade away"—a line which has evoked the warmest emotion in the general's admirers and the coldest derision among his detractors.

The elevator will rise again to the 37th floor of the Waldorf Towers and General MacArthur will once more disappear into his seven-room apartment, from which he rarely departs these days.

Here in the muted magnificance of his Oriental furnishings, in a living room 47 by 28 and adorned by delicate carvings, ancient screens and a pair of gleaming, 2-foot-high silver vases given in gratitude by the Emperor of Japan, Douglas MacArthur lives out his years, making no direct contact with the public, seeing no reporters and allowing his past and present to come to him.

As chairman of the board of Sperry Rand Corp., (largely an advisory job which earns him $68,800 a year), General MacArthur runs board meetings once a month in his living room. All other business matters are dealt with in the apartment with one exception.

YEARLY MEETING

Once a year he must go out to conduct the stockholders meeting, which requires more space. Two years ago, history of a sort was made when the General of the Army, rolling through a long peroration about high taxes and the menace of the Soviet Union, was heckled from the floor by a lady stockholder from Brooklyn.

"I came here to hear about dividends, not Russia," she shouted. The general returned to his theme in the grand way generals have of ignoring snipers.

The general sees a variety of people, almost all of them in his apartment. His visitors are said to include government leaders from the Far East, Congressmen, businessmen, and military officers, including the last three chiefs of staff, all of whom were cadets at West Point when MacArthur was Superintendent.

Except for stockholder meetings, MacArthur no longer speaks out on public issues and makes very rare public appearances. One of these is an annual visitation to the National Football Hall of Fame dinner, where this year, without notes, he delivered a remarkably vivid speech on the effects of football in later life.

He recalled the death in Korea of a platoon commander who had been a star end at West Point.

"As he lay dying on the field," the general said, "his commanding officer knelt over him to catch his final words and through those bloody lips came that last gasping whisper—'Stupid, thinking they could turn my end.'"

The general recalled the football remarks made personally to him by Presidents dating back to Theodore Roosevelt, who at a Harvard-Yale game more than 50 years ago said to his aide-de-camp:

"Douglas, I would rather be in the Harvard backfield today than be in the White House."

He recalled comments made to him by Presidents Taft, Wilson, Harding, Coolidge, Hoover, Franklin D. Roosevelt—MacArthur was Chief of Staff under Hoover and Roosevelt—and Dwight D. Eisenhower.

A LAUGH FOR TRUMAN

"And then," he added to a rising laugh, "there was Harry Truman, who surely tried to look like a fullback when he kicked me out of Korea."

This was MacArthur's first public reference to Truman since he replied in a published statement to the Truman memoirs.

According to a man privy to MacArthur's feelings, the general still feels deeply hurt by the Truman firing—feels it cast a stigma over his military record, which will never be erased. He will go to his grave with a deep sense of bitterness.

But MacArthur remains convinced that Chinese Communist bases in Manchuria should have been destroyed, that it would have won the war in Korea and then and there aborted the rising power of China.

He is said to be concerned that the "time may be dangerously close when American soldiers may not have the heart to fight for their country." He attributes this, too, to the "fact that we failed to fight Red China through to victory after she caused huge American casualties."

This is paraphrase of MacArthur opinion as reported by a man who sees him almost every day but asks that his name be withheld.

NEVER TRAVELS

Since his return from Tokyo in 1951, General MacArthur has never traveled abroad although every year he receives invitations from the Governments of Japan, Australia, Korea, and the Philippines.

"The general feels," said the same source, "that the circumstances of his dismissal preclude his going back to the Far East even for a visit unless he went back as some sort of special ambassador with the dignity of the U.S. Government behind him."

MacArthur's longest trip in recent years covered 55 miles. On a rainy Sunday morning 2 years ago, he suddenly invited his former aide and old friend, Maj. Gen. Courtney Whitney (retired) to drive up to West Point.

They arrived unannounced at the Military Academy, where MacArthur led Whitney to the cadet messhall. An attendant stopped them; visitors, he said, weren't permitted at that hour.

The general said, "I'm sorry. We were just browsing. I graduated from here. MacArthur's the name."

The attendant almost disintegrated. At West Point, the MacArthur name is held in almost the same reverence given Robert E. Lee. They were allowed into the messhall.

As a general of the Army still on active duty but without specific assignment, MacArthur has a 3-room office downtown, manned by a master sergeant, warrant officer, and civilian administrative assistant. MacArthur is entitled to Army pay and allowances of $20,543.

The general rarely visits the office. His mail is brought to him every day. The Army motor pool also provides him with a driver and car, usually the same old black Chrysler he used in Tokyo.

Every year the general uses the car less as he spends more and more time in his apartment. Here he lives with Mrs. MacArthur and Ah Cheu, the Filipino nurse, who came out with the family by torpedo boat from Bataan in the dark days of 1942.

SON IS AT COLUMBIA

Arthur, the MacArthurs' son, has his own apartment uptown near Columbia University, where he is a senior majoring in English. A dark, reserved young man of 21, he has indicated a great interest in writing and little in a military career. However, after graduation next June he will be subject to compulsory military training.

The general is a great sports fan and will watch all forms available on TV, including wrestling. But his special passion is football—West Point football. In any given year of war or peace, we are told, he could give you the vital statistics of every man on the Army varsity that season. He can tell you the score of every Army-Navy game in the past half century.

On football Saturdays, when Army is not being telecast, he will watch another game on TV while listening to Army on radio. This year he watched Navy's massacre of Army (43–12) in long suffering silence. But within 2 days, General of the Army Douglas MacArthur shook off the shock and rose out of the still smoldering foxholes of disaster to inquire about West Point's prospects for next year.

President's Journey Biggest Security Job in History

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON CANFIELD
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, Alvin Shuster, of the New York Times, has written, a most interesting article on an interview with Chief U. E. Baughman, of the U.S. Secret Service, on President Eisenhower's recent 22,000-mile trip abroad.

The Chief, who is one of the finest administrators in the Federal Government, and his loyal and efficient force do a most outstanding job and can be readily catalogued as "unsung heroes."

The story which appeared in the Times on December 24, last, reads as follows:

GUARD CALLS PRESIDENT'S JOURNEY BIGGEST JOB IN HISTORY—PRECAUTIONS TOOK A BEATING, HE RECALLS, BUT ALL OF THE SHOOTING WAS FRIENDLY

(By Alvin Shuster)

WASHINGTON, December 24.—Secret Service Chief U. E. Baughman looked back today over President Eisenhower's 22,000-mile trip and breathed a sigh of relief.

The journey, he agreed, represented perhaps the biggest security job in the history of the Presidency. It was not without its moments of alarm.

The stops Mr. Baughman remembered most vividly were those in India, Afghanistan, and Morocco.

"In Delhi," he recalled, "I saw more people converging on the President of the United States than I had ever seen at one time in all my 32 years with the Secret Service. It took us 2 hours to go 9 miles and for a while it looked as if we were simply going to have to stop and wait for the people to get tired and go home.

"They were all over the place. On the roof and hood of my car, which was in front of the President's; and they were pushing closer and closer to the President himself. Finally Prime Minister Nehru got out of the President's car and went up front into a police jeep to urge the crowds to step back. Two Secret Service men climbed in and sat beside the President. I don't recall that this was ever necessary before."

He remarked that more than 90 percent of all assassination attempts had been made within a few feet of the intended victim.

"With all those people so close to the President, all we needed was one crackpot," he went on. "It's a good thing they were for us and not against us."

Mr. Baughman, tanned but sniffling as a result of a 70-mile ride in an open car through bitter cold in Afghanistan, said there was a new element of concern to the Secret Service in Kabul.

There, he said, the cheering masses were throwing confetti and streamers. When thousands of people raise their hands and start throwing things at the President, the Secret Service is not at ease.

"All you can really do is look, watch, wait, and hope," he said.

In Morocco, Mr. Baughman recalled, mounted tribesmen fired into the air as the President drove in from the airport. It is their custom to honor their king that way, and "we couldn't stop that," he said.

They were using muskets with charges of gunpowder. No bullets.

"But in any event," he said wryly, "it was pop, pop, pop all the way into Casablanca."

None of the 40 Secret Service men on the trip received any reports of threats to the President's life. Mr. Baughman said, however, that there was a rumor of a plot to assassinate the king in one of the countries the President visited.

The report was checked, he said, but the source proved to be "a phony who wanted $500 to reveal the rest of the alleged plot."

One of the usual precautions over a Presidential route is to check manholes for people or bombs. In Madrid, Mr. Baughman reported, the authorities simply flooded the sewers and sealed them up.

The Secret Service men did not check the President's food. They left that to local security officers. But the President did take bottled water along.

Mr. Baughman reported one other unusual experience. In Paris, the Secret Service chief ate snails for the first time in his life.

Exit Mr. Purchio

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. GEORGE P. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, a brilliant, young man decided to settle in Hayward, Calif., after World War II. He was a native of New York and a graduate of Fordham Law School.

Besides being a good lawyer he has a magnetic personality that draws people to him. Conscious of the public welfare, he entered politics.

John Purchio became a member of the city council and later on mayor of Hayward. He became a leader in the Democratic Party in southern Alameda County where his influence continues to increase.

As mayor he did an outstanding job. As a city councilman he helped to guide a community that grew from a town of 15,000 to a city of 70,000 during the period he has lived in it.

Gov. Edmund G. (Pat) Brown, recognizing John Purchio's ability as a public administrator, recently made him a member of the all-important State highway commission. This commission establishes policy and directs the spending of nearly $2 billion a year.

John Purchio's friends, among whom I am numbered, are confident that he will bring to his new position the same intelligence and energy which have characterized his public work in the past.

The following is an editorial that appeared in the San Leandro Morning News on January 8, 1960:

EXIT MR. PURCHIO

John J. Purchio is the second good man to leave the city council within a matter of weeks. He hasn't gone yet, but his leave-taking is a matter of mere formality. Otherwise, he would be in the novel position of having a conflict of interest in public affairs. It would be improper for John Purchio, councilman, to be a city spokesman before John Purchio, State highway commissioner, in matters pertaining to roads in this area.

In a figurative sense, it might be said that the Hayward council has lost two oppositely constituted anchor men through the resignations of John Purchio and Frank Biggs. The latter worked alone, though not to the exclusion of full cooperation with his comembers. Purchio, on the other hand, is a group worker, but not to the exclusion of individual decision and effort. His marked ability in both categories elevated him to a position of council leadership that was recognized throughout the city.

Perhaps the best illustration of this lay in the leadership he furnished and the group effort he enlisted in securing the State College. Success in that effort cannot be calculated in its effect on Hayward. The city will undergo a change and improvement that could not have been secured in any other way. Had John Purchio not worked as an individual and as a member of a team, had he lay supine under initial failure instead of being stung to redoubled effort, the college would not have a permanent site in Hayward. He is the man who made the difference.

As a member of the State highway commission, John Purchio must now adopt the State's interest in that particular field as vigorously and ably as he adopted the interests of a single municipality through the councilmanic post. His individual talent and his penchant for teamwork will be as fully employed, but on a wider scale.

Governor Brown, we believe, made a wise appointment. The only trouble with it is that Hayward will no longer be the focal point of John Purchio's public service.

The Late Richard M. Simpson

SPEECH

OF

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, we in the Pennsylvania delegation mourn the passing of RICHARD M. SIMPSON, an outstanding and capable legislator and vigorous leader of his party's Congressional Campaign Committee.

A Member of this body for 23 years, DICK SIMPSON was respected by all of his colleagues. He had a most pleasant personality and a strong character. He was kind and friendly. He was able, articulate, and industrious in carrying out the duties of his office. Our State and the Nation will miss his service in these perilous times.

I extend my sincere condolences to his family on their great loss.

Rain of Death

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert herewith in the RECORD an article entitled "Rain of Death," from the November–December 1959 issue of Information Report, which is published by the Animal Welfare Institute:

RAIN OF DEATH

The effect of the most "popular" new poisons on life—whether human or animal life—becomes increasingly serious with every passing year, since more millions of pounds of these highly toxic chlorinated hydrocarbons and organic phosphates are constantly being spread more widely and their effect is often cumulative.

The effect on animals is well summarized by a responsible zoologist who has studied the problem, Dr. George J. Wallace of Michigan State University: "The current widespread program poses the greatest threat that animal life in North America has ever faced—worse than deforestation, worse than illegal shooting, worse than drainage, drought, oil pollution, possibly worse than all these decimating factors combined. If this and other pest-eradication programs are carried out as now projected, we shall have been witnesses, within a single decade, to a greater extermination of animal life than in all the previous years of man's history on earth." (Reader's Digest, June 1959).

In Long Island, N.Y., last year, citizens sought an injunction against mass spraying of DDT by airplane by the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Testifying on the danger to human health and life was Dr. Malcolm M. Hargraves, of the Mayo Clinic. Following is a summary of his statements as reported by William Longgood in the American Mercury, July 1958: "Dr. Hargraves testified that he was positive that DDT and its solvents cause leukemia, aplastic anemia, Hodgkins disease, jaundice and other blood disorders, many of them fatal. Of more than 200 people he has treated for those maladies during the last 4 or 5 years, he said, all showed exposure to chlorinated hydrocarbons. Dozens of them are now dead, he added. He emphasized that, while he spoke for himself as an individual, the majority of hematologists he works with at the Mayo Clinic share his beliefs about the danger of DDT. Dr. Hargraves was not the first to implicate DDT as a cause of cancer. Dr. W. C. Hueper, head of environmental cancer research of the National Cancer Institute, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, has listed as carcinogens, the chlorinated hydrocarbon pesticides, especially aramite and DDT."

In "Public Health Aspects of the New Insecticides" (American Journal of Digestive Disease, November 1953) Dr. Morton S. Biskind includes a bibliography of 119 scientific papers on the subject. The great amount of careful scientific study showing the danger to human health has not, however, brought about any reduction in the use of the poisons. On the contrary, the amount used and degree of toxicity are constantly going up instead of down.

One of the biggest programs for spreading a chlorinated hydrocarbon, in this case heptachlor, is in the fire ant eradication program for which Congress voted an appropriation of $2,400,000 for the coming year, despite the protests of conservation agencies. The State of Alabama, however, has refused to accept the program this year. In 1958 State Conservation Department officials there found that up to 75 percent of all wildlife might be killed if the program continued. Other Southern States, however, will continue despite reports such as the following by Congressman LEE METCALF, of Montana (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 18, 1959): "In two areas that were treated with heptachlor for eradication of the imported fire ant, birds were reduced 75 to 85 percent—quail and rabbit populations were virtually wiped out. Fire ant eradication work in Monroeville, Ala., last July was reported in the Montgomery Journal to have resulted in the deaths of hundreds of chickens, more than 50 dogs, many cats, some birds and an undetermined number of turkeys, ducks and squirrels. Veterinarian O. L. Poitevint, of Climax, Ga., has stated that the deaths of upward to 100 head of cattle and large numbers of chickens, turkeys, goats, and sheep, and reproductive failure in 100 to 150 brood sows, resulted from fire ant treatment around that community."

The reproductive failure mentioned above is characteristic of the effects of sublethal doses of this type of poison. For example, in an article by Dr. James B. DeWitt, Fish and Wildlife Service chemist ("Wildlife in North Carolina," September 1957), the author states in summarizing experiments at the Patuxent Wildlife Research Refuge: "In no case has it been possible to get reproduction from quail or pheasants which had been reared and maintained on diets containing insecticides, if the parents of these birds also had received insecticides in the reproduction diet." In other words, after the second generation, there are no more baby quail or baby pheasants.

Our national bird, the bald eagle, is apparently succumbing to this same form of decimation. Mr. Charles Broley, the leading expert on eagles, is reported (New York Times, September 13, 1958) as stating that "his observations had convinced him that 80 percent of Florida's bald eagles were sterile." He noted that the eagles lived largely on fish. In a recent issue of Audubon magazine he quoted the late Dr. Herbert R. Mills, a bacteriologist, as having found a large residue of DDT in many fish found dead in Tampa (Fla.) Bay. Mr. Broley said that "in 1940 there were 500 active nests in Florida; now the total is probably only 80."

There are other ways, too, in which these persistent poisons carry on their fight against living things long after their original application. Rachel Carson, author of "The Sea Around Us," wrote in the Washington Post, April 10, 1959: "During the past 15 years, the use of highly poisonous hydrocarbons and of organic phosphates allied to the nerve gases of chemical warfare has built up from small beginnings to what a noted British ecologist recently called an amazing rain of death upon the surface of the earth. Most of the chemicals leave long-persisting residues on vegetation, in soils and even in the bodies of earthworms and other organisms on which birds depend for food. The key to the decimation of the robins which in some parts of the country already amounts to virtual extinction is their reliance on earthworms as food. The sprayed leaves with their load of poison eventually fall to become part of the leaf litter of the soil; earthworms acquire and store the poisons through feeding on the leaves; the following spring the returning robins feed on the worms. As few as 11 such earthworms are a lethal dose, a fact confirmed by careful research in Illinois."

While birds and mammals are succumbing to the poisons designed to kill insects, what is happening to the insects themselves? Vast numbers of them have been

killed, of course. However, insects reproduce on a scale and with a speed unknown to warm-blooded creatures. They can develop new strains within a very brief space of time, and they have done so. In "Insecticides, Boon or Bane" by Paul F. Springer, Fish and Wildlife Service biologist (Audubon magazine, summer 1956) this passage appears: "Insect resistance to chemicals: After World War II, DDT was by far the most popular insecticide and was considered a panacea for insect control. But the insects were not to be counted out so soon. In an amazingly short time, resistant populations of certain species began to appear. Some were able it withstand dosages of DDT 1,000 times greater than those originally needed to kill their ancestors. Now, in many parts of the country, such pests as houseflies, mosquitoes, roaches, body lice, fleas, bedbugs, lygus bugs on alfalfa, saltmarsh caterpillars, imported cabbage worms, cabbage loopers and codling moths are impossible to control economically with DDT. When resistance of these insects was first noted, it seemed a simple matter of turning to other insecticides for their control. But this didn't always work. While substitutes sometimes proved temporarily effective, it was found that resistance to poisoning by DDT frequently meant they were resistant to other chlorinated hydrocarbons or that resistance to these alternate compounds quickly developed. Hence, there is a need for an entirely different group of control insecticides which accounts for present increasing interest in the organic phosphates."

The organic phosphates are indeed interesting. As noted in the article by William F. Longgood quoted earlier, "Some of the organic phosphates are so lethal that a single drop in a person's eye will cause death within seconds."

At least one manufacturer of chemicals has recognized the biological facts. Mr. William T. Thompson, president of the Thompson Chemical Co. of St. Louis and Los Angeles, has stated: "We have decided to withdraw entirely from the production, distribution and research of the presently known agricultural insecticides. A 12-year study has convinced us that the currently known and used broad spectrum insecticides and their wide scale application to agricultural crops—although giving temporary control and temporarily increased yields—are at best palliative, and perhaps will prove dangerous and uneconomic in the long run.

"The growing number of insect pests of economic importance that are becoming resistant to presently used agricultural insecticides demonstrates a serious inherent danger in widescale use. The imbalance of the fauna population caused by the destruction of natural predators and parasites (thus allowing the uninhibited development of the insect pest) is further proof to us of the unsoundness of the current chemical insecticides. This can only result in rapid and dynamic development of the insect pest from the few not controlled by the application, but can easily cause heretofore unimportant insects to increase to the status of economic pests, once the predator-parasite balance has been unset.

"The ingestion of presently employed insecticide residues by humans and other warmblooded animals is a correlative problem of a highly serious nature."

These intelligent thoughts are the exception rather than the rule, however; most of the manufacturers are determined to defend themselves and their products. An article in the New York Times, November 22, 1959, headed "Pesticide Scare Worries Makers, Chemicals Producers Fear Bad Public Reaction to Cranberry Incident," states in part: "Leaders of the volatile agricultural chemical industry also are expressing deep concern. Some fear a possible reaction against the increasing application of pesticides and other chemicals in agriculture that eventually could cut into sales.

"It was an allegedly harmful residue from a chemical weed killer, aminotriazole, that prompted action with regard to cranberries.

"Some industry officials also fear the possibility of still tighter Government regulations governing the manufacture and marketing of agricultural chemicals.

" 'In order to meet Government requirements we must now spend up to $2 million in research over a period of up to 5 years before a new product can be marketed,' said one top official of an agricultural chemical company.

" 'We believe products now on the market are thoroughly safe and that any further restrictions would make our research costs prohibitive.' "

It is difficult to guess just what this spokesman means by the phrase "thoroughly safe."

The American Medical Association Council on Pharmacy and Chemistry states that "it is not reasonable to expect that human beings can avoid injury if they are exposed * * * year after year to a toxic agent in atmospheric concentrations that kill insects in a few hours." Clearly, it is fantastic to call such poisons "thoroughly safe." They are killing birds by the thousand, fish by the ton. Many of them have been shown to be carcinogenic when taken over a period of time in sublethal doses. The Food and Drug Administration has denied any tolerance rating to many of them, including heptachlor of fire ant fame and also DDT. Nevertheless, DDT has been found to be present in a high percentage of the milk tested for its presence, and the average American has DDT stored in his fat.

It is estimated (Congressman LEE METCALF, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 2, 1959) that "at least 3 billion pounds of these chemicals were sprayed over more than 70 million acres of our crop and timberland to kill insects, weeds and plant diseases last year."

The 86th Congress has appropriated $2,565,000 for study of the effects of pesticides on fish and wildlife. It also passed an amendment to the pure food and drug law which prohibits sale of food containing any residues of any carcinogenic substance. These are steps in the right direction, but they have not stopped plans to continue the huge heptachlor dispersal in the South which will certainly kill birds and animals on a tremendous scale. Effective action to stop unnecessary dissemination of poison is urgently needed for the protection of our wildlife, our domestic animals and ourselves.

The Late Honorable Richard M. Simpson

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, I was shocked to learn of the untimely passing of our colleague, RICHARD SIMPSON. I do not know of any man who has served as a Member of the Congress during the 22 years I have been privileged to serve in the House who was more highly respected than RICHARD SIMPSON. He was a tower of strength on the great Ways and Means Committee and both we Democrats and the Republicans could always depend on him to render a sound decision and cast a sound vote on any legislation under consideration by that committee.

Mr. SIMPSON was certainly a leader of the highest caliber and will be missed by every person privileged with his acquaintance. He was never too busy to talk to any Member who had a bill pending before the Ways and Means Committee. RICHARD SIMPSON had just arrived at the age where he could be of some real service to the people of his great State and our Nation. He had the necessary legislative experience and had the respect of every Member of Congress and even though his proposals did not always meet with the approval of every Member of the Congress, they knew that he was expressing his real opinion which he thought would be best not only for his State, but for the Nation.

Mrs. McMillan joins me in expressing our deepest sympathy to Mrs. Simpson and the entire family. We can ill afford to lose men of RICHARD SIMPSON's caliber here in the Congress of the United States during these critical times.

Gordon Canfield Retires and the District Loses a "Champ"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, I share in the regrets which have been echoed by Members of Congress upon learning that the dean of New Jersey's delegation, GORDON CANFIELD, is to retire after a long and dedicated service to the people of New Jersey and to the country. I would like to include as part of my remarks the following editorial from the Paterson News of December 16, 1959, and the following letter which I have written to the editor of the Paterson News:

GORDON CANFIELD RETIRES AND THE DISTRICT LOSES A "CHAMP"

Things won't be the same in Passaic County politics from here on in—at least in the even years of congressional elections.

GORDON CANFIELD has been the Congressman from this Eighth District through a generation and only the youngish oldtimer will be able to recall that it was his "boss," the late George N. Seger, who was his predecessor. That was 20 years ago.

Thus for well nigh two decades CANFIELD has served us in Washington, and as a public servant and as a Republican candidate every 2 years, he was a veritable champion. In the Republican heydays and in the lean years when the magic name of Franklin D. Roosevelt was cutting down Republicans, the people remembered GORDON CANFIELD's beneficences and he was always top man on his ticket. Some good candidates fell by the wayside before the Canfield juggernaut.

The answer was Congressman CANFIELD'S dedicated service, and in truth, it was this around-the-clock devotion which has finally determined him to retire from the political wars. To have continued in the only way he knows how to campaign or to serve in office might have permanently impaired his health.

So who can quarrel with his decision not to run again in spite of the void he will leave and the heart tug his decision to retire inspires? He has certainly earned the right to call it a day as a candidate after 37 years in Washington.

What was the secret of Congressman CANFIELD'S unmatched success? It was being with and for people. It could just as well have been coined in his name when it was said that to have a friend one must be a friend.

Just a few years ago, an overexuberant Democratic candidate, seeking to probe the CANFIELD success secret, came up with the bombastic charge that all the Congressman had to offer was his friendship for the little man. That did it, touched off such an atomic indignation among the rank and file of the voters that the ingenious candidate was snowed under.

The "little man" was there at the polls to vote for his friend. It has always been so—no letter unanswered, no opportunity for service ignored. Thousands knew his friendly intercession, his always solicitous concern for the people of his district.

During World War II, Congressman CANFIELD became restive at home. So he shipped aboard a freighter, made the rounds of the camps where his hometown boys were serving, comforted them, brought messages back to anxious loved ones. He braved the dangers of the sea, walked in the historical London blitz, was horrified at the Nazi slaughterhouse in Buchenwald. Here was one man who knew firsthand what he talked about to his people, and they believed in him.

In Congress, Mr. CANFIELD stood up and was counted. He was one of the first to warn of the threat of communism, because he had seen its creeping infection spreading when he was in Europe. He fought for proper defenses, for recognition of missile preparedness. He alone of all Republican candidates was endorsed by labor, which constantly was on the Democratic side.

But he was no rubberstamp for any man or any cause. He had courage.

And so when GORDON CANFIELD decides now he cannot rally the strength of another vigorous campaign with all its exactions, when he feels he would like to nestle home with his faithful family and rest a bit on the laurels he has earned, who among us will say him "Nay"?

The Eighth District yields him to the inexorability of time only in Congress.

There will be other opportunities for service for this man of decency, integrity, and dedication.

Meantime, all, people of good will, regardless of politics, will wish him well as he begins his final year of service in Congress, and among these the News is happy to be counted as delighted that through all his years of matchless service, we were his stanch and unremitting supporters.

Of him it will be said with truth: "Well done thou true and faithful servant."

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., January 7, 1960.

Mr. HARRY B. HAINES,
Editor, the Paterson News,
Paterson, N.J.

DEAR MR. HAINES: I wish to applaud your fine editorial on the retirement of GORDON CANFIELD. He is a man for whom it is really difficult to find words adequate for the praise he deserves. You touched the core of the man when you said it was dedicated service. But there is more—for he possessed a sincerity which transcended everything else he did. He extended this sincere desire to help to all men regardless of politics. He believed that the Congress of the United States was deserving of the best effort of the men elected to serve in that body and that this best effort should not be dependent on any political label.

I am sure that some people feel that politics preclude praising men of the opposite party, but as a newly elected Democrat to the Congress, I can say without hesitation that no one was more inspirational to me than the dean of our delegation—GORDON CANFIELD.

He made a great contribution to the United States for no man in Congress was more dedicated, more conscientious or more aware of his responsibility.

I, as well as my colleagues I am sure, will miss him greatly. I join with all of his many friends and admirers in heartily endorsing the wonderful words you expressed in your paper. I hope that in the years to come he will enjoy the good health and happy life he so richly deserves.

With my best wishes.

Sincerely,

CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER,
Member of Congress.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

Appendix

The Challenge of Citizenship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. B. EVERETT JORDAN

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. JORDAN. Mr. President, the National Conference on Citizenship held an inspirational 14th annual meeting at the Shoreham Hotel September 16–19, 1959. Those who initiated the conference in 1946 sought to preserve the spirit of unity that had reached such a high point during World War II. They bethat the ideals upon which this Nation was founded and built should be stressed in peacetime as in wartime. The U.S. Department of Justice and the National Education Association cosponsored the annual meetings until 1953, when the late Willis Smith, U.S. Senator from my home State, introduced a bill in the 83d Congress to charter the National Conference on Citizenship. Although Senator Smith died of a heart attack before the bill passed the House, both Houses of Congress passed the bill unanimously.

The 14th annual meeting of the conference again mobilized a mighty force for the cause of good citizenship. Delegates from several hundred organizations represented all levels of government; religious faiths, professional, veterans, farm, civic, and youth organizations; labor, business, industry, and finance, and other groups.

The theme for this year's conference was "U.S. Citizenship—Know It—Cherish It—Live It." The Honorable JENNINGS RANDOLPH, our distinguished colleague from West Virginia, delivered an address on the "Challenge of Citizenship" at the closing session of the conference. I ask that this challenging speech be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CHALLENGE OF CITIZENSHIP

(By Senator JENNINGS RANDOLPH, Democrat, West Virginia, before the 14th National Conference on Citizenship, Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D.C., September 19, 1959)

Judge Walter Bastian, delegates to the National Conference on Citizenship, and ladies and gentlemen, the deliberations and proceedings of your sessions these past few days have revealed again the capacity of American culture to generate honest inquiry and self-criticism.

As long as such meetings as this can prevail in our land, and continue to draw participants from varied areas and activities in life, there is hope that American citizenship will take on a continually broadening and deepening significance.

I am sure that some of you must have been impressed, as I have been, with the accidental, but peculiarly appropriate, conjunction of this conference with the presence in Washington of our notable foreign visitor. On the one hand, your gathering is the embodiment of the democratic process—a voluntary association of men and women and boys and girls assembling for a free exchange of ideas on the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. On the other, Premier Khrushchev—for all his air of comradeship—is the living expression of the autocratic state which defines for its subjects, rather than citizens, their rights and responsibilities—without reference to individual desire.

Within our system of allowing the individual the freedom to determine and express his own sense of loyalties, we must sometimes suffer the ignorance, the apathy and the irresponsibility of a significant number of our people. In one's more pessimistic moments, he is tempted to feel that these people are a majority. But this feeling passes, and from a more balanced and dispassionate view, I believe it is fair to say that the sense of citizenship responsibility continues to enjoy a healthy development in the United States. If this growth is not registered in the voting statistics—as it seems not to be—then that is a problem which deserves our attention.

But citizenship does not mean only the use of the ballot. It is not a role which is to be asserted merely every 2 or 4 years. The duties of the citizen imply the responsibility to engage in the vital dialog of democracy in the continuous day-to-day activities of our community. For one person it may mean participation in the Parent-Teachers Association and contributing special efforts to the development of our schools. For another it may mean engagement in the affairs of the League of Women Voters, analyzing and promoting understanding of public issues. For still others, citizen obligations may call for added contributions of time and energy to the building of a community park, to slum clearance, or to urban renewal programs.

In each instance, however, there is involved an active expression of one's loyalties to the welfare of the community. The genius of democracy is that it allows the individual to choose his own avenue of such expression. The challenge of democracy—and the challenge of citizenship—is to provide the framework and the inspiration to impel each of us to explore his own avenue of creativity to its fullest. For, as William James truly remarked, "When we touch our own upper limit, and live in our own highest center of energy, we may call ourselves saved."

Democracy still remains the most difficult and demanding form of government that man has created. And in the history of man's affairs, the failures of democracy outnumber by far its successes. It is not a form of society decreed for man by a benificent cosmos—but a way of life which men have won at great cost, and will maintain only with continued courage and imagination. And it is a way of life which men who are less than men have always sought to avoid—as the psychiatrist, Erich Fromm, noted some years ago in his book, "Escape From Freedom."

But the naturalization proceedings before the Washington Monument on Thursday of this week indicated that American democracy still remains the pole star of aspirations for men and women who will accept the hazards of freedom. Those people who stood upon the green under the late summer sun will add their transfusion to the continuing lifestream of American culture—a stream which has been borne along by the dissatisfaction of men and women with the old ways of penury and oppression.

Justice Learned Hand once referred to a comment by the historian, James Harvey Robinson, to the effect that mankind arose from the ape because, like the ape, he was always monkeying around. But man, unlike the ape, was able to remember the results of his meddling curiosity, to record them, and to pass them on to subsequent generations.

America is the rightful heir to this legacy of mankind. For this, I believe, is the nugget of liberty—the right to be meddlesome—to be dissatisfied with established forms and customs and to search, according to one's own predisposition, for ways of creating a better world. This is essentially the story of every naturalization ceremony—as it was the story of earlier settlers of this land.

For all Americans are either nonconformists or the descendants of nonconformists—the meddlesome, maverick, and malcontented people who in some way—religious, political, or economic—opposed the established forms of their society and believed in the ability of men to improve on these forms. They believed in the ability of men to create a new image of man, and they believed in the power of man to fashion society in the light of that image. This is the permanent revolution of America, and this is the revolution feared by autocracy everywhere. By referring to this as a permanent revolution I intend to imply that it is not and will never be finally won.

The rights and responsibilities of democracy are by their very nature, impermanent possessions. Each generation must nurture their growth during its own time, as this conference has been doing by searching out the methods for our time.

In the addresses which have been delivered here, and in the workshops, you have considered the varied activities and forms of citizenship. I would like now to consider the common denominator underlying these activities and ask your reflection on the challenge it poses to us today. I offer no original formula—only the observations of experience.

When we speak of the obligations of citizenship in daily life, I believe we mean something like this: the duty to engage in informed, intelligent, and active participation in the decisions of community life based upon one's capacity voluntarily to submerge his own private interests in the welfare of the community. All of these qualities are requisite, but particularly the latter—for if the capacity for voluntary submission of the individual will does not exist then there is no community—there is no society—but only an aggregate of individuals already deteriorating toward anarchy. For every social act presumes a sense of the community—an awareness of the ties that bind us to our fellow man. Herein lie both the greatest threat to and the greatest hope of the meaning of citizenship in our time.

The established and traditional meanings of the citizen are threatened—and indeed, have been radically altered—by the centralization of power in our society and by the atomization of the individual. To elaborate a bit further on this point—I believe we can agree that the role of the American citizen was first most clearly expressed in the writings of Thomas Jefferson. Here was developed the view of the American citizen as the independent freeholder, jealous of his own integrity and independence, informed on matters of public concern, and capable of exercising reasoned judgment in the light of this information. The underlying assumption of this view was that man acts of his own free will, is guided by the light of innate reason, and that all men are potentially capable of exercising reason.

During the 18th century and for the first half of the 19th century, this typical American citizen found himself in a society which was predominantly rural and agrarian. And with the continual advancement of the frontier there existed in general a harmony between the public interest and the interests of the individual citizen. We need not cavil at the literal truth of this picture in every instance. This, I believe, is in general a fair sketch of the surrounding conditions and the basic assumptions of the historic image of the American citizen. This is still the image that governs much of the political thought and rhetoric of today. But what of the change from the conditions that gave birth to this image?

And I speak not only of the fact of change, but the scope and depth—the quality—of change itself. No longer are a man's years measured in terms of gradual accretions and modifications of what he learned as a child and youth, but complete reversals and reconstructions of his view of the universe. Indeed, the world alters as we walk in it.

One of the most profound alterations, in terms of our concern here, has attended the process of centralization of power. The economic power of the modern corporation, the political power of the state, the power to control the flow of information through the mass media of communication—all have been subject to the force of centralization. I am not here concerned with passing judgment on this process as to whether it bodes ill or well for our Republic. I refer to it only as one of the facts of our existence, and a fact which is not acknowledged in the Jeffersonian concept of the individual and society.

Nor is this the only modern contradiction of our traditional assumptions. As part and parcel of the trend toward centralization, we have witnessed also what I have termed the atomization of the individual. I refer now to the segmentation of life and the alienation and isolation of the individual from the forces which shape his own existence. Here we look upon the source of the terrible loneliness and barrenness which fill the lives of so many who have become lost in the complexity and gigantism of the modern industrial society.

These are the people whose lives stand in contradiction to the traditional symbols and attitudes with which we have surrounded our concept of the citizen—a concept born of another time, even another world. This was a world of yeoman citizenry, of economically independent individuals and decentralized power. Now, I am not mourning the loss of that world; it is futile to assail the forces and facts of change. But it is foolhardy to ignore them.

And ignore them we have—at least with reference to our public attitudes and the ideas we use to fashion our understanding of public problems. Allow me to illustrate what I mean by this statement with reference to the field of economics. Our official views—what Professor Galbraith has called the conventional wisdom—were formed on the basis of an economy of individual entrepreneurship, an economy in which the offices of ownership and management of the means of production were joined, and an economy in which it was never quite possible to produce the necessities of life for all. These were the conditions on which our still existing traditional attitudes were based.

Yet, what are the facts of contemporary economic life? The modern giant corporations are not private enterprise in the hallowed terms of Adam Smith and Ricardo; they are public institutions in the most meaningful sense of the world, inasmuch as the decisions they make, the actions they take, affect the public welfare and the life of each of us. And they are institutions in which the functions of ownership and control are not always complete, the average corporate shareholder, owning often a part in a concern in which he is inactive in directing its action. These are basic alterations in the dominant economic institution of our society, alterations which are seldom reflected in the official rhetoric of today.

But more important than these changes—as it bears upon the citizen's responsibility in the decisionmaking process—is the fact that we have an economy of abundance, while our public policies are based too often upon the theory of an economy of scarcity. For the first time in man's history, we have achieved a form of social and economic organization in which we can produce enough for all. And yet we are embarrassed by our riches. We talk of a farm problem—because one working farmer cannot raise enough food for 24 people. Our tax policies, our national budget, our philosophy of private consumption against public service—all are based not on the facts of today, but on the fictions of yesterday.

Now, let me be quite explicit in stating that I offer these observations in no partisan sense. I am presently concerned only with pointing out the need for reexamining our traditional attitudes in the light of present political and economic realities. For this is the first duty of the citizen—to be informed and to think clearly. And in spite of all our modern communications devices, perhaps even to some extent because of them, the problem of achieving adequate information, and the difficulties of screening misinformation and mechanized information have probably never been as acute since we achieved universal national literacy.

The way we deal with this problem will, in all seriousness, determine the future destiny of the United States and the meaning of citizenship. It has become almost axiomatic in any public discussion to refer our national destiny to the conflict between the Soviet Union and the United States. But in this sense the reference is valid, and in this sense the burden of the future rests with each of us.

The conflict of our era is not only between capitalism and communism. The basic antagonism that creates the gulf between our two worlds is between our divergent concepts of the nature of man and the nature of history. It is in essence the conflict between our view that man is free to create history, and the dialectical view that history creates man.

Whether man will be bound to the iron chains of circumstance and the inexorable laws of a malignant fate—or whether we will have the freedom to choose a world of our own and create that world in the image we choose—that is the option offered humanity today.

We in the United States have already cast our own ballot—in the name of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. But let us be quite clear that Mr. Jefferson and our Founding Fathers did not mean by "happiness" the pursuit of hedonistic pleasures in the semi-narcotized state too prevalent today. They meant—and it is our duty thus to reaffirm—the opportunity for fulfillment of the distinctively civilized and human virtues—love, esthetic enjoyment, a decent regard for one's fellow man, and respect for the truth.

These are the values at hazard in the contest before us. Their loss under the dominance of the Communist autocracy will mean the fixation of human morality at a level less than human. These are the stakes for which we are playing—stakes which are surely high enough to call from each of us the utmost in intelligence, self-sacrifice and determination that he has to give.

In closing, I refer once again to some words of Justice Hand, spoken at a time when the United States was just moving out of a time of peril. However, they are equally appropriate to our own time as we face a new peril.

"If our Nation could not itself exist half slave and half free, are we sure that it can exist in a world half slave and half free? Is the same conflict less irrepressible when worldwide than it was 80 years ago when it was only nationwide? Right knows no boundaries and justice no frontier; the brotherhood of man is not a domestic institution.

"We may not stop until we have done our part to fashion a world in which there shall be some share of fellowship, which shall be better than a den of thieves. Let us not disguise the difficulties; and, above all, let us not content ourselves with noble aspirations, counsels of perfection, and self-righteous advice to others. * * * We shall need the wisdom of the serpent; we shall have to be content with short steps; we shall be obliged to give and take; we shall face the strongest passions of mankind—our own, not the least; and in the end we shall have fabricated an imperfect instrument. But the history of man has just begun; in the eons which lie before him lie limitless hope or limitless despair. The choice is his; the present choice is ours. It is worth the trial."

The frontiers of freedom are always forward. The challenge to a finer citizenship lies ahead.

Samuel M. Cohn, of Altoona, Pa., Honored for Ilis Outstanding Service by the Associated Petroleum Industries of Pennsylvania

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, as a part of the petroleum industry's nationwide observance of the centennial year of the oil industry a banquet was held at Altoona, Pa., November 4, 1959, by the Associated Petroleum Industries of Pennsylvania.

During the course of the evening's program it was my privilege to deliver the principal address and to participate in the presentation of a plaque to Mr. Samuel M. Cohn, president of the Independent Oil Co. of Altoona, honoring him for his many years of outstanding service.

It has been my good fortune to know Sam Cohn and his family for many years and I regarded it as a special privilege

to be selected as the principal speaker on such a joyous occasion.

Prominent officials of the oil industry in Pennsylvania journeyed to Altoona to pay tribute to Sam Cohn, not only for his many fine qualities but for the worthwhile contributions he has made over the years as an aid in the progress of the petroleum industry. In addition Sam was warmly commended for his interest in civic affairs and for his humanitarian efforts as one of the founders of the Kiwanis Health Farm—a project in which he has devoted much time and effort.

As a further and well-deserved tribute to my good friend Sam Cohn, I wish to include at this point in my remarks a copy of the fine editorial that appeared in the November 6, 1959, issue of the Altoona (Pa.) Mirror, together with a copy of my address.

The editorial and address follows:

[From the Altoona (Pa.) Mirror, Nov. 6, 1959]

CITED BY INDUSTRY

Samuel M. Cohn, of Altoona, who is more widely known as Sam Cohn, was most deservedly honored this week at a complete surprise tendered by State and area petroleum industries representatives. At the Altoona celebration, marking the 100th year of the industry, the Altoonan was presented a plaque for outstanding service.

Mr. Cohn was designated as "outstanding man of the central Pennsylvania area" in a program sponsored by the Associated Petroleum Industries of Pennsylvania, Dayton P. Clark and W. F. Richardson, State officers, being on hand to honor the Altoonan.

Presentation of the handsome plaque was made by Congressman JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, who delivered the address of the evening to a gathering of oil industries officials from central State counties.

The honored guest was lauded as a "product of the grassroots and a graduate of the school of hard knocks." His name is synonymous with the industry in this area, and with his brothers he has carried on the oil business launched by his father. He is a pioneer in this area.

"Sam is truly a self-made man," stated Congressman VAN ZANDT as he lauded the city leader. "He is symbolic of the industry. As president of the Independent Oil Co., he is never too busy to play his part in the community as a leader in club, bank, and hospital board activity and in promotions for the city betterment. He is one of the founders of the Kiwanis Health Farm. He comes from sturdy stock. He is friendly to all. Tonight we honor not only him, but his loved ones, his family and his associates," concluded the speaker in his tribute and presentation.

The commendation was entirely unexpected, and Mr. Cohn was really surprised as he was greeted by his friends and industry leaders of many years' standing.

Altoonans also heartily congratulate Sam Cohn and laud his activities, also thanking the industry in this State for bestowing the fine honor on one of its sons and leaders.

SPEECH BY REPRESENTATIVE JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, MEMBER OF CONGRESS, 20TH DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA, AT THE OBSERVANCE OF THE CENTENNIAL YEAR OF THE OIL INDUSTRY BY THE ASSOCIATED PETROLEUM INDUSTRIES OF PENNSYLVANIA, NOVEMBER 4, 1959, ALTOONA, PA.

It is a pleasure to accept the invitation of the Associated Petroleum Industries of Pennsylvania and to join you in this observance of the centennial year of the oil industry.

This year the air has been filled with events celebrating 100 years of progress in America's most revolutionary of all industries, the oil industry.

Along with the excitement of this centennial comes the opportunity for quiet reflection upon the many ways this invaluable product has affected our lives.

Surely such reflection brings an added awareness of how lucky we, in the United States, are to have been able to reap the many benefits of abundant supplies of oil.

So important and versatile is this exciting product in itself, that sometimes we overlook the fact that it was the mind of man that enabled us to discover and extract petroleum, and that it is the mind of man that discovered and continues to discover ever-new uses for it.

For the story of oil is the story of genius, ingenuity, daring, determination, and unbridled initiative.

These are the qualities that made this industry great, and this is what I wish to talk about this evening.

However, before we give modern man all the credit for making use of oil, we ought to look a little further back than the mere 100 years we are emphasizing in A.D. 1959.

Oil was to make its imprint upon history and our lives several thousand years earlier.

Noah used pitch, which was the abundant and widely distributed "rock oil" in making his ark.

Again we might ask the question: "Where would we be now if it weren't for oil?"

Pitch served as a mortar in building the Tower of Babel.

Moses' mother used it to coat the "Ark of Bulrushes" that carried her son down the River Nile to the Egyptian princess.

Nebuchadnezzar used asphalt to pave his roads and to build his palace in sixth century B.C. Babylonia.

In the ancient land of Sumer, a physician gave his patient a "Petroleum prescription" for healing a sore, which was made of asphalt kneaded to form a salve.

A myriad of both major and minor uses of the substance that men found seeping to the surface of the earth reveals that petroleum had penetrated deeply into the economic life of the ancient countries of the Middle East.

The ancients had two uses for oil that have not found their way into modern life.

A law in Assyria stated that delinquents must submit to having molten bitumen poured over their heads as punishment for their crimes, and it was used in magic as a means of keeping out the evil spirits.

However, if keeping out evil spirits could be dressed up and given a more sophisticated interpretation, it would apply equally well today.

If evil spirits could be equated with economic stagnation, depression, and poverty, the oil industry could then truly be said to have kept them out of the United States.

One of the first Americans whose enlightened curiosity and penetrating insight led him to the conclusion that the material he saw bubbling from the earth might be of value was George Washington.

In 1753, over 100 years before Drake's successful drilling, Washington was visiting western Pennsylvania and saw the oil springs.

He felt that they must have some industrial importance and acquired some land on which there was a "burning spring."

He listed this in his will as his most valuable holding.

The world waited another century to see this vision realized.

It was actually a citizen of Titusville that supplied the initial momentum to the events leading to the first commercial oil well, aptly called "the hole that changed the world."

Dr. Francis B. Brewer, a physician, was convinced that the curative properties of petroleum were truly remarkable and declared that as long as he continued in his profession, he would keep it in constant use.

He gave a bottled sample to his uncle, a professor at Dartmouth.

It was at Dartmouth that it was seen by a young New York lawyer, George H. Bissell.

Bissell was supposed to have immediately seen the similarity between coal oil and petroleum and deduced that petroleum might be exploited as an illuminant.

He was further encouraged by a chemist, Benjamin Silliman, Jr., whose report predicted that "rock oil" had many uses and a great commercial future.

This opinion added stimulus to efforts to finance a project to extract petroleum in large quantities.

Such a story is typical of the important discoveries and developments of our country—flashes of intuitive insight backed up by determined efforts to see the idea carried to a successful conclusion.

And so the story of the first well continues along the same lines.

It was such a flash of inspiration that prompted Edwin L. Drake to bore, rather than dig, for oil.

After the insight occurred, Drake undertook the rest of the project with methodical and deliberate determination.

These were the qualities that allowed Drake to back up his theory that petroleum could be drilled for and obtained in substantial quantities.

An accomplishment such as this removed the major barrier to the development of this new industry.

Fortunately for the destiny of the product, there was an already pressing need for an ingredient to replace whale oil when the first oil started flowing from Drake's well—some 20 barrels a day.

Whale oil was the best lighting fuel of the day, but it was growing scarce and becoming expensive.

So while whaling captains were searching for Moby Dicks, less practical men were drilling for the material that was to replace the product of such adventures.

Others were developing new refining techniques to improve the process of the production of kerosene, such as the invention of Luther Atwood for the development of a process of "cracking" crude oil in 1860 which made the mass production of oil for illumination economically feasible, and the subsequent improvement by William M. Burton in 1913.

Not all the inventions, however, could be counted on to aid the petroleum industry, and when Thomas Edison perfected the incandescent electric lamp in 1879, kerosene began to be replaced as the main form of artificial illumination.

After all, we do have to give some other industries a break, too.

But rather than viewing this use of electricity as a setback to the industry, the inventive spirit of the Americans was employed to develop new uses for this versatile substance.

In 1870 asphalt was first used as a paving material in the United States.

It was the material which paved the street in front of city hall in Newark, N.J.

In 1879 George B. Selden applied for a patent on an automobile driven by an internal combustion engine and in 1893 Charles E. Duryea manufactured the "horseless buggy."

The year 1900 saw the first automobile show, and 3 years later the first cross-country automobile trip was made.

When, in 1909, Henry Ford had standardized his model T and announced that he would "make a motor car for the multitude," the gasoline market was off to a roaring start—and the following decade was appropriately named "the roaring twenties."

By 1924 Ford got his price for a model T down to $265, and secondhand cars could be found for as little as $25.

American initiative and enterprise were also leading to another great development which was ultimately to require large amounts of fuel from the petroleum industry.

The Wright brothers made the first successful flight at Kitty Hawk, N.C., in 1903, and Lindbergh flew from New York to Paris in 1927.

Without oil, the Wright brothers might still be trying to get off the ground.

Thus, the history of the oil industry itself and those industries dependent on oil is replete with examples of the outstanding progress made possible by the environment of the age, with its emphasis on individualism and initiative.

Oil first gave us something to read by, then something to grease our wheels and equipment with, an dsomething smooth to ride on.

As a fuel for vehicles and machines, it has formed the basis for the vast mechanization that changed the entire way of life of our country.

The transportation industry, with its trucks, diesel locomotives, airplanes, was revolutionized by oil.

And finally, the petrochemical industry, with its multitude of beautiful and useful products, has modernized our homes, offices, clothing, and has even made its contribution to the beautification of the fair sex in the production of cosmetics.

Every facet of American life has been touched and touched again by the magic of oil.

In a quite different way, oil is touching the lives of almost every country—especially those same lands that put it to use in ancient times.

In the middle eastern country of Saudi Arabia, it is almost the sole source of income; in Iraq it is by far the most important one; and the surrounding Arab lands are directly affected by pipeline or canal transport.

Oil is giving our Latin American neighbor, Venezuela, the opportunity to prosper.

This resource is so vital to these lands that any changes in American oil policy will of necessity have serious, and possibly worldwide repercussions.

Two and one-half years ago the world held its breath when a chain of events led to the Suez crisis.

Last year, Vice President NIXON held his breath when angry mobs shouted and threw stones at him in Venezuela.

These countries are too impatient to wait for the evolutionary developments that characterized the rise of the industry in this country.

Of such overriding importance is this one material, that oil, which has given mankind such great benefits, has come dangerously close to plunging the world into war.

This new and uncomfortable role for petroleum presents a challenge to the men in the industry, as well as to the policymakers in Washington.

The mind of man that so brilliantly developed new means of producing and using this material is now faced with this crucial problem—a problem that the industry itself has given rise to.

So far the oilmen have done a most credible job in their international dealings—perhaps the Washington policymakers could learn a few lessons from their public relations policies throughout the world.

The problems oil poses in the field of international relations are of the most serious and urgent nature.

These are questions that the oilman is not asked to solve by himself.

In many cases, decisions made in Washington that affect him directly, are entirely out of his hands.

I don't believe that it is unfair to speculate on the course history would have taken had the views of the representatives of the oil industry been considered in the relations of the United States with the oil-producing countries of the world.

I am sure such events as the Suez crisis, that threatened the peace of the world, would have been avoided.

Our brief review would not be complete if we didn't mention just one more role that oil has played in the history of the world—that is its role in warfare and in national defense.

Oil was the lifeblood of the mechanized army, the navy, and the air force.

Without oil, the machineries producing the materials of war would have come to a grinding halt; the arms and heavy equipment and artillery would have been rendered useless; and all means of transportation—the airplanes, ships, motorized vehicles, would have been helplessly relegated to idleness.

Even the supermodern atomic and hydrogen weapons are dependent upon means of delivery fueled by oil.

Ballistic missiles will employ other types of fuel, but as long as the debates continue on the possibility of limited or total wars, the weapons and aircraft using oil will continue to be produced.

Turning back to the domestic scene to review the history of the development of the oil industry, with its emphasis on individual daring and determination, leads us to speculate upon the future course the industry will take.

Estimates for the next decade all indicate that the Nation's consumption of energy of all kinds will increase at least 50 percent.

The Chase Manhattan Bank, in its studies of the petroleum industry estimates that domestic petroleum consumption will increase from the almost 20 million barrels a day in 1957 to around 30 million in 1967.

They estimate that oil will capture 48 percent of the Nation's energy market.

So the oil industry, as large as it looms in relation to the other industries in the country, is destined to get bigger and better.

I can still say "better," although I realize that it is inevitable that much of the color and the rugged individualism that was so typical of the early development will be subdued.

In an environment where many factors are at work to make the individual seek security rather than adventure, where the opportunities seem to lie in working for someone else rather than in the attempt to strike out on your own, it naturally follows that this industry, too, will wear a more conservative cloak.

I am sure that many of you here have witnessed this change and have felt its effects.

Perhaps you have wondered, along with many of us in other fields, if this attitude will retard the future technical and economic progress that the oil industry has contributed to the growth of the United States.

The answer is emphatically "No," because as long as the oil industry continues to produce leaders like our own Sam Cohn of Altoona the future is in safe hands.

It is fitting and proper that you have decided on this occasion to tender a well-deserved tribute to Sam Cohn.

You are to be highly commended for selecting Sam as the outstanding oilman of the central Pennsylvania area because he is a symbol of the success that can be achieved by honest and persevering efforts.

Very few in this room know Sam Cohn as well as your speaker does.

We grew up together in this city of Altoona.

To let you in on a little personal side of Sam's life we really got acquainted when Sam visited my neighborhood while courting his wife.

He is truly a product of the grassroots and a graduate of the "school of hard knocks."

Along with his father and brothers, Sam is a pioneer of the oil industry.

Today when you discuss oil in the Altoona area the name of Sam Cohn is symbolic of the progress and place oil occupies in the American way of life.

Always a "busy bee," Sam applies himself daily to his task as president of the Independent Oil Co.; yet he is never too busy to play his part as a community leader whether it be as a director of the bank, a member of the board of hospital trustees, or the president of the Altoona Kiwanis Club.

As an indication of the great interest he has in the underprivileged, it was during his presidency of the Kiwanis Club in 1928 that the Kiwanis Health Farm for Children was established in Scotch Valley.

Sam is truly a self-made man, that type of an American which has made our Nation what it is today.

So many times we forget to acknowledge the ones who have played an important part in the lives of those fellow citizens whom we honor.

Therefore, let me mention the sturdy stock represented by Sam Cohn's father and mother and the guidance they gave him.

Then, too, there is another person—Sam's good wife Margaret Mattas Cohn.

"Mag" as we knew her in her girlhood days has played the part as an ideal wife and her inspiration has played a great part in the success Sam has achieved.

Therefore, tonight as we present to our honored guest, Sam Cohn, a scroll as the outstanding oilman of the central Pennsylvania area we honor not only him but his loved ones and especially his wife, Margaret.

Before presenting the scroll to Sam let me emphasize that only in America can you find a product of the grassroots whose ingenuity, initiative, and perservance have elevated him to the high position he occupies in the business world.

Therefore, it is with great honor that I present this scroll on behalf of the Associated Petroleum Industries of Pennsylvania to a true American, an outstanding businessman, a community leader, your friend and my friend, Sam Cohn.

The Importance of Religious Faith in Public Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ESTES KEFAUVER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter which has been published under the title "True Christmas Spirit." The letter was written by Charles Kress, formerly the mayor of Binghamton, N.Y., and now a Washington consultant. His letter was published in the Washington Star on last Christmas Day, December 25, 1959.

What Mr. Kress says about the fine character and the deep religious faith of the Post Office Department employees applies equally, I think, to the employees in all the other Federal agencies. He has made a good point, and I think the public can be very proud of the average Government employee. And I feel it to be a great part of our strength as a Nation, that our Government consists of good citizens in public office. In America we have no ruling class, no dictatorial autocrats, to run our affairs. We are governed only by each other—the friends or neighbors we put in public offices. And it should be a great comfort to each of our good citizens to know that in all branches of our Government, in the House and in the Senate, there is a true cross-section of the best and the finest in American character, decency, and unshakable religious faith. Nothing could be more reassuring, or promise more for the safe and bright future of our Nation.

I know Mr. Kress personally; and on many occasions he has made important contributions to good Government and national defense by giving his services as a consultant, without pay, to various congressional committees. He well deserves public commendation for his unselfish and patriotic public services.

When he participated on the Edward R. Murrow program "This I Believe," in 1955, a copy of which I also ask be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, Mr. Kress delivered another lesson on the importance of religious faith in public administration.

There being no objection, the letter and the broadcast were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Dec. 25, 1959]

TRUE HOLIDAY SPIRIT

We read doleful statements by some pessimistic members of the clergy that looseness and immoralities attending some Christmas parties are but symptoms of an alleged general breakdown in the character of our citizens.

Recently I was an unintentional "gatecrasher" at quite a different kind of Christmas party. While in the Post Office Department on business I noticed employees hurrying to the auditorium, so out of curiosity I followed along. At the doorway a pleasant young lady escorted me to a seat in the crowded chamber. The proceedings began with a short opening prayer. A choral group sang Christmas carols sweetly. Then the whole gathering joined in full-voiced song. Then came a recitation of the Christmas story from St. Luke. After this a modest appearing, kindly faced gentleman began speaking in a soft but clear voice. He was the Postmaster General, and he spoke of peace, friendship and human service—and of gratitude to the Almighty for giving us life today, the precious freedom and high privileges of American citizenship and our obligation for helpfulness to less fortunate people and nations. He spoke of his deep appreciation for his own privilege of working alongside other members of the postal service to usefully serve the public. Here was no stuffy bureaucrat exhorting his minions and lackeys. Here was a great and good man, a blessed servant of God—a Cabinet officer of the U.S. Government—humbly and sincerely talking to his friends and fellow workers. Here indeed was God-loving American democracy in action. And the crowd listened—attentively and understandingly. Then came the Lord's Prayer by the whole assemblage. Again I looked around. Every head was bowed in reverence—every voice responding in the prayer.

There they stood, crowding full the big auditorium. Young and old, Protestant and Catholic, Jew and gentile, colored and white, Republican and Democrat, all concentrated in a fervent prayer expressing their unfaltering faith in God Almighty, in America and in each other. One could feel the powerful spirit of togetherness pulsing from their hearts and one could sense that in hearts such as these rests the true and mighty strength of America. I wished that Nikita Khrushchev could have been there to feel the electric power and confident strength of that tremendous force which comes only from the hearts of free men and women completely dedicated to God, to liberty and justice, and to each other.

CHARLES KRESS,
Former Mayor, Binghamton, N.Y.

THIS I BELIEVE

(Edward R. Murrow broadcast—CBS program of January 22, 1955. Guest speaker, Capt. Charles Kress, U.S. Maritime Service, former mayor of Binghamton, N.Y.)

INTRODUCTION BY MR. MURROW

Charles Kress is an engineer, a former sheriff, police commissioner, mayor, and intelligence officer. During prohibition days he was a gangbusting Federal enforcement chief in New York. During World War II he became the U.S. Maritime Service intelligence officer in charge of the Atlantic coast area, and now holds the rank of four-stripe captain.

You will now hear the personal beliefs of Capt. Charles Kress, former gangbuster, and former mayor of Binghamton, N.Y.

ADDRESS BY CHARLES KRESS

In the late twenties I was in charge of Federal prohibition enforcement in New York State—a very young man for such a responsible job. Those were the bloody days of gangster rule—of great power for racketeer kings and their secret partners, the crooked political bosses. An honest Federal enforcement official who dared defy this corrupt power seldom lasted long. I felt deeply that the time had come to show these corrupt powers that our America could produce public officials who could not be compromised, contaminated, bribed, or frightened.

So I started after the very big, protected and previously immune violators, personally leading raids myself, tensely alert for the repeated attempts being made against my life. I was scorned by many people for not taking the easy pay-off money as others had done—scorned and ridiculed also for attempting to honestly enforce an unpopular law—betrayed, sold-out, and double-crossed by subordinates and some superiors. I was pretty much all alone.

There came a night when I escaped death by the narrowest margin. The underworld nearly won. Not seriously injured, but in great pain and emotional stress, it seemed that I just could not go on. As a child my religion had taught me that when you once put complete trust in God there is then no reason to fear evil. But until that particular night of crisis I had never put this teaching to any great test. Even on that night I was not consciously praying. It seemed more as though my mind was racing wildly, trying to find something solid on which to hold. And except for my religious faith there was no place to turn; so unconsciously almost, I did indeed test that faith. I said to myself, "This I believe—and if I believe, why should I doubt?" Suddenly there was no doubt, and from that moment on I never felt alone or uncertain.

Without the strength given me by this faith I would have either become discouraged and quit the fight, or lost my sixth sense which warned me against danger and always enabled me to escape death. In my territory of the United States I did succeed, through this faith and its power—not of course in stopping individual law violations, but in breaking the malignant power of the politically protected murder and racket syndicates. And this I will always believe—that it was only through the power of faith that I lived to tell about it.

I believe that religious faith is to the soul, what air and sunlight are to the body—giving life and brightness today and a hope for tomorrow. I believe that if God's will put me here today, I should faithfully follow His will—because the very fact that I do exist here in this world of today is indisputable proof of His power, love, and good intentions towards me if I but keep faith with Him.

I believe that life decrees that every human must at some time journey along through a valley of shadows. Personally, I know well this lonely journey. But I have found that when things seem to look the blackest, or when sorrow is the heaviest, in prayer and in feeling the presence of God's compassion and Christ's understanding there is to be found a strength which will carry one through the bleakest hours.

I believe that each day may bring some new tests of my religious faith. That the true test is not in proclaimed piety but in actually living and doing; in my daily life trying to render a living answer to His command—"Do ye unto others as ye would that they do unto ye."

I believe that not since the Roman days of Christian martyrs has there been such a challenge to religious faith as exists today. The clear issue now is whether God and His words such as peace, love, honesty, unselfishness, justice, charity, and decency shall be driven from the face of the earth. In each of us individually lies the answer. And each must make a choice—whether to be a Herod, a Pontius Pilate, or a simple Christian soldier marching onward in fearless and sublime trust.

A ship sets sail, cruising over a vast ocean for a distant port. Against the tremendous power of the sea, that ship seems a tiny, weak thing. But on that ship is a rudder, and the navigator has learned how to use it. He uses this rudder to safely guide the ship to its distant port. The need for God in the life of every human is just as simple as that. The ship is our mortal body. The navigator is our immortal soul. Religious faith is the rudder. The cruise is from the port of our birth to some far port along the shores of eternity. We can never hope to reach the right port without using the rudder of religious faith. Without this faith, the cruise is erratic and aimless, hopeless and futile. And when death, who is but a message between time and eternity, puts an end to the cruise, we have never reached the right port. By learning how as the navigator, to use religious faith as a rudder we can successfully and safely guide our course through all the storms, and past all the reefs and shoals of life, so that when the cruise ends we are sure to find ourselves in the right port.

This I strongly believe. And your faith can only be as powerful and helpful as the strength of your belief in it.

Recent Developments Affecting the U.S. Atomic Power Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHET HOLIFIELD
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address:

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS AFFECTING THE U.S. ATOMIC POWER PROGRAM

(Remarks by Congressman CHET HOLIFIELD, Democrat, of California, at workshop meeting of the Electric Consumer Information Committee, Washington, D.C., January 19, 1960)

It is always a pleasure to talk with a group interested in atomic energy, particularly from the consumers' point of view.

As we enter each new decade it is always wise—or it at least is always done—to take stock on the last year and have a look at the next 10 years.

GOALS AND PREDICTIONS

I regret to say, that from the consumers' viewpoint, we have not achieved economic atomic power in the United States by 1960. You will recall the rosy predictions by AEC and others on this subject some years ago. But economic atomic power still remains a will-o'-the-wisp—off somewhere yonder.

You will also recall the prediction of how many plants and kilowatts the United States would have in operation by 1960 or the end of this year. In 1955 the then AEC Director of Reactor Development foresaw about 2 million kilowatts of nuclear power capacity in service by the end of 1960. It now appears that less than 40,000 kilowatts will be in operation by the end of this year.

Predictions were also made as to the U.S. foreign atomic power program, which in large part was to be carried out in cooperation with Euratom. Former AEC Chairman Strauss adopted the goal established by the so-called "three wise men" of 15 million kilowatts of atomic power in Euratom countries by 1967, and 3 million kilowatts by the end of 1969.

The objective of the AEC-Euratom Cooperative program was scaled down to be 1 million kilowatts by the end of 1963. The Joint Committee extended it to 1965 for two plants. However, when proposals were received last fall, only one project was submitted. This was the Italian Senn project which was planned prior to Euratom and could be carried on independently of it.

So we see the chickens let out in the Atomic Energy Amendment of 1954 are beginning to come home to roost, or to change the metaphor, somebody laid an egg.

CURRENT STATUS OF PROJECTS

Now what are the reasons for our difficulties? In addition to the problems of the Madison Avenue approach, it should be understood that many people underestimated the difficulty of the technical problems which had to be solved. These in turn raised costs, delayed schedules, and presented financial problems.

Perhaps a brief rundown of the current status of various projects would help make this point clear. I hesitate to go into any detail, since the newsletters of your various organizations do this very well. I especially find Jim Grahl's APPA newsletter interesting and informative.

As of this date not one watt of civilian power is being generated in the United States by atomic reactors, except possibly the small Oak Ridge HRE experiment. The Shippingport reactor, our first and largest central station plant, has been shut down since October for planned replacement of fuel elements and will not be in operation until the spring of this year. The Atomic Energy Commission's experimental boiling water reactor at Argonne is under modification and will not be in operation until late this year. The Atomic Energy Commission sodium reactor experiment at Santa Susana has been shut down since October of last year to rectify a fuel element failure and will not be in operation until sometime this spring.

These shutdowns do not mean lack of progress. They illustrate the developmental problems we encounter.

Reactor plants under construction are also having their troubles—schedule and cost-wise. The first and largest privately financed commercial plant, the Dresden station, has recently run into trouble due to technical problems—fuel element cladding and control rod failures. The next largest commercially financed plant is the Consolidated Edison, Indian Point plant, which has already experienced an increase in the estimated cost from $55 million to $100 million—nearly 100 percent, and this may be only the beginning. Detroit Edison's cost estimate has gone up and it still hasn't been proved safe.

The public and cooperative atomic energy plants also have their troubles, as you know.

The first cooperative public atomic power proposal was submitted to the Commission in 1955 in response to the Atomic Energy Commission's first request for proposals. This plant is still not complete. The completion date has slipped from the original estimate of 1959 to 1962 and the original cost estimate has gone up from approximately $25 million to $50 million.

Of the seven public and cooperative atomic power proposals submitted to the Commission in 1955 and 1956 in response to the Commission's second invitation for cooperative atomic powerplants, only two are presently being pursued. These are the Piqua and the Elk River projects, neither of which is complete. The estimated cost of both projects has approximately doubled and the original estimated completion dates have been extended considerably.

The only bright spot in our power reactor program is our naval reactor program where reactors at this moment are performing a job which cannot be equaled by any other energy source.

DEVELOPMENT OF REVISED ATOMIC POWER PROGRAMS

The difficulties in which the atomic power industry found itself in 1956–58 led, of course, to demands for revised or accelerated programs.

Whether we are building enough atomic power projects can be debated, but no one can charge that not enough studies have been made of the atomic power program. There was the McKinney report to the Joint Committee in January 1956; the atomic energy acceleration report made by the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy in July 1956; the American Assembly and National Planning Association reports in 1957; the Joint Committee and AEC seminars with leading reactor and industry experts in 1957; the Edison Electric Institute reports in 1958; the Joint Committee staff report on a proposed expanded civilian nuclear power program in August 1958; the AEC ad hoc committee report in 1959; and now AEC is preparing its report on a proposed 10-year program; and Mr. Robert McKinney is reviewing the foreign situation for the Joint Committee.

All of these reports have agreed that it is important to develop economic atomic power, to meet sharply rising domestic needs for power in future decades and to establish and maintain clear international leadership in an important technology.

Several of the reports also agreed upon a goal of economic atomic power in the United States in 10 years. The Edison Electric Institute report in 1958 suggested that economic nuclear power might be attained by 1968; the AEC ad hoc committee report in 1959 chose 1969 as the target year.

This tendency to hope perennially that we will reach our goal in 10 years is not new. Back in 1955, the then-Director of AEC reactor development foresaw a 10-year induction phase and then a rapid expansion of commercial nuclear power capacity. Five years later, we may be still foreseeing success 10 years hence. Unless we take more vigorous action to make our predictions come true, I fear that we may be forever predicting that economic atomic power will be here in 10 years.

I would make the personal suggestion that we stick with the goal we established. In 1958, the Edison Electric Institute—surely a conservative institution—suggested that economically competitive nuclear power might be possible by 1968. That this is still feasible is indicated by the testimony of Dr. Walter Zinn to the Joint Economic Committee in October 1959. He said that the next generation of large-size plants will be competitive in some areas of the United States. Such plants could be built and in operation by 1965 or 1966, according to Zinn. But under present AEC policies this is not likely to be done before 1970.

Instead of making more studies, why do we not consider doing what Dr. Zinn says is possible, particularly since a recent preview of AEC's forthcoming report on its 10-year program confirms this view. In a speech in November, the Director of Reactor Development for AEC—Frank Pittman—said that the studies recently made for AEC show that with some further research and development a 300,000 kilowatt pressurized water plant could be built to produce power at costs competitive in some areas of the United States, and that this project could be started "in the near future."

The Pittman report on the AEC studies also concluded that, assuming success in further research and development, it would be possible to start construction by 1965 on 300,000 kilowatt boiling water and organic plants which should produce power at costs competitive in relatively high fuel cost areas of the United States. Presumably these could be in operation by the end of 1968.

POLICY ISSUES IN ATOMIC POWER PROGRAM

Consideration of the AEC 10-year program (as forecast by the Pittman report) raises again policy issues which have been with us for a number of years.

NARROWING DOWN ON REACTOR CONCEPTS

One is the Commission's alleged recent policy of emphasizing three basic reactor concepts—the pressurized water, boiling and organic cooled and moderated—and possibly cutting back the effort on other types.

I question whether we know enough yet to put most of our eggs in only two or three baskets. I suspect that AEC's deemphasis on the other concepts—some of which may in the long run prove superior—may be dictated more by budget considerations than by informed technical judgments. We have only one large power reactor in operation and are only in the early phases of this new technology.

If we confine our major bets now to only two or three basic concepts we may save money in the short run. But if we should find in the future that we had guessed wrong, the cutbacks being made by the Commission will prove to be extremely costly. I do not endorse, consequently, the present

Commission tendency to abandon our previous program of developing six to eight different types of nuclear plants.

SIZE OF PROTOTYPES

Nontechnical factors also seem to have influenced Commission views of the sizes of the developmental plants which should be built. I have believed that construction of a certain number of large demonstration prototypes will be required in order to develop any given reactor type to the point that it is commercially attractive. This view was confirmed unanimously in 1957 by a group of outstanding reactor development experts convened by the Joint Committee.

To my knowledge, nothing has developed since 1957 which would alter their conclusions. I consequently believe that AEC's ad hoc committee was mistaken in recommending a year ago that, in general, only plants of small and moderate size should be constructed. I believe that AEC was mistaken in accepting that recommendation. There is some suspicion that the so-called "prototype" plants may have been especially appealing to AEC for reasons having nothing to do with the technical requirements of the program. The smaller plants would cost less money, obviously, than large plants and this would please the budgeteers. Since their energy output could be more readily absorbed by AEC installations or else wasted, the disposition of any Government atomic power, which so frightens the AEC, could be avoided.

More recently, the Commission seems to be shifting back to the view that full-scale demonstration plants will have to be built. I understand that AEC is now shopping around for a utility or utility combine to undertake the 200- to 300-megawatt pressurized water project which I mentioned earlier.

LEVEL OF EXPENDITURES FOR ATOMIC POWER PROGRAM

The dominant policy issue in the past several years has been one of budgets and expenditures. We who have long urged a vigorous and effective atomic power development program find that the key program decisions in this administration are being made more and more by the bookkeepers and budgeteers rather than by technical authorities.

The bookkeepers seem unable to peer beyond the ends of their noses in determining what this country can afford in the way of public investments. In the atomic power field, a vigorous attack on the remaining technical problems in order to attain economic atomic power at the earliest feasible date could bring the consumers of this country very large savings. Such a development inevitably would restrain the steady upward trend in the costs of the fossil fuels. As you know, gas prices have been climbing at a startling rate and even the cost of coal, despite our huge reserves, has been increasing at an average rate of about 1.5 percent per year.

If the development of low-cost nuclear power were to achieve a saving in fuel costs of no more than one-tenth of a cent per electrical kilowatt-hour, this would mean savings to the American consumers by 1975 of more than $2 billion per year. We can well afford to invest another $100 to $150 million per year now in accelerating atomic power development. When the potential economic gains are considered, we cannot afford not to.

This annual incremental investment is about what was estimated as necessary by the Joint Committee Staff Report of 1958. Relative to the total AEC budget of $2.6 billion in fiscal 1959, or to the massive expenditures for missile development, for example, this is hardly an astronomical sum.

(Indeed the total AEC expenditures for fiscal year 1959 are but a fraction of 1 percent of the total gross national product; are only 3.3 percent of total Federal expenditures, and 5.6 percent of total expenditures for national defense.)

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE AND SUBSIDIES

A related policy issue which I assume will be reopened this year is the question of whether additional subsidies, in the form of capital grants, should be offered to utilities to enable them to build the additional plants which are deemed necessary.

In considering this question, we should take a look at how far we have come in subsidizing these so-called private plants. In 1954, when the Eisenhower administration and the Republican majority in Congress insisted upon rewriting the Atomic Energy Act, private industry spokesmen assured the Joint Committee that if the act were amended, private industry would develop economic atomic power with its own resources. Mr. Walker Cisler of Detroit Edison even declared that his utility would require no guaranteed buy back of byproduct plutonium as far back as 1953.

The fact is, of course, that private industry has not been able to proceed unaided with the development of atomic power, but has had to come back to congress with repeated requests for additional Federal assistance.

The fundamental Government aid, is AEC's reactor development program. Without the public research program, there is not one of the privately sponsored atomic power projects which could even have been proposed. Instead of diminishing after revision of the act in 1954 and the entry of private industry, AEC power reactor development expenditures have increased every year and now are at a level of $105 million per year—five times the 1954 level.

A second significant subsidy is the Government-guaranteed price for the power reactor byproduct, plutonium. The present base price of $30 per gram reflects a subsidy of about $18 per gram to a power reactor operator. Despite Walker Cisler's protestations in 1953, the subsequent financial plan for the fast-breeder reactor sponsored by Detroit Edison and others assumes Government plutonium payments of more than $33 million, about $20 million of which would be clear Government subsidy.

For the more usual nonbreeder reactors, the present plutonium base price represents a subsidy of about 1.5 mills per kilowatt-hour. For a 100,000-kilowatt plant, this will amount to about $1 million per year.

A third important public subsidy for the so-called "private" projects is the Government fuel loan program. The Government finances the production of all enriched uranium fuel and loans it to the utilities at 4 percent per year. As long as the utility generates power with enriched uranium, it will receive a perpetual series of loans and never repay the outstanding balance. A private industrial reactor expert (Menke) told the Joint Committee last year that the fuel loan program is "a very heavy subsidy" worth about seven-tenths of 1 mill per kilowatt-hour. This is because it would cost the private utilities up to 10 percent per year to finance their own fuel inventories. For a 100,000-kilowatt nuclear plant, the fuel loan subsidy alone will be worth almost a half million dollars per year to a private utility.

In view of its great affection for high interest rates, I am surprised that the administration has not proposed to raise the fuel loan charge above 4 percent. The latest short-term Treasury bonds were sold at an interest rate of 5 percent.

A fourth form of Government aid is the cheap enriched uranium fuel provided by the Government. The major element in the price of enriched uranium is the cost of power, and all enriched uranium in the United States is produced either with low-cost TVA power or with power from private plants which is also low cost because of the TVA "yardstick" and Government underwriting. Thus, with the advent of an atomic power industry, and the widespread use of enriched uranium fuel, the benefits of low-cost TVA power will be exported to all parts of the United States. Since about three-fourths of the benefits will go to the privately owned utilities, one would think they would be stanch friends of the TVA. However, they seem instead to want the cheap uranium fuel but to eradicate the power agency which makes its low cost possible.

The low cost of U.S. enriched uranium probably should not be called a subsidy, since the TVA and private utility power charges to AEC cover all costs, but it is a benefit to the nuclear power industry made possible by huge Government investments and underwriting.

Federal fuel reprocessing is another public subsidy provided for all power reactor projects. It has been estimated that if private facilities were available, the cost would be two to three times the charge made by AEC. For the privately financed plant of Commonwealth Edison, for example, at Dresden, Ill., the savings represented by the Government fuel-processing service will approximate more than $2 million during the first 5 years of plant operation, and for Detroit Edison's fast breeder, more than $8.5 million, and, of course, subsidies are also extended to cooperatives and public power associations under the AEC second round demonstration program.

In addition to these general forms of aid, the Government is providing specific grants of research and development funds and fuel subsidies amounting to millions of dollars per project for many of the privately sponsored developmental power reactors.

Thus, the picture today is quite different from that promised by the spokesmen for private enterprise when they declared in 1954 that rewriting of the Atomic Energy Act to facilitate private activity was about all that would be required, other than a continuation of a modest national research and development program.

Yet, as I pointed out earlier, the accomplishments of the publicly subsidized, privately sponsored program have fallen short of what was promised. For example, the original estimated completion date for the Yankee atomic energy plant, was 1957 and for the Detroit Edison plant, 1958. Both are now scheduled for full operation next year. Similar slippages have occurred with other projects and some have been canceled entirely.

Thus despite valiant efforts and a substantial program of Government subsidies and services, the private organizations have not been able to move forward with projects as rapidly as was promised by them and by the Commission.

Last year, to stimulate the proposals for additional projects, AEC Chairman McCone recommended a new subsidy program under which AEC would finance up to half the cost of a nuclear powerplant but allow title to remain in the sponsoring utility. This was to have been the first of a series of projects financed with such capital grants. This idea of capital subsidies finds favor with some members of the Joint Committee also. I respect their reasons, but I continue to have questions about it. We already have built into the atomic power industry a considerable subsidy system, and the results have fallen short of the promises.

In view of this experience, I wonder if still another and more substantial subsidy pro-

gram is clearly the best answer. I also feel concerned that initiating a capital subsidy program may open a "Pandora's box." Once started, Federal subsidy programs have proved difficult to shut off.

This question of how to finance additional projects is a complicated one, as long as AEC continues to oppose a sizable Federal developmental power reactor program. As you know, I joined with Senator GORE in 1956 to authorize such a program. Although recommended by the Joint Committee and passed by the Senate, the Gore-Holifield bill was defeated in the House due largely to strong administration opposition.

If the bill had passed and AEC had proceeded with such a program, the atomic power program would be well ahead of where it is now and we would have a series of developmental plants either in being or well underway, in addition to the projects sponsored by the utilities. We would not need now to be considering capital subsidies.

The great amount of invaluable technical information produced through the development, construction and operation of the Government's PWR demonstrates the value of this type of plant. Under the Gore-Holifield bill, a number of such heavily instrumented atomic power laboratories could have been undertaken. The relatively small amounts of power they produced surely would have done no conceivable harm to the private utilities, and the technological benefits to the entire utility industry would have been very substantial. In opposing the Gore-Holifield bill and, subsequently, every effort we have made to initiate a Federal developmental project, the private utilities have done themselves and the general public a grave disservice.

The private utility projects are not substitutes for the PWR-type facility. They are not being designed or equipped primarily for research and development nor will they be operated primarily to produce technical information. The privately sponsored plants will be operated primarily to produce power. They certainly will contribute to the technology, but to a much lesser extent than a truly developmental facility.

It has almost been forgotten that AEC proposed in 1957-58 that these private plants serve in part as test reactors for trying out improved types of fuel elements. This was a counter to our proposed governmental experimental-prototype type of plant. However, as in so many things, this program was dropped when the utilities apparently could not cooperate as their primary purpose was continuous power production.

GAPS IN PROGRAM

As in past years, I assume that the Joint Committee during this session will give attention to the gaps in our atomic power development program. One of the continuing lacks is a program for heavy water reactors using natural uranium as fuel. In putting this concept near the bottom of its priority list, AEC seems to overlook its important advantages. A successful natural uranium reactor would mean saving the power and therefore the coal consumed in making enriched uranium fuel. From a conservation standpoint, this makes sense. This reactor type also would allow development of a normal commercial fuel industry, free of Government loans and fuel ownership. For similar reasons, it would be more attractive to foreign countries, which hesitate to develop a nuclear power industry dependent upon enriched uranium from the United States. I am gratified that the present AEC has proposed a full-scale cooperative program with Canada in this field. This cooperation should not replace our own prototype development.

Another concept which seems well worth pursuing is the steam-cooled reactor, a variant on the nuclear superheat concept which may involve fewer technical difficulties.

I believe that the Joint Committee should also consider the project suggested last year of a 20,000-kilowatt plant on Guam if it is designed to contribute to the technology, and to another process steam reactor.

I feel certain that we also will take up the question of authorizing conversion of the new Hanford plutonium production reactor to a dual-purpose plant. This will enable the plant to produce at least 700,000 kilowatts of power—more capacity than in Bonneville Dam—rather than just warm up the Columbia River. General Electric Co. studies showed that such a dual-purpose plant will produce plutonium at less cost to the Government, with the power priced at going Bonneville rates. Almost half the power would be consumed by Hanford and the remainder sold to Bonneville for further marketing to the utilities of the region. Conversion needs to be authorized this year or next year if it is to be done on the most economical and efficient basis.

On all or most of these projects, I am afraid we will encounter the usual opposition by the budgeteers.

I am gratified to note, however, that the Commission has gone ahead with the projects which the Joint Committee added to the program last year, including the 50-megawatt boiling water reactor for municipal and cooperative systems, the organic moderated 50-megawatt prototype under third round terms, and the small nuclear superheat plant in Puerto Rico.

Unfortunately, however, there still has been a good deal of foot-dragging on projects like these which the Joint Committee adds over commission opposition. These projects were authorized last June and funds were appropriated in early August but AEC waited until the end of December to request proposals on the two 50-megawatt prototypes and has only now concluded negotiation of an agreement with the Puerto Rico water resources authority.

I understand all these projects were held up while Consumers Power of Michigan was haggling about the account of financial assistance it would receive in the unsolicited proposal program.

THE NEED FOR BETTER ORGANIZATION OF THE PROGRAM

In view of AEC Chairman McCone's remarks upon returning last fall from a visit to the Soviet Union, it is hard to understand why the Commission delayed about 6 months before getting started on these important projects. Mr. McCone, as you know, stated in November that he had been impressed "by the speed with which the Soviets appear able to reach a specific objective once they decide that it is of overriding importance." He declared that the United States "must be prepared to seize upon the undertakings which are of importance and advance them on an urgent basis. If we do less, our position of leadership soon will fade away."

I have been expressing the same sentiments for a good many years. I only wish that this administration would match its words with action.

It seems to me that the Commission's reluctance to back a really vigorous atomic power development program despite continuous pressures from the Joint Committee springs from budget and power policy considerations which are at best of only secondary importance.

The achievement of economic nuclear power is a technical problem and should be attacked as such. The technical problems which must be solved should be defined and systematic programs to solve them should be planned and carried out in a systematic way.

Instead, the Commission initially pursued a relatively planless approach to the construction of large, developmental power reactors. The PWR and the Oak Ridge gas-cooled reactor are exceptions but these were forced through over Commission resistance.

In 1954, the Commission initiated the first of a series of rounds under which utilities were encouraged to propose projects with Federal aid, not so much because this approach was considered the best way to get technical problems solved as that it avoided Federal expenditures for reactors and the possibility of Federal atomic power production. Some of the resulting projects were started more for political or public relations purposes than to solve specific technical problems and others bear only an accidental relationship to a coordinated program to achieve economic atomic power.

When the so-called partnership approach failed to produce an adequate program, the administration came forward in mid-1958 with the Euratom assistance proposal. This plan had several purposes but one obviously was to reduce the need for U.S. developmental plants by subsidizing their construction abroad, hopefully at less cost and of course with no power marketing responsibilities. Again, this was an attempted political solution to a technical problem and I criticized it severely for this reason. As of this date, the Euratom program has not resulted in one new atomic power project. As a substitute for U.S. developmental plants, it seems to be a fiasco.

What we need is a planned and coordinated program aimed at specific technical objectives and tied to a time schedule which puts the pressure on AEC, the national laboratories, and the reactor industry. I believe that unless we soon adopt such an approach we are not going to achieve truly economic atomic power. We suddenly will wake up some day to find that we are in second or third place in the world. Then, as in the missile field, there will be understandable demands for a costly crash program to try to catch up.

Now I think some progress has been made in this regard. In the spring of 1958, I recommended that AEC assume the positive direction of its experimental and prototype reactor program. This approach was outlined more completely in the joint committee staff report in August 1958. I am happy to say that AEC Chairman McCone adopted this policy in 1959, except for the unsolicited proposal proviso.

However, much more remains to be done in organizing and implementing AEC's positive direction of the program. AEC is still in need of a larger technical staff to provide technical direction. Too much time is spent in Washington haggling over contracts, and not enough is spent on seeing to it that adequate scientific and technical programs are planned and carried out in the use of experimental and prototype reactors. Here again the Shippingport project seems to be an exception.

I am also concerned that in recent months there seems to be a growing attitude by AEC and administration officials that the Soviets are cutting back on their atomic power program, and that we therefore can relax. The Russian atomic representative, Mr. Emelyanov, has even suggested that the U.S.S.R. and the United States should agree on which types of reactor prototype each country would emphasize, and thereby save development money. As you know, the United States and the U.S.S.R. already have signed a memorandum of agreement covering exchange of visits and technical documents and also provides for developing joint projects in certain research fields.

Although I am most strongly in favor of reducing the tensions between the United States and Russia, we would be foolhardy to relax our efforts in atomic power development for any such reasons. We do not know for a fact that the Russians are cutting back their atomic power effort. This is

only what they have told some U.S. visitors. On the other hand, I do know that if I were hoping to win a competition I would certainly try to lull my competitors into feeling that they could afford to relax.

I need not remind you that this country has been lulled before, only to wake up with the Russians running away with the ball. We received no prior notice when the big Soviet jet bombers first flew over Moscow, nor did we have any notice prior to sputnik and their other outer space accomplishments. We may be faced with another important surprise just before the summit meeting this spring.

Indeed, in atomic energy, AEC was quite surprised at Geneva in 1955 when the Russians announced the operation of their 5,000-kilowatt atomic powerplant. Again in 1958 at Geneva, although the joint committee was assured by AEC that there would be no surprises, the Soviets unveiled their 100,000-kilowatt dual-purpose powerplant amid great publicity.

I know also, that in 1953, the United States held undisputed leadership in atomic power technology, that we retained it as late as 1955 but that by October 1, 1958, Dr. Walter Zinn reported to the joint committee that Russia not only had closed the gap but in some areas had moved ahead of us.

Therefore I do not favor any cartel or other arrangements to parcel out reactor types with the Russians, or any so-called cooperative endeavor which would relax our pressing forward to maintain our slim lead.

Admiral Rickover has not paced his nuclear submarine program in accordance with what he thought the Russians might be doing in nuclear submarine development. He has pressed ahead as rapidly as possible, and as a result the security of the United States today is greatly bolstered by the possession of this unique and powerful weapon.

The same policy should apply in the field of atomic power development. Our own power needs, as this group knows well, will mushroom immensely in coming decades, and the sooner we have an additional source of low-cost power the better for the long-term well-being of the American people.

Abroad, two-thirds of the world's peoples are energy-starved. Electric power is essential if they are to improve their miserable living standards. As a means of meeting their potentially huge needs, atomic power is of great interest and will assume ever-increasing importance.

The battle has been joined with the Soviet Union and the Red Chinese for the friendship of the uncommitted and underdeveloped countries—most of the world's population. In this competition, American leadership in the new and vital technology of atomic energy and power can be a factor of great value.

To speed the realization of economic benefits by the American consumer, then, and to regain the decisive international leadership we once enjoyed, I will continue to urge a strong, coordinated, and purposeful Federal program for the development of nuclear power.

The Political and Psychological Aspects of the Space Race

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, whether or not we admit it, and whether or not we like it, in the eyes of the world there is a space race between this country and Communist Russia. We have recently heard much about the military aspects of space. Yesterday, we heard about the budgetary considerations of space; and in the future we shall hear more and more about the peaceful exploration of space. I should like at this time, however, to make some comments on space from a political and psychological point of view.

Space has a tremendous appeal to the human mind and imagination. The challenge of space is not new. Since the beginning of time there never has been a period when man has not been actually aware of space. Man has always felt it his destiny to conquer nature, and he did well on land and water. The realm of the air and the vastness of the universe seemed denied to him until recent times. Now, the dream of space knowledge, travel, and conquest is becoming a reality. These are facts the Russians recognize and take advantage of.

It is imperative that we become aware of the Russian motivation in space and other research. Science, like everything else in Russia, is an instrument of communism. Science in Russia has also been used as an effective instrument of foreign policy. The Russians have promptly displayed their discoveries to the world, and employ them skillfully. Every successful Soviet launching seems to have been calculated in time to extract maximum propaganda value.

I believe that space, in years to come, is likely to be the arena for world competition and also world cooperation. It is important, therefore, that we map out our own independent space programs, make them fore effective, and recognize their impact on world opinion.

In an article that appeared in the New York Times magazine of Sunday last, January 17, Hanson W. Baldwin talks about the "neglected factor in the space race." He says that we are lagging only slightly in the scientific and military aspects of the space race. It is in the propaganda phase, however, that Russia is far ahead. It is imperative, therefore, that we—past masters in advertising and public opinion, in the development of mass media, newspapers, radio and television—find a better way of making our space research and accomplishments better known to the millions of people around the world who look at the space race as a symbol of national and human success. Let us not forget that the basic world struggle is for the minds of man.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEGLECTED FACTOR IN THE SPACE RACE—WE ARE LAGGING ONLY SLIGHTLY, IF AT ALL, IN THE SCIENTIFIC AND MILITARY ASPECTS OF THAT RACE; IN ITS PROPAGANDA PHASE, HOWEVER, RUSSIA IS FAR AHEAD

(By Hanson W. Baldwin)

Attack and riposte initiated a great space debate as Congress convened in a crucial election year.

In his state of the Union address, President Eisenhower looked upon the Nation's military and scientific efforts in space and found them good. But he was immediately answered, not only by critics in Washington but also by a Soviet announcement of impending missile shots into the central Pacific. These focused attention on the weak point in the administration's program—the propaganda, psychological and political aspects of space achievements. Two salient points emerged from the smoke of preliminary battle:

The United States is lagging only slightly, if at all, in the scientific and military aspects of the space race. But the Russians got to the moon first; they preceded us into solar space; they put the first living thing in orbit, and hence, in the area of international psychology and politics, they are far ahead in the establishment of prestige.

Critics of the Nation's space program are, in fact, once again stressing that a key decision has not yet been made—whether the exploration and exploitation of space represent an international race that the United States could and should win.

Two and a quarter years after Sputnik I, the determination to provide what it takes to win has not been made, these experts maintain. U.S. space ventures must still be fitted into the narrow pigeonholes of military or scientific requirements and are confined and limited by restrictive budgets. There have been few at the top level of Government (and their influence has been small) who have stressed the importance of national prestige or evaluated the tremendous impact of space accomplishments upon international politics and mass psychology.

In short, the Nation's space program has been too much under the authority of the mathematical scientists—the "pure" researchers to whom scientific facts and findings are ends in themselves—and the budget planners, economists and cost accountants. The political scientist, the master of mass communications and psychology, to whom the power of an idea, the lilt of a phrase, an adventure into the "wild blue yonder," the prestige of accomplishment are important factors in global power relationships, have had little, if any, influence in the U.S. space program.

The space scorecard indicates that this part of the indictment is largely true. Scientifically we have probably accomplished as much as or more than the Russians but as a Nation we have benefited from these accomplishments, far less.

We have launched 15 successful Earth satellites; the Discoverer satellite program is now so routine that it excites only temporary ripples of interest. Seven of the U.S. satellites are still circling the Earth, some of them still sending back data from the largely unexplored void.

Russia has launched three successful satellites, and of these only one is still in orbit. But the Russians launched the all-important first satellite in history. Their second carried the first living thing—the dog Laika—to be shot into orbit. Indeed, the U.S.S.R. has produced rockets with so much greater thrust than ours, lofting payloads so many times heavier, that global jokes about U.S. "grapefruits" have circulated from Paris to Saigon. There is nothing so devastating to prestige as laughter.

The United States has hurled a small payload past the Moon which went into orbit around the Sun. But again, the Russians got there first; their rocket preceded ours into solar space. The Russians, moreover, hit the Moon, and we are still talking about it. Their latest achievement, a missile shot into orbit around the Moon and Earth, photographed—again for the first time in history—the Moon's hitherto unseen side.

It can be argued, as it has been, that these accomplishments are offset scientifically by

Project Argus—the United States detonation of three small-scale nuclear weapons some 300 miles above the Earth—and by U.S. photographs of the Sun (and more recently of Venus) taken from balloons at high altitude. There is no doubt that Project Argus was a superb scientific, technological and military achievement; it has been described by some as the greatest scientific experiment of all time. There is no doubt about the Sun photographs; they were far superior in definition and clarity—and in scientific importance—to the Soviet radio-transmitted Moon photograph, and they and other U.S.-made pictures of the Sun and of solar flares have been excitedly hailed by Soviet as well as American scientists.

There is not much doubt either that, despite the small size of most U.S. satellites, we have made some major scientific discoveries. The Van Allen radiation belts were first detected by U.S. instruments in space, and our accumulation of space data is probably larger and more important scientifically than the total Soviet data.

If the Russians unquestionably have more powerful booster rockets of greater thrust than any U.S. rockets now operational, we have partly compensated for this by much better miniaturization of equipment; and it is probable, though not certain that our instrumentation and electronics are superior in quality. Moreover, our space efforts—sounding rockets, balloons, high-flying aircraft, satellites, moon shots and all—have undoubtedly been more extensive and have provided broader coverage than the Russian program.

Nor are we lagging perceptibly in developing the potential military applications of space. Our Discoverer satellite program, which is expected to lead to a reconnaissance satellite, is as far advanced as, or farther advanced than, any similar program about which we have knowledge in Russia. Weather, navigation, missile-early-warning, and communication satellites will soon be within the state of the art. However, the man-in-space program—which offers an unpredictable military dividend, if any—is far from culmination and the Russians may well beat us to this achievement, and hence to another tremendous psychological triumph.

Given our major scientific and military accomplishments—why are so many people disturbed about our standing in the space race?

The reason is simple: It is the Russian achievements, not our own, which have made the maximum impression upon the minds of the many. Moscow has, very simply, followed Nathan Bedford Forrest's prescription for victory—it has got there first with the most.

There are, clearly, three aspects of the space race, the scientific, the military, and the political-psychological. We are not lagging too far behind in the first two, even though we are not making an all-out effort. But we have not even recognized the third phase of the race; in fact, our official announcements—and more important, our official actions—have pooh-poohed the idea of a race at all. Yet Russia obviously has keyed her space program to the achievement, not only of scientific and military results, but of spectacular and prestige-building firsts.

In the Communist ideology every action has a political slant. Each of the major Soviet space achievements was calculated to excite the imagination of man and to reap political and psychological dividends. All of them were fitted deliberately to a political chronology: the moon shot prefaced Premier Khrushchev's visit to the United States.

There is no doubt that the Soviet space achievements have contributed in a major degree to the public image of the U.S.S.R. as an imaginative, energetic, technologically advanced society, imbued with the restless eagerness and daring of the great explorers of the past, and capable of feats which no other nation can equal The global damage consequently done to U.S. prestige is incalculable, but there is no denying that it has been immense.

The reasons for this global psychological defeat are more important than rocket engines of inferior thrust. The reasons lie at the heart of Government. We learned to our cost in World War II and in the postwar period that "political-military" is a compound word; we lost the peace in large part because our military strategy neglected or minimized sound political goals.

Today, we appear to have forgotten that the basic world struggle is for the minds of men. Since the first part of President Eisenhower's first term there has been no one of much influence at a high level in the Government who spoke for public opinion, no one who has viewed governmental action or inaction in terms of their psychological effects upon the world conflict.

The most important and influential men in Washington in advising the President about space policies are not the Secretary of Defense, not Dr. T. Keith Glennan, the head of the National Aeronautics and Space Agency; not George V. Allen, Director of the U.S. Information Agency. (In fact it is doubtful that Allen has ever been asked about the global psychological importance of space achievements.) The Director of the Bureau of the Budget, who in this administration has assumed unparalleled power in both budget and policy formulation (military and foreign), is perhaps the keyman in the establishment of guidelines for our space efforts.

Last fall NASA attempted a moon-orbiting shot—the first of its kind and one of the most difficult of space achievements. When the rocket blew up, there was no backup available—simply because the money funded for the program provided for one rocket, no more. One cannot accomplish unprecedented and historical firsts on such a basis. The Russians have made no such mistakes; they have provided what it takes.

Closely circumscribed dollar guidelines have clearly inhibited and slowed this country's exploration of space. Moreover, they promise to continue to do so, despite our past disappointments. The Saturn 1,500,000-pound-thrust clustered rocket, which has been under development for more than a year, is this Nation's most immediate hope of overtaking the Soviet lead in high-powered boosters. It was funded for some $70 million in this fiscal year; its backers had asked for $130 million.

Next year a full funding program for maximum speed of development would require $250 million, but the budget will probably provide only $140 million. In terms of time there has already been a 6-month slippage in the program; as things stand now, Saturn will be ready at least 2 years later (1963 or 1964) than it could have been, had full funding been provided.

The second most influential man in Washington in our space-policy formulation—next to the Budget Director—is Dr. George B. Kistiakowsky, the President's scientific adviser. Like Dr. James R. Killian, Jr., before him, Dr. Kistiakowsky has immense power but no legal or direct responsibility, save to the President. He can, and does, oppose or support both NASA and Pentagon space programs, and his opposition can mean the kiss of death.

Both of these men stand for the orderly, progressive, scientific exploration of space—with emphasis on the word scientific. Rocketry is a technological tool, which should be subordinate to science. Dr. Killian (who has just returned to the chairmanship of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology) said recently in a speech. Both men are eminent physical scientists, and any program they support will undoubtedly be orderly, reasoned, and thorough. But neither man has shown any evidence that he appreciates the tremendous impact of space achievements upon global opinion; indeed, such a factor does not fall within the purview of the scientific adviser.

Furthermore, a sizable segment of the American scientific community has the same sort of negativism toward any space program (except one conducted on its own terms) that the nuclear physicists felt after Hiroshima toward the development of atomic weapons. This may be in part a reflection of a deep guilt complex; they may be appalled at the potential destructiveness of their own creations. It may represent the collective misjudgment of essentially cloistered men—men of precise facts and figures—suddenly elevated to positions of power in a world where intangibles and inexactitudes—the province of the political, rather than the physical, scientist—are dominant.

No matter what the reason, there is a well-defined attitude among many—though by no means all—scientists that space is too important to be left to the military, and that the military should be subordinated to a strictly controlled and orderly scientific space program. (The creation of a civilian space agency was, in part, a reflection of this.) In such a program, there is little room for the spectacular, the crash program, the all-out effort, the race.

This dichotomy—the military eager to exploit the potentials of space for military purposes; the scientist anxious to study and find rather than to fight or to impress—has not been completely resolved organizationally, despite the many refinements in our space administration concepts in the 2¼ years since Sputnik I. NASA and the Defense Department still have the same objective—the conquest of space—but for different purposes. Both must use the same booster rockets to attain their goal. At the present stage no one can say with finality just where the scientific objectives leave off and the military begin; no one can foresee all of the ultimate military uses of space; there are obvious overlaps.

For those reasons the closest possible harmony between military and civilian space organizations must come about. At last there are signs that the worst of the space program's organizational growing pains may be over. Late in 1959, after the Air Force was assigned responsibility for all big military boosters, an Air Force general was assigned to NASA to head a new booster rocket and test division. At the same time, the controversial Advanced Research Projects Agency in the Pentagon was subordinated to the authority of Dr. Herbert F. York, Defense Director of Research and Engineering. And now the President proposes—in organizational changes still to be spelled out—a kind of space czar to direct and coordinate NASA and the Pentagon.

These changes may improve liaison, but they will do little to stress the battle for the minds of men. Lip service is paid to the aims of psychological warfare—to impress the world with the power and knowledge of the United States—but it is lipservice only, and with the proviso that it must be done cheaply.

Clarke Newlon, executive editor of the magazine Missiles and Rockets, recently wrote that there is an almost universal feeling * * * that the Nation's space program is at present on dead center; that the present administration fails to recognize its importance; that we have no real space plan; that no significant action will be taken until we have a new head of Government.

Yet, as he pointed out, there is no lack of national courage, skills, and basic tech-

niques to overtake and pass Russia in the space race—if we start now. The starting means adequate funding, enthusiastic support, and real desire to win.

And, above all, it means a recognition at the top level of the tremendous political and psychological importance to our international prestige and our national safety of easily discernible scientific and military achievements. It is not good enough to say that we have counted more free electrons in the ionosphere than the Russians have, that we know more about cosmic rays. We must achieve the obvious and the spectacular, as well as the erudite and the obscure.

American Indian Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced today a joint resolution proposing to set aside 1 day each year to be known as American Indian Day.

The resolution proposes that the third Thursday in August each year be designated as a day to be set aside by the President to observe with appropriate ceremonies and activities the first American—the original American—the American Indian.

I have done this at the suggestion of the Governors' Interstate Indian Council which has done such an excellent job of helping to bring about recognition of the Indian problem. It was their suggestion that this be done as a means of making it possible to give special recognition and honor to the original citizens of this country. We have had several days for the recognition of other groups, we have had special weeks for the recognition of various industries, but never, Mr. Speaker, have we officially designated a time for the recognition of the American Indian.

I am confident the effect that this would have is significant and important for America's first citizens. One important thing that I see in this is making the people of America aware of the contributions that Indians collectively have made in this country and possibly to influence the Congress to take a more serious, dedicated, and active interest in Indian affairs.

It was the thought of the Governor's Interstate Indian Council that if a day were set aside by Congress as American Indian Day it would help to create many of the finer aspects of Indian culture and heritage and bring the knowledge to Americans everywhere that Indians still exist, forming a definite and constructive part of American society instead of in a fictional and romantic state. It would help to make the American people generally aware of the fact that the Indian people are no different than non-Indians, that they want jobs, employment, income and to provide for their families, not only the necessities, but the luxuries of life, and the opportunities for education that are available in non-Indian communities.

It could be pointed out that the Indian people were segregated into communities first for the protection of the non-Indian and then later, in an agricultural adventure in rehabilitation. It should be pointed out that simply because the Indian people resided on the land that they are not necessarily farmers and ranchers but have a high degree of manual skill and that if given an opportunity could and would raise the level of their own economic status.

It could be pointed out on these special days that industry has been reluctant to locate on these reservation areas without some special inducement such as a tax inducement, or something of that nature, but with such an inducement industry could and would locate on these Indian reservations, opening up a whole new vista of opportunity for the Indian people and give them an opportunity to lift themselves up by their own bootstraps.

These are some of the things that should be brought to the attention of the American people, should be brought to the attention of the Congress and could be brought out on the occasion of this special date to be established as American Indian Day.

The date of Thursday on the 3d week in August has been chosen because this is an era of time during the summer when the Indians of most areas are holding special events. The Indians of Oklahoma celebrate their Anadarko Exposition during this week. The Indians of the Northern Plains are holding their fall expositions and councils at about this time. Consequently, I have named the Thursday of the third week in August as a suggested date for recognizing the first American on American Indian Day.

Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey Sets Precedent by Establishing "Hands Off" Policy on Television Programs Which It Sponsors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I long have urged that advertisers sponsoring television programs be aloof and remote from the actual news or dramatic content of those programs. After all, when a firm purchases space in a magazine or newspaper, it does not receive the privilege of dictating what news, pictures, or feature articles should be located alongside those advertisements. I believe the same detachment ought to apply to TV and radio advertising, so that we can escape the humiliation of further rigged shows and similar debacles.

I have been heartened now to learn that the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey has contracted to sponsor the "Play of the Week" over channel WNTA–TV, but that Standard Oil will follow a strict "hands off" policy with respect to the content and personnel of such programs.

I only hope and trust that this precedent spreads throughout the Nation, because it would be a healthy and salutary development for the broadcasting industry generally. Our national airlanes and television channels are a priceless possession; they should not be subverted entirely to commercialism. Standard Oil of New Jersey has established a pattern which other advertisers should likewise adhere to.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article published in the New York Times of January 14, 1960, written by Jack Gould, radio and television editor of that great newspaper, describing the action of Standard Oil Co. in agreeing to remain aloof from any interference in the dramatic presentations it is sponsoring on channel 13 in New York City.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Jan. 14, 1960]

TV "PLAY OF THE WEEK" GETS SPONSOR—OIL COMPANY TO KEEP HANDS OFF

(By Jack Gould)

The Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey) announced last night that it would assume complete sponsorship of "The Play of the Week," the series of 2-hour plays presented on WNTA–TV, channel 13. The sponsorship will start February 8 and run for 13 weeks.

In a move that could have national repercussions in television, M. J. Rathbone, president of the company, said that Jersey Standard would follow a rigid hands-off policy with respect to the choice of plays, their content and the selection of actors.

Moreover, it was learned, Jersey Standard planned only brief institutional advertising that, so far as possible, would be presented wherever the playwright had decided there should be an intermission.

The volume of advertising, it was understood, would be only a small part of the maximum of 12 minutes allowed a 2-hour evening program under the code of the National Association of Broadcasters.

The decision of Jersey Standard to sponsor "The Play of the Week" provided a dramatic climax to a campaign by New York television viewers to assure the program's continuance.

When apprised 2 weeks ago that the series was in jeopardy because of inadequate advertiser support, more than 27,000 persons sent postcards and letters to WNTA–TV applauding the series.

David Ogilvy, president of Ogilvy, Benson & Mather, Inc., the advertising agency representing Jersey Standard, indicated that the response from viewers had been an important factor in influencing the company's board of directors to sponsor the series.

Mr. Rathbone said in an interview that it was at the insistence of Jersey Standard that the company's contract with WNTA–TV precludes sponsor interference in the theatrical aspect of the program.

APPROVAL IS COMMON

It is common practice in TV for sponsors and agencies to insist on approval of vehicles, usually with a view of avoiding controversy.

Mr. Rathbone said that he and his associates did not feel competent to control a the-

atrical venture and that the task should be left to those whose work had enjoyed sustained critical and public approval.

The head of Jersey Standard went on to note that it was part of the test of enlightened corporate citizenship for American industry to encourage the theater and the arts as it had education and science.

Ely J. Landau, chairman of National Telefilm Associates, operator of WNTA–TV, expressed gratification over the contract with Jersey Standard and also voiced his thanks to viewers who had written to the station.

While terms of the sponsorship agreement were not made known, it was understood that WNTA–TV would still incur a slight loss. The average cost of a week's presentation has been estimated at $40,000. However, the revivals of Broadway plays and classics have been recorded on tape and the station expects to recoup on subsequent showing of the series in other cities.

The contract between Jersey Standard and WNTA–TV covers one of the largest time sales ever registered by an independent video outlet. With six nightly performances and a Sunday matinee of "The Play of the Week," Jersey Standard will be represented on the air for a total of 14 hours a week.

Neither Standard Oil nor WNTA–TV would comment on reports that at a later date consideration may be given to sponsoring the series for one performance a week in such cities as Washington, Boston, and Philadelphia.

The Gannett Group—Enlightened Journalism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM T. CAHILL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Speaker, it has been 4 months since the Gannett Co., Inc., assumed ownership of the Camden Courier-Post, the largest daily newspaper in the First Congressional District of New Jersey.

When the company acquired the newspaper on September 1, 1959, Paul Miller, president, set forth a statement of policy under which the company would operate the paper.

He said:

More and more, companies operating a number of newspapers are adhering to the principle of local autonomy long basic in the Gannett group.

The principle not only is good journalism, it also is good business. A competent local management is more likely to operate profitably and successfully under a minimum of outside control or interference.

The directors, officers, and staff of Gannett Co., Inc., will be available for counsel in specific fields of advertising, circulation, personnel, news, and general policy. But the direct responsibility will rest, as now, in the hands of management at Camden.

It will be up to the editors of the Courier-Post to print or not to print material received.

Briefly, we believe each individual newspaper should stand for everything that is best for its community, as the management sees it. It should not duck local or other issues. It should exert its best influence in governmental affairs and not mince words or withhold facts. It should contend for whatever it favors in the public interest.

In all its activities, however, a newspaper should be fair and unbiased in its news columns, no matter how strong the opinions expressed on its editorial page.

And, even on the editorial page, a newspaper should bend over backward to see that a hearing is given those with contrary views. In many cases, I believe, contrary views should be solicited; especially in a single ownership or one-newspaper city.

Now, 4 months after Mr. Miller issued his statement of policy, it is apparent to all readers of the Courier-Post that this policy has been implemented and strictly adhered to in the company's operation of the paper.

As the Congressman representing the First District, I have talked personally with hundreds of people in the district and all have expressed the opinion that the policy statement expressed by Mr. Miller has become a reality. This newspaper which enjoyed a high degree of success and a vote of complete confidence under the leadership of the Stretch family, its previous owners, will, I am sure, continue under the policy initiated by Mr. Miller to win many more State, regional, and national awards, will continue to serve the needs of the people of the Delaware Valley, and will continue to earn the confidence of all the citizens of the State of New Jersey. The Gannett group and the Courier-Post staff are to be congratulated on their enlightened system of journalism.

State, School, and Child in Today's World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS CASE
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD excerpts from an address I was privileged to give when I was invited to appear on the program for the South Dakota Educational Association Convention at Aberdeen, S. Dak., on November 4, 1959, and at Spearfish, S. Dak., on November 5, 1959.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATE, SCHOOL, AND CHILD IN TODAY'S WORLD

(Excerpts from the remarks of FRANCIS H. CASE, U.S. Senator for South Dakota, Education Association at Aberdeen, Nov. 4, 1959 and Spearfish, Nov. 5, 1959)

"The primary function of any legislative body is the education and training of its youth." In those words, Aristotle, some 300 years B.C., stated the partnership responsibility of the educator and the legislator.

Figures released by the Census Bureau show over 4,300,000 births in the United States last year, a net increase of more than 2,600,000 over deaths. At 30 to a class, that calls for 90,000 additional classrooms when the babies of 1959 enter school.

We also have the new space age and all the requirements of foreign language study, higher mathematics, physics and electronics that have come with it.

Here is the price tag on the public school crisis in our own State of South Dakota that was recently put forth by the Citizens' Tax Study Committee:

Total spent in 1946, $15 million; total spent in 1950, $23 million; total spent in 1958, $42 million. Projecting, that will be $46 million in 1960; a 100 percent increase in 10 years.

To you who measure school costs in terms of mill levy, here was the committee's figure on that: 17.2 mills in 1950; 21.7 mills last year in 1958; but 38.3 mills in 1970 on the State's total assessed valuation to raise the estimated requirement at that time.

BIDDING FOR TEACHERS

To be sure, our State's increasing population now should provide a greater annual income and our assessable values should increase—and in my opinion will greatly increase during the next decade, but anyway you look at it, the need for larger revenues for schools is very real and very large.

I can remember one year when a western school district advertised to let the job of teacher to the lowest bidder—and got one for less than $40 per month. But, the kind of education that is needed today is not to be found on any bargain counter of low standards and low salaries.

Some teachers may supplement their income by outside employment, but free-lance writing, baby-sitting, and even seasonal refereeing of athletic contests cannot be counted upon to recruit and retain the number and the quality of teachers that the needs of our country require today.

By whatever means is necessary, local government, State government, and Federal Government—mark you, I include Federal Government—must join in a common endeavor to provide the dollars necessary to offer the kind of education that will meet the challenge of the day in which we live.

AID NEED NOT MEAN CONTROL

Federal aid does not need to mean control. We have had Federal aid to education ever since Abraham Lincoln signed the Land Grant Act into law in 1862, almost 100 years ago.

Here are some of the possibilities to explore: Dedication of revenues from natural resource development is one way. Profits of the State cement plant over and above the $2 million now earmarked for highways is an example—and might provide a dividend on classrooms built with cement. A penny sales tax to be distributed to school districts on a per capita basis would not mean controls and would let South Dakota's growing number of visitors share in the cost of the communities they here enjoy.

In all taxation, it is well to remember the epigram of old Bob Doughton: "You can shear a sheep many times but you can skin him only once."

If government meets its responsibility in financing, then what?

Take the child. If government provides his education, does it have the right to possess the child? My answer is: "No."

However important it may be to have scientists and engineers, doctors and nurses, or whatever calling you name, the free world will lose the very faith that makes it free if government dictates the product of education. It can offer incentives for courses to pursue; it can provide facilities essential to certain training; but when the State seeks to possess the mind of the student, education fails.

COMPETITION IN LEARNING

Russian children, we are told, are required to complete 7 years of schooling and they are moving toward 10 years. The 7-year students have had 7½ Carnegie units in

mathematics, 1½ in history, 1½ in geography, 1½ in biology, 1⅓ in physics and chemistry, 2 in a foreign language. The 10-year exams are estimated by the College Entrance Examination Board in this country to be roughly equivalent to the advanced mathematics examination which is taken by only about 10 percent of the 12th grade students in the United States. The 10-year graduates must pass an examination in 7 academic subjects—Russian language and literature, one foreign language, algebra, geomery, physics, chemistry and biology.

Here is a sample question in history: "Set forth the universal-historical significance of the formation of the U.S.S.R.—the first multi-national socialist state in the world." Another: "The great advance of the Soviet Army in 1944 and its liberation of European countries abroad from Hitlerite invaders."

Here is one in physics: "An automobile which weighs 5 tons with its load proceeds along an arched bridge at a speed of 21.6 kilometers per hour. What is its pressure upon the middle of the bridge, if the radius of the bridge's curvature is 50 meters?" Or this: "A container weighing 250 kilograms falls from 800 meters. At a point 100 meters above the earth, what is its potential and kinetic energy equal to?"

But in our anxiety to improve our educational policies and methods, we must not abandon the regard for the individual child which is a basic corollary of our belief in the rights of the individual and the limits to which government can go in possessing the child.

HOW MEASURE PURPOSE OR DRIVE?

When the Committee of Five was created to plan the new Academy of the U.S. Air Force, Dr. Virgil Hancher, president of the University of Iowa, told us there has never yet been devised a satisfactory method to measure the drive in a young man's personality.

Who could have predicted that a small town high school such as Canton, S. Dak., in one school generation could have produced two of the world's greatest scientists of our generation, Dr. Merle Tuve, president of the Carnegie Institution in Washington, and the late Dr. Ernest Orlando Lawrence, inventor of the cyclotron which smashed the atom and ushered us into the age of nuclear power?

Badger Clark reminded us:

"That is the small town's latent power,
Some name upon its schoolroom page,
The future hero of the hour,
The future glory of an age.
'Twas always so; 'twill always be—
Small town, the great folks' starting place
A small-town boy in Galilee
Rerouted all the human race."

Close to this is our belief that in America, good citizenship requires minds capable of exercising the powers and responsibilities of self-government. There are values, to be sure, in taking public opinion polls—but woe to America if we ever permit our laws to be made solely upon the basis of the latest percentages. As someone has said, it's a good thing for us that the signers of the Declaration of Independence did not wait for a Gallup poll.

LET THE MIND BE FREE

If our schools are to perform the function the State needs, we will not demand conformity. We will let teachers maintain a certain amount of objectivity, independence, "academic freedom" if you will. We will expect even legislators to think for themselves once in a while.

Our own State of South Dakota is entering into a new day. Our preconstruction forecasts of the effect of the great dams on the Missouri River may be modified—greater interest in recreational opportunities than expected; slow progress in utilization of water for irrigation; insistent growth demands for hydroelectric power; but withal, a faster rate of population growth. More and more of our young people should find opportunities in their home State.

If we provide them with true educational opportunities, we shall expect not servile minds, trained to parrot self-serving doctrines of an all-powerful government, but persons with all the rights and strengths of human dignity.

Ann Mundelein, of Sioux Falls, in Pasque Petals, put it so plainly in these lines:

"Oh, Chinese mother sitting by the roadside beside your child,
What does the future hold for him?
Will he be taught the wisdom of Laotze or of Confucius?
And the proverbs of the Sages?
Will he learn great poetry—'The Lure of Jade' and 'The Gray Bird Flying'?
Will he take his place as head of the family
To become a Venerable Ancestor?
Or—will he be only a tool in the fist of the State?"

The third goal of education—this education for which we are to provide adequate funds—should be to provide society at large with leadership in the constructive use of the knowledge which the educational system develops.

A simple example would be to say that we should produce men and women who will show the world an increasing number of ways to use nuclear power for peace rather than for war. President Eisenhower has well said that "Peace is the paramount goal of our times."

WORLD'S PEOPLE WANT PEACE

It has been my privilege to attend meetings of the Interparliamentary Union as a delegate from the U.S. Senate. There, wistfully, almost despairingly, the smaller nations of the world appeal to those from the great powers to assure them that there will be no nuclear war. They know that radiation unloosed in such a conflict would engulf them.

On the 1st day of September last, I spoke to the general assembly of the Union meeting in the chambers of the Sejm, the name of Poland's parliamentary body. That was in Warsaw, destroyed over 80 percent in the last war but now remarkably rebuilt. That was the 20th anniversary of the day that Hitler invaded Poland and sent bombers over Warsaw.

I joined other speakers in praising the valor of the Poles and their efforts in reconstruction. I reminded them that people in other countries, in the large countries, also wanted peace. I assured them that people in my country did not relish the high taxes from every dollar of which over 60 cents go into maintaining the weapons of security.

Our President, with other international leaders, has called for reduction of armaments, but the arms race is the result of aggression from without and subversion from within. Tension comes from threats to freedom; mere promises of arms reduction are not sufficient; there must be agreement upon controls respecting nuclear tests, placement of weapons and deployment of troops; and finally, there must be the machinery to carry out the agreements.

Educators along with legislators and leaders of thought in all walks of life have a responsibility to help produce the climate of opinion and to turn out the mechanics by which the people on this planet can live in peace.

What would be your attitude, if you were an Asiatic and you had seen a great power unleash an atomic blast over Hiroshima that had burned and buried thousands of people who were noncombatants and of all ages, men, women, and children? And what would have been your reaction as an Asiatic if we had saturated the eastern provinces of China with the modern-day counterpart of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs in an effort to immobilize Red China's effort to recover Quemoy by force?

We have stated we would not start a war, that someone else would have to be the aggressor, but a great many strategists argue we should not wait if the opposition seems poised to strike. That is not the position of General Norstad, commander of the NATO forces, but some others hold it.

WE CAN DO MORE

By the student and teachers exchanges with which you are familiar a great deal has been done; more needs to be done. By cultural and spiritual exchanges more can be done.

I have seen devout worshippers in the churches of Poland, the most Catholic country in Europe. I have seen people standing in the rain out on to the sidewalk for half a block away to get into one of three two-hour services in a Baptist church in Moscow; I saw two Catholic churches filled there, one crowded for standing room where a Polish priest administered sacraments.

People, people, human beings, deep in their hearts have a spiritual longing in every country. The barriers of race and language can be overcome if the desire is great enough and if the task of understanding is undertaken as a mutual problem and recognition is ready when mutual effort is given.

So, as partners in these matters, let us provide the means whereby education may do its task in our day.

Let us provide the child with the fundamentals of knowledge and a mind that knows how to work for the good of mankind.

Let us understand that the object of education is not to produce slaves of the state, but citizens with free, creative minds, able, and alert for self-government.

Let us provide a society with the leadership it rightly expects in solving the great problem of our day—finding the way in which peoples and nations can live on this planet in peace and oving to new heights of mental, moral, and cultural development.

When Alfred Tennyson dipped his pen into the future for his immortal Locksley Hall, he saw "men the workers, ever reaping something new; that which they have done but earnest of the things they shall do."

Remarks Before Business and Professional Women's Club of Lynn, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include my speech before the Business and Professional Women's Club of Greater Lynn, Mass., on October 6, 1959, on the subject of "Social Security."

I was pleased to attend, together with head-table guests consisting of Miss Mary S. King, of the Lynn Telegram-News; Katherine Donahue, State chairman of health and safety; Mildred Caram, State president; Despena Zervas, local president; Grace B. Michaud, chairman; Rena A. Decatur, president of district No. 1; Margaret O. Hill, State

treasurer; Mrs. Anna M. Korsun, quota president; and Hazel Anderson, of the Lynn Item.

Greetings, social security is a very general description that includes such programs as old age and survivors insurance, old age assistance, aid to the blind, aid to dependent children, aid to the permanently and totally disabled, and unemployment compensation.

Old age insurance is earned through special taxes paid by the worker and his employer. Unemployment compensation is financed through taxes levied on the employer alone. The remaining programs come under the heading of public welfare—or charity—and are supported through Federal and State appropriations out of general revenues.

In order to avoid confusion, I shall confine my remarks to the subject of old age and survivors insurance, which might be loosely termed old age pensions, or earned monthly benefits to provide for persons during their retirement.

To understand social security we must look into the background of this revolutionary type of legislation.

Many older nations had modest social security programs in operation long before we even considered the subject.

Our young and growing Nation, isolated from the rest of the world while it busily tended to its own confident development, emphasized the values of hard work, private initiative, and saving for "a rainy day."

In earlier days when each family was a self-contained economic and social unit, raising its own food, building its own shelter, and providing for its other needs through handicraft industries in the home, the sick, the disabled, and the older people were taken care of within this family circle.

With the coming of the industrial revolution, and the employment of large numbers of people in the factories, with the consequent shift of population from the farms to the towns and cities, the old-style way of supporting the aged and the dependent members of society, was no longer effective.

We had to fill the vacuum by new social and economic programs.

But, as people cling to old and familiar routines, even when they no longer suffice, the dominant conservatism of the United States delayed action on these imperative changes until the serious depression of the 1930's forced our hand.

It is to the great credit of the United States and its people that they engineered the "peaceful revolution" of that time and, by a combination of realism and humanism, adapted our social and economic systems to solve these problems in order to continue the progress of our Nation.

Everyone wants and needs economic security.

As a free and independent people, we want to be dependent on no one.

In the vicissitudes of life, even the best of people are apt to find themselves in a position where it is difficult, if not impossible, "to make both ends meet."

Programs must be devised, not only to eliminate these financial hardships, but to maintain the human dignity that is essential to the lives of self-respecting free men and free women.

Security for the mass of our people can be achieved only when most of us have jobs. But in the farflung, complex, and impersonal organization of our industrial society, there are millions who become destitute even in times of general prosperity. People who are eager and willing to work cannot find jobs. In some industries, an able and experienced worker runs into an invisible barrier as soon as he reveals that he is 40 years of age or older. Unlike the old days, he and his wife cannot develop a homestead out of the wilderness to provide for themselves and their children by their own efforts. We live in a collective and interdependent society, where our jobs and our incomes often depend upon decisions made by those we never see.

The Social Security Act was born during the depths of a paralyzing depression. At a time when 10 million workers were without employment other than work relief, and when some 18 million people were dependent for subsistence on direct relief or welfare, the President set up a Committee on Economic Security To Study the Problem of Destitution and to Make Recommendations. That was in 1934.

After searching study, the Committee found that the heart of the problem is loss of earnings. It discovered that, in most cases, whenever earnings are cut off, destitution is not far away. The question, then, was how to spread earnings over a lifetime, over periods when the breadwinner is working and periods when he is not, how to provide an income throughout the whole cycle of life—in childhood, youth, middle and old age.

It found that this could not be done on an individual basis: relatively few people can save enough out of their income to take care of emergency periods.

The Committee came to the wise conclusion that the problem could be met to a large extent through savings on a social basis. The family circle concept of long ago, where the young and the strong helped the weak, and were helped in turn as they became dependent, was broadened to include our whole society.

This could be done on the principle of sharing the cost and spreading the risk.

By 1959 the people themselves, on a voluntary basis, had accelerated this development. Through group medical and hospital insurance plans, they are now able to protect their health in a way that they could not afford as individuals.

Disaster can happen to any of us, suddenly and with no chance to prepare for it. Actually, however, it strikes relatively few at any one time. If a small amount could be collected from the many who are subject to the risk, a fund could be built for payment of benefits to the few whom disaster or misfortune has struck. As a substantial part of its answer to insecurity and destitution, the committee, back there in the midthirties, recommended social insurance.

After studying the findings and considering the advice of the Committee on Economic Security, the Congress passed the Social Security Act in 1935.

The Social Security Act is a Federal law, but the Federal Government operates only one of the programs—old-age, survivors, and disability insurance. The other eight programs are operated by the States, with Federal cooperation.

It is common knowledge that most of us, because of living costs, social standards, and economic misfortunes, do not set aside enough money or other assets during our working years to provide adequately for ourselves or our families when earned income is cut off by disability, old age, or death.

The OASI, as it is known, is a Federal program operated by the Social Security Administration.

Because of many amendments through the years the law now covers, with few exceptions, all people who are gainfully employed. The program provides regular monthly benefits for insured workers and their families when the wage earner reaches retirement age (65 for men, 62 for women), for eligible survivors when the worker dies at any age, and for disabled workers aged 50 to 65 and their eligible dependents.

A person whose annual net income from covered self-employment is $400 or more, reports his earnings and pays the social security tax when he files his Federal income tax return. (Only the first $4,200 of earnings are taxed through 1958. Beginning with 1959, net earnings up to $4,800 are taxed. The contribution rate for self-employed income is 3¾ percent for 1959. It is scheduled to increase to 4½ percent for 1960 through 1962; 5¼ percent for 1963 through 1965; 6 percent for 1966 through 1968; and 6¾ percent for 1969.)

These earnings are also recorded by the Social Security Administration under the self-employed person's social security account number.

Although self-employment was not covered by the original social security act, most persons who work for themselves have been brought under its protection by amendments to the law.

To qualify for monthly payments when you reach retirement age, or to make payments possible for your survivors in case of your death, you must have been in work covered by the social security law for a certain number of "quarters of coverage."

You get 4 quarters of coverage for a year in which you have $400 or more in net earnings from self-employment.

If you have self-employment net earnings from more than one occupation covered by the law, your income from all of them (up to the applicable maximum) is counted toward old-age, survivors, and disability insurance benefits. A net loss in one business is deducted from net earnings in the others.

If you operate a business but close it during a year and open another, or if you operate more than one business, you still should make only one report of self-employment net earnings for the year.

There is no provision in the law which permits refund of social security taxes properly paid, in the event that you do not have enough work under the law to be insured.

In case of your death at any age, payments may be made to certain members of your family if you had social security credit for 6 quarters of coverage out of the 13 calendar quarters before your death.

When you reach retirement age, you and certain members of your family can get monthly payments if you have had 1½ to 10 years of work (6 to 40 quarters of coverage), depending on how soon you reach retirement age. (No one will need as much as 10 years of work to qualify for retirement benefits until after 1970.)

The minimum payment to an insured retired person is $26.40 monthly. The maximum retirement payment is at present $116. The maximum family payment depends upon the worker's benefit amount If his amount is $109 a month or more, the family maximum is $254.

My colleague, Congressman KATHARINE ST. GEORGE of New York State, introduced a bill on January 7, 1959 * * * Numbered H.R. 944, "to amend title I of the Social Security Act, so as to remove the limitation upon the amount of outside income which an individual may earn while receiving benefits thereunder."

Mrs. ST. GEORGE, incidentally, is a member of the Spring Valley Chapter of Business and Professional Women, which explains her interest in the proposed amendment.

Although her bill did not pass in the last session of the Congress, I am confident that it, or a similar bill, will be enacted in the near future.

Under the present law, if a person earns more than $1,200 a year after he or she has retired, the number of monthly benefit checks due you (while you are under the age of 72) will be reduced correspondingly. In general, you lose your right to 1 month's benefit check for each $80 (or fraction of $80) of earnings over $1,200 in the year.

Beginning with 1959, no matter how much your total earnings are in a year, those earnings will not cause you to lose the monthly

payment for any month in which you neither work as an employee for more than $100 ($80 per month for 1958 and previous years) nor render substantial services in self-employment.

Generally you perform "substantial services" when you actively engage in the operation of your trade or business.

There is no single rule for determining when a person is performing substantial services in self-employment. Some of the factors considered are: the amount of time devoted to your business both before and after your retirement; the nature of your service; the presence or absence of a paid manager or member of your family who manages the business, and whether your activity is seasonal, etc.

After your 72d year, benefits may be paid to you no matter how much you earn.

This $1,200 ceiling on outside earnings is a holdover from depression days.

In 1935, the Congress had to keep in mind the millions of unemployed.

The purpose, in establishing this ceiling of $1,200 was to discourage retired persons from continuing in the jobs, or income-producing self-employment activities, and thereby make them available to younger and unemployed persons.

That reasoning is now obsolete, and the ceiling itself has no meaning because of the rise in the cost of living.

In the last session of the Congress, the income limitations for single veterans receiving non-service-connected pensions was raised from $1,400 to $1,800 and for married veterans from $2,700 to $3,000.

This precedent is certain to strengthen the case for a substantial increase in the amount that may be earned by a person retired under social security without jeopardizing his monthly benefit checks.

This is of particular interest to business and professional women who want to continue earning additional income after retirement.

It is appropriate that this issue should be stressed during the observance of National Business and Professional Women's Week.

I intend to introduce a companion bill identical with that already submitted by Congresswoman KATHARINE ST. GEORGE.

It is a proposal of such overriding merit that I expect it to be enacted into law during the year 1960.

USO Club Completes Year of Service—More Than 307,000 Members of Armed Forces Use Facilities in 1959—Moe Lerner Presents Splendid Message

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, it was my pleasure to be present at the luncheon session of the USO operating committee today, and to have installed the new officers of the Lafayette Square USO Club in Washington, D.C.

It is noteworthy that 307,567 members of our armed services visited the club, across the street from the White House, during 1959. This was an increase from 235,283 persons who were served in 1958.

Mr. President, the club has operated for more than 8 years, with a helpful program for our service personnel who come to the National Capital area. It is operated by the Young Men's Christian Association, and the National Catholic Community Service.

The operating committee officers and members for 1960 are: Chairman, Hyman J. Cohen; vice chairman, J. Robert Carey; secretary, Mrs. Walton C. Clark; treasurer, Sol M. Alpher.

Milo F. Christiansen, Mrs. Pinyon L. Cornish, Dr. Marion J. Creeger, Hon. John B. Duncan, Mrs. Joseph A. Egan, James C. Evans, Mark Evans, Mrs. Charles Fahy, John C. Gibbons, Mrs. Rosamond Goodman, Joseph D. Gould, Col. West A. Hamilton, U.S. Army (retired), Dr. Irene C. Hypps, Mrs. Charles L. Jones, Mrs. M. Russell Kelley, Peter J. Kennedy, Harold H. Kramer, Vice Adm. Leland P. Lovette, US. Navy (retired), Col. Waldron E. Leonard, Moe Lerner, Mrs. B. Harrison Lingo, Mrs. Fairfax H. Lomack, Mrs. John J. O'Neill, Mrs. Hampton Percy, Miss Imogene Philibert, William H. Press, Harry Schwartz, R. M. Taylor, Mrs. Frank Trigg, and R. R. Zimmerman.

The staff is composed of Miss Isabel A. Powell, associate director, assigned by NCCS; J. R. Brown, assistant director, assigned by YMCA; Richard E. Evans, director, assigned by YMCA.

The words of retiring Chairman Moe Lerner, following 2 years of excellent leadership, as given at the meeting, I ask to have printed in the appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Man has learned many things in the comparatively short time he has occupied the role of landlord on this earth.

He has mastered fire and atomic energy He has conquered most of the diseases to which he fell heir. And he has altered the course of rivers and flattened mountains and harnessed the energies that lay dormant in the earth. And now he seeks ways to extend his tenure on earth and other means to reach the stars that have entranced him since his time began.

Man is a proud, courageous, intelligent, and ambitious creature who has done much and will do much more.

Yet despite his impressive achievements he remains woefully inadequate in the face of the most important task of all—that of understanding himself and his fellow man.

To help him do this he has created great institutions of learning and staffed them with men of wisdom and vision. He has caused the erection of great edifices to the glory of his God and he has trained skilled men of great intelligence to probe the inner recesses of his mind.

And yet, in this year of our Lord 1960, man still hates his fellow man, still distrusts and fears him, still pridefully maintains the theoretical gulf between himself and other peoples of the world, other peoples of his own land, and even other peoples of his very own community.

And in some ways, despite all that man has learned, in the final analysis he has learned nothing. For with all his vast knowledge of so many things, he is still ignorant of the most important truth of all, that man is the same, basically, everywhere he exists.

Man's inhumanity to man, is one of the oldest and most shameful stories in the history of mankind.

A disease for which there is a cure—but too often, the patient is unwilling to even admit he is sick. Yet he is ill, and desperately so. He needs a large dose of kindness, understanding, human compassion, and sensitivity. He needs a strict regimen of intelligence, thoughtfulness, and erudition. But if he won't believe he is ill, who can force him to the tonics?

One of the things that absolutely confound and frustrate intelligent people, is that prejudiced people cannot see the complete impracticality of prejudice. It is economically unsound and has sometimes even proved nationally suicidal. Put in terms of economics, it is simply bad business—bad even for the richest economy—for a burden of millions of underpaid citizens who must live in substandard housing proves prejudice to be the most expensive luxury any nation might select.

Thomas Mourkas Proves United States Land of Opportunity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD G. McINTIRE
OF MAINE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. McINTIRE. Mr. Speaker, the Bible tells us that it was a light of hope that moved the multitude to follow Moses out of Egypt into the barren plains in a grand pursuit of the promised land.

In a like manner, a beckoning beam of liberty has prompted a multitude to make an exodus from foreign lands for the freedom shores of America.

The following article from the January 7 issue of the Bangor Daily News serves to remind us that America is truly a land of promise. It does this by letting the light of recognition fall on one of those who, in coming to our shores, dedicated himself to the principles of freedom and found, in turn, his opportunity in a land of opportunity:

THOMAS MOURKAS PROVES UNITED STATES LAND OF OPPORTUNITY

(By Virginia London)

Forty years spanning 1919 to 1959, in which Thomas D. Mourkas, semiretired local businessman, rose from busboy to restaurant and hotel owner, proves again that the United States is a land of opportunity.

Mr. Mourkas was born in Porti, Greece, and was graduated from Porti High School. He came to the United States at the age of 14 to live with his brother and continue his education. In less than a year his brother was called back to Greece at the outbreak of the Balkan war, and Mr. Mourkas went to live with an uncle in Manchester, N.H. This also ended his years of formal schooling.

WORKED AS BUSBOY

In 1919 Mr. Mourkas made his first contact with the restaurant business when he went to work as a busboy at Nantasket Beach, later going on to work at the old Thorndike Hotel

in Boston. When he was 21 he opened his own restaurant in Waltham, Mass., following this venture with another in Brookline, Mass., 2 years later and added a third restaurant in Boston the next year.

Explaining his move to Maine, Mr. Mourkas said, "I came to Bangor in 1924 to visit a friend and spend 2 weeks vacation and fell in love with the State of Maine and stayed."

After selling his restaurants in Massachusetts, he worked for a while at the former University Restaurant on State Street, before opening a restaurant on Exchange Street in 1927 with his brother, Christopher, and George Petrikas as partners.

OPENS NEW ATLANTIC

In 1929 he opened the New Atlantic Restaurant on Main Street against a general feeling that Main Street was not a good location for that type of enterprise. He felt then, as he does now, that good food, good service, and a clean place is my motto to success in the restaurant business. The new business proved to be successful and in 1933 he exchanged stock with his partners and retained the Main Street restaurant while his partners kept the business on Exchange Street.

Adding to his business interests during the 1920's he opened the Sunset Hotel and Restaurant in Bar Harbor and also a bowling academy. In 1942 in partnership with Ralph C. Masterman he purchased the Belmont Hotel there. The hotel and his summer home were both lost in the Bar Harbor fire of 1947.

IN RACETRACK BUSINESS

The opening of a laundry and linen business was necessary for Mr. Mourkas to obtain supplies for his hotels and restaurants in 1943. In 1950 his interest in the racetrack business also came about as a means to an end when he was urged to buy stock in a new raceway company being formed in the State so that he could be on the ground floor to secure food concessions. This venture in turn forced Mr. Mourkas to enter the racetrack business since the original company, Maine State Raceways, went out of business within 2 months after it opened and, to save his investment, he accepted the office of treasurer of the new Scarboro Downs, Inc.

Mr. Mourkas has managed the Bangor Fair since 1951 when the city manager and city council requested that he take over the operation. In 1951 he also joined a group of businessmen in Bangor to build the Queen City Motel on outer Hammond Street.

SEMIRETIRED

In 1956 he sold his interest in the New Atlantic Restaurant to Nicholas Kesaris. Now semiretired, Mr. Mourkas still has his interests in the Scarboro Downs raceway, the Bangor Fair, and the Queen City Motel, now known as the Queen Charterhouse Motel.

He now spends January through April in Florida at South Palm Beach returning to spend a few months in Bangor, then on to Old Orchard Beach for the summer months, returning to Bangor in the fall.

Of his plans for the future, Mr. Mourkas says, "I am unpredictable—I never know."

Statement by Hon. J. W. Fulbright, of Arkansas, Commenting on Address by Premier Khrushchev to Supreme Soviet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of a request which I received from the Soviet news agency Tass and the text of my reply.

There being no objection, the correspondence was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

New York, N.Y., 14 NFT,
January 14, 1960.

Senator JAMES FULBRIGHT,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

We are asking group of prominent Americans for statements of about 400 words commenting on Khrushchev's address to Supreme Soviet. We would greatly appreciate statement from you. As you undoubtedly know our agency serves entire Soviet press and radio. Please wire reply collect to Tass Agency Associates, Press Building, Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N.Y.

TASS AGENCY.

JANUARY 18, 1960.

TASS AGENCY ASSOCIATES,
Press Building,
Rockefeller Plaza,
New York, N.Y.

In response to your telegram of January 14 requesting my comment on Chairman Khrushchev's address to Supreme Soviet, I submit the following with the understanding that the statement must be used in its entirely and the use of excerpts from it is not authorized:

"It is difficult to understand precisely what thoughts Premier Khrushchev desired to communicate in his speech on January 14. On the one hand he apparently wished to convey the idea that he intended to reduce the military might of his country by a reduction in the number of men under arms, and that this should be construed by us as a slowing down of the pace of the arms race. On the other hand, he clearly states that this reduction does not lessen the power of the armed forces and that his army possesses fighting means such as have never been possessed by any army before.

"The Chairman of the Council of Ministers cannot have it both ways. He cannot by the same action reduce his armed might and increase it. The only conclusion that can reasonably be drawn from this statement is that he is reorganizing his armed forces in such a way as to enhance their firepower and fighting means. This cannot be interpreted as a serious contribution to the reduction of armaments or to the lessening of the tensions in the world which derive from the arms race.

"It should be remembered that even when the reduction he announced takes place, he will still have as many men under arms as the United States. Presently, the Soviet Union has 3,623,000 men under arms, compared to 2,504,000 in the United States.

"Today, the effectiveness of armaments is measured not in numbers of men under arms, but in the possession of new and modern weapons and the means of delivering them. It is particularly disappointing, therefore, that Mr. Khrushchev displayed no willingness in his speech to consider real and verifiable measures of disarmament. Instead of discussing this problem realistically, in terms of the application of control and inspection without which no safeguarded disarmament measures can be undertaken, he brushed it off with generalities. Talk of Soviet rocket prowess and fantastic new weapons leaves the impression that the Soviet Union is more interested in threatening the rest of the world than in joining other nations to reduce existing world tensions.

"It is unfortunate that the Premier again repeats the insulting falsehood that we maintain armed forces equal to his own only because of the desire for profits by the manufacturers of armaments. This is the most flagrant kind of misrepresentation and increases the difficulty we have in taking his offer to negotiate arms reduction seriously. All the world should know that the United States would prefer to devote the wealth now expended on the arms race to the improvement of the economic conditions in the underdeveloped countries and the building of schools at home, and would do so if Premier Khrushchev would accept an arms limitation agreement upon which reasonable men could rely."

J. W. FULBRIGHT.

Hugh L. White

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, Hugh L. White has retired from what he says will be his last public office in Mississippi. Governor White, who ranks as one of the greatest Mississippians of our time, has resigned as vice chairman of the Mississippi Agricultural and Industrial Board. The agricultural and industrial board is one of the products of Governor White's chief mission of public service to our State: to encourage the economic development of Mississippi.

Governor White's mission to promote economic growth was not confined to his two terms as governor. He has given unstintingly of his time and energy through the years in his effort to make Mississippi a better place in which to live.

Under unanimous consent I include the Associated Press news story about Governor White's retirement, along with an editorial from the Jackson, Miss., State Times by Oliver Emmerich:

[From the Associated Press, Jan. 15, 1960]

"BIG DADDY" WHITE QUITS PUBLIC LIFE; TO CONTINUE WORK

(By Douglas Starr)

JACKSON, MISS.—Former Gov. Hugh White, self-styled "Big Daddy" of Mississippi's expanding economy, retired from public life with a promise never to quit working for the State.

Stirring applause dimmed his eyes last night when he was acclaimed Mississippi's outstanding citizen.

White, 78, recently retired as vice chairman of the agricultural and industrial board.

State Supreme Court Justice James G. Holmes told an audience of 160 present and former members of the agricultural and industrial board that White is "the outstanding citizen of Mississippi" and the "greatest contributor to an economic welfare and industrial development the State has even been able to claim as its own."

He recounted White's part in founding the State's balance agriculture with industry program during his first term as governor in 1936 and his help in establishing the agricultural and industrial board while White was a Marion County representative in 1944.

Under the program, Mississippi has been able to boost its per capita income from the Nation's lowest because of a one-crop cotton economy to among the Nation's average.

Speaking in his deliberate, quiet manner, White answered the tribute of the men and

women who represented banking, industry, government, and the people:

"It is a happy occasion. * * * tinged with sadness because I recognize the time has come when I must lay down the burdens I have carried so long and let the younger generation pick them up and carry them forward.

"But the time will never come as long as I have breath in my body that you'll ever turn me out where I can't have contact with the people of this State.

"I plan to devote a great deal of the remaining time I have in carrying forward the economic progress of our State."

White expressed the hope that in the next 4 years—under Governor-elect Ross Barnett—"the same thoughts carried since 1936 will prevail in this particular program in Mississippi.

"The 2 million people of Mississippi are dependent upon the economy that is developed through this program. All citizens must join hands and keep this progress going."

Gov. J. P. Coleman, master of ceremonies, said of White that "mighty few men are allowed to live long enough to realize the esteem held for them in their own lifetime."

[From the Jackson (Miss.) State Times]

HIS FRIENDS GREETED HIM

(By Oliver Emmerich)

Members of the Mississippi Agricultural and Industrial Board staged a testimonial meeting for Hugh White last night. It was the occasion of Mr. White's retirement from the field of industrial development. He has held this position of leadership since the beginning of the balance-agriculture-with-industry program which was started during his first administration.

Friends throughout the State of the twice Mississippi Governor will be interested in reading the testimonial which was presented to him in scroll form. It follows: "Expression of gratitude from the people of Mississippi."

In the early years of his career Hugh White saw his native State burdened under the weight of a one-crop cotton economy; his people plagued by malaria, typhoid, and tuberculosis; his generation inhibited by the concepts of backwardness, and the future of Mississippi curtailed by apathy, isolation, provincialism, political prejudice, and lack of vision.

Choosing to help lift his people above these handicaps rather than succumbing to them, he became inquisitive concerning the destiny of his State.

He asked significant questions: "Why these profitless scrub cattle in Mississippi? Why these inadequate schools? Why this preponderance of illiteracy? Why these roads with sandbeds in summer and deep, muddy ruts in winter? Why this lack of farm diversification? Why not industries in Mississippi employing Mississippians, thousands of them?"

Hugh White's inquisitiveness generated deliberation, determination, vision, courage, and the will for progress.

Out of this deliberation, this determination, this will to accept impending challenge, a new Mississippi philosophy was created. With it Hugh White joined with his fellow citizens to push back the horizons of Mississippi.

Hugh White, twice Mississippi's Governor, pioneered in building a modern road system, in creating an equitable tax structure, in advocating a sound farm program, in lifting the dignity and prestige of his State and as the trail blazer in the broad field of balancing Mississippi's agriculture with industry.

This testimonial is an expression of gratitude from the people of Mississippi to Hugh White—a testimonial of appreciation of the transformation in Mississippi to which he has contributed so abundantly.

Because of his devotion and dedication we can today see Mississippi "not in the setting sun of a black night of despair" but in the "red glow of a rising sun," the sunrise of new hope and new opportunity, the red glow of the approaching fulfillment of Mississippi's destiny.

People who know Governor White agree with the testimonial. They also hold to the idea that while Hugh White has officially retired that he will continue to manifest interest in the industrial development of his State. He may lighten up a bit but the influence of his personality and the dedication of his spirit will keep him with the working forces of our State as long as he may live.

America's Farm Problems and Policies—The American Farm Bureau Federation Adapts to Change

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, I note with great satisfaction that the January 1960 copy of the Nation's Agriculture, published by the American Farm Bureau Federation, carries excerpts from a speech by Farm Bureau President Charles B. Shuman in which he squarely and forthrightly states his position on America's farm problems and policies.

Briefly stated, Mr. Shuman's thesis is that the farm sector of our economy, just like every other sector, must adapt to changes in the national and international economic environment in which we live. The farm economy must as quickly as possible be integrated and coordinated with our national economy. Mr. Shuman sums up his position very clearly when he says that "Government programs which delay or discourage adjustment to change invariably hurt the very ones whom these programs are intended to help."

Mr. President, I agree fully with Mr. Shuman's position on the need to bring an end to the unrealistic role which the Federal Government plays in supporting the national farm economy. I have said on many occasions that I favor every effort to "get the Government off the farmer's back" and to make our farm economy free and competitive. I am always delighted to see that farmers themselves, as reflected in President Shuman's remarks at the annual convention of the Farm Bureau Federation, agree on this matter. I commend Mr. Shuman for the realistic and forward-looking position which he has taken on our Nation's farm problems.

The article in the Nation's Agriculture on Mr. Shuman's address concludes with a list of five planks for the future. This platform and the general thesis which Mr. Shuman propounds are well worth the attention of the Congress and people of the United States.

Mr. President, I ask that the above referred to article containing excerpts from Mr. Shuman's annual address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADAPTING TO CHANGE

(By Charles B. Shuman)

As the problems and needs of farm families change, as they must in times like these when the business of farming is experiencing such dynamic change, the nature of the Farm Bureau organization must also change.

The continued growth in Farm Bureau membership during a time when the number of farmers is steadily declining is an indication that the organization is successfully adapting to the changing needs of farm families.

The financial future for farmers would be much brighter if we could be sure that agricultural prosperity would be more closely related to our national economic health. This conclusion is based on the assumption that our national economy will continue to be strong.

Government programs which delay or discourage adjustment to change invariably hurt the very ones whom these programs are intended to help.

The Government price-fixing program which generated a $9 billion crop surplus has caused farmers to delay needed adjustments—it has slowed or prevented important changes in agriculture.

The postwar price-fixing and control programs must bear the principal responsibility for the decline in farm income during a period of national prosperity.

There is little point in trying to eliminate surpluses or speed up their disposal until action has been taken to stop the input into the surplus stockpile. The Agricultural Act of 1958 moved in the direction of eliminating government price fixing for corn, cotton and rice. The greatest unsolved problem is wheat. The next session of Congress should act to eliminate the price-fixing features of the wheat price support program.

The greatest single threat to a sound national economy is inflation. The principal cause of current inflation is Federal Government spending in excess of receipts.

We are beginning to win the fight against inflation; however, we cannot afford to relax our vigilance.

The economic strength and success of the United States is largely due to our free competitive capitalistic system. If we wish to continue to grow in strength, we must be certain that we do not unduly restrict or discourage new capital accumulation.

If farmers are interested in a continuing opportunity to earn a good income in a healthy industry, they will not seek subsidies or monopoly powers from the Government. Rather, they will work for elimination of existing subsidies and special legislative privileges to all groups.

Government regulation of subsidized business—farm and nonfarm—reduces income opportunities.

If we wish to have a healthy, competitive economy, we must resist the temptation of government-granted powers for ourselves and attack with every resource at our command the subsidies and monopoly powers of others. The response of Congress to the public demand for labor legislation should be encouraging to farmers and all others who are interested in the future well-being of this nation.

A healthy two-way foreign trade is another important bulwark for a dynamic and expanding domestic economy.

We should immediately review and drastically reduce our entire foreign assistance

program. In doing so, we will gain respect throughout the world. We have a challenging opportunity to take advantage of the growing prosperity in Western Europe and develop markets for an expanded volume of U.S. farm products.

There are five major planks in a platform for a prosperous agriculture geared into a sound national economy:

1. Discontinue Government price fixing and control programs in agriculture so that farmers can intelligently adjust their operations to changing conditions. Cushion the shock of these adjustments by restricting CCC disposal operations, and by temporarily expanding the soil bank in certain areas.

2. Encourage increased capital accumulation as necessary for an expanding economy and a high level of employment by checking inflation and reducing Federal taxes. Decreased Federal Government expenditures is the key to controlling inflation and reducing taxes.

3. Vigorously attack and eliminate Government subsidies to business, labor, and agriculture and destroy, or effectively regulate, monopoly powers which have been developed or granted to various groups.

4. Expand two-way foreign trade on a nonsubsidized basis. Reduce foreign aid expenditures which tend to perpetuate socialist economies and drain our financial resources.

5. Improve the bargaining ability of farmers in ways that are consistent with a free society and a competitive, capitalistic form of government.

A Salute to Mr. John L. Lewis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the following editorial from the Anthracite Institute Bulletin of December 23, 1959, which comments upon the retirement of Mr. John L. Lewis as president of the United Mine Workers of America and his successor, Mr. Thomas Kennedy, of Hazleton, Pa. This bulletin is published in Wilkes-Barre, Pa.:

A SALUTE TO MR. JOHN L. LEWIS

The announcement last week regarding Mr. Lewis' resignation came as a surprise to most people in the industry. When men retire at 65 or 70, everyone accepts it as a custom of the times. The question can, therefore, be asked why there should be any surprise at Mr. Lewis' resignation, when he will be 80 years old next February.

The answer lies in the man. It is because Mr. Lewis has been so much a part of the mine workers and the coal industry, and so dominant as one of the world's greatest labor leaders, if not the greatest in history. He still looks the picture of health, and his mind is agile and clear. People just took it for granted Mr. Lewis would always be president of the United Mine Workers.

On the other hand, it is typical of Mr. Lewis that while he was in good health he had the vision and took the opportunity to nominate the man he felt was best qualified to succeed him.

Over a period of many years we have heard Mr. John L. Lewis praised and damned by operators in both bituminous and anthracite, but we have never heard a single operator question his integrity.

The newspapers, radio, and television have so featured Mr. Lewis' long career and achievements in the labor field that we shall not attempt to review them further. We will merely amplify what has already been said by adding that he has been a vital and constructive force in the anthracite industry.

We are glad to read the statement of his successor that it is anticipated that Mr. Lewis will continue in some important capacity in the United Mine Workers of America organization.

We extend our sincere congratulations to Mr. Thomas Kennedy, who is one of anthracite's own. We have known and long respected Mr. Kennedy, and the industry will work closely with him in the future, as in the past, when he assumes the important position of president of the United Mine Workers of America.

The Military Decisionmaking Process

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, last week I asked that certain articles from the New York Times be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD concerning the military decisionmaking process and the new role which the Secretary of Defense, Thomas S. Gates, Jr., has assumed with respect to the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Since I asked that these articles be inserted, a very splendid article on this subject has come to my attention from the Boston Herald and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Boston Herald, Jan. 10, 1960]

DECISION ON DEFENSE

The great military decisions on which the fate of this country depend are made by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, subject to the approval of the Secretary of Defense and the President.

It is an imperfect, perhaps dangerously imperfect, system of decision making.

Inevitably the chiefs of three services plus another representative of one of the services as chairman and a partial participation by the commandant of the Marine Corps will not always agree. In fact on matters like weapons development, roles and missions and national strategy as these may advance one service over the others are certain to bring disagreement.

What does a Secretary of Defense do in case of a disagreement?

Well, he can tell his Joint Chiefs to go back to work and come up with an agreement somewhow.

But such an agreement will be a dodge, an evasion, a least-common-denominator compromise, and usually no decision at all.

Or he can take the conflicting opinions—they are called split papers in the Pentagon—and try to wool out in his lay mind and the background of whatever information he has picked up in his short tenure which way to go.

Practically, he had no place to turn for expert advice in this contingency but to the chairman of the Joint Chiefs, who will usually back the view of his own service—Navy, Army or Air Force.

Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, the retired Army Chief of Staff, who has just published a sharp criticism of our decision-making machinery, contends that this confers on the chairman the powers of a single Shief of Staff—and the mere mention of a single chief sends shivers down congressional spines.

As it works out, it scares General Taylor, too, when the chairman is Navy or Air Force.

But the new Secretary of Defense, Thomas S. Gates, Jr., has rejected both these methods of dealing with split papers, and has instead directed the Joint Chiefs to inform him whenever a major disagreement impends so that he can sit in on the discussions in their developing stages

This is a policy of great promise. It means that disagreements will neither be swept under the rug nor left to the chairman to settle in private discussions with the Secretary. It means that the Secretary, who represents the civilian control over the military, will hear all sides of the argument, and be equipped to make his decision with the best possible background a lay person can hope to have.

Secretary Gates is letting himself in for a heavy schedule of work by this policy. The Joint Chiefs will have to use some discretion about the importance and degree of differences necessary to summon his presence.

The great need now is to keep good secretaries on the job. What a tragic waste if Mr. Gates has to go just as he gains full civilian professionalism in military science.

The Issue Is Miscegenation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by Milton Mayer as it appeared in the Progressive, September 1959 issue:

THE ISSUE IS MISCEGENATION
(By Milton Mayer)

"Judge Douglas is especially horrified at the thought of the mixing of blood by the white and black races. Agreed for once—a thousand times agreed." (Abraham Lincoln, 1858.)

The integrationists say that the issue is equal educational opportunity. The segregationists say that the issue is sexual intercourse of Negroes with whites and the consequent amalgamation of the races. When the Supreme Court ordered public school desegregation in 1954 the Jackson, Miss., Daily News said: "White and Negro children in the same schools will lead to miscegenation." As long as the integrationists go on saying that the issue is nothing but civil rights, they will be talking to themselves.

Miscegenation is the way the segregationists have always defined the issue. This is the way it was defined by Stephen A. Douglas in 1858. Lincoln disagreed; like the present-day integrationists, he insisted that the issue was simply legal equality; and he protested against "the counterfeit logic which concludes that, because I do not want

a black woman for a slave I must necessarily want her for a wife." After the Civil War the Knights of the White Camellia said in their constitution that "social equality would soon be the fruitful source of intermarriage between individuals of the two races; and the result of this miscegenation would be gradual amalgamation and the production of a degenerate offspring."

Social equality leads to miscegenation. What constitutes "social equality"? Anything and everything; in the old days, emancipation from slavery, today desegregated schools and buses, restaurants and housing. Gunnar Myrdal, in his monumental "American Dilemma," found that "the very lack of precision allows the notion of 'no social equality' to rationalize the whole system of color caste in America." In the segregationist's logic, every deprivation of rights (at least where those rights bring Negroes and whites together) is justified as resistance to miscegenation.

The consecrated taboo in America is, of course, intermarriage, and not miscegenation at all (unless the miscegenation involves a white woman against her will). When the segregationist rails against "race pollution," he does not necessarily care how much the race is polluted or how much his ancestors have done to pollute it, as long as their legal wives are white. When he cries "mongrelization" he doesn't ordinarily mean that he objects to the production of mongrels by himself or the males who listen to him, just as long as the producers, good, religious people that they are, are married only in the sight of God.

"WOULD YOU WANT YOUR DAUGHTER * * *?"

"I was addressing a girls' school recently," says Negro Attorney William Kelley, executive secretary of the Milwaukee Urban League. "My subject was the Supreme Court's outlawry of the 'separate but equal treatment' doctrine in public education. In the middle of the question period a girl got up and said:

"'Do you believe in miscegenation?'

"I said the only thing I could think of:

"'Do you mean miscegenation, or do you mean the solemnization of miscegenation and the assumption of the legal, moral, and religious responsibilities that such solemnization entails? If you simply mean miscegenation, you're asking about an accomplished fact, and there's nothing to be said about it. There are several million Americans called Negro whose pigmentation ranges from sepia to pomegranate to ochre, from milk-chocolate brown to daffodil yellow, and they didn't get here by any "separate but equal" treatment.'"

The segregationist's trump question is, of course, "Would you want your daughter to marry a nigger?" Many liberals, having tried (and failed) to avoid answering that question, have tried to answer it. I am one of them. My answer, "Not unless she was in love with him," is no answer. Neither is another I've heard given southerners: "Your daughters have always married Negroes; it's your wives' daughters you're worried about." The only actual answer I've ever heard was the one given by a Jew: "No, I wouldn't. I wouldn't want her to marry any of you gentiles."

There is almost no Negro-white intermarriage in America. The highest rate ever recorded was 1.2 per 100 marriages in Los Angeles 1924–32, and this figure represented the intermarriage of whites with all other races in an area with a comparatively high proportion of Latin Americans, Filipinos, Orientals, and Indians. In 1948 the California statute forbidding interracial marriages was invalidated, and in 1951 there were .56 such marriages per 100 in the State—about one-half of 1 percent. Five years afterward John H. Burma reported in the American Journal of Sociology that "no significant trends as to increases or decreases by months or years were observable."

But miscegenation is something else. Its popularity, especially in the segregated South, is attested by the fact, no longer disputed, that at least 70 percent of all American Negroes have one or more white ancestors. Segregation in the South has always been what proud Negroes bitterly, and proud whites jovially, call "daytime segregation."

Twenty-eight States—including all of the South and some of the West—have laws vividly forbidding intermarriage, but only four penalize interfornication and these four make no enforcement effort. Even before the War (Civil, of course) such statutes were dead letters in the South because a Negro could not testify against a white. Intermarriage, on the other hand, is just as sternly resisted by law today as it was in slavery; more so. Until 1910 it was permitted in Louisiana, where, for a hundred years, French Creoles had married wealthy Negro girls. (Before Emancipation one-fifth of the property of New Orleans was owned by Negroes or part-Negroes, many of whom had Negro slaves.)

Miscegenation has flourished in America as in no other country. Negro and white indentured servants were thrown together in one common depreciated class before the reduction of the Negro to slavery in the 18th century. Intermarriage was legal, and not infrequent. After slavery was established, the slave girl was not only at the mercy of her master; it was to her advantage to be his concubine and to the master's to breed the highly valued mulatto. (Breeding slaves was cheaper than buying them.) And before and since Emancipation (and since the beginning of the world, and until the end) there have been two compulsions to miscegenation. One, particularly strong in America, is the challenge of forbidden fruit; the other is the piquancy of variety or, as the French say in another (but related) connection, "Vive la difference."

NOT AS OTHER MEN ARE

The white man's traditional repugnance toward miscegenation—Lincoln said he felt disgust at the idea—is not Southern. It is American, remarkably similar, Myrdal found, throughout the country. And in a truly miscegenated populace like ours—composed of all the racial stocks of Europe—the Negro is the one distinguishable outsider, the most obvious and ubiquitous other. True, the Northerner does not appear to be thinking about miscegenation; perhaps because he doesn't dare to. But the Southerner isn't thinking about anything else. "They don't build a Federal Government big enough," says school segregationist Ace Carter of Alabama, "to integrate my daughter with niggers."

Is it the white man's fault; or is it his history's? He is preconditioned. He cannot help discriminating the Negro; how can he help discriminating against him? And his country's peculiarly puritanical tradition, sensitizing him to sex, focuses his discrimination on miscegenation. The Northerner's prejudice against actual propinquity seems to be much stronger than the howling Southerner's; many old Southern cities have no residential segregation, and Professor E. Franklin Frazier, an authority on race relations in the post bellum South, found very few Northern soldiers among the white ancestors of part-Negroes. "Northern soldiers," he says, "had an aversion to close intimate contacts with the blacks, an attitude that was lacking among Southern whites." As well as it might have been, among a people who as children had played and eaten and slept with Negro children and, as infants, may even have been suckled by a Negro "mammy."

On the surface the Negro is as firmly opposed to miscegenation as the white—but not for the same reason. White and Negro scholars agree that the Negro's race pride is a defense reaction or response to white prejudice, a secondary attitude. Common as this pride is among Negro chauvinists, it is, says Myrdal, "a white, not a Negro, argument." Negroes know that their race is not pure. They know it by looking at themselves. And for two hundred years they have had a social stratification among themselves based upon their knowledge of their racial impurity; a "good complexion" is a light one, "good hair" straight, a "good nose" thin-nostriled.

Does this mean that the Negro favors miscegenation? In a negative sense he does; he would be inconsistent if he didn't. But what he wants is the repeal of racist marriage laws—not merely because they insult him and deny his civil liberty, but because of their effect in encouraging illegal miscegenation, with its abuse and exploitation of the Negro woman and the legal impunity of the gallivanting white man.

A harder question is whether the Negro actually shares the white man's natural disgust at the idea of miscegenation. The answer—impossible to come by statistically—would seem to be that he doesn't. Repugnance requires a sense of superiority. Equals may hate those who subjugate them, but they do not find them categorically obnoxious; the man who is excluded from the country club because of his race or religion has no primary feeling against intimate association with the members. Similarly, the Negro who considers himself the white man's equal would seem to have no primary attitude toward miscegenation, any more than, say, Pennsylvania boys react to Ohio or Michigan girls. People tend to fall in love with their own kind—nationally, religiously, or racially. Negroes assume they will marry Negroes; and nearly every last one of them does.

THE WHITE MAN'S DREAM WORLD

There are two kinds of reality—the reality of things as they are (or may be) and the reality of things as people see them. The two realities may coincide, but the white man's hostility toward miscegenation and his dread of amalgamation arise strictly from three realities of the second kind.

First, he sees that there are such things as races and there is such a thing as a pure race.

As far as science now knows, there aren't and there isn't. In the middle of the eighteenth century the "father of anthropology," Blumenbach, concluded that "no variety of mankind exists, whether of color, countenance, or stature, etc., so singular as not to be connected with others of the same kind by such an imperceptible transition that it is very clear they are all related or only differ from one another in degrees." Two centuries later the eminent Krogman, in "The Concept of Race," summarizes the present state of our knowledge: "Below the level of the species definition is uncertain, persistence is doubtful, and transmission is variable. In other words, the breakdown of homo sapiens into subgroups is zoologically very risky business * * * We are all far more alike than different * * * [There are] no fundamental differences * * * biogenic potentialities are shared equally."

There are observable and measurable physical differences that enable us, simply for purposes of superficial classification, to distinguish human groups. How did these differences come about? The only possible assumption, says Krogman, is that "the basic sapiens population from which modern races developed was relatively homogenous, and that via mutation, isolation, selection, and recombination diverse gene-populations

emerged." Physical traits, bred into geographically isolated groups, show signs of adaptation to the conditions of environment. Says Huxley: "The dark skin, which characterizes most of the people living near the tropics, is almost certainly the result of elimination by natural selection of the fairer types of pigmentation less fitted to afford protection against the actinic rays of the sun. The greater number of sweat glands in the Negro and the reduction of their number among the yellow-skinned peoples, are probably adaptations to hot and to dry conditions respectively. * * * A white skin is a disadvantage in the Tropics and a wide nostril in the Arctic."

The pure race—if it could be found anywhere on earth—would have been utterly isolated for ages, culturally primitive, technologically backward, and undeveloped in the arts of civilization which the crossing of cultures has produced. We shall never know how impure the first American settlers, black or white, were when they got here; we know that African soldiers invaded Britain with Caesar 2,000 years ago, and, boys being boys, one thing certainly led to another. We know that Europeans, especially Portuguese, were frequent settlers in the West African ancestral areas of most American slaves. And we know that in American free intermarriage between white and Negro indentured servants was not prohibited until 1691, in Virginia, and that prior to the reduction of the Negro to slavery the poor white's hatred of him was unknown. How much Negro-white miscegenation there was between 1619 (when the first Negroes reached Virginia) and the Civil War is suggested by Ray Stannard Baker's calculation in 1908 that 3 million of the country's 10 million Negroes were mulatoes, or half-whites. Wirth and Goldhammer, in "Characteristics of the American Negro," tell us that "contemporary observers, on the whole, tend to leave an impression that no likely looking Negro, or especially mulatto, girl was liable to be left unmolested by the white males (in the ante-bellum South); that few of the young white men grow up virtuously, and that their loss of virtue was scarcely to be attributed to cohabitation with white women.

The rate of miscegenation continued to rise in the South even after the Civil War. (The original Klan required its members to swear only that they would not marry a Negro.) After her emancipation the freed woman could move about, and into the white man's cities; but she was still defenseless against him. "Father Abraham" had made her his equal, but Father Abraham wasn't down in Dixie in the seventies and eighties. Besides, concubinage with a white man was, if anything, more than ever economically better than marriage to a Negro. And the mulatto's high value—as the white man's sex object and the white woman's servant girl—was still an incentive to breeding half-bloods.

The reduction in miscegenation probably set in the '90's or shortly afterward; no one knows. Urbanization would tend to increase it (especially in the North) and so would the sexual laxity of the Twentieth Century. But that same sexual laxity made white women more readily available to white men, and would therefore tend to reduce mixing. The decisive factor in reduction was doubtless the rising status of the Negro and, with it, rising pride and moral dignity.

But there is no unmiscegenation. The white and Negro blood that was mixed at the pleasure of the bygone Southern gentleman is mixed forever. If there is no pure race now—and there isn't— there never will be.

Second, the white man sees the Negro as a race, to which an individual either belongs or doesn't.

As long as the white man defines Negro simply as Negro (as he does in the marriage laws of West Virginia and Colorado), he is safe from contradiction, if not from redundancy. As long as he talks (as he does in the Oklahoma law) about "any person of African descent," he is safe; providing, of course, that he doesn't mind excluding some whites of African descent and some Negroes of non-African descent. As long as he says (as he does in Nevada) "any person of the Ethiopian or black race" or (in South Dakota) "members of the African race," he is all right providing he agrees that a nation or a continent is a race. But the minute he tries to make more sense than any of this, he gets into trouble.

If he prohibits the intermarriage of "persons having one-fourth Negro blood," as he does in Kentucky and Oregon, he seems to have decided that a person with 24.99 percent Negro blood is a white; a very difficult decision, especially when Florida, Indiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, South Carolina, and North Dakota have decided that persons having 12.50 percent (or one-eighth) Negro blood may not marry whites; the 24.99 percent man appears to be white in Kentucky and non-white in Mississippi. The Mississippian with 12.49 percent Negro blood is eligible to marry the Natchez Magnolia Queen—but he'd better not let the sun set on him in this town if he has 12.50 percent.

In Alabama we draw the line just a little bit finer than we do in Caroliner. We don't fool around with percentages. We cal'ate in drops. Persons having "one drop of Negro blood" are interdicted; should such person be waylaid en route to his wedding with the local Cotton Queen and, in the ensuing confusion, lose one drop of blood, and that one turn out to be the Negro drop, he could proceed with his now honorable intentions. But not in Georgia or Virginia, where "any ascertainable trace of Negro blood" puts a man beyond the palefaces. Now everybody knows that a trace is less than a drop; thus Georgia and Virginia must look upon Alabama (not to say Mississippi and Carolina) as a hotbed of "mixing."

There is, of course, no such thing as "Negro blood," in any quantity. Human blood can be differentiated only in one way—by the four common groups found indiscriminately in all human stocks. During World War II the American Red Cross (then a semi-official agency of the Government) first refused Negro blood donors. A howl went up, and the Red Cross thereafter accepted "Negro blood" but segregated it for transfusion to Negro soldiers only.

Third, the white man sees not only that there are Negro and white races, but that the white is superior.

Because the mulatto's white father prized him for his "white blood"—even educating and occasionally freeing him—the full Negro of slave times accepted the mulatto as a superior kind of creature, a sort of tertium quid, below the white, but above himself. This acceptance by the Negro of the white man's theory of racial superiority has descended in the Negro social mythos to the present day. But there are signs of a change, although the successful or attractive Negro still tends to "marry light" and is more readily hired by Negro employers. The mulatto myth always involved envy and resentment among full blacks anyway, and it is now beginning to lose its status with them. They know that, belatedly given opportunity, they are as capable as mixed-bloods.

With the abolition of slavery, the white man's new race hatred of his newly legalized equals compelled him to relinquish one of his favorite arguments for white superiority, namely, the obvious superiority of the mulatto over the "pure" Negro. (The argument, of course, ignored the fact that the mulatto had always enjoyed superior advantages.) Today the prejudiced white sees Negroes, dark or light, as indiscriminately inferior. And they are inferior, on the average, in their occupations, their housing, their education, their achievement in almost every field.

"The American," said Bernard Shaw, "compels the Negro to black his boots and then says, 'He's fit for nothing but blacking my boots'." To say that all, or most, or many, or some Negroes are found among lowly placed, or unskilled, or uncouth people is simply to say that whatever it is that makes people that way also makes all, or most, or many, or some Negroes that way. But to say that the Negro race is an inferior race is to say that every Negro is born that way and will die that way, no matter what his opportunity. It is to say that he is in an inferior situation.

Myrdal, though he found the northerner more polite, more "tolerant," could find no substantial difference among whites of different regions or classes on this one fundamental belief—that the Negro is somehow racially inferior. The white man's aversion to miscegenation requires that he believe the Negro inherently subhuman. Even a Lincoln, seeing nothing but the then condition of Negroes, recorded his conviction that "in some respects he certainly is not my equal." In what respects he doesn't say—few whites do. And if a Lincoln, why not you and I? If the "nigger" were your equal, you would want your daughter to marry him.

The Negro's racial inferiority is something the white man knows in his bones, or in his viscera; in other words, a prejudice, which, like all prejudices, may with equal likelihood be true or untrue. When, under some duress, the locus of the inferiority is specified, it is invariably in one or more of three areas—biological, intellectual or cultural.

1. The Negro's racial inferiority is proved anatomically and physiologically—that is, he is constructed differently and, as an organism, functions differently from the white; and the differences are hierarchical, lower-higher, like those of the ape and man.

Scientifically this supposition is wholly discredited. Of the four characteristic features of the "typical" Negro—dark skin, broad nose, woolly hair, thick lips—the first two are a little closer to the ape man than the white man's while the white's hair and lips are much closer to the ape than the Negro's. As for "primitive" and "advanced" stages of evolution, all morphological evidence indicates that man evolved only once. We have already seen that there is no such thing as "Negro" blood. It is equally impossible to determine by examination of the human brain whether its owner was black, white, or pimiento. True, the ideal Negro type tends to dolichocephaly—long-headedness, to you and me—and to a degree matched by only one other human type: the ideal Nordic type. By all other standard indices, such as fertility of mixed mating (even the fox and the wolf cannot mate fruitfully) and comparative harmony-disharmony of parts, there is no evidence of hierarchy.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries the facts of biology and psychology proved that Negroes were different from whites, not just in visible and measurable bodily features but in higher susceptibility to disease, in lower mental ability, in greater personality disorder. The rise of social research in the 1920's began to complicate the picture. And if there is anything that people who have simple scientific facts to sustain their prejudices do not like, it is complications. The findings of social research were facts, too, but they had the disadvantage (in the layman's view) of being come by without microscope or stethoscope. They were facts

about environment—housing, diet, climate, clothing, medical care, and educational and occupational opportunity.

But the new facts coincided with new medical knowledge. Pellagra, syphilis, and nephritis were now known to be environmental, not constitutional. The Negro's notorious susceptibility to tuberculosis declined as his living conditions improved. A study which showed that Illinois Negroes had a dementia praecox rate three times as high as whites had to be reinterpreted—or, rather, interpreted for the first time—in light of the facts that Illinois Negroes were concentrated in cities (where the overall rate is twice as high as in rural areas), that Illinois Negroes were concentrated in those age and income groups with the highest rate of d.p., and that most Illinois Negroes were recent migrants, whose mental disease incidence, regardless of color, is much higher than that of natives. In every area where social research was correlated with the biological facts, the inference of racial superiority has been undermined or exploded.

2. The Negro's racial inferiority is proved intellectually—that is, he is unable to think as well or learn as much as a white man.

Less than 20 years ago a Fortune survey found that a majority of whites, ranging from 60 percent in the North to 76.9 percent in the South thought that "Negroes now generally have lower intelligence than white people." The percentage of those who regarded the difference as due at least in part to heredity ranged from 55.25 to 79.2. The Negro's actual inferiority was obvious and, besides, the new intelligence tests showed that the average Negro IQ was 20 to 25 percent lower than the white.

But was it—again—because he was a Negro?

Intelligence tests tried to measure the innate capacity of the subject to learn. But nobody knew then (or knows now) if mental capacity is an innately determined quantum, or if the test we have yet been able to devise operate prejudicially in connection with the subject's environment. Complications again—and the IQ figures were so nice and simple. As a matter of fact, the rug had already been pulled out from under the superior intelligence superstitution (a superstition confirmed by scientific facts!) in 1921, with Yerkes' classic monograph, "Psychological Examining in the U.S. Army," published quietly in the Memoirs of the National Academy of Science. In the Army Alpha test of 1917, a language-based test given only to literate recruits, Negroes as a whole had scored much lower than whites, but Northern Negroes had scored much higher than Southern whites, and the same thing was true of the non-language Beta test. The median scores for Negroes from New York, Illinois, and Ohio were 45.02, 47.35, and 49.50 respectively; of whites from Mississippi, Kentucky, and Arkansas, 41.25, 41.50, and 41.55.

Either northern Negroes were innately more intelligent than Southern whites, or the education of Southerners was so poor that Northerners, white or Negro, appeared to be innately more intelligent than white or Negro southerners. Which was it? The answer was obvious: Environmental conditions made Southern whites look as if they had been born less intelligent than Northern Negroes.

Before the IQ fad subsided at the end of the '30's, it was found that one group of underprivileged Negro children in Tennessee had a score of 58; another group of privileged Negro children in California had a score of 105. The Los Angeles Public Schools tested 500 Negro children with the whites in 15 elementary schools and found the median IQ slightly higher for the Negro group. Successive types of testing have all demonstrated that group biological differences, however real, do not account for group intellectual differences.

3. The Negro's racial inferiority is proved culturally—that is, by his inability to develop an "advanced" society or keep pace with the one he is in.

Of the three race dogmas this is the hardest to investigate. It requires the impossible—an objective definition of culture. People who cut off their enemies' heads with machetes and people who cut off their friends' heads with two-toned convertibles both regard their cultures as advanced. Still the fact (at least a fact) remains. The American Negro, as a whole, is backward in terms of American cultural standards in science, art, morals, and manners. This anyone can see, and what anyone can see must be true. But is it because he is a Negro? Even before the development of social research this particular dogma was shaky. True, the racist saw the shiftless, worthless Negro all around him; but he also saw the Frederick Douglass, the George Washington Carver, the Booker T. Washington, indubitable Negroes of indubitable genius. Carver could not be a Negro and still save the "goober" economy by his plant research—but he was and he did.

There was something else, something that the southern racist did not see. That was his own culture. The behavior he ridiculed or condemned in the Negro was his own. The Negro was a southerner. The lazy, good-natured, romantic, immoral, profligate, shabby, violent Negro reflected traits that are so common in the South that the foreign visitor (not to say the northerner) calls them all southern traits. What produced them in many or most southern whites produced them still more prevalently in the most depressed southerner, the Negro. Climate, soil, boll weevil, poverty, defeat—in a word, environment.

Still the fact remains: Negro culture is inconsequential. The Negro's sole contribution to American culture is American music, which is tom-tom primitive. But we don't ask what the Swede's contribution is, or the Pole's, or the Irishman's, or even what American culture is, or how much there is of it. If there were only one pure Negro who was a genius or a saint (instead of hundreds or thousands), the white man could not say truthfully that the Negro is culturally incapable, or that only white men develop a culture. In deference to the exceptions, the white modifies his generalization, then, and says that most or many Negroes are backward; and the next thing he knows (or doesn't), he has forgotten the qualification and talks about the Negro.

However "culture" is defined, cultures rise and fall; we have only to think of ancient and modern Greece. The Negro slave's ancestral culture may well have been much higher than his first American master's; several pre-medieval African cultures (notably Ethiopia's) were more advanced, even by present Western standards, than any of contemporaneous Europe's. But the black man's culture was beaten out of him with the lash. He was separated from his kinsmen and countrymen so that he could more easily be brainwashed. And for two hundred years he was fixed in his degradation. Literacy, property, and human rights were forbidden him by law until 1863 and for another half century denied him in fact. He is just now emerging from all the indignities that can be visited upon a man. And unlike the Japanese- or Chinese-descended Americans, he has no culture other than America's to call his own, no other basis for group pride; no memory (so immutably tied to language) of another civilization. If he has got to be a second-class American, then he has got to be a second-class man, because an American is all he is.

Like "Negro intelligence," "Negro personality" and "Negro character" appear to be the product of environment; at least, other persons and groups of people in the same condition act, never uniformly, but, like the Negro, on the average, in the same way. Summarizing the vast Carnegie Study in Characteristics of the American Negro, Klineberg writes: "What differences there are appear to depend on existing discrepancies in the opportunities afforded to the two groups." The popular concept of the "marginal" man originally described the individual of one culture who had to live in another, the "cultural hybrid." When the individual is racially, as well as culturally, marginal; when, in a word, he can be distinguished not only by background but by appearance, his maladjustment is, axiomatically, intensified. That a culturally and racially "marginal" man should ever achieve "normal" behavior might well be viewed as something of a superhuman achievement, a sign of individual, if not racial, superiority.

"BUT WE ALWAYS KNEW THAT"

When we submit the arguments against white superiority to our enlightened neighbor, he says, "Of course, of course. I've known that for years. There's nothing really inferior about Negroes. Why, I know a Negro college professor who. . . ." We must interrupt him at this point and say, "Would you want your daughter to marry a nigger?" He rocks on his heels, and, while he is still rocking, we ask him, "Would you want niggers"—we are very careful here to say "nigger," not "Negro"—in your golf club?" As soon as he recovers sufficiently to begin sputtering, "Why—why—why—," we must interrupt him again and say, "Why not?" It is only then that we come to the heart of the issue.

It doesn't matter whether Negroes are innately inferior, equal, or superior, temporarily or permanently. What matters is something so profound that no argument touches it, no evidence speaks to it. Our enlightened neighbor, who is long since convinced that there is no such thing as racial superiority, is ourselves. And like ourselves he is moved by a mechanism hidden in the deepest recess of the heart. He has rejected every argument against segregation—which means every argument against miscegenation. But the hidden mechanism still functions. He is a racist. You are a racist. I am a racist. Why?

The Christian has the easy answer: The Devil. The Devil has planted in all of us the love of unearned increment, of something for nothing. If, without lifting a finger, I can be superior—well, why not? If, however worthless I may be, I can be worth something by having been born white, or American, or the eldest son of the Duke of Marlborough, I will cherish the worth all the more mightily. It is my one absolutely inalienable possession. I may forfeit my good name; my purse, my home, my family, my job, my health, my liberty, and my life may all be taken from me. But nobody can take my whiteness away from me I am in.

When a few members of what the sociologist calls the out-group come—unwillingly, in the Negro's case—to live among the in-group, they are depreciated, the depreciation ranging from the city man's ridicule of the yokel to the native white's dislike of the foreigner or the Negro. As long as the out-group are few (or are held in subjection as they increase), they are not thought of as dangerous. But when they increase and are no longer legally subjugated, they are no longer merely comical or obnoxious, but dangerous, and the in-group's sense of security requires their segregation.

The white man who himself has directly injured a Negro may nevertheless bear the unconscious guilt of chattel slavery and hate

the cause of his vicarious wrongdoing; while the white who has directly injured a Negro (merely, for example, for living in a restricted neighborhood) may have a still heavier guilt to justify by hatred. Deeper buried still: Man, the impure, wants to be freed from his impurity—from impure flesh and blood and bone, from impure occupations and associations, from impure thoughts and desires. He wants to be "washed," "cleansed," "white as snow." And the Negro is black—the color of evil and dirt and the dread unknown.

Acceptance of this racist mystique, below the level of rationality, is not confined to yahoos and legislators. Learned men of the greatest consequence, judges, South and North, low and high, have generally upheld the racist marriage statutes of the States, and their opinions ring repetitiously with the characterization of mixed marriages as "unnatural," "productive of deplorable results," "conducive to a degeneration of the public morals," and detrimental to the "moral and physical development of both races and the highest advancement of civilization." The documentation of such assertions from the bench is invariably missing; white judges turn out to be white men. Four years ago the "liberal" Virginia Supreme Court, upholding that State's statute, found that "there is no requirement that the State * * * must permit the corruption of blood [which would] weaken or destroy the quality of its citizenship."

IN THE EVENING, BY THE MOONLIGHT

Does the "social equality" which the segregationist says leads to miscegenation actually lead to it? It was the social inequality of slavery and the segregationist South, reinforced by laws which forbade interracial marriage and even interracial fornication, that led to miscegenation on a colossal scale, while the relative social equality of the North led to intermarriage on a miniscule scale. The racist's ready invocation of white southern womanhood and its protection suggests that he is preoccupied with rape; but it would not seem to be rape that he has on his mind when he asks, "Would you want your daughter to marry a nigger?" And rape accounts for almost no miscegenation; voluntariness is of the essence of the evil (if it is an evil). The question has often been asked of the whites who enact laws against intermarriage: If their white women do not want to marry Negroes, why is it necessary for them to pass laws forbidding them to do so? The question is a mean one.

It would be a little more decorous to discuss miscegenation without reference to sex, but it would also be a little more difficult. To begin with, the fascination of the repugnant, in any area of life, is a commonplace: "I simply couldn't take my eyes off it," whether the "it" is a murder on television or a monster in a sideshow. It not only rivets the eyes, it unrivets responses we normally try to keep cribb'd, cabin'd, and confined. And the fascination and the repugnance both seem to spring from the same aspect of the object: its difference from ourselves and what we know. Deep stuff, perhaps; but the soul is not a shallow saucer, and sex is an emanation of the soul.

Whether white women are more attracted to Negro men than white men to Negro women is undetermined and, probably, undeterminable. The few (and necessarily inadequate) studies of intermarriages, in Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Los Angeles County, reveal a great preponderance of Negro husbands and white wives. But this fact, even if it is universal, is not conclusive alone. The human male is the aggressor; it is he who does the courting and proposing. And most intermarriage is in Northern cities, where the proportion of unattached Negro males to females is high. In addition, intermarriage in America nearly always involves "emancipated" individuals, among whom there are many white and few Negro women. A considerable percentage of white female-Negro male marriages certainly involves a degree of "protest" on the part of the white females—protest against the sexless preoccupation of the modern white American male with "getting ahead," or against their own fathers.

But sex rears its beautiful head in the midst of these pedestrian speculations. Both classic and modern historians, confirm James Baldwin's assertion in Notes of a Native Son, that "darker races always seem to have for lighter races an aura of sexuality." The rapist of the Southerner's nightmare—or dream—is the "buck nigger," big and black. The Nubian slave of high romance was a Negro. And the chronicles of explorers abound in their coming to rest (at lest temporarily) by the side of a dark-skinned girl. Whether tropical peoples are more interesting sexually than non-tropical peoples may be debatable; but it is generally observed that they are more languid and more excitable—qualities that in combination are not unpraised by the poets.

There is no doubt, however, that the southern white preferred the mulatto slave girl to her full-blooded Negro sister as the object of his passion. The storied "quadroon ball" of early New Orleans, the commonplace marriage of French Creoles to mulatto girls in the same city, and the well developed placage system there, in which white men established a permanent contractual relationship with mixed-blood girls, whom they courted and whose parents' permission they asked, all suggest that the nearer to white a "Negro" girl was, the more desirable she was to white men. Why? She was more "white" than her black sister but, above all, rarer, and rarity, like variety, is said to be spicy.

Sex is the opposite of the weather; everybody talks about the weather and nobody does anything about it. The role of sex in miscegenation is more obvious than the way in which the role is played. There are some things that Professor Kinsey despaired of learning, and should. But Myrdal was willing to say that "the South has an obsession with sex which helps to make this region quite irrational in dealing with Negroes generally. * * * The sadistic element in most lynchings"—often involving emasculation of the victim—"also points to a close relation between lynching and thwarted sexual urges."

It was out of this unpenetrated and perhaps forever inpenetrable complex of nonrational drives that the South's "third sex" was born—the "flower of southern womanhood." The origin of this "woman on a pedestal" may in part (but only in part) be explained by the Puritan strain in American culture, South and North; the Negro slave girl, defenseless in any case, was uninhibited by the blessing of a puritanical upbringing. The white wife was absolutely unable to avoid knowing of the carryings-on of her husband—and of her father and her son. And the northern abolitionists were loud against it. The southern's answer to both his wife and the Yankee was the construction of a beautiful fiction. "On the one hand," says Wilbur Cash in The Mind of the South, "the convention must be set up that the thing simply did not exist * * * and on the other the woman must be compensated, the revolting suspicion in the male that he might be slipping into bestiality got rid of, by glorifying her." The southern gentleman was able to convince himself, as he found his way down to the cabins by moonlight, that his wife was a paragon. She may have had little occasion to be anything else.

THE MONGREL AND THE HYBRID

Miscegenation certainly can't impurify the race unless it produces offispring. And even then, unless the offspring miscegenates, the impurity, if any, dies with him. But the inferiority of the Negro and the superiority of the white ought both to be apparent in the half-breed. He ought to be superior to his Negro parent and inferior to his white. The proof of the mixing is in the mulatto. Unless the mulatto is inferior to the white—and not because of environment—the Negro is not inferior to the white and miscegenation can not be condemned on the ground of racial corruption.

We know a little about the mulatto. We know that, at least until recently, he was generally the intellectual and cultural superior of the unmixed Negro. But was it because he had "white" blood? Social research does not say no; it simply says that the mulatto has always enjoyed (until very recently) an immense superiority of opportunity over the "pure" Negro. But the rate of anti-social behavior among mulattoes was also high. It has declined radically, as the mulatto has shared the increased opportunity for Negroes generally and as his once intense resentment of being peculiarly déclassé has faded with time and color; with greatly decreased miscegenation in the past half century, the mulatto has been disappearing. (Of course, the white racist who cited mulatto criminality or immorality was arguing against himself; if mixed-blood Negroes are inferior to pure-blood Negroes their inferiority must be the consequence of their "white" blood.)

You would rather be a hybrid than what the Kluxers call mongrel—but there isn't any difference. Cross-fertilization has produced "mongrel" agricultural stocks of such superiority that the pure strain has in many instances been abandoned altogether. But the superior plant or animal hybrid is produced by controlled experimentation, while the consequences of random cross-fertilization in humans can only be observed. The studies of miscegenated groups—the Rehobother Bastards (a cross between South African Boers and Hottentots, as divergent a pair of "races" as can be imagined); the Polynesian-white descendants of the mutineers of the *Bounty* on Pitcairn Island; the Chinese-Hawaiians in Honolulu; white-Negroes in Brazil; and Indonesian-whites on the Timor Archipelago—all support the theory of heterosis, or hybrid vigor: the offspring of the cross tend to be larger in size, more active, more fertile, and with improved vitality and longevity. Scholars generally agree with Benedict, in The Races of Mankind, that "as far as we know, there are no immutable laws of nature that make racial intermixture harmful."

Of course the human hybrid will usually resemble each of his parents in some physical respects, but Hooten in the Harvard African Studies discovered that "Negroid features seem to be attenuated, rather than intensified, by successive generations of inbreeding of mixed types." While two parties with Negro blood may very occasionally have an offspring with somewhat more Negroid features than themselves," say Wirth and Goldhammer in the Carnegie Study, "it is not possible for a white person and a person with some Negro ancestry to have an offspring more Negroid than the partner with Negro blood." The "black baby" of melodrama—the spawn of the young aristocrat and the beautiful brunette whose telltale shadows on her fingernails nobody ever noticed—is a complete fiction.

WHO'S NEGRO? WHO'S WHITE?

If there is no other reliable basis for determining race, the only thing left is appearance. And here, as elsewhere in this life, appearance is deceitful. It is estimated

that 30,000 part-Negroes a year pass into white society permanently, and that many times 30,000 might, but refuse to because of pride or family ties. And many pass without ever knowing they have done so. Unlike the black baby of fiction, the white baby of real life is often part Negro. Occasional instances reach publication; a few years ago a good white farmer in Mississippi named Davis Knight was convicted of miscegenation when a family feud disclosed (to him, as well as to his wife) that his great-grandmother had been a slave girl.

In "A Study of Some Negro-White Families," Day of Harvard found that "dominant mulattoes and five-eighths (white) individuals are frequently mistaken for foreigners of various nationalities, or for white Americans. * * * I know of no case of a quadroon (one-fourth Negro) who could not easily pass for white. * * * In the few cases of octoroons (one-eighth Negro) which I have studied, I have been able so far to see no traces whatever of Negro admixture." Of 35 intermarried Negroes who passed for white, Day found 16 quadroons, 15 three-eighths Negroes, and 4 mulattoes. On the Von Luschen skin-color scale a study of mulattoes showed absolutely white pigmentation in 12.55 percent of the males and 20.6 percent of the females.

Nearly all of us know nothing of our ancestors beyond our great-grandparents. The shadow sinister may be just beyond the far side of our limited acquaintance with our forebears. And although most race marriage laws stigmatize Indians as well as Negroes, it should be observed that in Virginia, where a trace of Negro blood pollutes, a trace of Indian makes a first family; intermarriage of white with persons of one-sixteenth or less "Indian blood" is permitted in the Old Dominion, in deference to the proud racist descendants of the one good Indian who wasn't a dead Indian—Pocahontas. Will Rogers and Vice President Charles Curtis were proud of their Indian ancestry; it is only the Negro who is irredeemably inferior.

Once appearances have been shown to be deceitful of race, the ground begins to give way under the marriage statutes and the Red Cross "white blood" bank, and all the processes, legal, nonlegal, and illegal, of racial discrimination totter on their single foundation. You may think you wouldn't eat with a Negro—or your daughter marry one—but for all you know you do and she has. You may cry up the protection of the white race without knowing that you don't belong to it. You may lynch your own half-brother on the charge that he plucked the flower of southern womanhood—and the flower may have been a black one.

And if the preservation of the supremacy of the white race depends on the preservation of its looking white, the supremacists should turn their attention immediately from the "nigger lovers" to the biochemists. The doom of white civilization may be foretold in the following words of Prof. John A. Kenney in the Journal of the National Medical Association:

"Lerner has shown [in the Archives of Biochemistry and Biophysics, 1952] that mercury will compete with copper ions in tyrosinase which in turn inactivates the enzyme which catalyzes melanin formation. Once this has occurred, the reaction is only slowly reversible."

It should be added that melanin is the black pigment present in the skin of all human beings except albinos. Almost any Negro—whose skin is not allergic and whose spirit is willing—can use a variety of standard formulas to whiten himself. The Citizens Councils should smash the pharmacist's jars of monobenzyl ether of hydroquinone and p-hydroxypropiophenone, the most effective devices against melanin formation.

WHO INTERMARRIES AND WHY

Most Negro-White marriages (and courtships), if not secret, are at least furtive. Unless the two partners have already cut themselves off from their backgrounds, their marriage will ordinarily do it for them. The relatives, friends, and business associates of the white partner will be the more hostile; the white is "marrying down," the Negro "up." Not that the Negro's circle will approve of the marriage—it won't—but it will be readier to forgive and to accept the white partner on the basis of merit. Negroes may be inferior, but they seem to be a little more human.

Thus the newlyweds move immediately into isolation—or into the Negro world. But there they are also uneasy. Negroes generally look upon the white bride or groom much as the whites do: There must be something wrong with a white who marries a Negro (or a Negro who marries a white). An occasional Negro—and a rare white—will marvel that two people could be so much in love as to have been willing to make the desperate sacrifices that intermarriage entails. Either partner, but particularly the white, is liable to lose his job if the marriage becomes known. So the tendency to keep it secret or, at least, "close" abides. Their friends are other intermarrieds (if there are any); in New York and Chicago there have been informal clubs of such couples. The intermarried pair ordinarily lives just inside the boundaries of a Negro neighborhood in a large city.

Something like half of the estimated 10,000 to 20,000 Negro-white couples in America are politically or artistically "advanced" individuals, people whose social and economic sanction does not depend on the church, the P.T.A., the Legion post, and the luncheon club. Among the other half of the intermarrieds, white immigrant males of low social status (and low native race prejudice) are common, especially since there is ordinarily a shortage of their countrywomen among them. (With immigration almost cut off, this source of intermarriage is disappearing). Then there are native white males of low status, often personally unattractive to white girls.

Probably because of the immigrant and the unattractive male, the marrying age of interracial couples is very high; in the Los Angeles study, for instance, it was 39 for the white grooms. The proportion of divorced persons intermarrying is also very high, especially among the white involved; in Philadelphia 34 out of 80 intermarried persons had previously been married to coracialists; it would appear an unsuccessful marriage is broadening.

Attractive white girls marrying Negroes are usually college graduates and daughters of prominent parents, apparently from the "protest" category. Like white males of such standing, Negro girls with high status almost never intermarry, partly, no doubt, because of pride, partly because it's polite for a girl to wait until she's asked, and partly because they can "marry up" to a light-skinned Negro of position. Three times as many white women marry Negro men as Negro women marry white men.

The intermarriages that make news usually involve a Negro artist—Lena Horne and MGM Musical Director Lennie Hayton, Sugar Billy Daniels and Martha Braun, Sidney Bechet, and Elizabeth Taylor. When Stuart Outerbridge of the Bermuda Outerbridges married Royce Wallace, a singer at his night club, he was thrown out of the Royal Bermuda Yacht Club and, he said, completely ostracized. Only once in a great while does a Negro leader "cross the line"; diplomat Frederick Douglass did, and so did NAACP Secretary Walter White.

The wars of 1941–45 and 1950–53 added something new to American miscegnation—the white war bride, German, French, or English, brought back to America by the Negro soldier, and, more significantly, the Japanese or Korean war bride. Asians, especially Japanese, have a strong aversion to intermarriage (with whites or Negroes. Prior to the Second World War there was almost no intermarriage among Japanese-Americans with any "out group." It is very slowly increasing now, with whites, but almost no Mongoloid in America ever marries a Negro; yellow plus white racism. Europe has a fine new crop of mulattoes, Germany in particular; the French and American occupation commands were more than benign in their attitude toward the Moroccan and Negro "debasement" of Hitler's Aryans.

Half of the Negro-white marriages in America are barren, and the other half produce remarkably small families, often one child, rarely more than two. The late age of the marriage combines with the unwillingness of the couple to subject children to the fearful strains of their position. More important, as regards amalgamation; interracial mating is almost always limited to a single generation, the reason, of course, being that the American mulatto is accepted only in the Negro world. The worst sufferer is the child whose white parent wants him accepted by whites.

If the American Negro is marginal, the mulatto child is submarginal. In his early teens he is likely to be called "bastard" or "miskeg" by Negroes, and in his childhood he may be taunted by his Negro playmates for the same reason that Negroes are taunted by whites: for being different. I knew a 10-year-old Negro boy during the second World War with very light skin but no sign of the epicanthic eye-fold common to Orientals; his black schoolfellows called him "Jap-eyes." The last stanza of Langston Hughes' poem, "Cross," though its setting is the old South, portrays the mulatto adolescent everywhere:

"My old man died in a fine big house
My ma died in a shack.
I wonder where I'm gonna die,
Being neither white nor black."

Wherever he dies, the chances that he (or she) will die married to a white are almost nil. The world (the American white world) says he's a Negro. He may hate being a Negro; but, if he does, he hates the world that made him a Negro still more. Marrying Negro, he will introduce a little more white blood into the next generation of blacks, but no more Negro blood into the white. If he marries. The tensions of his childhood may make a criminal (even a suicide, rare among Negroes) of him. Or a genius; the well known Negro journalist, George Schuyler, married the daughter of a white Texas banker, and their 13-year-old daughter's "Manhattan Nocturne" was premiered by the New York Philharmonic.

WHO'S CHRISTIAN? WHO'S AMERICAN?

Racial equality has come about—like miscegenation—without benefit of clergy. It is said that in America there is more racial segregation between 11 a.m. and noon on Sunday than at any other hour of the week. The church has been moving since the 1954 school segregation decision; the Roman Catholic church rapidly, the Protestant (with spectacular exceptions) slowly. But on the segregation of would-be wives from would-be husbands it is a silent as it is on war. It no longer quotes Scripture, as the "Bible bangers" of the old South misquoted it on the inevitable slavery of the "descendants of Ham, accursed of God." (It was Canaan, not Ham, who was cursed, and it was Noah, not God, who cursed him.) On the ultimate, last-ditch issue of racism—miscegenation—the church today says nothing. A very rare clergyman speaks, at his peril, like the

Rev. Kelly Barnett of the Episcopal Seminary of the Southwest, who, testifying against school segregation before a Texas legislative committee, was (of course) asked by State Senator Wardlow Lane if he believed in intermarriage. Barnett said that, while he thought it "sociologically inadvisable," he believed that "the right of marriage is a personal right." A few days later Lane leaped to his feet on the senate floor and shouted: "Why, these preachers want to mix colored and white. That's what Dr. Barnett said. He said it's all right for nigger and white to intermarry, but if one of my East Texas niggers married Barnett, I would feel sorry for the nigger. I want that clear: For the nigger."

The Lanes will not let the church remain silent indefinitely. And the church is the church that preaches the brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God; that preaches the parable of the black Samaritan in answer to the Pharisee's question, "Who is my neighbor?" that preaches the Ten Commandments received from the hand of God by the man who married an Ethiopian woman; that preaches the Disciple who said, "Goth hath made of one blood all nations of men," and the Apostle who said, "He who does not love his brother, whom he has seen, how can he love God, whom he hath not seen?" The church is the church that preaches Christ crucified that "they may be as one * * * one flock, one shepherd."

One of the strongest statements made in support of the Court's school decision—a statement the Christian Century called "a model of clear-thinking insight"—was made by 74 Atlanta ministers. They quoted the Golden Rule, and went on, after saying that Negroes have the full privileges of first-class citizenship, to suggest that they should have all the privileges but one: "We do not believe in the amalgamation of the races." They did not say whether God does.

It is not just the church that trusts in God; the national motto commits every American to that trust, and the national creed proclaims that all men—not all white men, or all Negroes, but all men—are created equal. But nowhere in the Western world today is a caste system of rigid inequality so vigorously expressed in law as in America. (Even the Nazi Aryan marriage laws were more liberal than Virginia's.) Perhaps the belief in the inferiority of the Negro race alone enables us to square our racism with our American creed of equality: American Negroes must be inferior creatures—otherwise American whites are inferior Americans.

Nor is it our creed alone that confronts us; the fact that our country is the great melting pot confronts us too. We are proud of creating an "American tribe" out of the most diversified of the world's populations except Russia's. We are fanatical, not only about American equality, but about Americanism. We mistrust things foreign and alien; everything and everybody that comes to America has got to be Americanized. The American dream is the dream of complete assimilation—except for the Negro.

When novelist Erskine Caldwell says, "Eventually you'll have an amalgamation of the two races in the South," he would seem to be trying his hand at science fiction. What the sociologist calls assortative mating—like marrying like—tends to keep intermarriage from spreading. There will, of course, be more white blood in the Negro population, as part-whites marry nonwhites; but the 6 million part-white Negroes will, the present pattern indicates, continue to marry nonwhites. The Negro population as a whole will become a little lighter and more homogeneous in color; but that is all.

The racist marriage statutes have become more numerous and more rigidly enforced against Negroes in the past 50 years. They stand court tests because marriage has been held to be within the power of the separate States. But so is education. The 1954 decision in *Brown et al.* v. *Topeka Board of Education* did not place education within the power of the Federal Government; it simply forbade unequal protection of the State's public school laws, under the 14th amendment. That decision overturned *Plessy* v. *Ferguson*, the famous case in which the Court upheld equal but separate railway accommodations in Louisiana. In 1896 the Louisiana statute was upheld on the ground that it enjoined members of both races from sitting together in railroad cars; it was therefore equal treatment. The State laws against intermarriage likewise forbid Negroes and whites to intermarry. But Justice Harlan said, in his historic dissent in Plessy: "If a white man and a black man choose to occupy the same public conveyance on a public highway, it is their right to do so, and no government, proceeding alone on grounds of race, can prevent it without infringing the personal liberty of each." What if two persons, one white and one black, choose to marry? Can a government prevent it, proceeding alone on grounds of race?

The California Supreme Court said "No" in 1948. The case at bar involved a Catholic couple, one white, the other Negro, who sued on the ground that the California marriage statute forbade them the sacrament of marriage in violation of the religious freedom clauses of the State and National constitutions. This argument, together with the equal-protection finding in *Brown* v. *Topeka*, indicates that the statutes of all 28 States forbidding intermarriage will be swept away in one U.S. Supreme Court decision, and the present attack on the Court has been said to involve that consideration. A couple of months ago, after Harry Bridges, who is always up to something, discovered that he could not marry a non-Caucasian in Idaho, that State quietly erased its intermarriage statute.

But it is doubtful, in view of the California experience since 1948, that such changes will affect miscegenation or intermarriage except in principle. The big change is already taking place—a bigger change than any law will ever induce: The Negro is at last rejecting the white man's doctrine of white supremacy. Not resenting it, or complaining of it, or defying it; rejecting it. It was his acceptance of this doctrine that spread miscegenation; his rejection of it will speed the rate at which miscegenation is declining. The Negro is completing the half of his emancipation that he has had to achieve himself. His hands and feet unshackled, he is climbing Jacob's ladder. He is deserting the white man's racism as he climbs from a sense of inferiority to a sense of equality. From there to a sense of unconsciousness of race is a long step—a step that will take a century or two for the Negro and at least that long for the white man. Along about then, or another century or two thereafter, amalgamation of the races will be a conceivable possibility. But along about then nobody will care.

More Young People in Politics Essential for Effective Democratic Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, if democratic government is to fulfill its most fruitful role, more people must be encouraged and attracted to participate actively in its functions. Elihu Root—famous Secretary of State under President Theodore Roosevelt, and later a Senator from New York—once said, "Politics is the practical exercise of self-government, and somebody must attend to it if we are to have self-government. The principal ground of reproach against any American citizen should be that he is not a politician."

Like all other things in life, politics can be both encouraging and, at times, extremely discouraging. When one decides to place his name on the ballot, he must recognize that politics is often a rough pastime. A candidate may be exposed to abuse, criticism, and ridicule. But there are rich rewards in terms of service.

POLITICIAN FACES MANY PROBLEMS

A politician is faced with many obligations and problems which seem to be trifling in the great scheme of human experience. But his actions are of paramount importance in the daily lives of many persons in all walks of life. As long as Government directly affects so many individuals, it is imperative that people of good will contribute their talents and skills to its operation. Because so many of the major problems of today concern young men and women, and because tomorrow's statesmen will come from today's youth, it is important that more young men and women take a leading role in active politics.

Mr. President, for many years I have been very concerned about the need for encouraging young people to take a more active interest in politics. As both an Oregon State and a U.S. Senator, I have considered the opportunity to awaken an active political interest in young people one of the more coveted privileges of my position.

LEARNING POLITICS FIRSTHAND

Since coming to the Senate I have tried to further interest in government among young people through a student intern program in my office. The position is designed to encourage superior students to enter the field of government and public life, as it will offer an outstanding Oregon graduate who has demonstrated a sincere interest and ability in the study of problems of our society and government the opportunity to examine at first hand all facets of the Federal Government.

Mr. President, my intern for the 1959–60 congressional year is Dean DeChaine, a 1959 graduate of Portland State College, where he served his college as student body president. Mr. DeChaine was chosen for the position by a selection committee consisting of leading Oregon educators. This notable group consists of Dr. John M. Swarthout, dean of faculty at Portland State College, as chairman; Miss May Darling, member of the State board of education; Father David H. Fosselman, of the faculty of the University of Portland; and Mr. J. W. Forrester, editor of the Pendleton East-Oregonian and a member of the Oregon State Board of Higher Education. Miss Elizabeth C. Ducey, a Portland women's group leader, serves as

secretary to the intern selection committee. I do not interfere in any way with the choice made by the selection committee, nor have I imposed any restriction as to the religion, color, sex, or political affiliation of the student selected each year to work in my office.

PERSONAL QUALITIES NEEDED

Recently, Mr. Forrester wrote a very thought-provoking article in the Pendleton East-Oregonian about the process of selecting my student intern. He discusses what the committee should be looking for in the college graduate who will receive the 1-year appointment. The article refers to a study completed by the Western College Placement Association to determine what employers look for in the bachelor-level college graduate entering the labor market in his or her specialty for the first time. The study showed that the most important trend today was toward the high ranking of personal qualities: integrity, ability to think logically, ability to communicate, initiative, and drive.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Forrester's column, "Of Cabbages and Kings," which appeared in the Pendleton East-Oregonian November 11, 1959, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OF CABBAGES AND KINGS

(By J. W. F.)

"The time has come," the Walrus said, "To talk of many things: Of shoes—and ships—and sealing wax—of cabbages—and kings."

One of the more pleasant assignments we have is to serve with three others on a committee that selects each year a graduate of an Oregon college or university to serve as a research intern on the staff of Senator RICHARD NEUBERGER. Because the internship provides a good salary plus the opportunity to study all facets of the Federal Government, outstanding young men and women apply for it. It is quite a plum. The decision always is difficult for the committee. There have been years when we'd like to have sent more than one to Washington.

Each applicant provides the committee with considerable information about himself in advance of personal interviews. With his written application is a transcript of his college grades and letters from professors who know intimately his college work and him.

The committee expects an applicant's grades to have been at least average. It isn't loking for the superlative student, the straight-A student. It has learned that the straight-A student frequently is a stuffy young man who probably would have problems in his associations with others.

It is important that grades be average or a little above average. Unless they are one has to conclude that the student lacks a desire to learn.

What should the committee be looking for in the college graduate? What do prospective employers look for?

We recently heard a talk by Dr. Eugene W. Dils, director of the placement service at University of Oregon. Dr. Dils directed the placement in employment of graduates of Stanford University before coming to University of Oregon a year ago.

He spoke at length of the tremendous demand colleges and universities have from business and industry for their graduates. Many of us have thought that the overwhelming demand was for the engineering graduates. Not so, said Dr. Dils. They are no more in demand than the business administration graduates.

Recently, Dr. Dils said, the Western College Placement Association completed a study to determine exactly what employers look for in the bachelor-level college graduate entering the labor market in his or her specialty for the first time.

Of the 800 questionnaires sent out, 552 were returned, a better than 70 percent sampling. Not only was the number of answers high enough to insure validity, but 75 percent of the returns were signed, and about half included remarks that ranged from a single sentence to three pages.

Primarily directed toward employers, questionnaires were also sent to placement directors for comparison. On the whole, business looks for qualities in about the same order of importance as do the placement directors, and their general agreement on which qualities rank above and below 10 should be a meaningful guide to a graduate seeking employment, Dr. Dils pointed out.

The most important trend was toward the high ranking of personal qualities * * * integrity, ability to think logically, ability to communicate, initiative and drive.

In the order the employers placed them, here are the qualities they look for (please note the ranking of grades):

Integrity, ability to think logically, enthusiasm, initiative, drive, dependability, ability to communicate orally and in writing, emotional stability, ability to get along wth others, evidence of good judgment, ability to make decisions, interest in career as opposed to "job" or salary, capacity for leadership, willingness to contribute to job development, maturity, adjustability, general interest in type of work and kind of company, bearing, poise, self-confidence, good health, good manners, recognition of obligations to community, family and employer, physical appearance, scholastic standing, sense of humor, normal family life, reasonable freedom from limitations imposed by personal and family restrictions, extra-curricular activities, military status, marital status.

There you have it, you young men and women who are preparing to go to college where you will prepare yourselves to get good jobs.

Conlon Associates' Report on Communist China and Taiwan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, on November 1, 1959, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee published a report entitled "U.S. Policy—Asia." This report was written by three professors of the University of California who are well known as specialists in their respective areas. Each has spent a considerable period in Asia, knows some of the languages of the area, and has written extensively upon Asian topics and American foreign policy for both learned and popular journals.

Prof. Richard Park wrote the section on south Asia, Prof. Guy Pauker contributed the section on southeast Asia, and Prof. Robert Scalapino authored the section on northeast Asia. In the course of preparing this report, moreover, the authors consulted a large number of American scholars, officials, and citizens with experience in Asia. Many of these individuals read and commented upon earlier drafts of the report. The authors also had the opportunity to interview hundreds of Asians from every walk of life, discussing all facets of domestic and foreign policy with them.

The result, in my opinion and that of many others, is an admirably objective and scholarly appraisal of current trends in Asia and alternative American policies for that area. It contains both data and suggestions that should concern every American. It is interesting to note that the Asians themselves have given this report tremendous attention. It has already been translated and published in Japanese as a full-length book. A leading Japanese intellectual journal, Chuo Koron, has published the entire northeast Asia section in its January 1960 issue; the Japanese and Okinawan sections have been published by several additional Japanese and Okinawan journals, some with mass circulation. Relevant sections of the report have also been published in Chinese and Korean organs. Articles and editorials in Asian publications based upon this report have poured forth in the past several months. Naturally, opinions have differed. The main lines of the recommendations have not pleased supporters of the Rhee and Chiang governments. However, impartial Asian observers have generally praised the report for its insights and objectivity.

Perhaps a typical comment is that of the Yomiuri Shimbun, one of the most influential and moderate of Japan's great newspapers.

It is amazing—

Said Yomiuri—

that American scholars could so well discern the thinking and attitudes of our people, and set forth in such an objective fashion the needs of this area.

Similar praise has come from many Asian sources, and even the political opponents of the report have frequently admitted that it contains accurate data and challenging recommendations.

In a period which cries out for new ideas and dynamic action, it behooves all of us to read this report and consider its points seriously. This is a possible blueprint for our future Asian policy, one that would make a great deal of sense from the standpoint of our national interests.

Under unanimous consent, I am including here the section of the report on Communist China and Taiwan, written by Professor Scalapino:

COMMUNIST CHINA AND TAIWAN

1. COMMUNIST CHINA

Communist China presents the most complicated and serious problem faced by the United States in Asia. It is also a problem more likely to grow than to diminish, and one for which there are no easy answers. In the first decade since their advent to full power on the mainland, Chinese Communist leaders have concentrated upon two basic internal objectives: first, the creation of a powerful, centralized state in which Com-

munist authority could proceed to carry out its policies boldly and with minimal opposition; and, second, the launching of a massive economic revolution intended to bring China abreast of the West in the shortest possible time. These two objectives have an interrelation. If an economically "backward" society is dedicated to a very rapid program of modernization, especially one emphasizing heavy industry and internal capital accumulation, it will require extensive sacrifices from its people. The more extensive the sacrifices, the greater the necessity of an "educative," totalitarian state to rationalize and enforce them.

(a) *Chinese Communist domestic policies*

Current trends in Communist China are not easily measured or projected. Some of the most essential data is subject to serious question and the very rapidity with which changes are taking place makes assessment difficult. In the totally "planned" societies of our time it is still the unplanned events that sometimes make substantial differences. Nevertheless, the evidence on Communist China at this point is sufficient to permit some fairly firm generalizations.

1. The Chinese Communists have achieved impressive results in the opening stages of their campaign for economic development, even if some claims have been greatly inflated. According to official statistics, the gross national product of Communist China averaged an annual increase of 9 percent between 1952 and 1957. Some experts in the West believe that the true increase during this period was 6 to 7 percent annually. The more seriously disputed figures, however, were those published in early 1959, figures that the Communists themselves have now revised.

When the production plans for 1958–62 were first announced in September 1956, they called for an annual 9 percent gain. But by 1958, many goals had been raised beyond recognition. Communist authorities initially claimed that output of key agricultural and industrial products during 1958 was double that of 1957. In late August 1959, however, they revised the earlier statistics sharply downward. The revised figures, if accurate, still represent a spectacular achievement in those areas such as grain, steel, and coal production where primary emphasis has been given.

The Communists now claim that the "great leap forward" has produced the following results: In 1958, grain production (including potatoes and yams) went from 185 to 250 million metric tons (instead of the 375 million tons originally claimed). The 1959 production goal of 525 million tons projected on the basis of the earlier report has been reduced to 275 million tons. Steel production rose from 5.35 to approximately 8 million tons "suitable for industrial purposes." Earlier, the Communists claimed 11 million tons, but now they assert that 3 million tons of "backyard furnace" metal was inferior. The 1959 goal was reduced from 18 to 12 million tons. Coal production figures were unchanged, with an announced increase going from 128 to 270 million tons, but the 1959 goal was reduced from 380 to 335 million tons, still a 24 percent increase. Cotton output went from 1.64 to 2.1 million tons instead of 3.35 million tons as first announced; the 1959 target has been reduced from 5 to 2.31 million tons.

The Communists have certainly admitted gross overestimates. Undoubtedly this was due in major part to the inflated reports that came from local cadres, always anxious to please. The revised statistics may still be in error. But if they are reasonably accurate, the results have been impressive. And there is general agreement by trained observers that economic growth in Communist China is proceeding at an exceedingly rapid pace. That this has produced economic dislocations, the Communists themselves admit, and there is reason to suspect that the problems are far graver than the admission. Transport and raw material bottlenecks are apparently quite serious. Currently, food supplies are very short in some areas. 1959, unlike 1958, has been a poor crop year. And, of course, these troubles do not measure adequately the enormous human problems of the "great leap forward." This has been a period of trial and error, of some striking successes and some complete failures. On balance, however, the evidence would suggest remarkable achievement. Whether it is remarkable enough to give promise of meeting the extraordinary problems of this society is the great, unanswerable question.

The following factors have figured prominently in economic development under the Chinese Communists:

(a) The attempt to commit the massive manpower of China as fully as possible to the task of technological change. The Chinese working force has been mobilized to an unprecedented extent, and directed into those forms of labor considered most necessary to meet the major goals. An effort has been made to cause every element of the society to participate to the degree physically possible, given factors of age, occupation, and capacity. The attempted "full utilization" of labor includes such techniques as the "liberation" of women and their use in all occupations; the insistence that white-collar and student-intellectual groups engage in part-time manual or farm labor; and most importantly, the involvement of the peasant in diversified labor including public works projects, and handicraft and industrial labor in addition to agriculture, thereby seeking to eliminate the historic waste of agrarian underemployment. Perhaps the Chinese Communsts have overemphaszed what can be done wth manpower alone, and how hard men can profitably be worked. Recent Russian criticisms and Chinese admissions suggest some retrenchment, both in theory and practice. There is little doubt, however, that the Chinese Communists still consider manpower a vital resource, and will rely upon it heavily.

(b) The attempt to extend industrialization in sufficiently varied forms and levels to maximize the use of all available skills and resources. Initially, the Communist emphasis was strongly upon centrally controlled, large-scale industry. The premium, however, was not merely upon enlarging the industrial bases inherited from Japan and the West in Manchuria and Shanghai. It was also upon expanding and intensibly utilizing the transport network so that new industrial units could be constructed close to sources of raw materials. An effort at industrial dispersal was made, with strategic as well as economic factors clearly involved. Where necessary, labor was moved to the new areas as required. Thus the prewar pattern of Chinese industrial concentration wholly in Manchuria and a few major coastal cities is undergoing substantial alteration. The Communists look toward increased regional planning, with the country divided into seven economic regions, and with developmental programs natural to each region being handled in a more decentralized fashion. These plans suggest strong Russian influence.

In recent years, moreover, Chinese authorities have stressed the importance of small and medium enterprise in Chinese economic growth. The advantages that have been cited are lower investment costs, less need for transportation, fewer complicated techniques and equipment—thus, greater ease of development. These are advantages relating to the mobilization of local capital and the immediate use of built-in skills and resources. The function of small enterprise as envisaged by the Communists is perhaps most clearly seen in the commune system.

The primary function of the communes has been that of labor mobilization. The plan has been to utilize this labor as fully as possible through the development of handicraft and small industrial units within the communes. Thus the peasant is being thrust into the industrial process at various levels in the hope that he can provide a major portion of his own producer and consumer goods. Once again, there have been failures, such as the primitive blast furnaces, but in the general concept, there is validity. The communes can also be considered instruments of consumption control, and to a lesser extent, military units. One might suspect that in some measure, the commune system derives from the historic experiences of the Chinese Communists when they were surrounding the cities, building their rural, peasant-centered Communist movement.

(c) The attempt to raise agricultural productivity in spectacular fashion by concentrating upon expanded irrigation and intensive, scientific farming. To raise their agrarian output, the Communists are stressing the following factors: expanded and improved irrigation systems, and the use of marginal land (land under cultivation has also been increased by removing old private boundary paths, buildings, and cemeteries); extensive use of organic and inorganic fertilizer; improved seeds, multiple cropping, denser planting, and deeper plowing. The grave deficiency up to date has been that of fertilizer. The production of chemical fertilizer is still negligible, and if the soil is to be pushed to its limit through heavy cropping, it must have nutrients. The broad program outlined above, however, seems generally valid, and undoubtedly has produced substantial increases.

(d) The attempt to use State power so as to limit consumption and raise investment. By means of total controls, the Communists have sought to prevent serious inflation and channel a major portion of productivity directly or indirectly into capital investment for industrial expansion. Private ownership has been practically eliminated and private capital largely absorbed; the profits of State and State-private joint enterprise are a form of taxation. Wage and price controls, together with the rationing of essential goods, have been strictly applied. At this stage of the Chinese industrial revolution, the people are expected to sacrifice "for the future"; these have been years of survival, not famine, but for the overwhelming proportion of the Chinese, they have also been years of extremely hard labor, meager compensation, and "bare essential" type living.

(e) The attempt to benefit from the historic experience of the Soviet Union as well as to utilize its economic and technical assistance. In addition to the internal factors influencing economic development in Communist China, one vital external factor is obvious, namely, Russian aid. It is impossible to measure that aid in any full sense, because the Chinese Communists have used the Soviet Union in a variety of ways as their basic model. The experience of the Russian revolution has been an asset of incalculable advantage; the errors of the U.S.S.R. as well as its successes have been made available for study. Thousands of Chinese students are now attending schools in Russia and between 7,000 and 10,000 Russian scientists, engineers, and technicians have been on temporary assignment to China.

Between 1949 and 1958, the U.S.S.R. probably furnished Communist China with $2.24 billion in loans, but the great bulk of this was in the form of military assistance. The amount clearly specified for economic de-

velopment was only $430 million. Soviet credit appears to have financed about 30 to 40 percent of the machinery and equipment necessary for some 156 core projects. The latest economic agreement between Russia and Communist China, signed in February 1959, provides for supply to the extent of $1.25 billion over 8 years.

Clearly, Soviet economic assistance up to date has represented only a small fraction of the total capital involved in the modernization campaign, probably about 3 percent of the total net investment. And this aid has required Chinese repayment in exports, repayment which is now underway on an increasing scale. The Chinese industrial revolution is being paid for by the Chinese people; it is not a gift of the Soviet Union. This does not alter the fact, however, that Soviet aid has been extremely important. Without the various forms of assistance noted above, the Chinese industrial revolution could not possibly have reached its present stage so quickly. But Soviet aid has not been a panacea; it has had definite limits, and it has created certain pressures and problems.

The foreign trade of Communist China illustrates the vital role played by the Communist bloc in Chinese economic development and also some of the problems produced by this fact. Between 1950 and 1955, total Chinese trade increased approximately two and one-half times to some $4.6 billion. By 1955, over 80 percent of the total trade was with the Communist states as contrasted with only 33 percent in 1950, and less than 1 percent in the pre-Communist era. Naturally, this trade was mainly the exchange of Chinese agricultural produce for machinery and industrial goods. Despite agrarian scarcities, China had no other commodities to export in quantity, and thus agrarian, together with mining productivity determined in considerable measure the amount of industrial development possible. Basically, this remains true.

Through 1955, Communist China had a large trade deficit, the import surplus being counterbalanced partly by Soviet loans. However, these loans were limited, as has been noted, and repayment was scheduled for a sharp increase in 1955. This fact, together with Chinese economic grants to other countries, threatened a serious imbalance in Peiping's international accounts. At the same time, production of light industrial products marketable in some foreign areas was increasing. These facts help to account for the Chinese Communist trade overtures to non-Communist countries, especially those in the Asian-African area, beginning in 1956. The need for foreign exchange and diversified markets was probably at least as important as the political gains envisaged. Recently, however, there have been setbacks in Chinese Communist trade with the free world, due apparently to transport difficulties and internal economic dislocations caused by rapid expansion and the new commune system. Political factors were also involved in the case of Japan.

The objective of Communist China has been summarized in their much-heralded slogan, "Catch up with Great Britain within 15 years." This refers, of course, to output of key products, particularly in heavy industry, not to overall nor to per capita production; but in these limited terms the slogan seems obsolete if Communist statistics are acurate. Any assessment of the economic future of China, however, must seek to weigh such crucial factors as population trends, agricultural production, and foreign trade.

(a) Unless the government launches a very strong birth control program Chinese population increases are likely to keep living standards low and be a brake upon the industrialization process. If the 1953 census was accurate, the population of the mainland in 1959 is probably in excess of 660 million, and currently increasing at a rate of between 2.2 and 2.4 percent, or at least 14 million annually. With these figures as a base, it is entirely possible that by 1970, the Chinese mainland population will exceed 800 million, even assuming birth control enjoys some success. The government has recently backed away from its earlier birth control campaign, but it is probably concerned about the problem. Conceivably, it might launch a "crash program" that would produce greater results than are estimated here. It is more likely that there will merely be a gradual decline in the rate of increase. In this event, mass living standards are destined to remain low in spite of substantial productive increases.

The commune system may enable needs to be met with maximum "efficiency," measured in cost of service terms. This system may also represent some degree of rural urbanization with the special kinds of livelihood advantages that this could produce. Whatever the gain on these counts, however, a significant gap in living standards between Chinese urbanites and peasants will probably continue. And the population will remain overwhelmingly rural for the forseeable future. The rate of growth of the cities will be more rapid than that of the rural population, but the urban-rural population ratio is not likely to change greatly due to the great absolute predominance of the rural sector.

(b) Agricultural production will remain a critical factor not merely in determining consumption possibilities, but in determining capital formation for the ambitious industrialization program; the Communist claim of a spectacular breakthrough in agrarian production may be sufficiently true to support rapid industrial development. The peasant pays a major share of the cost of rapid industrialization in China as elsewhere. The economic future of Communist China depends partly upon the ability of the government to keep him harnessed to this task. He must produce as much as possible while consuming as little as possible, if the most ambitious goals are to be met.

Nneteen hundred and fifty-eight was a year of very good climatic conditions for China, abetting bumper crops. Even if gains over 1957 were great, the 1958 combination of favorable crop conditions and the achievement of a great leap forward in techniques suggests that further increases are likely to be of smaller magnitude and perhaps more painfully achieved. On the other hand, 1959 appears to be a very unfavorable year for crops, as were 1954 and 1957. The chances are strong that Government investment will continue to flow mainly into industry, with transport also getting attention in view of the serious deficiencies here, at the expense of the agrarian sector. Despite all the economic and sociopolitical uncertainties, however, the Communist record to date would seem to indicate that agrarian productivity can underwrite a speedy industrial revolution, particularly if consumption is kept fairly low.

(c) Export will remain one very important factor in capital formation for Communist China, and every effort will be made toward trade expansion, with increasing attention probably given to the Asian-African area for both economic and political reasons. The economic impact of Communist China upon the Asian-African world seems destined to grow. Overall Chinese trade expansion will probably take place at a slower rate of increase than during the early period of the first 5-year plan, and most trade will continue to be with the Communist bloc. However, as Chinese industrialization progresses, Communist China will seek a more diversified market. She can be expected to compete for foreign exchange and political influence in such areas as southeast Asia with her light industrial products.

The entry of Communist China into the southeast Asian market has already produced anxiety in Japan; Communist Chinese textiles, ceramics, cement, machinery, and metallic products have begun to make inroads into traditional Japanese markets. Meanwhile, Sino-Japanese trade has virtually ceased because of a political impasse, adding to Japanese unhappiness. On the other hand, trade between Communist China and some Western countries, notably Great Britain and West Germany, has shown some progress.

The general situation renders current American policy on Communist China trade very vulnerable. Our position has been one of maintaining a strict trade embargo on Communist China ourselves, striving to uphold the Chinese Communists restrictions, and depreciating the probable value of trade with the Communists. Already pressures from Great Britain and Japan have caused us to acquiesce in modifications of the original Chinese Communists trade restrictions. But further pressures are probable. If Communist China is interested in, and capable of expanding her trade with the non-Communist world, current American policy runs the increasing risk of being regarded as negative and obstructionist, and is likely to be overriden. Even if Chinese capacities for such trade remain weak, there will be the strong temptation to use commercial feints and overtures toward a country like Japan as long as these cannot be thoroughly tested.

If economic trends are to be summarized briefly, the emphasis must be upon the intensive economic change and growth that is taking place in Communist China today. Whether this tremendous drive toward modernization can be successful will depend partly upon technical and economic factors and partly upon the ability of the government to mobilize and hold public support in the face of heavy sacrifices for the foreseeable future This requires some appraisal of socio-political trends in Communist China and their implications.

2. The Chinese Communists have created a powerful state in which major policies and critical decisions determined at the top can be transmitted and applied effectively and quickly at the grassroot levels of Chinese society . The following factors have been important in the political-social organization of Chinese Communist society:

(a) The authority of the Communist Party has been supreme and unchallengeable, operating under the customary rule of "democratic centralism" which allows basic decisions to be made by a small elite in private. Despite the fiction of a multiparty-multiclass government, Communist China is ruled by the Communist Party elite. This elite are generally middle-aged men, have had better than average education, are party veterans, come mainly from the interior provinces, and are mostly products of indigenous training, although one-fourth of the current Central Committee members have had some training in the Soviet Union. There have been very few purges of top-ranking leaders during the first decade of Communist rule, perhaps because the power struggle within the Communist movement had been settled earlier and an acceptable division of labor established among the victors The "old Bolsheviks" in charge of the party today have had a lengthy history of working together. Also, under Mao's leadership, the party has guided and controlled the army, making it only an instrument of party purposes. There have been no indica-

tions thus far of any serious military challenge to party authority.

Nothing is more difficult than to assess the precise nature of relations within the Communist Party elite, since information is based largely upon rumors that cannot be substantiated. There have been recurrent stories of friction within high party circles, sometimes involving Mao Tse-tung himself. Concrete evidence, however, is almost totally lacking. Mao's position has some very great strengths; he is "father of the revolution," charismatic leader, and "philosopher king." To seek his overthrow would not only be to fly in the face of an entrenched power position but also to risk enormous damage to the imagery of Chinese communism, which has been built around the symbol of the benevolent and omniscient Mao. It would probably wrench communism in China more severely than the de-Stalinization campaign did in the Soviet Union, and it is very unlikely.

It is quite probable, however, that vigorous policy debates take place in inner party circles, and basic policies may well be shaped by such debates. In some instances, personal rivalries probably blend with policy differences. It would not be surprising to find definable factions within the Chinese Communist Party. There is some evidence, for example, to suggest that Liu Shao-ch'i, Mao's presumed successor, and Chou En-lai, Premier and leading "diplomat," have led opposing policy lines.

On the basis of the scanty evidence available, however, Communist China does not appear to be wracked by party disunity at present. If this is true, one important reason is Mao Tse-tung. At this stage of the revolution, his role is unique and probably unassailable, at least in terms of frontal attack. His death might produce or lead to a political crisis. A totalitarian society generally faces instability when its top leadership undergoes change. But upon all of these points, prediction is very hazardous.

A new military class is beginning to emerge in Communist China, a second-generation group who are essentially professional soldiers rather than the old revolutionary, party-centered type. It is possible that, in time, this new class will constitute a threat to the party, or at least produce individuals who must be closely watched. A more immediate problem confronting the Communists, however, is that of absorbing a vast number of new party recruits. Membership between 1950 and 1957 increased from 4½ to nearly 13 million. Many within this new elite are relatively raw and untested. Yet they must be given increasing responsibility. Some decentralization is now considered both possible and desirable; thus, the importance of local leaders will probably grow. In view of their recent arrival in the party and to power, however, this provincial bureaucracy may undergo numerous changes as pressures develop. But under democratic centralism, the basic decisions will continue to be made at the top, and some instability at local levels should not disrupt the regime.

In brief, there are certain tests of strength which the Chinese Communist Party must meet, now and in the future; there is always the possibility of a political upheaval within top ruling circles. However, the chances of an elitist disunity sufficient to jeopardize party control seem extremely remote. On the contrary, most indications are that this is the strongest, most unified government that modern China has ever had, and that the Communist Party is able to enforce its authority effectively at all levels.

(b) Party control over the Chinese people is exercised mainly through special organizations that link the individual directly with national policies and commit him to them. Historically, the Chinese state was greatly served by localized or private groups like the family, but it was also forced to compete with them for the individual's first loyalty, a competition which it generally lost. The old system was thus the despair of the modern nationalists, those who would build a powerful, centralized state. The Communists have made use of the great organizational tradition of China, but they have sought to fashion units that will serve without competing. The old competitive elements are rapidly being undermined or destroyed.

Communist China has many types of organizations, but none is more important than the neighborhood cell-type association through which most citizens function. With the cadres as leaders, these small groups serve as ideological watchdogs, mutual exhortation societies, and transmitters of basic policy. Through them, the citizen engages in study, self-criticism, and reform. Through them also, he demonstrates against imperialism, overfulfills quotas, and kills flies. The Chinese is more than ever an organizational man, but every organization exists to fulfill state purposes and extend state power.

(c) The Communists regime at present relies upon many psychological-emotional appeals in its approach to the Chinese people. One of the foremost appeals has been that of nationalism. To win support and attain acceptance of their policies, the Communists have used a wide variety of techniques, both coercive and persuasive. In the initial stages, coercion was important to the regime. Especially during the land reform era, a sizable number of "Kuomintang bandits" and "reactionary landlords" were liquidated. The purpose was not only to employ terrorism to break the back of the old elites, but also, through public accusation meetings, to produce mass denunciations of landlords and other traditionally elitist elements that would cut old ties irrevocably, thereby facilitating a transfer of loyalty and affiliation. These meetings served a second major purpose: they produced a sense of active participation in the new order.

The basic decisionmaking powers must be held firmly by the party elite, yet mass participation is of great value to Chinese Communist "democracy," providing it supports rather than challenges centralized decisions. Thus participation in Chinese politics at the mass level today is based essentially upon ratification, not decisionmaking; it is more ritualistic, induced, and collective than free flowing, self-interested, and independently derived. Its particular attributes, however, do not negate its significance.

For the overwhelming majority of Chinese, participation in public politics is an unique experience. Now that it is compulsory, it must be measured against the aloofness, indifference, and freedom allowable in the past. It cannot be compared in the mind of the average Chinese with a type of participation which he has not known, that type characteristic of the democratic Western societies. His participation does represent in some measure a tremendous projection and regularization of the sporadic mass demonstrations that emerged so dramatically at various junctures of the modern revolutionary movement. But the difference in degree—in scope, intensity, and continuity—amounts to a difference in kind.

The Chinese Communist system may also represent an alternative to Western-style democratic participation that can produce psychological satisfactions and emotional releases. It is undoubtedly a burden to many. Indeed, it appears that boredom and above all, weariness, much more than previously held convictions, serve as the main source of discontent. Nonetheless, group discussions and actions at the local level have conveyed some sense of spontaneity and dynamism, and certainly they have been effective in forwarding national policy. The precise attitudes of the Chinese people toward their new involvement cannot be determined with any accuracy. There is reason to believe, however, that the Communist government has been able to permit many, especially among the younger age groups, to strong support for the new order.

To this end, nationalism has been of great assistance. It is ironic that nationalism should have reached its zenith in China under Marxism. Yet in many respects, the Chinese Communists have forged the strongest, most tightly knit nation-state that has ever existed in this area Among the Asian-African societies, only Japan has achieved comparable integration. In considerable part, this may be attributed to power or the threat of power: to the progressive elimination or tightening control of all antinational elements including minority peoples, and the extension of centralized power to the remotest areas of China. For many of the Chinese people themselves, however, the nationalist appeal has undoubtedly fallen upon willing ears. The call to make China a first-class power, to show the world the true capacities of the Chinese people, must be understood against a recent history of Chinese weakness, foreign invasion, and humiliation. This is a history made more painful by virtue of the vigorous sense of cultural superiority and the xenophobia in China that survived in some measure the chaotic events of the last 150 years.

The effect of combining nationalism and communism is to make China a spartan state at present in which the themes of abstinence and sacrifice, love and hate are strong. Physical exercise, mass demonstrations, and militia training are symbols of the new China, as "the white-faced scholar," contemplative tea-sipping, and mah-jong were symbols of the old. Modernization—and all the sacrifices that must accompany it—is an act of patriotism, as it was in Japan 50 years ago. To overfulfill one's quota is to protect one's country against "American imperialism." A major effort has been made to represent the United States as the great threat to peace and prosperity for China.

The ears and eyes of the Chinese people are scarcely ever beyond range of propaganda to this effect. Billboards, publications, and broadcasts reiterate two themes: American imperialism is a serious menace and it will be defeated by the concerted efforts of the people. As evidence of the first point: "American military occupation of Chinese territory" (the offshore islands and Taiwan) is alleged and the extensive network of American Far Eastern bases is cited. The second point is stressed by hailing Communist successes in the Korean war and also by emphasizing the tremendous potential for future power implicit in the current revolution. Chinese official pronouncements are couched in tones of great optimism, indeed, cockiness. Having come to power contrary to most expectations (including those of the Russians), and having won on almost all their major gambles of the last decade, the Communist leaders do not appear to be overly worried about the future. There is rather a belief that "the east wind will prevail over the west wind," that China is again approaching an era of glories. To the extent that this concept can be communicated effectively to the Chinese common man, it represents a powerful nationalist stimulus. The harshness of sacrifice can be mitigated by the assurance that it is not in vain; that betterment will be the fruit of labor.

(d) Opposition within China to the Communist Party and to communism certainly

exists, and possibly in considerable amount. It is extremely unlikely, however, that the present regime will be seriously challenged by internal dissidence in the near future. Basic changes in the traditional social structure of China have been underway for many decades. Communism has naturally accelerated those changes along with providing redirection. A tremendous leveling process has taken place within the agrarian classes. The rural gentry have disappeared, their properties have been communalized, their sociopolitical influence has been destroyed, and in many cases, they have been liquidated physically. The poorest peasants, on the other hand, have been raised in status, in opportunity, and probably in livelihood.

The urban commercial-industrial classes have been put under a variety of pressures. Their growing political influence during the nationalist era has been abruptly ended. Their increasing economic position as private entrepreneurs was destroyed with the nationalization of almost all firms and factories. Yet it would appear that relatively few members of these classes have been liquidated. A large number have made reasonably successful transitions to the role of state managers. This may not be a basically different function in economic terms, but it holds very different sociopolitical implications. There can be little doubt, moreover, that a new managerial group is being trained as quickly as possible who will bear scant relation to this older generation. Economically, the urban working classes appear generally to have benefited from the revolution. Social security has been introduced; food is meager but adequate, and necessities are available. Their prestige, moreover, is vastly higher; to them, all must pay lipservice at least, and engage in some emulation. Bitterness toward both the party and the system is probably extensive among the old commercial-industrial groups, but a considerable measure of support for the new era may exist among the urban workers.

For the mature intellectuals, recent years have undoubtedly represented a series of traumatic experiences. Many traditional ways and attitudes have been vigorously assaulted: individualism, the prestige of pure (apolitical) scholarship, and disdain for physical labor. The new premium is upon conformity and participation, and both must be active. Positive dedication to the regime can be shown by public denouncements of past bourgeois influence, collective action via study groups and committee sessions, and some quota of manual labor as service to the state and method of acquiring respect for the vanguard class.

The intellectuals function not only in academic life, but also in journalism, the civil service, and industry. Communist China desperately needs their services in the thrust toward modernization, especially those in scientific and technical fields, or those who have special administrative skills. Relatively few intellectuals have been liquidated, although a large number have participated in corrective study and almost all have had to undergo a series of rigorous self-criticism sessions. Intellectuals who adjust to the new order are often accorded substantial privileges and opportunities. Funds are available for laboratories, official histories, and a wide variety of cultural activities in which the state has reason to invest.

Yet as a group, the older intellectuals must remain suspect, and some of the younger ones as well. During the 1957 "liberalization" period when the Government briefly encouraged or at least allowed fairly fundamental criticism, a number of student and intellectual elements registered their protests in vigorous terms. Subsequently, many of these elements were forced to admit their "rightist" errors as the Communist regime withdrew in some alarm from the "let 100 flowers bloom" experiment. There have also been other indications that opposition within intellectual ranks may be fairly substantial.

Intellectuals in any culture, however, interlace timidity with tenacity, and if left to their instincts, find their greatest solace in a very personal creed. They have all the weaknesses of unorganized men whose individual positions are likely to cover the entire political spectrum and whose personal rivalries are legion. These weaknesses are not necessarily fatal in a liberal milieu, and indeed, under circumstances of liberalism or "inefficient" authoritarianism, intellectual dissidence may become a political force of consequence. Certainly this force in China ultimately aided the rise of Chinese communism. As a class, however, the intellectuals are particularly ill equipped to do battle successfully with totalitarianism, especially in its early stages. The Government may have good reason to distrust a substantial number of individuals within the intellectual camp, but given its present "stick and carrot" policy, it probably does not need to fear them. And it is trying to train a new group, both in the U.S.S.R. and China, that will not be influenced by the "bourgeois" or "Confucian" training of the older generation.

The military class, as has been noted, presents a picture of growth and change. The old Red army has a long history of party leadership and control. There is no indication that this general relationship has been altered. Communist Party leaders seem to take confidence in the strength and mobility of their armed forces, and have had no discernible difficulties with them. Currently, Chinese Communist military forces probably total about 2½ million men. In addition, there is the program of training commune militia. Huge numbers of citizens have been involved in this training, but it appears to have been crude and of dubious military value. It has probably been more important as a part of the general campaign for labor mobilization and discipline. The reliance of the regime must be upon the regular military services. The men in these units are becoming increasingly specialized and professional, more technically oriented, and perhaps somewhat less the revolutionaries. From the party standpoint, there are dangers implicit in any such trends, but at present, no signs of party anxiety can be noted. The military forces are considered trustworthy by the regime, and appear to be so.

Peasant grumbling and discontent have probably caused the regime much concern. In their overwhelming numbers, the peasants are still the people of China. It is obviously desirable to make them as satisfied and cooperative as possible, although the history of the U.S.S.R. strongly indicates that under communism, rural unrest can be widespread and still be kept under resolute control. No sweeping generalization about the present conditions and morale of the Chinese rural population is very safe. Conditions are not uniform; they are changing rapidly; and there is no way to measure accurately all the pertinent factors, especially the psychological ones. It is probably safe to say that most of the old rural elite harbor deep resentments while some of the poorest elements regard their lot as generally improved. But attitudes are undoubtedly mercurial, depending upon the relative satisfaction or distress of the moment.

How the peasant en masse will react to communism and the communal life over the coming years cannot be predicted now. With respect to the communes, a long period of trial and error is probable, during which various adjustments will be made as pressures arise. Already some liberalization has been allowed as a result of strong complaints voiced during the opening stages of commune operations. Refugees coming over the southern borders of China have emphasized the extremely heavy work schedule and the meager rewards. There seems little doubt that life in rural China has been and will continue to be very harsh. But it must be remembered that this has always been true. The average Chinese peasant had an infinitely lower level of technology and standard of living when he was confronted with collectivization than was true of his counterpart in East Europe, for example. The Communist government remains vitally concerned over agrarian productivity. It can be expected to keep the pressure on the peasant up to those limits considered profitable and safe. It will continue to rely upon coercion when necessary, confident in its organizational apparatus and military strength. But it will also listen to the voice of the people, making tactical concessions when the situation requires them. Under all of these circumstances, the likelihood of a widespread peasant revolt seems slight.

The strongest and most organized opposition to the Chinese Communist Government has undoubtedly come from the Tibetans. Other minority peoples have also shown hostility, including the Uighurs, the Moslems, the Mongols, and some of the tribal peoples of south Yunnan. This opposition has been traditional and is culture based; in short, it is anti-Chinese at least as much as anti-Communist. In some areas, it appears that the Communists have made headway with the minority peoples by adopting a "go slow" policy, one calculated to make progress by stages. In other regions like Tibet, Communist troubles are obvious. These difficulties are likely to be expensive and annoying to the Chinese Communists, and may seriously affect their relations with neighboring Asian states, but they do not in themselves pose any basic threat to the regime. All minority peoples added together constitute no more than 6 percent of the total population of China.

Thus, the available evidence indicates the strong probability that barring a war with the United States, the Chinese Communist Government will have a lengthy tenure. American policy, whatever its precise forms, should operate under this assumption.

3. Communist China is very likely to emerge as one of the major world powers of the late 20th century. The future of China hinges upon many imponderables, of course, but almost all signs point to the rapid increase of state power—economic, military, and political—under the Comunists. The vast manpower and resources of China are being mobilized as fully as possible for this purpose. Primary targets include such fields as iron and steel, and heavy industry in general. In view of their accomplishments to date, there is good reason to believe that in their priority areas, the Communists will obtain notable results. The Chinese industrial revolution will certainly be uneven, but it may be one of the most rapid the world has seen.

A portion of this rising economic power will be channeled into military uses. In some respects, the Chinese Communists have been primitive in military tactics and weapons; Mao's greatest "Marxist" innovation, that of surround the cities was itself a sign of that primitivism, a peasant army supplied in part with homemade small arms. Yet in this field, as in others, the Communists are likely to skip many stages of military evolution. The atomic age for Communist China is probably not far distant. Meanwhile, Communist forces may already have obtained their first missiles from the Soviet Union. Communist China has a long way to go before it can be considered a first-class military power; although its army is the largest in

the Asian-African world, its air and naval power is relatively weak, and its modernization campaign has just begun. This is a field, however, where the leaders will certainly be dedicated to advancement, and where even a few years may make a substantial difference.

While it may be en route to major power status, Communist China will continue to be dependent upon the Soviet Union. At this stage, both Soviet economic aid and the Soviet military shield are essential. And this dependence, while gradually lessening, will probably exist for a very considerable time. It is very probable, however, that Chinese insistence upon equality in their alliance with Russia will come well in advance of their real attainment of that status. The shifting power balance between these two states and its effect upon their relations are clearly of crucial importance to the entire world.

The growth of state power in Communist China is not likely to be accompanied by an equal growth in living standards. The common man will live, but he will not live well. Priorities will remain with producer, not consumer goods. And unless the Government undertakes a crash program of birth control, populational increases will eat deeply into productive gains. The odds are strongly that the coming decade for the average Chinese will be one of unremitting toil and sacrifice for the glory of China and the hope of better things to come.

This could be a serious weakness for the Communist state. Certainly, it will put a premium upon the augmenting and skillful manipulation of political power. Perhaps Communist man lives less by bread than other man. He lives also by pageantry, propaganda, and persuasion, all encased in the coercive armor of Communist power. In China, moreover, these energy-producing substances are given in the form of heavy nationalist injections. Patriotism and socialism have been blended. Three revolutions, the nationalist, the industrial, and the Communist, have been mixed together. In the years ahead, the Chinese Communists seem likely to wield their persuasive-coercive techniques so as to keep mass material needs and demands at the minimum required for productivity and social order. In no other manner can they produce industrialization of the type and on the time schedule they demand.

Consequently, the chances are remote that any basic political "liberalism" will evolve in Communist China in the near future. Yet Chinese totalitarianism will have its own unique forms, and a certain dynamism that cannot be ignored. The bloody era is over, at least temporarily, and now heads are being shaped, not chopped. The effort at present and in the future will be to create so perfect an organizational man that coercion in its crude forms will be outmoded, except for "bandits" and "backward people misguided by reactionaries" like the Tibetans.

The implications of these developments to the world cannot be overemphasized. To some extent, Communist China may have an appeal to certain countries and individuals as a model, a nation moving from the depths of backwardness toward modernity in giant strides. Its programs and techniques are likely to receive attention similar to that long given the methods of Japan and the Soviet Union. But the influence of China as a model will be strictly limited. This country cannot really become an ideal to most of the late-developing peoples of the world. The harshness of life and the continuing poverty of its people will prevent that. Moreover, admiration, even when present, will be increasingly mixed with apprehension, especially among those societies that border China. Progress and poverty, the rapid growth of state power in Communist China, coupled with low mass living standards, present dangers to Asia and the world. The power of Communist China will increasingly demand recognition. And the dangers that this power poses to the non-Communist world will increasingly demand the closer cooperation of free nations if the threat is to be met effectively.

(b) *Chinese Communist foreign policy*

The foreign policy of Communist China contains elements of both the past and the present. In it can be discerned echoes of the old tributary system (now there are cultural and economic missions to and from surrounding peoples) and the old antiforeignism, exhibited most strongly toward the West. Yet there is much that is new. Indeed, a certain parallelism exists between Chinese Communist domestic and foreign policy as to tactics. The formula for Communist success in China was based upon the theme of multiclass cooperation under "proletarian" leadership against "the enemies of the people." Each class and subclass from peasant to "big bourgeoisie" was analyzed and defined as "people" or "enemy," with separate treatments prescribed. The world has been subjected to similar treatment by the Chinese Communists in the last decade.

1. The international proletariat is naturally represented for the Chinese Communists by "the socialist camp" headed by the U.S.S.R. The Sino-Soviet alliance is currently based upon vital mutual interests outweighing such negative factors as may exist. It will not be ruptured over trivial issues, and it will probably endure for a considerable period. However, Sino-Soviet mutual interests are likely to be reduced with the passage of time, and strains in this alliance be increased.

Chinese Communist leaders have repeatedly acknowledged a great ideological and material debt to the Soviet Union, and that debt is very real. An assessment of the Sino-Soviet alliance, therefore, should first pay homage to its strengths, in terms of the advantages accruing to the major parties. With respect to Communist China, the following advantages must be noted:

(a) Soviet economic experience, blueprints, experts, and materials have been essential during the initial thrust of the Chinese industrial revolution.

(b) Soviet military assistance and the broad protection of a Russian military shield have contributed mightily to Chinese Communist power at home and abroad.

(c) The Soviet Union has been of inestimable help to the Chinese Communists in marking out the broad ideological guideposts. Russia pioneered in applying Marxism-Leninism to the problems of gaining and holding power, and to the tasks of rapid modernization. While not without its annoying aspects, Russian ideological assistance continues to be extremely useful to the Communist leaders of China.

(d) In addition to borrowing extensively from advanced Soviet science, the Chinese Communists have also used symbols like sputnik as major propaganda weapons toward their own people, giving them a sense of affiliation with irresistible strength, the wave of the future.

(e) Through this alliance, the Chinese Communists have avoided a sense of isolation on the one hand and the dangers of widely variant external influences on the other. And in addition, Communist China has increased her world prestige within as well as without the Communist orbit. She has played a considerable role as mediator and source of influence in Communist circles.

From the Russian standpoint, there are also significant advantages:

(a) Communist China adds new dimensions to Soviet military and political strength. If the Sino-Soviet alliance remains intact, the Eurasian Continent will be spanned with an unparalleled combination of technology, resources, and of manpower. The victory of communism in China has represented a tremendous gain in prestige and strength for world communism, of which the Soviet Union is the leader.

(b) While the development of China may prove a drain on Soviet resources, Communist China has begun to share in the costs of international Communist assistance, and in the planning and execution of its strategies. It has helped to lengthen the reach of the Communist movement.

(c) Economic interaction between Communist China and the Soviet Union has some advantages to the latter, and these may increase as Chinese economic development continues.

(d) The successes of Chinese communism enhance Russian propaganda to their own people, enabling it to play upon themes of growing Communist strength and emulation of the Soviet experience abroad.

(e) Communist China can be of valuable assistance in supporting the Russian position within the Communist world, as has now been well demonstrated.

Yet the long-term solidarity between the U.S.S.R. and Communist China is by no means assured. Their relationship is becoming increasingly complex. Even at this point, there have been suggestions of hard bargaining, uneasiness, and disappointments. Whatever the precise nature of current relations, the Sino-Soviet alliance faces the following hazards:

(a) Increasing competition between two expanding societies, dynamic, nationalist, and with marked cultural differences despite some common ideological bond. Notwithstanding their gratitude (and this may be mainly at the elitist level), the Chinese regard the Russians as foreigners. From most indications, relations have been more businesslike than fraternal. Chinese nationalism everywhere is ascendant. Enormous pride is shown in the capacity to move from dependence upon Russian aid to independence from it. The symbols used to identify Chinese communism and progress are increasingly indigenous ones. Even the venerable dragon has found a respectable place in the new China. And Mao Tse-tung is proudly heralded as foremost among modern expounders of Marxist theory and champion of Communist practice.

Meanwhile, for the first time in history, a true boundary is being established along the vast Sino-Soviet frontier. Chinese and Russian power will soon confront each other on a greatly expanded basis. Men and machines are moving into areas that were once arid, empty expanses or cold, hostile forests. Can the old Sino-Russian border disputes and rivalries for spheres of influence be permanently set aside in the face of these developments?

(b) Differences in practice lead to differences in theory, a thorny problem to rationalize in an ideological empire that appeals to supreme authority and aspires to "supreme truth." For communism, this is an age of pragmatism, yet the inner compulsion for ideological conformity remains. There can be different routes to communism, accommodations to diverse cultures, and different timings of development, but there can be no national communism, say the leaders. However, do not differences in culture, in problems, in experience and revolutionary stages produce important differences in the practices from which theory must flow? In certain respects, Chinese communism differs significantly (and consciously) from the Russian model. This creates a problem similar to that of the Western medieval church—how to prevent

doctrinal heresy and schism in a period of practical diversity and flux.

(c) Given the enormous interaction between Russian and Chinese societies at every level, mutual influence upon the internal politics of the other party is probably unavoidable. Sino-Soviet relations may be sufficiently important to create key internal issues around which policies, factions, and even national leadership could conceivably revolve. That such issues would always be resolved in favor of a strengthened alliance seems dubious.

(d) The coordination of policy toward the non-Communist world, particularly the United States, must also pose a problem to the Sino-Soviet alliance, a problem that will not become lighter as Chinese power grows.

Some of the factors discussed above may materialize slowly or not at all. It is possible that they can be handled without a disruption of the alliance. Western allies have worked out many complex problems. Yet, increased strain upon Sino-Soviet relations due to some combination of these factors is very possible, particularly if general world conditions encourage it.

Toward the minor Communist states, the Chinese Communists have played a varied role. Considering their own serious internal problems, they have been astonishingly generous to the three Communist states of Asia: North Vietnam, North Korea, and Outer Mongolia. Grants and loans allocated by the Chinese to these governments totaled at least $600 million through early 1959. This appears to exceed the amount loaned China for economic development by the Soviet Union through 1958. Moreover, more than one-half of the Chinese assistance was in the form of grants-in-aid and gifts. The largest support is going to North Vietnam, where Chinese influence also appears strongest. In North Korea, the Chinese position seems to have slipped and Soviet influence appears predominant. Between 1956 and 1958, major purges took place in North Korea, and many of the old Chinese-influenced "Yenan" factions were ousted. This situation may be a very delicate one for the Communist world. Chinese influence in Outer Mongolia is still quite limited, but is likely to increase.

With respect to East Europe, Communist China has played an important ideological-political role, helping to shore up the Russian position but at the same time, no doubt, helping to define it, assisting in the formulation of permissible political stands. And there is some suggestion that Eastern Europeans, apprehensive lest Asians stand once more at the gates of Vienna (this time, ideologically), may look increasingly to the Russians as a counterweight. Thus current relations within the Communist world appear far more complex and uncertain than such slogans as "proletarian solidarity" would suggest.

2. In the past, Chinese Communist policy toward the Asian-African world has had its objective in gaining the friendship, respect, and confidence of the independent camp; but this policy has faced an increasing challenge due to its internal contradictions and the rapid rise of Chinese power. The Chinese Communists see in the Asian-African world the symbolism of the peasantry. The peoples of this area represent the great mass to be won by indirection, to be neutralized, utilized, and ultimately led. On balance, Chinese Communist policy toward the uncommitted peoples has been an attempt to win their sympathy, respect, and trust. This attempt to make Communist China lovable was most broadly displayed at Banddung and in the widely heralded five principles of coexistence.

In line with these principles, Communist China has made certain important concessions, offered economic aid to a number of non-Communist countries, and ardently pursued a program of cultural relations with her Asian neighbors. Some successes have been scored. Yet this attempt to woo the Asians now faces difficulties, and the problems reveal the complex choices which Communist China must make in her foreign policy toward such areas as south and southeast Asia.

(a) How strong can China become, and how far can she advance her national interests without worrying or antagonizing the other Asian societies? Despite her various commitments to internationalism, Communist China is not only a rising nation-state today, but one that is militantly nationalist in some respects, as if to compensate for centuries of weakness. Ideology affects both the tactics and objectives of Chinese Communist foreign policy, to be sure, but that policy can be defined partly in national interest terms: to unify China and to provide it with as much border security as possible. Specifically, this means that the Chinese Communists are dedicated to the complete control of historic China, from Tibet to Taiwan; and secondly, while they would prefer friendly states on the borders, they will accept neutral ones, but states allied with American power will be regarded as hostile and probably treated accordingly when Chinese capacities and the opportunities permit.

Both of these basic national policy objectives of Communist China affect Asia directly. The unification movement brings Chinese power into areas which were formerly buffer zones, power vacuums inhabited sparsely by primitive folk. Thus to the south of China as to the north, more direct confrontations of Chinese and foreign authority are developing, raising new problems and apprehensions. The Sino-Indian border problem is an especially significant example. Now the Chinese Communist Government wants the buffer zones pushed out, as it were, to encompass non-Chinese Asia. It will struggle against the imposition of any "hard line" involving American power around its borders. In this struggle, the Communists may choose from a variety of tactics; but, in fact, they will probably select some combination from the carrot-and-stick alternatives, varying the combination or balance in accordance with the area and circumstances. The "stick" policy, however, is not likely to take the form of a war in which Communist China herself is fully and openly committed. The risks of such an approach, both military and political, are so high as to make it primarily a course of last resort. It is safer and cheaper to launch and support indigenous movements, than to apply other forms of economic and political pressures.

(b) Thus the interrelated question becomes the extent to which Communist China will apply the Chou formula and the extent to which it will apply the formula of Lenin. The Chou formula rests upon noninterference in the internal affairs of another state, respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all states, and support for coexistence. The Lenin formula is to promote subversion and revolution. It must be noted that major elements within the Communist world such as the Soviet Union and Communist China often face a troublesome problem in balancing their position and interests as nation-states with their position and interests as members of the international Communist movement. Sometimes there is a conflict, or at least minimal compatibility. In such cases, priority has usually been given to the national interest. There is considerable evidence to indicate that indigenous Communist movements in south and southeast Asia got little Chinese assistance in periods when it was considered against the national interest of Communist China to be heavily involved in such activities.

Thus, it is not wise to apply the Leninist formula mechanically to Communist foreign policies. Neither is it wise to ignore it. In reality, the foreign policy of a state like Communist China is always a blend or mixture. But the critical question is that of the proportions of "Chouism" to "Leninism," and that will vary with the circumstances and the tactical decisions of Chinese leaders. These circumstances and decisions in turn will be strongly influenced by the policies and attitudes of their major opponent, the United States, and their major ally, the Soviet Union.

Within certain limits (Russian influence is probably important), Communist China has room to maneuver in her policy toward the states of Asia and Africa. It is likely that her broad approach to the uncommitted peoples, Communist China will continue to advance offers of aid, cultural exchange, and essentially "correct" policies. Any basic shift from this program makes no political sense. It would further jeopardize the very considerable gains that Communist China has made in some areas and would likely conflict with her first priority of the next decade, the domestic revolution.

Nevertheless, Communist China will take considerable political and even military risks to defend what she believes to be her national interests. And Chinese nationalism is presently both adamant and arrogant, as is illustrated by Tibet and also by the border controversies with India and Burma. Undoubtedly, Communist China is unhappy about the firmer policies being applied against internal communism throughout most of the south and southeast Asia today. Its gravest concern, however, appears when there is any threat of a movement from nonalinement to alinement with the Western camp, particularly the United States. It is likely to struggle against this by changing the proportions in its Chou-Lenin mixture so as to favor the latter.

(c) An additional complexity involved in Chinese Communist foreign policy toward Asia is the presence of some 12 million overseas Chinese in the southeast Asian region. What attitude should be taken toward this minority group? The overseas Chinese are generally apolitical, but loyal to the cultural traditions of China. They are the victims of discrimination and distrust in many areas. In this sense, they are a liability rather than an asset to good relations between Communist China and southeast Asia. Many of them had hoped that a strong homeland government would arise to protect their minority rights, but they have been disappointed. The Chinese Communists have sought to retain some ties and influence with the overseas Chinese but their general policy has been not to alienate the southeast Asian governments through support for the Chinese minority. Still, they cannot completely escape identification with this minority.

Despite some of its policies and because of others, Communist China is viewed with increasing apprehension in many parts of southern Asia today. This trend is almost certain to continue as the power of the Chinese Communists grows. It would be a mistake to assume, however, that such apprehension will result in a general flight from nonalinement or toward the ostracism of Communist China. Many Asian states will continue to believe that the problem of China must be met in other ways. There will be, however, a greater degree of receptivity to cooperation with the West, especially when Western policy is projected in positive, developmental terms.

3. Communist China has correct, if limited, relations with a number of Western countries. The Communists view the "bourgeois" powers with varying degrees of hope or hostility. In some sense, the traditional Chi-

nese Communist categories of petty bourgeois, liberal bourgeois, and big bourgeois seem to have applicability in the international scene. To be sure, the Chinese Communist attitude toward the west is characterized by considerable indifference. Traces of xenophobia are also present. However, definite gradations of treatment exist. Relations with the Scandinavian countries, for example, are quite correct, although not extensive. Even with some American allies such as Great Britain, a modus vivendi has been established and certain overtures have been made from time to time. With such countries, however, official cordiality is at a minimum, and the Chinese Communists sometimes resort to a "get tough" policy or a direct public appeal. Both tactics are currently being applied to Japan. Of course, Communist China welcomes increased recognition from some within the "bourgeois" camp. Her inducements will include trade, technical, and cultural overtures, but they will not involve the abandonment of any major policy stands.

4. Communist China regards the United States as her major opponent, and naturally she desires the reduction of American influence in Asia. There is virtually no chance that Communist China would consider any basic concessions on current issues to secure a shift in American policy. At the same time, the Chinese Communists do not want war with the United States for obvious reasons. There are also some issues, both now and in the future, that might be negotiable.

For Communist China, the United States stands today in the position of the leader of the "imperialist camp." America, or rather the American Government, has been designated as the foremost enemy of the Chinese people, encircling them with bases, holding part of their territory, and dedicated to military aggression. Slogans to stop American imperialism have been widely used in labor speedup campaigns. A genuine fear of American aggression may have been induced among some of the Chinese people. Certainly the United States has served as the enemy in patriotic drives.

The Chinese Communists are certainly not interested in bidding for recognition by accepting the U.N. policy on Korea, or the "two Chinas" solution. Indeed, it might be said on the latter issue that the Communists prefer the present American policy because it does not alter a basic situation which they hope eventually to manipulate—namely, the identification of Taiwan as a part of China. Communist China is confident that within a decade her power and influence will demand acknowledgement, and that the basic issues involving China can then be settled on her terms, probably without war. Consequently, she sees no reason to make any basic concessions involving her national interests at this time.

Yet, there is another side to this picture. Communist China is not prepared to challenge the United States militarily, now or in the foreseeable future, except for such very vulnerable areas as Quemoy and Matsu. Consequently, she like the non-Communists, must live indefinitely with some situations not to her liking. In the meantime, new issues are emerging which along with certain old ones probably are negotiable if the United States is interested in negotiating. These include trade, journalist, and scholar exchanges, unofficial missions, and perhaps before long, the more serious business of nuclear weapons.

2. TAIWAN

Prior to a discussion of our China policy, it would be well to examine current trends in Taiwan, which is under the control of the National Government.

(a) Taiwan remains heavily dependent upon American aid. The huge sums given in the last decade have helped to produce substantial improvements in the Taiwan economy as in its military defenses. Certain difficult economic problems, however, remain and cannot be solved under present conditions. Since 1948, the United States has extended over $1 billion to the National Government. On a per capita basis, few countries in the world have received so much American aid.

Taiwan did not enter the postwar era without advantages. Progress under Japan had been extensive. Prior to World War II, the Taiwanese had a standard of living second only to that of Japan itself in Asia. The people had acquired many industrial and agrarian skills. The years immediately after 1945, however, were years of chaos. Wartime damage and disorganization produced near-collapse. The early Nationalist era complicated rather than solved economic and political problems. Not until the end of 1952 did Taiwan reach prewar levels of production in industry.

Both industrial and agrarian gains have been substantial in the last 7 years. Industrial production has risen about 80 percent since 1952. The emphasis has been chiefly upon those light industries suitable to island resources such as processing industries and textiles. Major increases have also been registered in electric power, chemicals, and metal products. This stress upon mining and industrial production must continue in Taiwan. There is no other feasible approach to the economic problems of the island. Unless remedial measures are taken, the population density of Taiwan may become one of the highest in the world; it is already greater than that of Japan. Ten and one-half million people live on less than 14,000 square miles, with more than two-thirds of the island being mountainous and unsuited for cultivation. All available land is being used intensively. And the population is increasing at a rate of 3.5 percent annually—one of the highest rates in Asia. The growing labor force must be accommodated through industrialization.

The gross national product of Taiwan increased substantially between 1950 and 1956, and is probably rising at a rate of at least 4 to 5 percent annually at present. While industrial gains account for much of this expansion, agrarian output still contributes over 1½ times as much as industry to the national product. Production in agriculture has also improved as a result of better seeds, more effective irrigation, extensive use of fertilizer, and new cultivation methods. Some rural mechanization is beginning. Socioeconomic conditions in the rural areas have greatly improved, aided by the 1953 land reform program and the excellent work of the Sino-American Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction. Taiwan and Japan are notable examples of what can be accomplished by land reform in non-Communist Asia. Nearly 75 percent of the Taiwanese rural families were affected by land redistribution or rental reduction. Tenant-cultivated land was reduced from 41 to 16 percent of the total land under cultivation. Today approximately 80 percent of rural families own all or part of their land, while 20 percent are tenants or hired hands. The Joint Commission has supplemented this basic change through an effective program of technical assistance and social services in the rural areas.

Rural living standards in Taiwan are undoubtedly high and in the cities also economic conditions for the common man are generally improved over earlier periods. However, this should not obscure certain basic problems that have social and political as well as economic implications:

1. Taiwan supports a huge army in proportion to the size of its population. Despite the fact that military pay is extremely low, the total costs constitute a heavy drain, and will continue to do so unless and until the military force is reduced in size.

2. In addition to its military forces, the National Government maintains a sizable bureaucracy. This is partly to take care of the mainland refugees. Most of the 2 million refugees presently in Taiwan must be supported directly or indirectly by the Government. The heads of family are either attached to the civil government, to the military services, or to such occupations as university teaching. Some hold straight sinecures or pensions. The socioeconomic problems herein contained are grave. On the one hand, most of the refugees are deeply unhappy with their present economic lot. Official salaries and wages in all of the above fields are woefully inadequate. Indeed, Taiwan has witnessed a great leveling process, whereby the common man, particularly the farmer, has been brought up in standards while most of the elite, transplanted from the mainland, have come down. One can hear bitter complaints from the latter that they have lost everything and that most of the wealth belongs to the Taiwanese. This has affected morale, efficiency, and even honesty in government circles. Many of the children from these groups, moreover, seeing few opportunities ahead, are desperately anxious to emigrate to the West. On the other hand, not a few Taiwanese feel that they have to support a large number of "unproductive" people, and at the same time are denied access to official positions, and thus to the social and political status some of them desire.

3. Under these general conditions, serious inflation is always a threat, and the Government, remembering the economic debacle on the mainland, does worry about this problem. The price index continues to rise rather steadily, however, and it is difficult under the circumstances to keep inflation moderate.

4. For political and cultural reasons, the Government is quite unwilling to support any program of birth control, and thus this problem is becoming ever more critical. Unless economic development can move much more rapidly than in the past, underemployment and unemployment will advance. There is a special problem with respect to the intellectual elite. High-school and college graduates are not finding sufficient outlet at present for their training and talents. A dissatisfied, displaced young intellectual class is developing.

5. Foreign investment has increased and can be of assistance. However, overbureaucratization, limited markets, and political uncertainties combine to discourage it. Changes have been proposed which may ameliorate the former difficulty, but the latter one will remain.

Most of the serious economic problems of Taiwan have a close connection with politics. This rich island would have a fairly bright economic future if it did not face a population explosion on the one hand, and unrealistic military-political ambitions on the other. If the population problem were tackled seriously, and if the military forces were reduced to dimensions fitting the defense needs of Taiwan, there could be optimism concerning the economic prospects. Otherwise, the future is cloudy notwithstanding the impressive gains of the recent past and the prospects of continuing American aid.

(b) The political situation in Taiwan has mixed elements of stability and instability. The elements of instability are sufficient to make a serious crisis at some unexpected point conceivable. On balance, however, the elements of stability seem to predominate, and politics on Taiwan will probably undergo an evolutionary development, barring in-

ternational conflict. The following factors deserve close attention:

1. The Kuomintang remains an elitist party with limited public appeal and with serious factional problems. After its mainland defeat, the Kuomintang conducted its own "self-criticism" and "rectification" campaigns. Grave shortcomings were admitted and a call to Spartanism was issued. The experience of total defeat was not without some benefits to the party; many opportunists and unsavory elements disappeared along with good men. Among the leaders remaining, a sizable number are dedicated, sincere, and able. In the last decade, they have lived modestly, worked to the extent possible, and sought to vindicate a movement that once burned brightly.

While their efforts have borne some fruit, various problems remain. The party still tends to fall between two stools. It does not allow the range of political freedom and competition associated with political democracy on the one hand, and it does not possess the ruthlessness, dynamism, and efficiency of Communist totalitarianism on the other. Power seems held at the moment by rather tired hands.

Essentially, the Kuomintang continues to follow the Communist organizational model which it acquired shortly after World War I. It has made some progress in establishing cell organizations throughout the island and channeling political action through them. There is little indication, however, that the party has really appealed to the Taiwanese, or that it has genuine mass support. Meanwhile, factionalism within the party continues to be very strong. The internal struggle for position and power can probably be contained as long as Chiang Kai-shek remains active, but the question of succession looms increasingly large.

A deepening power struggle within the Kuomintang could produce various possibilities: further flights to the West by unhappy or discouraged elements; defections to the Communists; the use of the army for internal political purposes; a broader appeal on the part of some faction or factions to the Taiwanese people for support. These possibilities are not mutually exclusive. Flights to the West by prominent party men have taken place in the past and, indeed, irrespective of political conditions, a growing number of mainland refugees will seek opportunities for emigration as hope of returning home recedes.

The Communists have made a definite bid for a bloodless victory on Taiwan. Their message has been "Come home and all will be forgiven." Lavish promises of pardons and positions have been made to any who will forsake American imperialism and return to the motherland. The strategy is obvious: to exploit party cleavages, refugee fears of being absorbed by the Taiwanese, and the declining morale of people who must face the increasing probability that they cannot go back to China under Nationalist banners. It is also a clever method of trying to undercut any possible change in American policy. But there is no evidence that it is likely to achieve its objectives. Some defection to the Communists is conceivable, but only a few refugees will ever become so desperate or so angry as to take this kind of chance.

It is much more probable that a party struggle at some point will involve the greater utilization of the Taiwanese. Even the use of the army internally, or the use of such groups as the Youth Corps would represent a trend in this direction. But there may also be an appeal issued in broader political terms, a turning outward on the part of some party elements to the public, in the hope of getting the support necessary to sustain their position. Thus increasing democratization could occur under the Kuomintang, but if it does, it is likely to produce new political crises. Some of these will almost certainly reflect the unresolved differences between the Taiwanese and the mainlanders.

2. Personal relations between the mainland refugees and Taiwanese have probably improved in recent years. Various channels of communication have been established, and cultural links have been forged. Strong elements of difference and distrust still exist, however, and the largest gap between these two groups can be spelled out in one word: commitment. The Taiwanese are committed to Taiwan; the great majority of the refugees are still committed to returning home, or this failing, to emigrating elsewhere.

Refugee-Taiwanese relations constitute a troubled and complex aspect of politics in Taiwan. There are 2 million mainland refugees and 8½ million Taiwanese. Of the same race and general culture, these two groups have differences not easy to bridge. In the last 15 years, their relations have been marked by both revolution and evolution; which will prevail in the future? Today, Taiwanese revolutionary activities are mainly centered abroad, in Peiping, Tokyo, and the United States. The Peiping operation is naturally Communist and seems to have little, if any, support. The organizations in Japan and the United States are devoted to Taiwanese independence. They are manned by a small band of intellectuals, mainly overseas students very reminiscent of the Chinese nationalist movement itself 50 years ago. These groups claim wide underground support in Taiwan an assertion difficult to prove under present conditions.

In all probability most Taiwanese would regard "independence" in some form as their ideal. Pro-Communist sentiment at present is negligible; nationalist support fairly limited; and nostalgia for the Japanese era rather more widespread but perhaps strongest among the older groups, and fading. As has been noted, the issue of commitment is a prominent one separating Taiwanese from refugees. For example, are "the local people" really interested in fighting to "return" to a place where they have never been? Then there are the deeply felt grievances held by upper class Taiwanese over their lack of social and political recognition. The refugees are a dispossessed elite, and they cannot avoid thinking of themselves as an elite; moreover, they must have some means of sustenance, and their profession has generally been officeholding.

Still, there are fairly good chances that that this general problem will be solved by evolution. As long as economic conditions remain reasonably firm and some social mobility is possible, there will be no mass revolt. Meanwhile, a dual process of acculturation and assimilation is taking place. The acculturation affects mainly the Taiwanese. In place of the Japanese past, a modernized Chinese culture is being implanted via the new educational system and other forms of cultural interaction. The refugees are not unaffected by this process, however, for the borrowings both from Japan and the West are substantial. And at the same time, assimilation is beginning, a process whereby the dominant Taiwanese population is starting to absorb the refugee minority through intermarriage and a variety of other ways.

These developments provide the socioeconomic basis for an evolutionary change in politics on Taiwan. In the case of serious economic reversals, military overcommitment, or continued political rigidity, the Kuomintang will suffer further slippage, and Taiwanese resistance might take revolutionary forms. Under present trends, however, gradualism will prevail, with increased pressures for local autonomy and expanded social and political rights. One prediction is fairly safe: either Taiwan will be joined with mainland China or the process of Taiwanization will continue. In the concrete terms of the present, if Taiwan does not go to the Communists, it will go increasingly to the Taiwanese.

(c) The Nationalist military force today remains largely an unknown quantity. Increasingly, it is manned by Taiwanese personnel. It has not been tested in large-scale combat and opinions on its capacities and morale differ. It is safe to say, however, that it is much more than adequate to defend Taiwan at present, and much less than adequate to engage the Communists on the continent. Already, Taiwanese recruits constitute a substantial bloc in the Nationalist army. Their numbers can only rise. There is a small, well-trained air force, and it is possibly the most effective of the three services. All units are equipped with modern American weapons.

Taiwan could be defended adequately at present with a substantially smaller force. Until recently, however, the Nationalists had nearly one-third of their active forces on the islands of Quemoy-Matsu where they are much more vulnerable. Over the next decade, it must be assumed that the military balance with respect to Taiwan will shift. The Chinese Communists will certainly seek weapons and strength attuned to their ambitions. If Taiwan has to be defended militarily, the ultimate burden will surely fall upon the United States in company with the Taiwanese.

3. U.S. POLICY TOWARD CHINA

(a) *Introduction*

No decision is more critical to our future position in Asia and in the world than that which determines American policy toward China. Every policy decision involves a choice between alternative risks, but in this case the risks of each approach seem extraordinarily high. Indeed, there is no "good policy" in the sense of a policy that will produce results completely beneficial to the interests of the United States and the non-Communist world. This does not reduce the need, however, to consider the various alternatives that are available to us.

The first step in such a consideration is to survey the major facts or probabilities that pertain to our China policy, and note their implications. Three key points are worthy of special emphasis:

1. In all probability, the major issue confronting us is not whether Communist China will survive, but whether a dynamic, powerful China under Communist rule can in the long run be restrained from various forms of expansion or undue pressure upon Asia and the world. This challenge places a premium upon a policy that combines two central qualities. First, our policy must face this problem with realism, and with sufficient flexibility in tactics to adjust to changing opportunities and permit multifaceted approaches. Yet, also, it should be a policy that is sufficiently explicit and firm in its essentials to hold non-Communist confidence and prevent Communist misconception.

2. Apprehension or at least alertness increasingly characterizes Asian reactions to the strength and movements of Communist China. For various reasons, both practical and ideological, the preference of many non-Communist Asians for neutralism or nonalinement will continue to be substantial. But the consciousness of a new and possibly dangerous power within Asia is beginning to take precedence over the earlier fears of Western imperialism.

In the long run, if a policy aimed at meeting the threat of Chinese Communist

expansion is to be effective, it must have the understanding and support of the major Asian nations that border China. As a result of the growing awareness of the China problem among Asians, new opportunities now exist to obtain this support. But to move from a policy that is essentially unilateral toward one that is based upon joint responsibility requires that serious attention be paid to the realities of Asia and the total needs of its non-Communist societies. It must be a policy that stresses positive measures strongly and that seeks always the greatest common denominator between the national interests of the United States and those of the free Asian world.

3. The involvement of Communist China in international affairs is almost certain to grow. Already it participates actively in such international fields as trade, economic assistance, cultural exchange, and propaganda. At some point, probably in the not distant future, it will have atomic power for both peaceful and martial uses, connecting it with the most vital issue that confronts the world.

This increasing involvement cannot be ignored, and any tactic of trying to commit the Chinese by negotiating through the Russians is dubious. The situation demands a policy based upon realism. On the one hand, we must accept the fact that basic agreement between the United States and Communist China on such issues as Taiwan and Korea is inconceivable under any conditions at present. Thus we must maintain an effective military force that can underwrite our position and defend it if necessary. On the other hand, we must also accept the fact that Communist China is inextricably connected with many of the major problems which we face in Asia. The question is not whether Communist China should be allowed to participate in the world scene, but rather whether it can be persuaded or forced to bear any responsibility for its participation, which is steadily increasing. Our policy must accept the full implications of this point.

(b) U.S. policy toward China

Perhaps there are three general lines of approach to an American China policy, although there are interconnections among these lines and innumerable variations within them.

1. Containment through isolation—one approach to Communist China.

At present, U.S. policy is strongly committed to the maximum isolation of Communist China, and the full recognition of the National Government on Taiwan as the Government of China. Toward the Communists, our policy is composed of political nonrecognition, economic embargo, and opposition to almost all forms of interaction between the free world and mainland China.

This policy is defended upon numerous grounds and the following major themes can be set forth:

(a) The recognition of Communist China in any degree or form is not in the national interest of the United States because that Government has shown implacable hostility to us, is guilty of grossly immoral actions, is dedicated to the establishment of world communism, and has given no indication of being willing to fulfill its international obligations.

(b) Communist China stands condemned as an aggressor by the United Nations, and any recognition or admission to the United Nations would seriously damage the meaning and effectiveness of that body. Moreover, it would result in the weakening or destruction of the Republic of China to which we are committed.

(c) We cannot see clearly into the future at this time. It is always possible that Communist China will collapse or that some colossal upheaval will take place. We can afford to wait.

(d) If we were to shift our China policy, it would be taken as a sign of weakness or capitulation by many of the free peoples of the world, and particularly the weak nations of Asia, which look to our firmness for support. By our unyielding stand, we have bolstered the Asian will to resist.

(e) There is some basis for treating the Soviet Union differently from Communist China. There are signs indicating that the Soviet Union for various reasons may be interested in an accommodation with the United States, but Communist China is in an entirely different era and mood.

Collectively, this is a formidable argument. The validity or partial validity of some of these points can scarcely be challenged. Yet there remain a number of questions concerning a policy of containment through isolation that must be raised.

(a) The moral issue has its well-known complexities. If our decisions respecting relations with foreign governments were to be based upon moral judgments rather than the world as it is, we could not possibly conduct meaningful foreign policy, let alone attempt to lead the free world (which contains some peoples unfree and some governments immoral). We have long since discovered that we cannot impose our standards and values upon the world. We do believe that the success of our foreign policy is in the general interests of morality, but success depends upon proper tactics. And these tactics might involve trying to bring a government that we consider immoral into some framework of negotiations, agreements, or international organization where more varied pressures could be exerted upon it.

No one can doubt that Communist China has regarded the United States as its greatest enemy and acted accordingly. We have reciprocated. Both parties, however, have insisted that their hostility applied merely to the government in power and not to the people. For example, we have proclaimed that our respect for the Chinese people remains undiminished. But we have little means of communicating effectively with them. This suggests one of the problems with any policy that seeks containment through isolation. How does one reach the besieged people and with what kind of message? Does this policy have to rest upon the premise that a great majority of those people are so violently opposed to their government that they wish its downfall even at great cost to themselves? For those not in this category, there is a real danger that this policy will merely supplement the tensions and fears concerning us that their government is seeking to establish. Our capacity to present a well-rounded and favorable image of the United States is seriously affected, even assuming we can have some kind of access to the people.

The questions of international obligations and the drive for world communism are of course legitimate, but they are not to be answered fully by citing Lenin, Mao, or Khrushchev. Non-Communist states may be pardoned for having doubts as to whether the Communists will now rely upon peaceful competition, as Mr. Khrushchev avers, although the Communists seem to have increasing confidence that this will suffice. Our defenses must be strong to help them hold to that viewpoint but we should offer better incentives as well. In the final analysis, communism will choose its tactics in accordance with the circumstances. Mao and the Chinese Communists in particular are past masters at the practice of pragmatic communism. We should be aware that U.S. policy does influence and affect Communist tactics, just as their policies influence ours. And it is the short-range tactics of communism rather than its long-range goal that must concern us most. Like every messianic movement the world has ever known, this one is likely to fall short of its goal and be changed many times in the course of pursuing it.

(b) The arguments against the admission of Communist China in the United Nations are familiar and have some merit, especially for the United States. Communist China was labeled an aggressor by a majority of the nations in the United Nations, and no treaty settling the Korean war has ever been signed, although Chinese troops, it should be noted, have been withdrawn from North Korea. There are further questions concerning the increased prestige that would go to Communist China, what would happen to Taiwan, and whether Communist China in the United Nations would not act as a disruptive force.

These issues can only be weighed and assessed against the realities of the current world scene. Irrespective of the noble sentiments expressed in the charter, the United Nations cannot in fact be considered a league of the pure. It is in practice a prominent international forum in which cases are put before the world, an area of contact for the purposes both of talking and negotiating over vital issues, and a valuable instrument for advancing technical, nonpolitical causes relating to world health and well-being. These are all considerations suggesting the importance of universal membership.

The United Nations already contains members that the United States considers guilty of past acts of aggression, including some of our allies. The difference, it may be argued, lies in the fact that they had already been admitted to the United Nations before the act occurred, were not legally charged with aggression by the United Nations, or, in some cases, were willing to abide by the United Nations decision concerning the act. These various distinctions may be legally correct, but are they all meaningful in fact? There is no practical reason to treat the U.S.S.R. and Communist China differently because of legal technicalities. If the U.S.S.R. had not been absent from the United Nations in the summer of 1950, at the outset of the Korean war, legal action via the United Nations against Communist China would probably not have been possible. Presumably, then, the issue of "aggression" as it is now posed would not exist, although Communist China would have been no less an aggressor.

Speaking in practical terms, moreover, it must be realized that some non-Communist countries regard Chinese aggression in Korea as more complicated than Russian aggression in Hungary. This is due to the prior U.S. decision to cross the 38th parallel despite threatened Chinese intervention, a decision which is felt by many to have expanded the original purposes of the United Nations in Korea.

The prestige of Communist China would be enhanced if it were admitted to the United Nations and granted a permanent Security Council seat. In fact, however, its prestige and power are not essentially dependent upon United Nations admission. If its power has steadily grown, it is the product of developments within China and the Moscow-Peiping alliance, developments that seem very likely to continue. United Nations membership in the final analysis neither adds nor detracts much from a prestige or power that must be indigenously developed, as the case of Nationalist China well illustrates.

Certainly the admission of Communist China would be a heavy blow at the National Government, or should one say the confirmation of a blow that has long since been struck? The main question is how long the fiction can be maintained that the National Government is the Government of China. Perhaps this situation can continue for some time, particularly if the United States exerts its full influence

and if Communist China misbehaves. As the last few years have shown, however, there is a very clear danger of loss by steady attrition on this issue. A government having effective control over only 10 million people cannot indefinitely hold a "major power" position in the name of the 660 million Chinese.

(c) Communist China may collapse, but this is in the category of extremely remote possibilities that cannot weigh heavily in American thinking or policy on Asia. It is much more logical to make out a general case for a "let the dust settle" policy: to argue that both Chinese Communist domestic and foreign affairs are in flux, especially her relations with the rest of Asia, and that in this respect the trends are currently favorable to us; furthermore, that time is needed for Taiwan to adjust to its future, and premature action would be unwise.

There is considerable merit in this argument and also considerable danger. Events are moving rapidly in Asia and this is likely to be true for the indefinite future. The dust will not settle in our lifetime. We cannot continue indefinitely with policies that are not in tune with developing realities, and it will be extremely difficult under the circumstances to time policy adjustments in Asia accurately from the standpoint of our maximum advantage. Some changes now taking place are generally favorable to us; others are not. In the latter category is the rapidly developing state power of Communist China, and the general strength of the Sino-Soviet bloc. It is very questionable as to how long we can hold this power in check with a policy of containment through isolation.

(d) One of the most complex and difficult factors to assess in contemplating alternative China policies is that of the probable Asian responses. How tenaciously must we hold to our present policy lest we be considered a shifting, unreliable ally? Is it correct that the uncommitted nations of Asia are moving to our side, and approve, at least privately, of our current position on Communist China?

As is well known, non-Communist Asia is deeply divided on the China issue, as on most other matters. Thus attitudes and policies depend upon the particular category to which the Asian state belongs. First, there are our small Asian allies. These can be placed in two categories: the Republics of China, Korea, and Vietnam; and the Philippines and Thailand. The first three governments, drawing upon their own experience, believe that coexistence is impossible, consider that this is an era of war to the death, and argue that all policies should be fashioned accordingly. Indeed, the governments of South Korea and Taiwan have long advocated military action against the Communists, and despite American urging for moderation, continue to do so. These governments are not thoroughly satisfied with our present policies, and any trend toward relaxation would meet with their strenuous opposition. Changes in our China policy might have adverse effects upon these states, or at least upon their present governments. Much would depend, however, on the timing and the methods. For example, if changes were made, they might be coupled with renewed or even expanded guarantees of military and economic support to underwrite the security and progress of these people. It must be remembered that these are governments totally dependent upon our aid; they have adjusted before to U.S. decisions of which they violently disapproved and they probably would do so again. And the attraction of communism for their people is to be equated far more with internal developments than with American policy toward China. The greatest problem of adjustment, of course, confronts the National Government on Taiwan; and this is likely to be true, irrespective of trends in American China policy. Our other small allies, the Philippines and Thailand, would be less affected, but the governments in these countries favor an isolation policy toward Communist China.

The second category of Asian states is the "neutral" or nonalined states. This category includes India, Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon, Cambodia, Singapore, and in much lesser degree, pro-Western Malaya. Laos is presently in flux and contested. In population, resources, and strategic significance, this group together with Pakistan and Japan constitute the overwhelming strength of non-Communist Asia. Their position is vital. As has been emphasized, there are many signs within southern Asia that apprehension concerning Communist China has risen sharply in the past year or more. Clearly, the Indian border issue is likely to have long-range repercussions. It has been suggested that as a result of such events, there exists a growing "underground support" for current U.S. policy toward Communist China. It is asserted that in spite of a public stand in favor of Communist China trade, cultural relations, recognition, or United Nations membership, some of these governments are secretly happy with the current American position.

This "underground support" thesis is based upon some solid facts, but it can be inflated. Growing concern over Communist China has been communicated in a variety of ways to American officials in some of the nonalined countries. Support for a firm U.S. stand has been voiced privately by some who would not speak in public. But there is no indication that any of the leading "neutralist" Asian states will reverse their China policies and support the present position of the United States. Indeed, many of these most deeply concerned over the China problem continue to argue that the importance of Communist China and its involvement in almost all Asian issues must be accepted as the first principle of contemporary Asian politics. They do not believe that any policy of containment by isolation will work, nor do they believe that it will last. One of the most widespread questions in Asia today (and it goes far beyond "neutralist" states) is not whether U.S. policy toward China will change, but when and how.

It is always possible that future Chinese Communist actions and words might produce a serious deterioration in their relations with southern Asia as to alter the policies of this region. It is more likely, however, that most of these states will continue to stay aloof from any policy of containment through isolation. Japan and Pakistan are countries in separate categories. The Japanese position has been discussed in the Japan section of this report; it is based upon the hope for normalized relations with China. Pakistan, while a member of SEATO, has recognized Communist China; at the moment, it appears to have no strong feelings on the issue in either direction.

There are also the oversea Chinese, a special and important group. Probably the influence of U.S. policy upon this group has been exaggerated. They have been mainly pro-Chinese culturally and apolitical, although some changes have occurred in the younger generation. In the long run, it seems probable that the southeast Asian Chinese will either acquire a deeper loyalty to the country in which they reside or pay some degree of homage to mainland China. Taiwan can never really be a satisfactory symbol for the Chinese mainland, and less so when familiar mainland faces disappear.

In sum, the Asian attitude is a very mixed one. But the non-Communist "big three" in Asia—India, Indonesia, and Japan—all have reservations about current American policy, and all prefer to follow different lines of approach. Thus the statement that "Asia expects firmness and will regard change as capitulation" must be questioned.

(e) One of the basic issues confronting U.S. policy is what should be the relation between our policies toward the U.S.S.R. and Communist China. Two interesting theses have been advanced in recent years.

(i) To isolate Communist China as completely as possible and to press it into the arms of the U.S.S.R. are the best ways to heighten internal tensions and produce friction in the Sino-Soviet alliance. This thesis seems doubtful. Aid to China has not been an enormous strain upon the Soviet Union, and it has paid rich dividends. The Chinese Communists may well have felt that the terms were too stiff, but it was the United States that sought to prevent them from bidding elsewhere. And may not Russia find it an advantage to serve as Communist China's spokesman in the international scene? It would seem logical to argue that the more independent Communist China becomes from Russia, the greater the possibility of competition and rivalry.

Greater international involvement for Communist China might provide new sources of influence both upon the people and the regime. Out of a variety of contacts, flow a variety of ideas and stimuli, and Chinese Communist propaganda to their own people might have to adjust to this type of competition in a manner not now necessary. Isolation always serves totalitarianism. At the governmental level, moreover, heavier world involvement would naturally provide the need for more varied and complex decisions, more careful adjustment to national interests held by foreign states. It would increase opportunities for policy diffusion from and difference with the Soviet Union; almost certainly the decisionmaking process of the Sino-Soviet alliance would become more complicated and be subject to greater strains. That alliance might even be affected by any increased world attention given Communist China and its national decisions; outlets for Chinese nationalism of this type could increase Soviet anxieties.

(ii) The U.S.S.R. may be in a position and mood to make serious negotiations feasible, but Communist China is in a Stalinist phase, rigid and implacable, and negotiations are pointless. This thesis may have validity. But there are certain arguments to be advanced against it. The Soviet Union appears to be in a more negotiable mood with respect to the United States than Communist China, but this has not been thoroughly tested with respect to either Communist state. It is possible that both ends of the Sino-Soviet alliance, despite their substantial differences in stage of development and power, are in approximately the same position with respect to negotiating: a desire for peace but an unwillingness to make any basic concessions that are considered to affect their national interests. Further, it is possible that this rough equality of position is due to the fact that Communist China has a Russian military shield behind it, and extensive treaty guarantees from the Soviet Union. This appears to be an era when the Communist world, like its non-Communist counterpart, coordinates foreign policy more closely than domestic policy, at least insofar as the Sino-Soviet section is concerned. There is definite evidence that the Russians clear international issues, especially those affecting Asia, with Communist China. Thus, in one sense, Communist China is already involved in major power negotiations, without bearing any direct responsibility for such secret positions as it may take.

It is questionable whether the Soviet Union is prepared to take any position in opposition to the interests or wishes of Communist China. There is, moreover, another troublesome problem in connection with the thesis that we cannot and should not negoti-

ate with Chinese, but only with Russian Communists. If there is an element of independence between these two in the field of foreign policy, do we not court miscalculation on the part of the Chinese Communists? And is it not miscalculation that provides the gravest chance of conflict in this atomic age? Despite the services of the Indians, this problem was apparent at the time of Chinese Communist entry into the Korean war; the channels of communication between the United States and Communist China were not adequate.

The major issues relating to China policy having now been set forth, two possible alternatives to our current position can be presented in more succinct fashion.

2. Normalization of relations—a second approach to Communist China.

This policy would encompass the recognition of Communist China by the United States, support for its seating in the United Nations, and general treatment equal to that which the United States accords to the Soviet Union.

This policy is supported upon the following grounds:

(a) In accordance with established international practice to which U.S. policy has usually adhered, the recognition of Communist China would not signify approval of the regime, but rather its existence as a de facto government, having control over some 660 million people. To accept these facts of life is in the national interests of the United States because it is essential that we establish a realistic policy toward Asia as the first step in a long-range economic and political competition with communism. Nonrecognition has not prevented the rise of Communist China. It has isolated us as much as the Communists, giving our policy an essentially unilateral character, making it defensive, and negative.

(b) Normalization of relations, if successful, would give us greater access to the Chinese people, from whom we are now almost completely cut off. It would thus make possible some kind of informational and cultural relations program in which we could not possibly lose, and which might provide certain pressures upon the Communist leaders to deemphasize hate and fear of the United States. Moreover, it would provide us with direct communications in terms of official channels, thereby reducing the threat of miscalculation on both sides.

(c) The primary function of the United Nations today is as an international forum whereby issues can be debated and nations called to account before the world; as an instrumentality for the mediation of disputes through its technical staff; and as a valuable organization for a multitude of nonpolitical purposes of a social, educational, or research nature. As long as the government controlling one-half of the people of Asia is outside the United Nations, that organization will be seriously handicapped in terms of the above functions.

And Communist China outside the United Nations may be more of a disruption than Communist China in the United Nations in a variety of ways. There are advantages in being an international outlaw, not being legally bound to international agreements, having to take only such stands as one wishes, and thereby being able to compartmentalize one's policies. Moreover, the U.S. policy of supporting the Government of Taiwan as the only legitimate government of China in the U.N. is in serious danger of losing by attrition. Despite our pressure, this position is becoming more difficult to sustain in the international scene, and is being sliced away, a sliver at a time.

(d) If we are to have a strong policy in Asia, it must be one attuned to the realities of that area and one that interacts with the national interests of the major non-Communist Asian nations. These nations are neighbors of China, share common borders with it, and also see many of their problems as closely intermeshed with its future policies and attitudes. They can be expected in general to continue to search for some modus vivendi whatever the difficulties. American influence and help in this part of the free world will be much stronger in the final analysis if it is geared to these facts. And from this approach will come a greater capacity to deter any possible Communist aggression through strength in depth.

Taken together, these points constitute an extremely impressive challenge to the policy of containment through isolation. There are two ways in which this policy might be questioned, of course: first, in terms of some of its premises or facts; second, in terms of its sense of timing and procedure. Arguments of the first type have already been raised earlier in this report. The leading ones may be summarized here:

(i) Recognition of Communist China or its admission to the United Nations would greatly enhance the prestige and power of that state, harm many of our Asian allies, damage the United Nations, and thus not serve the national interests of the United States.

(ii) The great majority of the Chinese people themselves are opposed to the Communist regime, and do not want to see it strengthened.

(iii) The non-Communist Asians are fearful of Communist China and are increasingly grateful for the firmness of U.S. policy. They do not want any change.

The second set of questions regarding this approach relates basically to matters of technique. Even if one accepts many of its premises as valid, this policy as stated may be deficient in its sense of staging, timing, and development, thereby lacking sufficient leverage or bargaining opportunities for our position and facing many political hazards. In these respects, the second approach may have some of the weaknesses of inflexibility and unrealism for which it criticizes the present policy.

The third alternative represents the basic recommendation of this report, and is supported, in our opinion, by its findings.

3. Exploration and negotiation—a third approach to Communist China.

This policy would be multifaceted and would have three basic objectives:

(a) To test the willingness of Communist China to coexist with us.

(b) To seek an expanded policy that would retain certain firm commitments, but also present a more dynamic, flexible, and positive tone.

(c) Through the actions, to make possible a greater degree of collective agreement on the China issue among the major nations of the free world, and hence provide a firmer basis for collective action if and when necessary. This policy contains the following proposals, based upon a sequence of stages:

(1) Stage 1:

(a) An offer for the mutual exchange of journalists with Communist China; if this program is successfully inaugurated, to be followed by proposals for the exchange of scholars and commercial representatives.

(b) Permission for some prominent individual or group not in the national executive branch of the Government to go to Communist China and conduct such informal discussions with the leaders as are possible.

(c) The launching of informal, private discussions between the United States and our European allies, Japan, and some of the leading neutrals, particularly India, Burma, and Indonesia, to solicit ideas and some cooperative thinking about the problem of China.

This first stage would seek to test the position of Communist China and its interest in improving relations with the United States. It would also test the position of our allies and some of the neutrals, indicating our possible interest in a more positive, flexible policy, and one in which they might assume some joint responsibility. If the results of these actions showed some promise, the next stage should be undertaken.

(2) Stage 2:

(a) Abandonment of Chinese Communist restrictions and permission for trade on the same basis as that with the U.S.S.R.

(b) Informal discussion with our allies and "neutrals" on the following four-point program: Admission of Communist China to the United Nations; recognition of the Republic of Taiwan; the seating of this Republic in the Assembly; the enlargement of the Security Council to include India and Japan as permanent members, as well as China.

(c) Simultaneous discussions with our small allies pledging full and continued support to all of our treaty obligations.

(d) Simultaneous special discussions with the National Government of Taiwan, looking toward the following agreement:

1. The United States would continue to honor its existing obligations to Taiwan and the Pescadores. It would underwrite the defense of the Republic of Taiwan, and would support an expanded economic-technical assistance program.

2. The military forces of Taiwan would be withdrawn from the offshore islands, together with those civilians desiring to leave.

3. The United States would endeavor to help in the resettlement of any mainland refugees who wished to leave Taiwan following the establishment of the Republic of Taiwan.

(e) If feasible, the United States would negotiate a treaty of commerce with Communist China, and if successful, this would be followed by de facto recognition.

Under any conditions, this would be a complex and difficult stage. It is obviously unrealistic to consider the above proposals as more than general suggestions of the directions in which we should move and the positions that we should hold. Both improvisation and basic changes might be required. Moreover, the precise timing of this policy in each of its phases would have to be determined with respect to the international scene.

The offshore island issue is extremely serious. It might become critical again at any point. Thus it is possible to argue that irrespective of this program, we should extricate the Nationalists and ourselves from this area. These islands bear no relation to the defense of Taiwan, and can only be considered steppingstones to the mainland. They are an integral part of the mainland. Militarily they are very vulnerable. Politically they are a liability, both in terms of world opinion and in terms of the unhealthy psychology they foster in Taiwan. In the event of full military action over them, the American people themselves would be of divided opinion.

The four-point program raises a number of difficulties which should be admitted. It would be acceptable at present neither to the Communists nor to the Nationalists. Either might refuse to sit in the United Nations if the other were present under any designation. Communist China is likely to hold to its claim on Taiwan tenaciously. It might also be impossible to get Taiwan into the United Nations, even if the government of that time were willing to sit, due to a Russian veto. Various techniques should be explored, including that of treating Taiwan membership in the Assembly as a matter of the continuing membership of a government already recognized but given a changed designation.

What are the alternatives? Continued recognition of the Nationalist Government

as that of China seems most unpromising unless we are forced into this by Communist intransigency. The acceptance of Taiwan as a part of mainland China? This alone would satisfy the Chinese Communists at present, and therefore remove what is otherwise likely to be a continuing source of trouble. Indeed, it has been argued that Taiwan is not so important from a military or political viewpoint as to warrant ipso facto the enormous cost and risk of a long-term U.S. commitment for its defense. It has even been suggested that a general settlement in Asia might be attempted whereby Taiwan would be united with the mainland in exchange for a Communist agreement to accept free elections under U.N. auspices throughout Korea, leading to the unification of that country.

To adopt this policy, however, would be to jeopardize the American position with respect to other small nations dependent upon our protection and aid. It would seriously affect morale in South Korea, South Vietnam, the Philippines, and other areas. In addition, if it were done without the consent of the people on Taiwan, it would represent an immoral action. In the event of a bargain between some political leaders on Taiwan and the Communists, to be sure, the United States might be placed in an extremely awkward position whereby it would have to decide hastily whether it should intervene in an attempt to protect the Taiwanese right of self-determination. Such a development is possible, but it does not appear likely.

The program suggested above forms the only basis for any possible agreement among major elements within the free world. It also accords with the existing facts. There is a separation between mainland China and Taiwan at present and two separate governments are operating. The United States, moreover, takes cognizance of these facts, having tried to persuade the Nationalists to abandon any idea of returning to the mainland by force, and having guaranteed the military defense of Taiwan. There are no legal obstacles; the status of Taiwan has not been fixed by international pact, although admittedly we did promise during World War II that it should belong to China. The Taiwanese people themselves have given considerable indication of wishing to remain separate from the mainland, and could be tested by plebiscite if this were agreed.

The broad program suggested above does not contemplate a world without problems or without fear. It assumes that our military defenses will have to be strong, and that we will need a bold, dynamic program of international economic cooperation with non-Communist nations, especially in the Asian-African world. And, clearly, this program is not without its risks and difficulties of execution. But among the alternatives that confront us, it deserves serious consideration as the best long-range policy to serve American national interests.

A Letter to the Air Force

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CARLSON
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. CARLSON. All of us who have Air Force bases in our States have from time to time received considerable complaint from those whose homes lie within the flight pattern of the planes as they take off and land.

The military has in most instances done an outstanding job of public relations as well as efforts toward lessening the problem. However, it remained to one of my constituents, Mr. Ed Skidmore, of Topeka, Kans., where we have a large SAC base, to give just the right analysis, with what I would call the light touch. He wrote to Gen. Thomas S. Power, commander in chief, Headquarters, Strategic Air Command, Offutt Air Force Base, Nebr. This letter was given nationwide publicity, and as a result Ed Skidmore received accolades from the entire United States with a hearty amen.

I believe this story should be read by everyone interested in our freedoms. I ask unanimous consent that the article appearing in the Topeka Daily Capital be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE AIR FORCE LIKES TO GET LETTERS LIKE HIS

(By Peggy Greene)

On September 29 Ed Skidmore wrote a letter. Ed owns a cafe at 949 Wabash, in Oakland, near the municipal airport where the big bombers dip down close to the ground, making considerable noise.

That day Ed sat down and wrote a letter to Gen. Thomas A. Power, Commander in Chief of the Strategic Air Command at Offutt Air Force Base, Nebr. He laid it out to the General in plain language and what he said in part was:

"Dear General—I am a cafe owner, a newspaper reporter, author, and a taxpayer. However, regardless of what I am or have been, I want you personally to know that every time I hear your damn planes roaring over Topeka, Kans., aggravating the mothers of sleeping babies, annoying my customers, and property owners in general, when they make low-altitude simulated landings at Topeka's Municipal Airport, a short distance from my place of business, it worries me.

"Yes, sir, General, it worries me. It worries me when I get to thinking that if it were not for those planes of yours flying over us here in a typical section of America, there would be a different type roaring overhead, and instead of those big letters 'U.S.' on the blue star, they would be emblazoned with the red star and the hammer and sickle.

"It worries me, General, when planes under your command en route to Forbes Air Force Base, in bad weather fly so low over my cafe that we can't hear the customers' orders.

"The thing that worries me, General, is that, if it were not for those noisy planes of yours, I wouldn't own my cafe and furthermore I probably would be shot for writing the comrade commander this kind of a complaining letter.

"It worries me also because it has been difficult to get a loan on property close to the municipal airport and under your approaches to Forbes. It worries me because I know if it weren't for those big silver birds of yours, the people who have some difficulty financing their homes would be jammed like sardines in state-owned apartments without an inch of ground to call their own.

"The other day a woman customer told me something should be done about those big jet bombers awakening her baby from its nap almost every afternoon. I told her, 'Look up and see that big U.S. on their sides. Lady, that means us. Those planes belong to us.'

"I look up at them and I think, 'There goes a chunk of my income tax money. I own a fraction of an inch of aluminum in that wing, a drop of gasoline, a fleck of paint, nut or bolt, a switch or panel light.' The more of them I see the more I know I'm getting my money's worth.

"So keep 'em coming, General. The roar of those bombers, the drone of the tankers, and the prolonged blast of the fighters is the sweetest music this side of the Iron Curtain."

Some days later he had a warm and appreciative answer from General Power, and Ed considered the file closed. But a couple of weeks ago he had a letter from Col. Donald C. Foster, director of information at Offutt, saying Columnist Bob Considine had been in for a visit and had seen Skidmore's letter and wanted to use it in his syndicated column. Permission was given.

Considine said, "Old Ed Skidmore, of 946 Chester Street, Topeka, Kans., has replaced B. Bardot as the favorite pinup around SAC headquarters at Offutt Air Force Base, Nebr."

He said Skidmore's letter to General Thomas "touches a problem which is of often acute concern to the Air Force. But 10,000 Air Force public relations officers combined have never been able to simplify and dignify it as well as Skidmore."

Soon letters began coming in from readers of the column in various papers, and each writer expressed appreciation of and agreement with its sentiments.

One letter was from Cyril N. Skidmore, president of a public relations institute with its main offices at Lakeside, Conn. He hoped they were "anyway shirt-tail cousins," and said he intended to stop and eat with him the next time he was in Topeka.

Ed wrote Cyril some family history—that he was descended from Thomas Skidmore who came to Cambridge in 1635, and Thomas was in the line of Sir Thomas Scudamore of Herefordshire, the family going back to the time of William the Conqueror, 1066.

Ed Skidmore grew up in Cherokee County and after he graduated from high school at Columbus, got a job as reporter on the Columbus Daily Advocate. Two weeks later the city editor quit and Ed applied for his job and got it Four months later he applied for and got a job as reporter on the old St. Louis Times.

It was in 1917 and young men were going off to war. Ed moved up fast on the paper until he was getting out the 5 o'clock edition. He had a police badge as big as a plate which got him almost trapped in a burning building and got rocks thrown at him in a race riot.

He joined the tank corps under the strength of the slogan, "Why walk to Berlin when you can ride?" But the closest he got was Camp Polk, N.C.

The war over, he worked for the Associated Press and the United Press and became acquainted with many well-known editors, including the late Harold Ross, editor of the New Yorker. Ross' parents once lived in Cherokee County. Ben Hibbs married a girl from Columbus who was a friend of Ed's. Skidmore collaborated on a series of G-man articles in the old Liberty magazine.

In 1953 Skidmore spent some time on the copy desk of the Daily Capital, until he decided to get a business of his own, because, he said, he wanted to be his own boss. He bought the cafe, and discovered that everybody who came in for a cup of coffee was his boss.

But he never stopped writing, turned out articles now and then, wrote some plays for civil defense, and has written a book.

He has noticed one thing, that there's nothing like food to warm a person up.

Customers may come in, silent and a bit withdrawn, but once they get some food inside them they thaw out and blossom.

Last spring Ed began writing a book. With his typewriter on a table in a corner of the kitchen, he could rattle off a few paragraphs in between hamburgers. And that's what he calls it, "In Between Hamburgers." It has been sent to an agent.

The Skidmores' home is a block away from the cafe, with an intercom connecting the two. Both Ed and his wife work at the cafe in addition to two employees. They have two sons who were both in World War II. Charles E., Jr., a graduate of Kansas University, a glider pilot, flew into Normandy on D-Day and landed 18 assault troops. After the war he reenlisted and asked for nonflying duty. He is now stationed near Tokyo and his wife and their four children are with him.

The other son, W. D. Skidmore, was a combat pilot. He is now in business in Topeka, one of his interests being the Jack and Jill ice cream jeeps.

Ed Skidmore believes that the sound of the SAC bombers, though "disconcerting at times to those who live under the approaches to our bases, is a small payment to make for our protection."

"I am satisfied," he said, "that the great majority of Topekans do not complain about the low approach of the planes nor the noise they make. It is my opinion that Topeka people appreciate having the base here and are fully cognizant of the sacrifice being made by our airmen for our support."

Cooperative Future Farmers of America Forestry Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK W. BOYKIN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. BOYKIN. Mr. Speaker, any activity or organization that helps to make responsible citizens for tomorrow from the youth of today, merits the attention of my colleagues in the Congress. For 15 years the Seaboard Air Line Railroad Co. has sponsored a cooperative Future Farmers of America forestry program through which thousands of farm youth actually have become better farmers, better students and better citizens.

In October of 1959, the Seaboard gave the top forestry winners from the six southeastern States a trip to the National Future Farmers Convention in Kansas City, then to Chicago, Pittsburgh, and Richmond.

In each of these key cities the six boys told the story of their forestry and farming accomplishments to large groups of leading businessmen, industrialists, civic, and community leaders. The response to the down-to-earth sincere talks given by these boys was so overwhelming that I am submitting for the RECORD the remarks made by Mr. Robert N. Hoskins, general forestry agent of the Seaboard, in his introduction of the forestry winners and the speech of our fine farm boy, Crawford Welch, who was the winner from Alabama:

REMARKS BY ROBERT N. HOSKINS, GENERAL FORESTRY AGENT, SEABOARD AIR LINE RAILROAD, IN CONNECTION WITH TRIP TO BE MADE BY SIX SOUTHEASTERN STATE FFA FORESTRY WINNERS

The cooperative Future Farmers of America forestry program sponsored by our company through the State supervisors of agricultural education is now in its 15th year. It is the oldest regional farm youth forestry program in the Nation today. Our jointly sponsored programs enable us to reach more than 90,000 all-day students and thousands of other young farmers and adult farmers attending night classes—all of which is directed by the teacher of vocational agriculture.

The Southeast holds forth in an enviable position nationally in terms of timber resources for America's future. Almost one-fourth of the Nation's commercial forest land is in this section. Our problems are somewhat similar to those nationally in terms of the pattern for ownerships, in that farm ownerships make up the majority of forest acreage ownerships. Actually, farm woodlands total about 57 percent of the commercial private holdings. These farm woodland owners total more than 800,000.

To meet the needs of our increasing population, obviously greater emphasis must be placed on the proper management of these small woodlands. During the past year, the U.S. Forest Service held many meetings in our section, as it did nationally, in an attempt to reach the small woodland owner. For it is recognized that herein lies the opportunity for some real improvement.

We in our organization have worked closely down through the years with the U.S. Forest Service, the State forest services, the various forestry associations, and particularly with all wood-using industries in an effort to help the small woodland owner do a better job in management and in marketing his wood products. Progress in forestry is very much in evidence in our section. The fact that more trees were planted in the six States served by our line than in all the other 44 States combined is quite significant. While three of our States have all forest lands under organized fire protection, others are placing new acreage under protection, building toward statewide protection. More and more, small woodland owners are receiving technical assistance from State, Federal, and industrial foresters.

It was my pleasure to again join various groups in Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and Alabama for the purpose of inspecting on-the-ground some 36 FFA forestry projects. We were tremendously impressed with these farm boys' accomplishments. The 24 boys singled out for recognition in our program have planted a total of 762,000 seedlings. They thinned a total of 651.5 acres and harvested 2,543 cords of pulpwood. Through owner management programs, they participated in the harvest of 364,418 board feet of sawlogs and 563 poles. These are just a few of the combined accomplishedments. I am pleased at this time to present to you the first of our State forestry winners: John D. Gilman, Ashland, Va.; Harold Howard, Morrisville, N.C.; Edward Coble, Simpsonville, S.C.; Boyd McLocklin, Statham, Ga.; Kenneth Tanner, Callahan, Fla.; and Crawford Welch, Grove Hill, Ala.

MY FORESTRY PROGRAM

(By Crawford Welch, State FFA forestry winner from Alabama)

Mr. Chairman, members of the Traffic Club, and guests, I am a member of the Grove Hill FFA Chapter of the Alabama Future Farmers of America and reside in Clarke County, Ala. I am 18 years old and my home is located 85 miles north of the shore line of the Gulf of Mexico and the great port of Mobile, Ala. The soil is of the clay hills type of the Coastal Plains bordering the great cattle-producing area of Alabama, the Black Belt, so-called because of the color of the soil. I am happy to say that I live in one of the great timber-producing areas of the region.

I live on a small general farm consisting of 220 acres, on which we produce cattle, hogs, and timber. Since my father is otherwise employed, most of the farmwork is left up to my smaller brother and me. My father has been very cooperative and helped me to get started in forestry and farming. A great portion of the returns from our farm is used for expansion and improvement.

I am truly grateful to the Seaboard Airline Railroad Co. for making this trip possible and its general forestry agent for the advice given during the State award annual inspections. I was very fortunate in placing second in the program last year and winning first this year.

My forestry project totals 130 acres. On this land I have planted 58,100 pine seedlings and prepared 28 additional acres where seed was broadcast. Over much of this area I controlled my undesirable hardwood on 60 acres by girdling and poisoning. I controlburned 5 acres, did some improvement cutting and thinning on 50 acres, which I feel contributed to a maximum return on these woodlands.

From this harvest, I cut 47,518 board feet of saw logs, with most of the lumber being used on the farm for repair and the building of a new hay barn. I cut and sold 190 cords of pulpwood, 55 building poles, which were pealed and treated on the farm, for our new barn, and 455 fence posts which were also treated. I also cut 58 cords of fuelwood. The harvesting of timber products was accomplished by use of my chain saw and I built my own vat for the treating of the poles and fence posts.

I have served as president of the local FFA chapter, president of the student council, am a member of the Beta Club and lettered in football, basketball, and baseball. This year I also took second place in the State FFA safe tractor driving contest.

I plan to further my career in forestry and am now a freshman at Alabama Polytechnic Institute at Auburn, Ala.

It has been a real pleasure to meet and talk with you and I have enjoyed this occasion very much. I look forward to the long trip which we are getting to Chicago, Pittsburgh, and Richmond before returning home.

The Real Cost of Milk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, we in Wisconsin, who produce so much milk, have at times discussions between the city folks and the farmers, because the city folks feel that the farmers are getting a great deal for their milk, and the farmers try to tell them they are mistaken. For instance, the farmer gets about 7 cents a quart for milk, or perhaps $3.25 a hundredweight. The same

day, if he is a consumer, he pays anywhere from 20 to 25 cents a quart for milk.

The point I am making is that the farmer who sells the milk is not getting a big profit from the milk because in between the producer and consumer there is the cost of getting the milk to the factory. To get it there, high wages have to be paid. Then the milk probably goes to the distrbuting station. Again wages have to be paid. The result is that no one is getting a great perecntage of profit out of the milk.

But the point is that the farmer does the milking, he owns the cows, he has to feed them, he has to have a farm on which to raise feed for the cows to consume, he has all the work to do, and practically none of the pay. The point is he is not getting his equitable share of the price the milk sells for. That point should be stressed and restressed, because there are those who want to create dissension between the farmers and the city folks.

Mr. President, today the Nation is striving for a solution of the problems in agriculture.

Over the years, the Nation has experienced a strange anomaly in the pricing of agricultural commodities. The prices for products have risen in dollars and cents value.

However, by the yardstick of how many hours of work are required to pay for a quart of milk, for example, the costs have actually shown a steady decline since 1890.

According to a study by the Milk Industry Foundation, the purchase of a quart of milk required 25.5 minutes of labor in 1890. In 1959, the wage earner needed to work 6.8 minutes for a quart of milk.

In the days when the farmer—because of the high cost of the farm program—is increasingly becoming the target of criticism, I believe it is important to point out such factors. The decline in real costs of such commodities—for the most part, at the expense of the farmer—has contributed greatly to holding down the costs of living.

I wish to stress, also, that the farmer often receives too little of the dollars and cents value of his product.

Currently, for example, a dairy farmer in Wisconsin may sell his milk for 6 cents a quart. Within 24 hours, the same milk may be sold at a retail price of about 24 cents a quart. Now, is the farmer getting a fair share of the retail price? Definitely not.

The 6 or 7 cents a quart received for milk is not only too small a share of the retail price, but it is also inadequate in terms of meeting the costs of equipment, labor, taxes, and other skyrocketing expenses of farm operations.

Now, who is getting the money? From time to time investigations have been made into this problem, including hearings by congressional committees. Unfortunately, the big price spread between what the farmer receives for a product and what it sells for retail continues to account for an increasingly large portion of the higher price to the consumer.

Recently, the Dairy Record, an authoriatative voice in dairying, published an editorial entitled "The Real Cost of Milk." I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE REAL COST OF MILK

It would require a very aggressive job of public relations to convince the consumer that the real price of a quart of milk has shown a steady decline since 1890, but such actually has been the case.

The Milk Industry Foundation points out that the real price of milk is represented not by the number of cents required to pay for it but by the amount of work that the consumer has to do to earn enough money to buy it.

The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics has collected data for 70 years on milk prices and the number of minutes of factory work required to earn the price of a home-delivered quart, using the factory worker's average hourly earnings as a basis.

In 1890 the average price for quart of home-delivered milk was 6.8 cents and it required 25.5 minutes for a wage earner to earn enough to buy the quart for in those halcyon days of low wages the average hourly factory wage was 16 cents.

In 1914 the average price of milk was 8.9 cents; it required 22.9 minutes to earn the price of a quart of milk and the average hourly factory wage was 23.3 cents per hour. In the booming year of 1929 the price of milk had advanced to 14.4 cents per quart; the average hourly wage was 56.6 cents and it required 15.3 minutes to earn enough to buy the quart of milk.

In the postwar days of 1947 the average price per quart was 19.6 cents; the average hourly factory wage was $1.237 and it only required 9.5 minutes to earn that quart bottle of milk. In 1959 the January-October average price of milk was 25.2 cents; the average hourly factory wage was $2.216 and it required only 6.8 minutes to earn the price of the quart.

Consumers seldom, if ever, give any thought to the relative stability of milk prices or that it takes less out of the family budget in relation to income than is the case with most other products which they buy.

Milk distributors continue to operate on a margin of slightly more than 2 cents of each sales dollar for a net profit of about one-half cent a quart. There may be many individual companies which are operating on a 2 percent margin, but we doubt very much that there are any great number of industries which in the overall are operating on such a slim percentage margin.

And this is the industry that political demagogs from time to time raise their quavering voices to demand that the fluid milk industry be made a public utility.

The Hawaiian Constitution: A Structure for Good Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL K. INOUYE
OF HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article written by Dr. Paul C. Bartholomew and Dr. Robert M. Kamins entitled "The Hawaiian Constitution: A Structure for Good Government."

I feel certain that the information contained in this article will be of great interest to the Members of this Congress.

The article follows:

THE HAWAIIAN CONSTITUTION—A STRUCTURE FOR GOOD GOVERNMENT

(By Paul C. Bartholomew, professor of political science at the University of Notre Dame, and Robert M. Kamins, professor of law at the University of Hawaii)

Although Hawaii is our newest State, her constitution is nearly 10 years old, having been in existence since 1950. Professor Bartholomew and Professor Kamins discuss the features of the 50th State's basic law in this article. Lawyers will doubtless be particularly interested in the fact that Hawaii, unlike Alaska, did not choose to adopt the American Bar Association's plan for judicial selection, preferring instead appointed judges. Like Alaska, Hawaii's only elected executive officers are the Governor and the Lieutenant Governor. This article discusses these and a number of other interesting features of the new State's constitution.

The admission of a State to the Union is a matter of such rarity that the occasion always arouses real interest as to the nature and provisions of the constitution of the new arrival. The addition of Hawaii to round out our half hundred States is no exception, even though the constitution has actually been in existence since 1950.

Hawaii became American Territory by act of Congress in 1898. Prior to this, in 1854, a treaty with Hawaii had been drafted at the request of President Pierce. The subsequent death of the King of Hawaii prevented ratification of the treaty. A revolution in the islands later resulted in the establishment of a republic in Hawaii. A treaty of annexation was again negotiated. This was later withdrawn by President Cleveland. With the accession of President McKinley another treaty was signed in June of 1897. This was ratified by the Hawaiian senate but was rejected by the Senate of the United States. However, the following year, a joint resolution of annexation passed Congress and was signed by McKinley.

Two years later, on April 30, 1900, the organic act for Hawaii became law. This granted U.S. citizenship to the citizens of Hawaii and, in effect, incorporated the territory as an integral part of the United States. Only 3 years later, in 1903, the Hawaiian legislature, for the first of at least 17 times, petitioned Congress for statehood. Legislation to grant statehood was introduced in Congress on fewer than 66 occasions after 1920, but no action was taken by either House of Congress until 1947 when the House of Representatives passed a statehood act. The House repeated this action in 1950 and in 1953 without concurring Senate action. In 1954 a joint Hawaii-Alaska Enabling Act passed the Senate but not the House. Thus the final pasage of S. 50 by both the Senate and the House in the 1st session of the 86th Congress in March of 1959 and its subsequent approval by President Eisenhower marked the end of a long battle for admission to statehood. The victory came exactly just 3 months less than 61 years after annexation, and only a little over 1 month less than 59 years after the passage of the organic act.

However, the people of Hawaii had not waited for Congress to pass an enabling act before proceeding to the framing of a constitution for the proposed State. In 1950 a convention of elected delegates met in Honolulu

and proceeded to draw up a constitution which was signed at Iolani Palace on July 22. This was submitted to the voters of Hawaii and approved by a 3 to 1 majority on November 7, 1950. The action of Congress in adopting the Statehood Act of 1959 involved approval of this constitution, with two changes, noted below.

Under the terms of the Statehood Act, the Territorial Governor called the first State primary election for June 27, 1959. At that time the voters were to adopt or reject three propositions: (1) Whether Hawaii should be immediately admitted to the Union as a State; (2) whether the boundaries should be as prescribed in the act[1]; (3) whether the reservation of rights and powers to the United States and the prescribed terms and conditions of the act should be accepted by the State and its people. The vote of the people at the polls overwhelmingly favored acceptance. The Governor also called a general election for July 28, 1959, for the choice of State officers and two Senators and one Representative in Congress. After the election the Governor certified to the President the results of the plebiscite on the three questions and the results of the election of officers. Upon the President's findings that these propositions had been adopted and upon the certification of the returns of the election of officers, the President issued a proclamation of admission to statehood. Ten days thereafter the first State legislature of Hawaii met in special session. Incidentally, as in the case of Alaska, the Representative of Hawaii in Congress is to be temporarily in addition to the 435 members of the House now prescribed by law. This will hold until the next reapportionment.

HAWAII'S STATE CONSTITUTION

The constitution of the State of Hawaii has a preamble and 16 articles. The preamble reads as follows:

"We, the people of the State of Hawaii, grateful for divine guidance, and mindful of our Hawaiian heritage, reaffirm our belief in a government of the people, by the people and for the people, and with an understanding heart toward all the peoples of the earth, do hereby ordain and establish this constitution for the State of Hawaii."

All State constitutions have some statement of the rights of persons under the State's jurisdiction. In the Hawaiian Constitution this statement (article I) is called the bill of rights, and it generally follows the Bill of Rights of the Federal Constitution. Here is set forth a recognition of popular sovereignty, the equality of men and their mutual rights and duties. Specific guarantees include life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness, property, religion, speech, press, assembly, petition, due process, grand jury, trial by jury in both civil and criminal cases, proper accusation of crime, witnesses, counsel, habeas corpus, the subordination of the military to civil power, and the right to bear arms through a militia. There are specific guarantees against unreasonable search and seizure, double jeopardy, self-incrimination, excessive bail or fines, cruel or unusual punishment, quartering of soldiers or militiamen and imprisonment for debt. There is a final statement to take care of the principle of exclusion that the enumeration of rights and privileges shall not be construed to impair or deny others retained by the people.

These are the basic rights that are found in all State constitutions. However, other States have additional basic guarantees covering the right of privacy, the location of the power to suspend laws, the prohibition of ex post facto laws and the outlawing of slavery. On the other hand there are a number of specific guarantees in the Hawaiian Constitution that are not included in all of the other State constitutions, such as freedom of the press. The influence of the Federal constitutional model is here obvious.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Article II concerns suffrage and elections. Twenty years is set as the minimum age for voting. This contrasts with Alaska's 19 years and the 18-year minimum of Georgia and Kentucky. All other States have a 21-year limit. One year is set as the period of legal residence in Hawaii. In other States, this ranges from 6 months to 2 years. U.S. citizenship, registration, and a literacy test of ability to speak, read and write English or Hawaiian are added voting qualifications. The first of these is found in all States while registration and a literacy test are qualifications in about a third of the States.

The date of general elections follows the pattern of all of the other States except Alaska[2]—the Tuesday after the first Monday in November of even-numbered years. The legislature is specifically empowered to prescribe methods of voting, including absentee voting, with the provision that voting is to be secret. The legislature is also charged with determining the procedure for deciding disputed elections but this determination is to be in a court of competent jurisdiction. As is common in other States, persons of unsound mind or those convicted of a felony are barred from voting unless pardoned and restored to their civil rights.

Article III is the legislative article. The legislature (the collective name for the two houses) is to consist of a senate of 25 members and a house of representatives of 51 members. Only Delaware and Nevada have a smaller total number of legislators except, of course, Nebraska's single house of 43. One might have expected that the example set by the Nebraska unicameral experiment would have been followed, but Nebraska remains the only State with a one-house legislature. Members of the senate and the house are to be elected from districts. Six senatorial districts are set by the constitution, together with the number of senators to be elected from each. The 18 representative districts and the number of members to be chosen from each are temporarily set in the constitution. Reapportionment every 10 years is to be by the Governor by the method of equal proportion—the mathematical formula used in the apportionment of the lower House of Congress—among four basic areas in the islands. Apportionment is to be based on the number of voters registered at the last preceding general election.

This provision requiring the Governor to reapportion is unique among the States. In most States this is an exclusive power of the legislature, but California, Illinois, Michigan, Oregon, South Dakota, Texas, and Washington provide alternative procedures in case the legislature neglects to reapportion. Arizona, Arkansas, Missouri, and Ohio reapportion by means of boards, of which the Governor is a member in Arkansas and Ohio, but only in Hawaii is the Governor himself authorized to perform the function exclusively. The Hawaiian supreme court is empowered to require "by mandamus or otherwise" that the Governor perform this duty, if he fails to do it, or to correct errors he may have made in the process.[3]

Terms of representatives and senators are 2 and 4 years respectively, which is the arrangement in 30 States including Alaska. There is provision for overlapping terms with half of the senate membership chosen at each succeeding election. The legislature is authorized to provide for the filling of vacancies and to set the compensation of members. Qualifications for membership include an age minimum of 25 years for the house and 30 for the senate, residence in the State for at least 3 years, and the fulfillment of all requirements for voting in the district from which the candidate seeks to be elected. The usual legislative immunities are extended to members.

Sessions of the legislature are to be held annually, those in the odd-numbered years are to be known as general sessions and those in the even-numbered years are to be known as budget sessions. At the latter the only business eligible for consideration and enactment is to be the following: revenue bills, appropriation bills, emergency measures (requiring a two-thirds vote of all members of each house), bills calling elections, bill proposing constitutional amendmnts, and measures relating to the impeachment or removal of officers.

General sessions are to be limited to 60 days and budget sessions to 30 days. The Governor may call special sessions which are to be limited to 30 days. All of these periods exclude Sundays and holidays. Regular sessions are set for the third Wednesday in February. Only Alabama (May), Florida (April), and Louisiana (May) have later meeting dates. Almost all other State legislatures meet in January. Until changed by law, the constitution provides that legislative salaries are to be $2,500 per each general session, $1,500 per each budget session and $750 per each special session.[4]

Unusual provisions governing legislative procedure include the discharge of a committee from further consideration of a bill 20 days after that bill has been referred to the committee. Such recall of a bill is to be by a two-thirds vote of the entire membership of that house. The vote on the final passage of a bill in all cases is to be by a majority of the total membership of that house and is to be by rollcall.

The Governor has the item veto as applied to appropriation bills, as is true in most States. He has 10 days to consider bills normally, Sundays and holidays excluded. Only Georgia and Alaska permit a longer period of consideration. The Hawaii constitution tries to avoid pocket vetoes. Borrowing an innovation from New Jersey's 1947 constitution, Hawaii's new basic law authorizes each legislature to convene on the 45th day after its adjournment sine die for the sole purpose of considering bills vetoed by the Governor. Vetoes can be overridden only by vote of two-thirds of the full membership of each house. However, if the legislature fails to convene after its ordinary session, bills returned by the Governor do not become law.

Impeachment procedure is entirely normal by comparison with other States. Charges are to be brought in the house of representatives and trial is to be in the senate with a two-thirds vote of the members of the senate required for conviction.

Article IV is the executive article. The Governor is chosen by plurality vote. This is true of all States except Georgia, Maine, Vermont, and Mississippi, where a majority vote is required. In these States, if no candidate receives a majority of the votes, either the two houses in joint session (Georgia and Vermont) or the lower house of the legislature (Maine and Mississippi) makes the selection.

The term of office of the Governor of Hawaii is set at 4 years, as in 30 States, including Alaska. There is no limit on the number of consecutive terms he may serve as there is in 23 other States, also including Alaska. Qualifications include a minimum age of 35 years, U.S. citizenship for 20 years and qualifying as a voter. The Governor is ineligible for any other State or Federal office during his term. The constitution provides that his annual salary shall be at least $13,000. The 1959 Territorial Legislature increased it to $25,000 per annum.

As in all but 11 States, there is a Lieutenant Governor. He is chosen at the same time, in the same manner with the same qualifications, and for the same term as the Governor, but may be of the opposite political party. The Lieutenant Governor is to discharge the powers and duties of the office of Governor in the absence or disability of the Governor as well as succeeding to the

office on the Governor's death. The legislature is empowered to provide for succession beyond the Lieutenant Governor.

The powers of the Governor are of the usual sort found in the other States—to faithfully executive the laws, to serve as commander in chief of the armed forces of the State, to recommend measures to the legislature, and to grant reprieves, commutations and pardons. One unusual feature is the authorization to the Governor to appoint an administrative director "to serve at his pleasure." No duties are specified for this office, although this may develop somewhat along the lines of the chief administrative officer (CAO) being established in more and more cities. No other State appears to have an officer comparable to Hawaii's Administrative Director. It will be interesting to see how the office does develop.

Administrative departments are to be established by law but are limited to 20 principal departments.[6] The head of each department is to be appointed by the Governor with the consent of the senate and subject to removal by the same procedure. Appointees to these offices must have been residents of the State for at least 3 years immediately preceeding their appointment. The Governor is authorized to make recess appointments "but the person so appointed shall not be eligible for another interim appointment to such office if the appointment shall have failed of confirmation by the Senate."

An unusual feature of this constitution (and that of Alaska also) is limiting the number of elective executive offices to those of the Governor and Lieutenant Governor. Most State constitutions freeze a large number of offices such as auditor, treasurer, attorney general, and superintendent of public instruction in the constitution, all to be chosen by popular vote. This reduces the power of both the legislature and the Governor in those States, particularly the Governor, and opens the way for intra-administrative feuding. This has been avoided by the framers of the Hawaiian Constitution.

The last of the big three divisions of governmental power, the judiciary, is established by article VA supreme court and circuit courts are established by the constitution, but the creation of inferior courts is left for the legislature. (There are now 29 district magistrates' courts.) The supreme court is to consist of five justices including the chief justice. These are to be named by the Governor and senate for 7-year terms. All judges must have been admitted to the bar of the Hawaiian supreme court for at least 10 years prior to appointment. Mandatory retirement is set at 70 years of age. Removal of judges is to be by a two-thirds vote of the membership of each house of the legislature sitting in joint session. Provision is made for retirement of a judge for incapacity. This is to be done by the Governor upon the recommendation of an investigatory board.

The chief justice of the supreme court is made the administrative head of the courts with power to assign judges temporarily from one circuit court to another. He also has the power to name an administrative director of the courts. The supreme court is empowered to promulgate civil and criminal rules of practice, procedure, and appeals in the courts.

It is regrettable that the framers of the Hawaiian constitution did not adopt some variation of the plan used in California and Missouri for the choice of judges, as did Alaska. However, it is good that the example of the 36 States that use popular election for the choice of judges was not followed.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Article VI deals with taxation and finance. There is to be no discriminatory taxation of property owned by citizens of the United States who reside outside the state. All bonds and other instruments of indebtedness of a political subdivision must be authorized by its governing body. The state debt limit is set at an absolute sixty million dollars.[6] More than half of the 50 States have some fixed sum limitation on outstanding unpaid indebtedness. In Hawaii this debt limit can be exceeded when authorized by a two-thirds vote of the total membership of each house of the legislature. However, even with such authorization, the amount of general obligation bonds outstanding cannot exceed a sum equal to 15 percent of the total assessed valuation of real property in the State. Instruments of indebtedness issued for certain specified purposes, and to meet emergencies caused by disaster or act of God, may be issued without regard to the debt limit. The same is true if these instruments of indebtedness are issued in anticipation of revenue collections or to meet casual deficits or failures of revenue and are payable within 1 year.

Political subdivision in the State are limited in funded debt to 10 percent of the assessed value of real estate in the particular subdivision. The aggregate of a subdivision's debt contracted in any fiscal year is not to exceed 2 percent of such assessed valuation. These limits do not apply to borrowing by a subdivision in anticipation of revenue or to meet casual deficits or failures of revenue, if such indebtedness is payable within 1 year.

The constitution makes mandatory the adoption of the serial bond arrangement for repayment of debt. Such an application of the installment system of payment is to be preferred to a sinking fund arrangement. Revenue bonds are exempt from this provision.

The executive type of budget is provided. All but six States use this arrangement which establishes the Governor as the budget-making authority. He is further given the duty of submitting bills simultaneously with the budget to provide for any added revenues or borrowing that may be necessary to meet the proposed expenditures. This is a practical attempt to eliminate unbalanced budgets. The legislature is to appoint an auditor by majority vote of the members of the legislature in joint session. The auditor has the duty to post-audit and to report to the Governor and the legislature.

Article VII is the local government article. The legislature is required to create counties as the major political subdivision of the State and may establish other subdivisions. This is the usual pattern among the various States. Only Louisiana with parishes and Alaska with boroughs depart from this pattern.[7] Each subdivision is granted self-government, but this is potentially nullified by the further provision that the exercise of this self-government is to be done "within such limits and under such procedures as may be prescribed by law."[8]

Article VIII makes it the obligation of the legislature to provide for: (1) the protection and promotion of the public health, (2) the treatment, rehabilitation, and care of mentally and physically handicapped persons, (3) assistance for persons unable to live in a manner compatible with decency and health, (4) slum clearance and low income housing, and (5) the conservation of natural beauty spots as well as those of historic or cultural interest.

Article IX directs the establishment of a public school system free from sectarian control as well as a university (the University of Hawaii), libraries, and other institutions. Segregation on the basis of race, religion or ancestry is specifically forbidden. The wall of separation between church and state in this area is guaranteed by the proviso that public funds shall not be used for the support or benefit of any sectarian or private educational institution. A state board of education is to be appointed by the Governor and senate. This board, in turn, is to name a superintendent of public instruction as its executive officer. The members of the board of regents of the University of Hawaii are to be appointed by the Governor and senate. The president of the university who, along with the superintendent of public instruction, is to be an ex officio voting member of the board of regents, is to be named by the board, which is the policy-formulating body for the university.

Article X is concerned with the conservation of natural resources. The legislature is ordered to vest the powers of management and disposition of these natural resources—agricultural, fish, mineral, forest, water, land, game, and others—in one or more executive boards or commissions. All fisheries of the sea waters are to be free to the public, subject to vested rights. Any possibility of preferential treatment for private interests with respect to natural resources is guarded against by the requirement that the state power over public lands is to be exercised only by general laws except where public agencies are involved. Further, the public lands are to be used for the development of farm and home ownership on as widespread a basis as possible. This last provision reflects the historic background of land ownership in the islands where lease-holding arrangements have been prevalent and (on Oahu) land available for ownership in fee has been in chronically short supply.

The following article (XI) continues the consideration of homelands by adopting as a law of the State the Federal Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920. The treatment of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act (under which residential and homesteading properties are supplied at an annual rental of $1 to persons of at least half-Polynesian ancestry) comprises a constitutional anomaly. The act admitting Hawaii to the Union provides that those sections of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act which relate to its administration can be amended in the State constitution or by statute, but that other sections, including those dealing with funds, cannot be amended without the consent of the United States. No parallel restriction upon the self-government of an American State appears to have been imposed by Congress, and in the light of the determination of previous similar, but different, restrictions, the provision may be legally vulnerable.[9]

Article XII guarantees to employees in private enterprise the right to organize and to bargain collectively. Those in public employment are extended the right to organize and to present to the Government their grievances and proposals.

The boundaries, the capital (Honolulu), and the State flag (the Hawaiian flag, modeled after the British) are established in article XIII.

Article XIV contains general and miscellaneous provisions, some of which are unusual. The merit principle is adopted for public employment subject to law. Any public employees' retirement system is to be a contractual relationship not subject to diminution or impairment. Loyalty to Federal and State governments is made a qualification for public employment and a constitutional oath is set forth. The exclusion principle is recognized with the provision that "the enumeration in this constitution of specified powers shall not be construed as limitations upon the power of the State to provide for the general welfare of the people."

In article XV are set forth the details of revision and amendment of the constitution. Two methods are provided, by convention and by the legislature. The periodic submission plan is adopted in the requirement that at least every 10 years the question of calling a constitutional convention must be submitted to the electorate.[10] The possibility that the Hawaiian Legislature may neglect to do this is guarded against by providing that the Lieutenant Governor must certify the question of calling a convention if the legislature has failed to do so. The legislature may propose amendments by a two-thirds vote of each house at one session after the Governor has received at least a 10-day written notice of the final form of the proposed amendment. Alternatively, amendments can be proposed by a majority vote of each house on the proposal at each of two successive sessions.

Regardless of whether the amendment is proposed by convention or by the legislature, it is then submitted to a vote of the electorate at a general election. The proposition must secure a majority of all of the votes cast on the question and this favorable vote must also constitute at least 35 percent of the total number of registered voters. There is the further requirement that any amendment proposition either changing this provision or changing the representation from any senatorial district must be approved by a majority of the votes cast upon the question in each of a majority of the four counties of the State. The Governor's power of veto does not apply to any proposed amendment. In effect this provision precludes reapportionment of the senate, since the outer islands, other than Oahu, cannot be expected to approve a reduction in their representation.

The final article (XVI) is the very necessary but transitory schedule article. This contains the details and the step-by-step procedure for putting the constitution into effect. All laws in force in the territory of Hawaii are to continue in force until their expiration, amendment, or repeal.[11] All legal determinations and court actions are to continue unaffected. The debts and liabilities of the territory are to be assumed by the State of Hawaii. All officers of the territory and of local governments are to continue in office until superseded. The lieutenant governor is to succeed to the powers and duties of the secretary of the territory.

Also included in this article are details covering the election of the first officers of the State and the first Members of Congress from the State. The effective date of the constitution is set as "immediately upon the admission of Hawaii into the Union as a State." Under the admission act, this was accomplished by proclamations of the President, on August 21 of this year.

The Hawaii constitution is brief (11,400 words) [12] and generally incorporates the better constitutional provisions of the other American States. Its drafters, however, did not completely avoid the trap of being overly specific in dealing with quantities. The State debt limit of $60 million, which seemed generous when the constitution was drafted 9 years ago, is inadequate to the point of temporarily embarrassing the fiscal operation of the new State. The requirement that the lower house be reapportioned on or before June 1, 1959, proves to be ineffective, because the delay in achieving statehood left Hawaii without a State legislature on that date.

In addition, the Congress placed unusual limitations on Hawaii by requiring, in the act of admission, that basic amendments to the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act be approved by the United States in order to be effective. Despite these difficulties and shortcomings, however, the constitution of the State of Hawaii affords a good structure for the governance of the 50th State.

[1] The Congress changed the constitutional description of Hawaii's boundaries by excluding Palmyra, an atoll some 960 miles south of Honolulu.

[2] Alaska has set the second Tuesday in October of even-numbered years.

[3] The constitutional convention may have inadvertently made reapportionment of the house impossible until 1969. Art. III, sec. 4, says that the Governor shall reapportion on or before June 1, 1959, and every decade thereafter. On June 1, 1959, however, there was no State Governor or State legislature. An action is now being brought in the Hawaii supreme court to require the territorial Governor to reapportion the State legislature, but the likelihood of success in the effort is not great.

[4] Under territorial law, which carries over until amended, legislators from the island of Oahu also receive a per diem payment of $32.50. Those from other islands receive $45 per day in attendance at the legislature.

[5] There are now some 75 departments, boards, commisisons, etc. A major problem of the transition to statehood will be to effect this reorganization. The constitution allows the legislature 3 years, until the late summer of 1962, to group these various agencies within 20 principal departments. If the legislature does not meet that deadline, the Governor is to make the allocation, by executive order, within 1 year thereafter.

[6] The $60 million debt ceiling, which seemed generous to the constitution's drafters in 1950, when the territorial debt approximated $20 million, is already hopelessly insufficient. As Hawaii becomes a State, its outstanding debt will exceed $150 million. Living within the debt ceiling will be difficult until property values, expanding rapidly with a construction boom on Oahu, raise the permissible maximum to $160 million or more. This expansion will probably require 2 years.

[7] Connecticut has adopted legislation to abolish counties and leave towns as the first subdivision below the state level.

[8] For a description of the highly centralized government which has evolved in Hawaii see Norman Meller, "Centralization in Hawaii: Retrospect and Prospect," 52 American Political Scientific Review 98–107 (March, 1958).

[9] This may very well depend on whether the courts regard the arrangement as contractual with a quid pro quo basis. Cf. *Coyle v. Smith*, 221 U.S. 559 (1911) and *Stearns v. Minnesota*, 179 U.S. 223 (1900).

[10] Nine other States, including Alaska, have this provision for the submission of this question at intervals. Most of these States provide for 20 year intervals, but Iowa and Alaska have also specified 10 years.

[11] The Hawaii statehood act (sec. 15 of Public Law 86–3; 73 Stat. 4) provides that territorial laws enacted by the Congress shall terminate within 2 years of admission or upon the amendment or repeal of such laws by the State of Hawaii, whichever first occurs.

[12] Only 10 States have shorter constitutions, the most recent of these being that of Tennessee (1870). Of the other recent constitutions, Georgia's (1945) has 25,000 words, Missouri's (1945) has 30,000, New Jersey's (1947) has 12,500, and Alaska's (1956) has 12,000 words. See "The Book of the States 1958–1959," page 11.

The Steel Strike

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. VANCE HARTKE

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, yesterday I commented briefly on the termination of the Nation's longest and most costly steel strike. I informed my colleagues that in my opinion the strike could have been settled long before it actually was settled if the American people had true leadership in the White House.

This morning, Mr. President, I call to your attention and the attention of my colleagues an editorial in the Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette, of Fort Wayne, Ind., of January 12. This eminent newspaper and spokesman for the citizens residing in the heart of the Nation, editorializes on that so-called leadership the American people have been hearing so much about lately.

Mr. President, so that my colleagues here in the Senate and American citizens throughout the Nation may have the benefit of these views I ask unanimous consent that the January 12 Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Fort Wayne (Ind.) Journal Gazette, Jan. 12, 1960]

RUNNING FROM THE STORM

The thunder and lightning which followed the settlement of the steel strike will continue for a long time.

The settlement was not, and is not, the happy thing which some of the people close to it claimed that it was.

Fact is that many people are very unhappy, and are going to remain that way.

Those who will be most unhappy will be the victims of the inflation which is bound to follow—and the inflation is something for which Vice President NIXON and Secretary of Labor Mitchell will not want to take credit.

Yet a writer to a Chicago newspaper already has nominated Mr. NIXON for the title of "Mr. Inflation."

It is an honor which Mr. NIXON will decline. He is always ready to take any credit, but never any blame.

When Secretary Mitchell says the steel agreement cannot set off a new round of inflation, he is merely defending his own handiwork. Denial of a charge is a very common defense.

The Wall Street Journal has said that the settlement "gives a big upward thrust to the inflationary wage-price spiral."

So does almost every informed person who does not have an ax to grind—especially a political ax.

Walter Lippmann, one of America's most objective commentators, says: "The strike was not settled by 'free bargaining.' It was settled by a political fix."

"So we have come to a crude and embarrassing ending to an inglorious and mismanaged policy," Lippmann comments.

Other authorities have recalled how the Eisenhower Administration has been talking against inflation as a terrible evil and yet engineered a settlement in the steel strike which has made more inflation inevitable.

The end of the steel strike negotiations should not be called a settlement at all. It would be more accurate to call it an unsettlement.

For much has been unsettled by it and will remain that way for a long time.

Those who claimed credit in the first hours, will be running away from the real results of their actions.

Among these runners will be Vice President NIXON and Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell.

They sought the credit. They must also take the blame.

American Industry Needs Protection From Cheap Foreign Labor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. GRANT
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. GRANT. Mr. Speaker, I am privileged to insert in the RECORD a letter recently received by me from Mr. Donald Comer, chairman, executive board, Avondale Mills, Birmingham, Ala.

Mr. Comer is an outstanding, patriotic businessman and one who knows whereof he speaks. He has given much time and effort toward the problem discussed in his letter. This problem should have early and favorable consideration by this Congress as it is vitally important to a large section of our economy in all parts of the Nation.

AVONDALE MILLS, INC.,
Birmingham, Ala., January 12, 1960.

Hon. GEORGE GRANT,
Member of Congress, House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. GRANT: When the President was asking for renewal of his misnamed reciprocal trade program, he wrote Congressman JOE MARTIN of Massachusetts that he would administer this legislation without injuring a single American industry. Senator JOHN SPARKMAN of Alabama put a copy of that letter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The President referred to the escape clauses provided in the legislation: these escape clauses providing that any industry thinking itself injured by imports could plead their case before the Tariff Commission. The nationwide Committee on Import-Export Policy in Washington have kept a record of the results of such hearings before the Tariff Commission.

Industries seeking remedy from Tariff Commission	45
Remedy denied by Commission	19
Remedy recommended by Commission to President (one in process)	26
But denied by him	17
Remedy granted by President	8
But drastically diluted by him	6
Full recommendation granted (out of 45)	2

One of his denials was protection of New England fisheries against Iceland. Apparently he is asking the New England fishermen to pay for his air base in Iceland.

This same committee lists increasing imports recently into this country and they include in this list foreign cars, binoculars, typewriters, sewing machines, watches, and various other articles.

I am quoting from news items from our papers and magazines of today:

"U.S. import trade from Japan set an all-time record in 1959 and is approaching the $1 billion annual mark. Japanese products are making an impressive invasion into U.S. markets for textiles, foodstuffs, metal manufactures, and a wide variety of household and apparel products tailored to satisfy American consumers."

Here is what Assistant Secretary of Commerce Henry Kearns said in Japan: "Our U.S. policy to seek elimination of trade barriers remains unchanged, and the tremendous increase in Japan's exports to the United States thus far in 1959 and the favorable outlook for the remainder of the year hardly suggest there is strong [official] sentiment to restrict imports from Japan." Mr. Kearns said. "Furthermore, we shall do everything within reason to stem the tide of protectionism in the United States, for there is no future in protectionism for us or any other nation."

From Business Week of January 2, 1960, an article headed "Americans Step Up Foreign Sourcing" illustrates that the Litton Industries, a west coast office machine company, bought a plant in Sweden and now Swedish cash registers are coming over. They say "these moves point up a little-publicized but growing trend in foreign operations of U.S. companies—the purchase or production overseas of finished goods and components for export back to the United States. Western Europe and Japan are the two key places where U.S.-affiliated plants are feeding products and parts to the United States."

Argus Camera have been importing light meters and folding flash guns, the latter from Japan. Motorola and small radios are coming to the United States from Mexico. American automobiles made in Brazil are coming to the United States. Our newspapers and magazines are filled full of such notices. Mr. Bob Stevens, head of our largest textile company, calls this exporting jobs instead of things.

Another magazine headlines "Free Trade Theory Amounts to Importing Foreign Slave Labor."

The world-famous columnist Arthur Brisbane 25 years ago said: "While American manufacturers groan about cheap goods from Japan—cotton cloth, tennis shoes at 10 cents a pair, bicycles at $2, and other things with which our high wages seem to compete—the intelligent Japanese takes steps to protect their own labor."

I am attaching a copy of a letter I wrote to the New York Times which they declined to publish, but the America's Textile Reporter of Boston reprinted it in full in their December 31, 1959, issue. Also, I am enclosing you an article written for the Southern Textile News, of Charlotte, N.C., at their request.

The textile industry is not asking for any favors, we are asking that the President carry out his promise. He may not know it but the people who he put in charge of our foreign trade are not carrying it out. There are over a thousand of us in the textile industry and another thousand who are manufacturing our fabric into garments and both groups are having a difficult time making ends meet.

The 1959 profit statistics showed that of the 22 major industries, textile mills products and apparel rated 21st and 22d, respectively, in percentage of profit on volume. Petroleum was first, showing profits of 10.6 percent on volume of sales, whereas textile mill products showed only 1.9 percent. Our Government fixes our wages, our operating standards, and the price we pay the American farmer for our cotton. Our Government sells this same cotton to our foreign competitor, Japan particularly, at 8 cents a pound less than we pay for it, and their wages are one-tenth of ours.

At this late date the President has asked the Tariff Commission to investigate this situation and see if any American industry is being hurt. He is asking the Tariff Commission to prove that two and two makes four, and they have promised an extensive hearing to begin March 1, but in the meantime we suffer. The administration, with their delays, are really putting us in a position where we are going to need an ambulance, whereas, what we want is a doctor.

Our president, Mr. J. Craig Smith, has been appointed by Mr. Jim Chapman, president of our association, on a committee to present our case before the Tariff Commission. This assignment of duty comes at a time when these executives are especially needed at home in the management of their own properties.

Here the President, who has promised protection, now exposes us to such a situation. We are asking the garment manufacturers association to join with us, as they are suffering from imports of garments, particularly from Hong Kong and Japan, where wage rates are 9.75 cents, as compared with our rate of $1.25. They state that in July alone there came into this country from overseas 15 million garments, mostly from Hong Kong and Japan. In 1956 apparel shipments from Hong Kong was valued at only $56,000; in 1959 the import rate has been over $5 million per month.

Mr. Floyd Jefferson, of Iselin-Jefferson Co., in a recent speech, quoted Abraham Lincoln:

"You cannot strengthen the weak by weakening the strong. You cannot help little men by tearing down big men. You cannot help the wage earner by pulling down the wage payer."

Congress, not too long ago, appointed a committee under Senator PASTORE to investigate this that I am talking about, and I suggest that you ask Senator PASTORE and his committee present to the Tariff Commission a record of their findings. In the meantime, I think this committee, or some other congressional committee, should appear before the Tariff Commission and help tell this story.

The President promised us protection and I think if the industry, already in trouble, is going to have to burden itself with a big expense account that the President and Congress should bear some of the burden of presenting these facts and figures. I hope individual Congressmen will appear before the Tariff Commission.

It is rumored that the Japanese, who want to level down the American standard of wages and cripple American industry, have employed ex-Governor Dewey at $200,000 a year to present their case. It is also rumored that the late Secretary of State Dean Acheson will appear before the Tariff Commission in support of this unfair Government policy.

Mr. Grant, you remember in ancient history when Rome and its foreign trade was threatened by Carthage, Cato stood in the Senate every day and said, "Carthage must be destroyed." This situation I am mentioning today must be destroyed and I am not speaking only for the textile industry but for all industries. The American standard of living is the highest in the world and manufacturers everywhere look with hungry eyes on this market. We have to protect it and Congress is going to have to do the job. Every wise farmer who provides good pasture for his cows puts a fence around it to protect it from the hungry and the lean, from the less thoughtful, less provident and less fortunate, if you wish. We are willing to join in a nationwide program to help anybody, anywhere that the Government thinks needs our help. As my brother, Hugh Comer, says, "We will be glad to divide our milk, just don't cripple our cow."

The Government, at present, has a budget of some $40 billion against the possible invasion of hostile soldiers. This is a future threat. Our immediate danger is the invasion of these increasing things.

If these cheap imports continue until they destroy the American industry, how long do you think their price will stay cheap? Wouldn't they charge what the traffic would bear?

The textile industry are in entire sympathy with the program for reciprocal foreign trade. The late Secretary Hull is reported as having described such trade as nations swapping with each other what each has in over abundance that the other nation needs, with some three-way trading. To illustrate: we need certain raw products and surely there is no objection to clearing the road for such trading for such things as nitrates, bauxite, tin, rubber, coffee, etc. On three-way trading, Japan can buy our cotton, swap her cotton goods to Southeast Asia for tin

and rubber, etc.; or to South America for coffee, cocoa, etc., and send these things to us which we need. The immediate trouble comes from the fact that Japan is buying our cotton which she needs and shipping us back cotton goods which we don't need. We don't call that reciprocal.

Japan asks why aren't we willing to "live and let live." Our answer is that we go them one better—"Live and help live." That is why we have accepted her quota of cotton goods, not a yard of which is needed and slows down our looms. What did she do to the tuna fish industry and what is she doing to our plywood industry, chinaware, sewing machines, kodaks, etc., etc. All of these invasions possible only because of their cheap wages. We welcome competition where new style, design, idea or model are involved. We only ask protection from cheap labor. Remember ours is Government fixed, the highest in the world, and all the world has the same machines that we have.

Won't you please consider taking the lead with the Alabama delegation? Senator KEATING, of New York, has proposed legislation. Let's get behind him, prove it as necessary, and make it effective.

Yours very truly,

DONALD COMER,
Chairman, Executive Board.

Music Is Everybody's Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, American artists are making tremendous strides in overtaking the cultural lag which exists in many areas of the country. At the same time their achievements in music, painting, literature, drama, sculpture, and other arts are increasing the prestige of the United States all over the world. I have sponsored legislation which would establish a new U.S. Arts Foundation for the performing arts, and in this connection I would like to call attention to a discussion of the need to assist American music written by a world famous conductor. Wilfred Pelletier is a name familiar to all who know the Metropolitan Opera and the New York Philharmonic orchestras, both of which he once conducted. His report is entitled "Music Is Everybody's Business," and it was published in Allegro, November 1959, the newspaper of Local 802, AFM, Associated Musicians of Greater New York.

I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MUSIC IS EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

(By Wilfred Pelletier)

American music, financially speaking, seems never to be secure or stable. We are a wealthy Nation, with tremendous resources, but many potentially talented musicians are forced to relegate their art to the status of a hobby, our young composers must create in their spare time, and our younger generation of music students must compete constantly for the limited number of scholarships available. It might be all right for us to point with pride at the present situation were we living 50 years ago, but we must remember that we are 180 million strong and should now be producing far greater musical creativity.

In the past, serious music in our country was supported almost exclusively by ardent music lovers and a few wealthy patrons. In our small, underpopulated Nation of that time, it was gratifying that several cities established themselves as music centers. When I started as a conductor of the Metropolitan Opera Orchestra, I can remember the last of these great patrons, Otto H. Kahn, as he almost singlehandedly made up the opera's deficit each year. Men like Carnegie, Lewisohn, Frick, and Guggenheim gave millions to all forms of the arts, but now, with high taxes, the depletion of some of the great fortunes, and the passing of these men, few have taken up the reins.

We, in our traditional go-getter spirit, have tried to make music a business. It has been proved many times over that art is not, never will be, and should not be expected to be, commercially profitable. Music's profits exist in the personal enlightenment and aesthetic fulfillment that we receive from all great art—as well as from the international respect we attain through our cultural achievements.

In terms of the boxoffice, a concert, because of its enormous expense, cannot often see the black side of the ledger. For the first time in history professional musicians are being paid a decent wage while they work, soloists and conductors are finally getting due return for their talents and years of training. But our concert halls have not grown sufficiently in number and even the most ardent music lover has a limit to what he will pay for a ticket.

This places the concert manager or impresario in a very embarrassing position. Frequently his most modest productions, despite cutting every possible corner, are financially unfeasible and a merely "respectably adequate" production is a seldom-realized dream. But it is to the credit of these hardworking, unsung men and women that serious music is growing in penetration and impact. Speak to the concert producer, as I have done in many cities and towns in our country, and you will hear harrowing tales of financial woes that would be more suited to stock market speculators. Symphony orchestras must constantly search for funds to exist. What kind of pride or strength can we build in our art if it is forced to beg for its very existence?

The question now arises whether subsidy is the answer. Frankly, there is no other way. Serious music must be supported or we will see it slowly disappear from our concert halls. Who should subsidize music? There are many possible answers. First, government sponsorship—the way in which we as citizens can most closely support our cultural institutions through our taxes. There are potentially Federal, State, and local subsidies. Needless to say, Federal assistance is the most difficult to obtain because of regional differences, although Senator JACOB JAVITS, of New York, has sponsored a bill in Congress that will help solve many of the financial burdens of qualified cultural institutions.

State and local subsidies are the more immediately workable projects, closer to the specific needs of a State, or a community within that State. Citizens can activate these projects through committees to interest the legislative powers of their area in cultural undertakings that will not only provide enjoyment to the local residents but give the community prestige. Summer festivals of music, opera and dance are notable examples of what some cities and towns have done to raise their own cultural level.

With a long-range plan, government subsidies can help young talent prepare for the future. In Canada, where I direct the conservatories of Montreal and Quebec as well as conduct the symphony orchestras of these two cities, the government has taken full responsibility for educating our young musicians and composers. In many cases employment is provided for them in these and other government-subsidized symphonies. Because of the subsidy, Canada has managed to develop almost within a generation from the musical dark ages into one of the most promising creative nations in the world.

PRIVATE SPONSORSHIP NEEDED

We in America must think not only of Government help but also, in our tradition, of private organizational sponsorship. The great fortunes that were once held by families and individuals are now largely in the hands of vast corporations and institutions. Hand in hand, capital and labor can make funds available to sponsor not only orchestras, concerts, and festivals, but also to commission individual artists to create new works. Frequently a combination of government and private subsidy works unusually well in a public-spirited community.

Only one flaw exists in all talk of subsidy and that is the danger of a nonobjective attitude. We cannot allow artistic or political prejudice or favoritism to influence this program. No institution or government can possibly hope to dispense funds with the individuality of a patron—but there are enough qualified experts in this Nation among established creative artists and educators who would be eager to serve on subsidy committees. We must take a lesson from those European nations where almost all forms of art are government sponsored and establish a system that removes the specific allotment of funds from the sponsoring agency and gives these decisions to competent leaders in the arts. The major foundations in this country—Ford, Rockefeller, Guggenheim, and the government-sponsored Fulbright grants—are completely workable precedents for operating in this manner.

Music is everybody's business. As professionals, educators, and music lovers, we have all known young people who will never use their creativity to the fullest extent because of insufficient funds for training and an insecure future. We must give them their chance or, no matter how powerful America may become in every other field, we will be inadequate culturally. I do not doubt that the American people will awaken to their obligation to protect and develop this essential national resource; the question today is, Why must it take so long?

Congressional Action on the President's Requests for Appropriations and New Obligational Authority

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, the last session of Congress, the 85th, and the 1st session of this Congress, the 86th, have been labeled by partisans and propagandists as "reckless spenders" by those who would seek political gain by this misrepresentation. As we begin this new session and again undertake the serious and demanding undertaking of appropriating necessary and adequate fund needs to assure the continued progress of our Nation, I think it is appropriate that we review the actions of the Congress on budgetary matters in the past and in particular during the last 6 years.

Mr. Speaker, first let us look at how our national spending has increased through the years as our country has

grown and as we have faced grave crises both internally and nationally.

For almost three decades, preceding the turn of the century, the budgetary appropriations by the Congress were at a $300 million level. Then in 1891, the 51st Congress appropriated for the first time funds totaling more than half a billion dollars. The Federal budget remained at approximately this level until 1898 when it reached almost $900 million.

The 60th Congress in 1908 was the first Congress to break the $1 billion mark and I am sure that there were those in 1908 who labeled the Members of that Congress "reckless spenders."

Financing World War I made it necessary for the 64th Congress, 2d session, to appropriate the largest percentagewise jump from one year to the next that the Nation has even known when the total budget jumped from $1.6 billion for the year preceding to $18.8 billions for fiscal 1918.

As the country grew internally and as World War II approached the budgetary appropriations continued to grow until the 2d session of the 77th Congress—in the midst of World War II—appropriated the largest sum ever appropriated when the budget figure stood at $147 billions for fiscal 1943.

After the war spending was reduced sharply and hit a postwar low in 1946 when the 2d session of the 79th Congress appropriated $35.7 billions.

Mr. Speaker, now let us look at what has happened to the budget during the last 6 years—since the Eisenhower administration has been in office. The budget estimates and requests for fiscal 1955 was $60.77 billion. The Congress cut and reduced this by some $2.6 billion and appropriated $58.16 billion. Again for fiscal 1956 the Congress cut the President's budget by more than $2 billion as his estimates totaled $66 billion and the actual appropriations totaled only $63.9 billion.

Mr. Speaker, the fact is that the Congress has consistently cut the President's requests for appropriations and has made substantial reductions each and every year. The largest cut was made by the 85th Congress when more than $5 billion was slashed by the Congress from the President's request for $78.1 billion of appropriations. That year $73 billion was actually appropriated by the Congress.

Last year alone $1,881,410,083 was cut from the President's budget. Thus, the Congress during the last 6 years has cut the President's appropriations requests by approximately $12½ billion. These are the true facts.

Mr. Speaker, let me repeat, the Congress during the last 6 years has cut and reduced the administration's request for appropriations by approximately $12½ billion. This vividly demonstrates and should make it clear to all that the Congress is not the heavy wild spender that the partisans, both in and out of Congress, the President and the propagandists would lead the country to believe. The misrepresentation that has been made in this area has been made, I repeat, for political gain.

The true facts are, the President over the past 7 years has repeatedly asked for larger anr larger appropriations, for bigger and bigger spending. The Congress has exercised its collected judgments on these big spending programs and consistently cut and reduced them as the record indicates.

In this connection, Mr. Speaker, I commend to my colleagues, the press, and the public generally a concise and accurate report—Senate Document No. 67, 86th Congress, 1st session—relating to "Congressional Action on the President's Requests for Appropriations and New Obligational Authority"—a statement by the Honorable LYNDON B. JOHNSON, majority leader of the Senate.

In this connection, Senator JOHNSON comments that the Congress has consistently made cuts in the President's budget, and regarding the so-called backdoor financing. The report points out that the President has either advocated bills approving new obligational authority before the Congress acted or else they were approved by him after the Congress acted.

In this connection, Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that excerpts from this report be reproduced in the RECORD following my remarks hereon. The report and appropriation tables follow:

CONGRESSIONAL ACTION ON THE PRESIDENT'S REQUESTS FOR APPROPRIATIONS AND NEW OBLIGATIONAL AUTHORITY—86TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION

COMPLEXITY OF FEDERAL BUDGET

The Federal budget and budgetary procedures are very complex and difficult to discuss or explain in simple fashion. It is easy to see why this is so, from the simple fact that the budget document for fiscal year 1960, submitted to the Congress at the beginning of the session, was the size of a metropolitan telephone book, weighing over 5 pounds and containing over 1,000 pages—most of which consisted of detailed statistical and fiscal tables.

Even this document presented only a portion of the facts. The congressional committees dealing with the various programs involved in the budget held hundreds of hearings—and printed tens of thousands of pages of testimony—in an effort to get at all the facts and have a basis for sound legislative action.

Apart from the problems arising from the very size and scope of the Federal budget, there is a very real problem in talking simply and intelligibly about the budget because of the many technical details involved. For example, no money can be placed under contract (obligated) or spent unless the program has first been authorized by the Congress. In some cases this authorization is in a separate law, which must be followed by a specific appropriation act. In other cases, the authorization is contained in an appropriation act. In still other cases, the authorization act itself provides the contracting and spending authority. Finally, there are some cases, such as interest on the debt, where permanent authority exists and whatever amounts are needed become automatically available each year, without any action by the Congress.

AUTHORIZATIONS VERSUS APPROPRIATIONS

If this sounds complex and confusing, the actual budgetary procedures are even more tangled than indicated by the above description. For example, there is no requirement that the amounts authorized to be appropriated in an authorization act be matched by actual appropriations. The fact is that many billions of dollars have been authorized which have not been appropriated. Consider these examples:

1. Rivers and harbors and flood control: Between fiscal years 1936 and 1959, projects totaling $17,811,405,000 were authorized for rivers and harbors and flood control projects. Actual appropriations, however, totaled $9,987,622,000. This means that appropriations have not been provided for authorized projects involving $7,823,783,000.

2. Reclamation: Since fiscal year 1902, authorization has been enacted for projects involving $7,906,092,000 Actual appropriations, however, total $3,509,809,000, leaving an unfinanced balance of $4,396,283,000.

3. Military construction: During the past 8 years, authorizations have been enacted for military construction projects involving $13,021 million. Appropriations have totaled $11,784 million for this same period, or $1,237 million below the amounts authorized.

4. Mutual security (foreign aid): During the past 8 years, a total of $34,005 million has been authorized to be appropriated for the mutual security program. Actual appropriations, however, have amounted to $29,229 million, or $4,776 million below the amounts authorized.

In these four areas alone, actual appropriations have been $18¼ billion less than the amounts authorized. Despite this clear evidence that authorizations are not the same as appropriations, a good deal of misguided information has been released to the public in which authorizations and appropriations are lumped together as if they were one and the same thing.

DISTORTION OF CONGRESSIONAL ACTION ON BUDGET

Because of the complexity of governmental budgeting, it is easy to understand why people who are not expert in this difficult field can make honest mistakes in interpreting the facts. Getting the true story, however, is made even more difficult when the facts and figures are manipulated or distorted to prove a political slogan. This is what has happened in the incredible campaign to convince the American people that the Congress is a collection of irresponsible spenders and that only the executive branch stands like Horatius at the bridge to stem the onrush of the congressional spenders.

CONGRESS DOES NOT PRESCRIBE EXPENDITURES

Despite impressions to the contrary, the Congress does not prescribe the amount to be spent in any given fiscal year. Instead, the Congress provides spending authority, a large part of which remains available indefinitely until it is spent. In carrying out the various programs authorized by the Congress, the executive branch has exercised considerable latitude in determining both the rate and manner of using this spending authority. This extends from outright refusal to use funds provided by the Congress for specific purposes—as in the case of a large part of the $1.3 billion increase in defense appropriations last year—to the other extreme of spending at a deficiency rate.

In addition to this latitude, there are certain important areas of spending over which the Congress exercises no direct control. Thus, the executive branch has just announced that spending for interest on the debt during the current fiscal year will be $1 billion greater than had been estimated in January 1959. The Congress found out about this only when it was announced to the general public.

In truth, it is impossible for anyone to dissect the amounts spent in any fiscal year and determine with any degree of accuracy exactly how much the total spending has been increased or decreased by actions of the Congress or of the executive branch. This would be as accurate—and as rewarding—as unscrambling an omelet. Yet some people persist in trying to do this, apparently assuming that few people would realize the degree to which any such estimates are really slanted guestimates.

Bills providing appropriations and other new obligational authority, 86th Cong., 1st sess.

TABLE I. APPROPRIATION BILLS

Bill No.	Title	House					Senate					Final amount approved	Increase or decrease compared to President's budget estimates to date	Date approved by President	Public Law No.
		President's budget estimates to House	Date reported	Amount as reported	Date passed	Amount as passed	President's budget estimates to Senate	Date reported	Amount as reported	Date passed	Amount as passed				
	1959 SUPPLEMENTAL														
H.R. 5916	2d Supplemental	$2,864,954,526	Mar. 20	$2,479,522,494	Mar. 24	$2,657,402,994	$2,900,799,370	Apr. 18	$2,820,040,054	Apr. 30	$2,843,902,805	$2,764,500,380	−$136,298,990	May 20	86-30
	1960 APPROPRIATIONS														
	SUPPLEMENTAL														
H.R. 7978	Supplemental	888,931,417	June 26	632,568,845	June 29	609,843,845	1,218,090,555	July 31	1,076,186,108	Aug. 3	1,076,186,108	977,345,608	−240,744,947	Sept. 1	86-213
H.J. Res. 439	Temporary (July)		June 25		June 30			June 30		June 30				July 1	86-76
H.J. Res. 475	Temporary (August)		July 24		July 29			July 29		July 29				July 31	86-118
H.J. Res. 510	Temporary (September)				Aug. 31					Aug. 31				Sept. 3	86-224
	REGULAR														
H.R. 5676	District of Columbia	(246,698,090)	Mar. 13	(237,186,112)	Mar. 16	(237,186,112)	(245,900,000)	May 21	(241,509,402)	May 28	(241,702,402)	(241,289,076)	(−4,700,924)	July 23	86-104
	Federal payment	34,218,000		27,218,000		27,218,000	34,218,000		29,218,000		29,351,000	27,218,000	−7,000,000		
H.R. 5805	Treasury-Post Office	4,688,327,000	Mar. 18	4,628,097,000	Mar. 20	4,628,097,000	4,688,327,000	May 21	4,663,158,000	May 28	4,664,027,600	4,643,363,000	−44,964,000	June 11	86-39
H.R. 5915	Interior	491,101,400	Mar. 20	472,198,800	Mar. 23	472,198,800	491,101,400	June 5	487,211,025	June 8	487,211,025	481,809,100	−9,292,300	June 23	86-60
H.R. 6769	Labor-HEW	3,756,848,581	Apr. 28	3,915,084,181	Apr. 30	3,915,084,181	3,756,848,581	June 23	4,124,460,581	June 24	4,124,460,581	4,016,485,981	+259,637,400	Aug. 14	86-158
H.R. 7040	Independent offices	6,586,418,000	May 8	6,441,069,800	May 11	6,439,887,800	6,586,418,000	June 22	6,561,578,600	June 23	6,561,578,600	6,504,382,200	−82,035,800	Sept. 14	86-225
H.R. 7175	Agriculture	4,081,364,863	May 15	3,939,165,498	May 20	3,939,165,498	4,081,364,863	May 28	3,975,505,148	June 3	3,975,774,848	3,971,362,673	−110,002,190	July 8	86-80
H.R. 7176	General government	13,608,500	May 15	13,338,500	May 27	13,338,500	13,608,500	June 22	13,568,500	June 24	13,568,500	13,463,500	−145,000	July 8	86-79
H.R. 7343	State-Justice-Judiciary	682,387,600	May 21	649,896,700	May 27	651,896,700	682,387,600	June 22	650,674,700	June 23	650,924,700	648,941,200	−33,446,400	July 13	86-84
H.R. 7349	Commerce	732,191,000	May 25	674,087,300	May 28	675,297,300	732,191,000	June 16	715,328,500	June 18	715,328,500	712,672,900	−19,518,100	July 13	86-88
H.R. 7453	Legislative	105,460,005	May 28	100,279,350	June 1	100,279,350	133,648,180	June 16	128,797,380	June 18	128,797,380	128,797,380	−4,850,800	Aug. 21	86-176
H.R. 7454	Defense	39,248,200,000	May 28	38,848,339,000	June 3	38,848,339,000	39,248,200,000	July 7	39,594,339,000	July 14	39,594,339,000	39,228,239,000	−19,961,000	Aug. 18	86-166
H.R. 7509	Public Works	(1,185,406,259)	June 2	(1,185,406,259)	June 9	(1,185,906,259)	(1,185,406,259)	July 8	(1,265,565,559)	July 9	(1,265,565,559)	(1,215,477,808)	(+30,071,549)	Vetoed	
H.R. 8283	Atomic Energy	2,718,715,000	July 17	2,660,529,000	July 21	2,660,529,000	2,718,715,000	July 30	2,711,829,000	Aug. 3	2,711,829,000	2,683,029,000	−35,686,000	Aug. 18	86-164
H.R. 8385	Mutual Security	4,436,277,000	July 24	3,209,782,000	July 29	3,191,782,000	4,821,484,137	Sept. 8	3,691,269,508	Sept. 14	3,692,262,137	3,626,718,137	−1,197,766,000	Sept. 28	86-383
H.R. 8575	Military Construction	1,563,200,000	Aug. 7	1,285,002,700	Aug. 10	1,285,002,700	1,563,200,000	Aug. 20	1,428,178,700	Aug. 21	1,428,178,700	1,363,961,200	−199,238,800	Sept. 16	86-275
H.R. 9105	Public Works	1,185,406,259	Sept. 4	1,185,309,093	Sept. 8	1,185,309,093	1,185,406,259		1,185,309,093	Sept. 8	1,185,309,093	1,185,309,093	−97,166	Veto overridden	86-254
	Total regular	70,323,723,208		68,049,996,922		68,053,424,922	70,740,118,520		69,960,426,335		69,962,940,664	69,235,752,364	−1,504,366,156		
	Total, all bills	74,077,609,151		71,162,088,261		71,320,671,761	74,859,008,445		73,856,652,497		73,883,029,577	72,977,598,352	−1,881,410,093		

TABLE II. NEW OBLIGATIONAL AUTHORITY PROVIDED OUTSIDE THE APPROPRIATION PROCESS (SO-CALLED BACKDOOR FINANCING)

Bill No.	Title	House					Senate					Amount agreed to by conferees	Increase or decrease made by the Congress	Date approved by President	Public Law No.
		President's requests	Date reported	Amount as reported	Date passed	Amount as passed	President's requests	Date reported	Amount as reported	Date passed	Amount as passed				
H.R. 4452	Bretton Woods Agreement														
S. 1044	Act	$4,550,000,000	Mar. 18	$4,550,000,000	Mar. 25	$4,550,000,000	$4,550,000,000	Mar. 18	$4,550,000,000	Mar. 19	$4,550,000,000	$4,550,000,000		June 17	86-48
S. 57	Housing Act of 1959	(1,650,000,000)	Feb. 27	(1,975,000,000)	May 21	(*)	(1,650,000,000)	Feb. 3	(2,625,000,000)	Feb. 5	(2,525,000,000)	(1,300,000,000)	(−$350,000,000)	Vetoed	
S. 2539	Housing Act of 1959	(1,650,000,000)	Aug. 25	(825,000,000)	Aug. 27	(825,000,000)	(1,650,000,000)	Aug. 13	(825,000,000)	Aug. 18	(825,000,000)	(825,000,000)	(−$825,000,000)	Vetoed	
S. 2554	Housing Act of 1959	1,650,000,000	Sept. 10	925,000,000	Sept. 10	925,000,000	1,650,000,000	Sept. 8	925,000,000	Sept. 9	925,000,000	925,000,000	−725,000,000	Sept. 23	86-372
S. 1	Aid to airports	200,000,000	Mar. 2	297,000,000	Mar. 19	297,000,000	200,000,000	Feb. 5	565,000,000	Feb. 6	465,000,000	126,000,000	−74,000,000	June 29	86-72
H.R. 1011															
H.R. 2256	Veterans' Housing Loan Act		Jan. 29	300,000,000	Feb. 4	300,000,000		Feb. 3	300,000,000	June 16	100,000,000	100,000,000	+100,000,000	June 30	86-73
H.R. 3460	Tennessee Valley Authority bond issuance	750,000,000	Apr. 14	750,000,000	May 7	750,000,000	750,000,000	July 2	750,000,000	July 9	750,000,000	750,000,000		Aug. 6	86-137
	Total	7,150,000,000		6,822,000,000		6,822,000,000	7,150,000,000		7,090,000,000		6,790,000,000	6,451,000,000	−699,000,000		

*Authorized $1,975,000,000 to be appropriated.

NOTE.—Amounts shown represent total new obligational authority actually provided by each bill. Differences in amounts may include changes in scope of programs and differences in time periods covered by various versions of each bill.

Grand total, all bills, tables I and II	$81,227,609,151		$77,984,088,261		$78,142,671,761	$82,009,008,445		$80,946,652,497		$80,673,029,557	$79,428,598,352	−$2,580,410,093		

CONGRESSIONAL CUTS IN BUDGET REQUESTS

This does not mean that there is no way of determining accurately what the Congress has done in acting on the President's budget. What the Congress has done in acting on the President's requests for spending authority is a matter of public record and can be documented beyond question. This should be well known to those who prefer—for reasons of their own—to present a distorted picture of what the Congress has done. Perhaps this is the reason why such persons persist in proving their misconception with figures attained by scrambling together appropriations, authorizations, expenditures, backdoor finances, failure to enact tax proposals, and other ill-assorted and unrelated fiscal concepts.

Just what are the facts concerning action by the Congress on the President's requests for appropriations and other spending authority? The facts concerning the last session are summarized in two tables printed on the last page of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. All the figures in these tables have been compiled by, or verified by, the Bureau of the Budget.

These tables, which are reprinted in this document exactly as they appear in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, show:

1. The Congress cut the President's requests for appropriations by a whopping $1,881,410,093.

2. The Congress cut the President's requests for new obligational authority contained in bills other than appropriations bills (this has been politically referred to as backdoor financing) by $699 million.

3. Thus, the Congress cut a total of $2,580,410,093 from the President's requests for new spending authority.

BACKDOOR FINANCING

Perhaps a few additional words should be said about the so-called backdoor financing. No one knows exactly who coined this phrase but it succeeds in giving the impression that there is something wrong with providing spending authority outside of an appropriation bill. This just is not so. Regardless of whether spending authority is provided by an appropriation bill or by an authorization bill, the same congressional and Presidential action is required to enact the spending authority into law. The only real difference is that the preliminary work is handled by a different set of committees before the bill in question is acted upon.

Perhaps those who imply that there is something sinister in the so-called backdoor financing are unaware of these significant facts:

1. During the 6½ years of the Eisenhower administration, the President has requested the Congress to enact 24 separate bills involving backdoor financing of $20,029 million.

2. The Congress has enacted 38 bills involving new authority of $25,726 million.

3. The President has approved 36 of these bills, involving new authority of $25,289 million.

In short, of the more than $25 billion of new authority that has been enacted into law outside of appropriation bills during the present administration, every cent was either advocated by the President before the Congress acted, or else approved by him after the Congress had acted.

CONGRESS HAS CONSISTENTLY CUT PRESIDENT'S BUDGET

The cut of more than $2½ billion in the President's requests for new spending authority clearly demonstrates that it is a sheer fabrication to describe the 86th Congress as a group of reckless spenders. Because of the widespread circulation given to this charge, however, some people may wonder whether the record of the last session was a "fluke" and think that the Congress normally votes for increased spending.

The fact is that the Congress has consistently cut the President's requests for appropriations each and every year. In addition to the $1,881,410,093 cut from the President's budget in the past session, the Congress cut over $10,600 million from the appropriation estimates in the preceding years. Thus, the Congress has cut the President's appropriation requests by approximately $12½ billion during the last 6 years.

These reductions are shown in detail in the following table:

Congressional reductions in the President's appropriation requests

Congress and session	Budget estimates	Appropriations	Decreased by Congress
83d Cong., 2d sess.	$60, 770, 315, 686	$58, 160, 445, 563	$2, 609, 870, 123
84th Cong., 1st sess.	66, 023, 089, 195	63, 947, 281, 321	2, 075, 807, 874
84th Cong., 2d sess.	73, 298, 859, 029	73, 041, 364, 417	257, 495, 212
85th Cong., 1st sess.	78, 108, 417, 112	73, 064, 958, 328	5, 043, 458, 784
85th Cong., 2d sess.	81, 737, 060, 999	81, 119, 818, 276	617, 242, 723
86th Cong., 1st sess.	74, 859, 008, 445	72, 977, 598, 352	1, 881, 410, 093
Total budget cuts by Congress in last 6 fiscal years			12, 485, 284, 809

Unfair to FBI

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PRINCE H. PRESTON
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. PRESTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include the following editorial which deserves to be widely read:

[From the Washington Daily News, Dec. 28, 1959]

UNFAIR TO FBI

(By Lyle C. Wilson)

The FBI has been sweating out one of those impossible spots which add up about to this: Heads you win; tails I lose.

Thus it is with the FBI and wiretapping. A Senate constitutional rights subcommittee has been looking into the wiretap situation. The pattern of testimony went about like this:

Wiretapping is a dirty business and the FBI engages in it. Or, by inference, wiretapping is illegal and the FBI engages in illegal acts.

The words "dirty business" and wiretapping became synonymous many years ago when the late Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes so characterized the tapping of communications wires. That made it official. The tendency to make the FBI the whipping boy of the wiretap controversy is less easily explained. The tendency to assert that wiretapping is illegal cannot be explained at all.

The facts are that wiretapping is not illegal. You may bet on that, and win. More than 18 years ago, an Attorney General explained the wiretap situation when there was uproar about the citizen's right of privacy. Here is what the late Attorney General Robert H. Jackson wrote:

"It would clarify the discussion if those who fear that the proposed legislation would deprive them of their 'right of privacy' would first learn just what 'right of privacy' they now have.

"There is no Federal statute that prohibits or punishes wiretapping alone. The only offense under the present law is to 'intercept any communication and divulge or publish' the same. Any person, with no risk of penalty, may tap the telephone wires and eavesdrop on his competitor, employer, workman or others and act upon what he hears or make any use of it that does not involve divulging or publication.

"To use evidence obtained by wiretapping for the protection of society against criminals often requires that it be divulged in open court. It is this divulging in law enforcement that court decisions hold to violate the statute. The courts do not stop the people from tapping wires—no one has ever been or under present law could be convicted of that by itself. What has been stopped is the use of evidence to enforce laws against criminals.

"Many uninformed persons, and some who ought to know better, are thinking that these decisions protect the telephone privacy. They do nothing of the sort. They only protect those who engage in incriminating conversations from having them reproduced in court."

That was the law then. That is the law now. Yet, it was suggested, without rebuke, before the subcommittee that the FBI deliberately was failing to prosecute wiretappers because the FBI, itelf, illegally tapped wires. That, of course, was nonsense.

The FBI does tap wires but these taps can be made only with the specific consent of the Attorney General. The FBI uses taps only in cases involving internal security or in kindaping cases when the victim's life may be at stake. The FBI has fewer than 80 taps in effect at this time.

The Senate subcommittee made no effort to protect the FBI against unfair charges with respect to wiretapping. It is not likely, however, that the subcommittee would go so far as to protest the kind of taps the FBI makes.

Needs of the American Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, the American merchant marine is not only the fourth arm of national defense, as was demonstrated so gallantly during the Second World War and the Korean war, but an essential element in this Nation's expansion during peacetime. Whenever our fourth arm is the subject of a detailed analysis, that examination warrants the broadest possible dissemination.

Recently, an advisory panel of the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council, headed by Adm. Ar-

thur W. Radford, formerly Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, published a report on the U.S. Merchant Marine. This report takes a hard look at our shipping and arrives at some disturbing conclusions, among them, that the American merchant marine is deteriorating while the Sino-Soviet bloc is tripling its capacity with modern-type ships.

The panel makes several recommendations, which are discussed in some detail in articles in the New York Times and the Baltimore Sun of January 18, the latter being written by that paper's maritime editor, Helen Delich Bentley. Both stories emphasize that drastic improvement in the American merchant marine is imperative if it is to maintain its military and commercial shipping lifelines.

I ask unanimous consent that the articles be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD and highly commend them to my colleagues for their study.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Baltimore Sun, Jan. 18, 1960]

BETTER-SHIPS NEED POINTED—REPORT CITES DANGERS; U.S. SPEEDY ACTION HELD VITAL

(By Helen Delich Bentley)

WASHINGTON, January 17.—Drastic improvement in cargo-handling and ship-operating efficiency together with significant advances in future ship design and construction are absolutely vital if the United States intends to preclude complete dependence on foreign-controlled shipping for the maintenance of its military and commercial lifelines.

This warning, along with the blunt statement that the American merchant marine is deteriorating, while the Sino-Soviet bloc is tripling its capacity with modern-type ships, was issued today by a nine-man advisory panel of the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council, headed by Adm. Arthur W. Radford, U.S. Navy (retired), former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

This panel on Wartime Uses of the U.S. Merchant Marine is one of several reporting to the Academy-Research Council's Maritime Research Advisory Committee, organized at the request of the Maritime Administration to advise it on research and development policies.

POSSIBILITIES STRESSED

The design and construction advances not only are technologically practical, but also can be commercially successful with minimum subsidy, the report says. To accomplish this, it recommends the construction of a new class of cargo vessels of advanced design with speeds in excess of 20 knots and incorporating * * * a unitized system of cargo-handling—embodying increased mechanization and permitting automation—to reduce stevedoring costs and to allow quick turnaround of the ship.

The Radford committee also calls for automation of ship operation both on the bridge and in the engineroom.

Increasing the productivity of labor and management is "a more constructive alternate to subsidization," but the report notes that in both subsidized and unsubsidized segments of the U.S. maritime industry, there is a "general lack of incentive to take advantage of technological advances."

The Government, particularly the military services, is vitally concerned over the decline of the merchant fleet, the council stated.

WARNING GIVEN

Warning that the U.S. flag fleet is "in danger of becoming unable to meet the challenge of the cold war," and, in the event of a limited war, would be "qualitatively deficient * * * because of inadequate speed, relatively low cargo-handling rates, and lack of 'over-the-beach' capability—coupled with obsolescence," the report recommends that the Government take the lead "in enlisting the cooperation of maritime labor and management to produce a technologically feasible fleet which will be competitive with minimum subsidy.

"Without a significant improvement in the attitudes of both labor and management toward technological advances, we can achieve no sound basis for competitive objectives," the committee stated.

The Russians not only have excellent shipyards (more advanced than some in Western Europe and the United States), the report Russian ships also feature modern equipment such as mechanical hatch covers and air-conditioned one- and two-man rooms for the crews. Smaller ships in the planning stages also feature shipboard cranes and adjustable-pitch propellers.

The committee calls for:

1. The establishment of a Federal agency to determine ways in which the transition to mechanized and automated production can be accomplished without undue harm to labor.

2. That consideration be given to the design and construction of an experimental aluminum cargo ship.

3. That blue-ribbon examples of U.S. marine technology, such as the nuclear ship *Savannah*, and high-speed mechanized and automated cargo ships be displayed in ports around the world.

4. Provision for a limited number of 30-knot, automated and unitized cargo ships to carry express cargo at premium rates.

Mechanization and automation at present can reduce ship crews from 55 to 35 members, it said, and reduce longshore personnel by 60 percent.

LABOR IS PROBLEM

"Although the economic history of the United States shows that, in the long run, advantages of mechanization and automation accrue to labor as well as management and the consumer, in the short run labor is the most adversely affected," the report said.

"Unemployment and dislocation of labor occur before an adjustment in the work force can be made. At the present time, there is no planned method employed for offsetting these hardships. * * *"

The alternatives to a positive technological program in the maritime industry are continued burdensome subsidies or the loss of a major industry, the report notes.

"It would be premature to suggest specific means by which an effective transition to more mechanized and automated crew and cargo-handling procedures might be accomplished," the study said.

COURSES SUGGESTED

"However, on the basis of current experience in dealing with such problems in the port of San Francisco, and with corresponding experience in Le Havre and Puerto Rico, certain possible courses of action suggest themselves as being worthy of further study."

It outlined four possible courses of action: Taking maximum advantage of the natural attrition from the available work force, lowering retirement ages, retraining and relocating workers both within and without the industry, and adjusting salaries and increasing fringe benefits for those workers who remain in the industry.

The panel also noted that the reluctance to embrace automation is not restricted solely to labor, but a substantial portion of maritime management yet has to be convinced that the advantages of technological improvement outweigh the increased capital investment required, in light of the uncertainties of the future.

[From the New York Times, Jan. 18, 1960]

STUDY WARNS UNITED STATES TO IMPROVE FLEET—SURVEY HEADED BY RADFORD FINDS IT OUTMODED—ACTION BY GOVERNMENT URGED

The resistance of American maritime management and labor to technological advances is jeopardizing the future of the merchant marine, according to a report made public today by the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council.

It called on the Government to get both groups to produce a "technologically feasible" fleet.

This Nation's ability to maintain its military and commercial lifelines depends on drastic changes in ship management and vessel design, the study said.

The report was prepared by a nine-man advisory panel on wartime uses of the merchant marine. The panel was headed by Adm. Arthur W. Radford, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The group is one of several that report to the Academy Council. It was organized at the request of the Maritime Administration.

In a detailed appraisal of the present state of American-flag shipping, the panel warned:

"If the United States intends to preclude complete dependence on foreign-controlled shipping * * * the only realistic solution lies in a drastic improvement in cargo-handling and ship-operating efficiency, together with significant advances in future ship design and construction."

The panel cited symptoms of decline. This deterioration, it said, "was a matter of vital concern to the Government, to industry and very particularly of the military services." Some of the symptoms cited were:

Four-fifths of the privately owned fleet in the United States was built before World War II.

United States flag shipping is carrying a steadily decreasing share of the Nation's foreign trade—only 12 percent in 1958.

The Nation faces the danger of losing its so-called flag of convenience fleet of about 7,000,000-to-8,000,000 deadweight tons, which carries about a third of the country's foreign trade.

Opposition by labor unions and some foreign interests have brought threats from owners to transfer to flags of traditional maritime nations. The fleet now flies the flags of Liberia, Panama and Honduras.

As a result, the panel said, the Nation's fleet might fail to "meet the challenge of the 'cold war.'" This "obsolescent" fleet, it said, would in any case be inadequate in a limited war because of insufficient speed, low cargo-handling speed and a lack of capability to discharge cargoes in areas where port facilities do not exist.

To meet this inadequacy, the panel suggested the use of technological advances, which, it said, are not only practical, but can also be successful commercially with minimum subsidization.

These, the report said, should include new cargo ships with speeds of over twenty knots. They should be equipped with a "unitized" system of cargo handling to reduce stevedoring costs and to permit quick vessel turnaround. They should also incorporate some automation of ship operation both on the bridge and in the engine room.

Through mechanization and automation techniques already developed, the panel said, ship crews could even now be reduced from

55 to 35 members and required longshore personnel could be reduced 60 percent.

The report said it was more constructive to increase the productivity of both labor and management than to subsidize ship operation.

Management, the report found, has not been a strong supporter of research and development. A large portion of maritime management, it declared, has yet to be convinced that technological improvement outweighs the increased capital investment required in light of the uncertainties of the future.

An End to Quiet Diplomacy?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LESTER HOLTZMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. HOLTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I would like to include two editorials which appeared in the December 18 and December 25 issues of the Jewish Observer and Middle East Review, published in England, and, in the opinion of many, one of the best informed periodicals on the Middle East.

The first editorial is entitled "An End to Quiet Diplomacy"; and the second is entitled "Jews—What Is Russia's Game?"

They are well worth the few minutes' reading time they will take. The editorials follow:

[From the Jewish Observer and Middle East Review, Dec. 18, 1959]

AN END TO QUIET DIPLOMACY?

Mr. Hammarskjold's profitable quiet diplomacy appears to have come to a clattering end. For the past 2 weeks, a noisy campaign against Israel's projected Jordan River development has broken the silence of the Hammarskjold method. And for the moment it is more interesting and more revealing to consider the reasons for this switch in Cairo's diplomacy than to dwell on the substance of the campaign.

First of all, what is it that President Nasser wants? The answer to this question is probably the decisive clue to the situation in the Middle East today. But it is not easy to provide this answer. For, once again, Colonel Nasser has managed to confuse Western public opinion by a masterly display of his favorite role: of being all things to all men.

Thus on Sunday, Mr. Walter Lippmann reported (in the Sunday Observer) on the conversations he had with President Nasser and his principal officials. He came away with the conviction that Israel was a secondary issue in Nasser's thinking which was focused entirely on his domestic development problems.

On Monday morning, the Daily Express's Cairo correspondent reported from Beirut (in order to avoid the Egyptian censorship) that Nasser had reinforced his forces at el Arish, near the Israel border; that Nasser was prepared to go to war to stop Israel from carrying out the Jordan River diversion and that Nasser was sure that this time he would win the military encounter. But without question, most revealing of all were the Cairo television interviews with Robin Day which were shown by the B.B.C. on Monday night.

These ought to make a lot of people think very hard about what is going on in Cairo. These were no sophisticated, sterilized opinions trimmed for Western ears; these were the Cairo students in the raw, complete with the political prompters and commissars in the background. On one point, the students clearly ran away from their political controllers. Instead of replying with the evasive and noncommittal answers which the prompters wanted them to give to the question "Do you want to destroy Israel?" the students, without exception, said, "Yes, Israel must be destroyed." And they said it as if they meant it.

In other words, while the soft-spoken Nasser is reassuring Hammarskjold, the World Bank, the British, and the Americans about his preoccupation with domestic problems (and possibly even means it), he is creating at the same time a Frankenstein at the universities, in the schools, and in the street, which is already ruling him, as Lippmann pointedly underlines. Thus, while the private and public speeches about his concern for scientific progress and social development may correctly reflect President Nasser's aspirations, his policies and politics in the schools, the universities, and the press and radio have made their attainment almost impossible.

For the significance of the sudden blowup over the Jordan water development is the stand which Nasser has taken and the propaganda which has accompanied it: The meeting of the Arab league, the reports of troop movements, the threats of war. Nasser himself is far too sensible and too sensitive to world opinion to get himself involved in this on the eve of the summit meetings; and yet he cannot extricate himself. He has become a prisoner of his own policies. What matters is not what he says to Lippmann but what the students say publicly on television. They set the pace—and if this Jordan blowup is anything to go by, Nasser follows.

This is the ultimate significance of the present situation. And it is one over which the West might well ponder. For it gives a new and much more unpredictable perspective to the situation. We can only assume—as did Walter Lippmann—that the degree of noise about foreign problems is roughly in ratio with the growing problems at home. And if this is so—and there is a good deal of evidence to bear this out—then the one lesson the West must learn about the present situation is that the satisfaction of the foreign demands, for example, the halting of Israeli development, will solve nothing; it would merely switch the Arab offensive to another target.

It is the root problem of overpopulation and underproduction in Egypt that has to be solved, and it will not be solved by wide new roads, luxury apartments or American hotels in Cairo and Alexandria; it will not be solved on the Jordan River; not even on the Nile. Egypt's problem is so big, as Mr. Hammarskjold demonstrated in his refugee report, that it cannot be tackled in isolation. Its only hope is a great combined operation embracing the whole of the Middle East.

Thus the threats, which are now being uttered against the Jordan scheme, are unlikely seriously to threaten the Israelis. But by diverting attention from Egypt's fundamental problem, they are a much greater threat to the recovery and development of Egypt. Is there no voice in Cairo strong enough and bold enough to ram home this home truth to the students, to the street and to the politicians and publicists who may well now be encompassing Egypt's ruin with this diversion from the Nile to the Jordan?

[From the Jewish Observer and Middle East Review, Dec. 25, 1959]

JEWS—WHAT IS RUSSIA'S GAME?

There has been nothing quite like this since the anti-Jewish campaign and the so-called doctors' plot during the last days of Stalin's reign at the beginning of 1953. There was then a manic element in the Soviet campaign against the Jews which was subsequently attributed entirely to Stalin's megalomania and to the excesses to which this gave rise. But Stalin has now been dead almost 7 years and the practice of Stalinist excesses, we are told, has been totally liquidated. How then are we to explain the recurrence of the anti-Jewish and anti-Israeli attacks which have assumed an entirely new virulence during the last 2 weeks?

For something startlingly different has crept into this anti-Jewish and anti-Israeli propaganda, something which has not been in evidence since Stalin's death. Until the beginning of December, the Soviet campaign could be explained by all kinds of reasons. The most common were that the Soviet leaders were not against the Jews, nor against Israel, but that they were continuing the Communist campaign against all religion, and that they were opposed only to the pro-Western orientation of the Ben-Gurion government.

Another plausible explanation that made the rounds was that the Russians were merely giving tit for the Israeli and Jewish tat, that they were merely responding in kind—their kind—to the criticism of their treatment of Soviet Jewry. However, one may argue about the past, the most recent developments have created an entirely new and different situation.

The difference affects both the attacks on Soviet Jewry and on Israel. That this should have happened in both these fields, which the Russians usually keep quite separate, suggests that it may not be altogether accidental. We published the denunciation of the Jews of Kirovograd (a town with a population of some 140,000) in last week's Jewish Observer. It differed neither in content, language nor tone from anything that might have appeared in the Nazi Stuermer.

Even so, it might be said, it was probably no more than a local lapse which did not reflect national policy. But just this attack was selected for broadcasting over the Ukrainian network of the Soviet Broadcasting Service. This means that in all probability this same article was heard by many millions and reprinted by local newspapers throughout the Ukraine. It set the new keynote for the attacks on Soviet Jewry.

A week later came the new approach to Israel. We print this week a summary of three broadcasts from Moscow radio by its leading Middle East expert which are directed against Zionism, the Jewish Agency and Israel. The significance of these three talks does not lie in their vulgar detail, or in their more than usually extensive falsification of history; it lies in the root assumption on which this attack is based. For this assumption has now been given a significant new twist.

Until this last week, Soviet propaganda has never challenged the right of Israel to exist; it did not do so even at the height of the Stalinist fury. In this, it was always strikingly different from Arab propaganda. But now, by rewriting the history of the last 30 years in a manner that would have done credit to the protocols of the elders of Zion, Soviet propaganda is projecting a new image of Israel and world Jewry. It is not, in this new version, a genuine national liberation movement (which was the Soviet description in 1948) but nothing less than a false front

for British, French, and American colonialists and oil exploiters. Israel, the Russians now charge, is not a state; it is merely an imperialist device to capture Arab oil for the Western exploiters.

It is not possible to argue seriously with such a farrago of invention, but that makes it nonetheless serious when it is broadcast to the Middle East with all the noise and prestige that Moscow can give to such a thesis. Again, then, we must ask what the reason for this is? It is clearly, like the Kirovograd affair, not an accidental incursion into propaganda by an ignorant departmental enthusiast. This begins to look like a sustained effort to denounce and denigate Soviet Jewry, world Jewry, and Israel.

Yet it is difficult to believe that Khrushchev would embark on such a policy at this moment when the summit is within sight; what sort of threat is Israel to mighty Russia that he must make use of these un-Marxist, racialist, and reactionary methods to discredit the Jews and Israel? Khrushchev, however, is no fool. He may not be able to keep an eye on every aspect of Soviet policy, but it is unlikely that so significant a departure from general policy would be permitted without the Kremlin's approval.

What then are we to conclude from this? The answer can hardly be in doubt. All that Khrushchev can hope to achieve by this new propaganda tactic is to sharpen the Arab-Israeli conflict in the Middle East, to commit the Soviet Union more strongly than ever before to the Arab cause and to serve notice—and this is the crucial feature on the Western Powers that the Middle East is not part of the summit detente.

If this new Soviet line means anything it is this: that while the West is soothed by concessions in Europe, the pressure in the Middle East (and also in Africa) will be intensified.

Our Highway Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Gaffney Ledger, Gaffney, S.C., of January 16, 1960:

OUR HIGHWAY PROGRAM

The Federal interstate highway program is to be the subject of legislation in the last session of the 86th Congress. It is such a vast program, involving such vast sums of money, that every American citizen should be interested.

Senator HARRY F. BYRD, Virginia Democrat, who is chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, has recently been in correspondence with the Secretary of Commerce concerning the program.

Among other things, Senator BYRD believes that costs have risen too steeply in estimates on the program, and he points out that:

"You will recall that the Clay Commission, in 1954, estimated the Interstate System basically would cost $23 billion. This estimate was revised to $27.6 billion in 1955. Now the program has been revised and the estimate raised to $39.9 billion.

"This is an increase of $16.9 billion, or more than 73 percent in 5 years. And State highway officials have testified that only about a fourth of the increase has been due to the 12 percent rise in cost of materials and labor. The rest has been due largely to change in designs and expansion of the program.

"On the basis of the kind of expense we have had with the Interstate System to date, it is not difficult for me to foresee costs rising to a point in excess of $50 billion by 1975, for the presently scheduled completion date."

Secretary H. F. Mueller, of the Commerce Department, has replied agreeing that costs must be held down. He appeals, with BYRD, for a sane, sound program by Congress, which will not allow costs to continue to rise. In 1958, it will be remembered, we departed from the pay-as-you-go method of financing the huge highway program, and it would be well for the country to get back on a pay-as-you-go basis.

It is desirable for the gas-tax increase to eventually be eliminated, and that temporary diversions of general revenue to the Highway Trust Fund should not become permanent. The history of highway building in most of the States shows that highway systems are never adequate, that these are constantly changing, and that it is most difficult to build in anticipation of advanced needs 20 years hence.

Crash programs in highway building, with huge borrowed sums of money, on which huge interest payments must be made, are undesirable, and the pay-as-you-go method is obviously the best. We hope BYRD and Mueller and others interested in sound Government financing will win their fight to keep the Federal Interstate System on the right track.

The So-Called Loyalty Oath in the National Defense Education Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BASIL L. WHITENER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, on January 12, 1960, I received a letter from Mr. Ronald M. Heafner, Director of Civil Defense at Gastonia, N.C. Mr. Heafner's letter expresses what I believe to be the general consensus of opinion held by the average citizen with respect to the so-called loyalty oath in the National Defense Education Act of 1958.

I commend his patriotism and under unanimous consent I include his letter and the Federal civil defense loyalty oath in the Appendix of the RECORD, as follows:

CITY OF GASTONIA, N.C.,
January 12, 1960.

Hon. BASIL LEE WHITENER,
Congressman,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. WHITENER: In regards to the repeal of the loyalty oath Senator JOHN KENNEDY is supporting I would like to say that I would like to see it stay as it is. I had to take such an oath when I was appointed Director of Civil Defense, and all our people here when they volunteer for civil defense take it too. I consider it a privilege and an honor to my country and fellowmen to take such an oath. I don't see why a student should mind. A lot of people feel as I do, but they will never write to you and express their views. I feel it my duty to express my desire. Enclosed find loyalty oath for civil defense. Thanking you again.

Sincerely yours,
RONALD MARSHALL HEAFNER,
Director of Civil Defense, Gastonia and Gaston County.

FEDERAL CIVIL DEFENSE LOYALTY OATH

I, ——— ———, do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true and faithful allegiance to the same; that I will take this obligattion freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties upon which I am about to enter.

And I do further swear (or affirm) that I do not advocate, nor am I a member or an affiliate of any organization, group, or combination of persons that advocates, the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence; and that during such time as I am a member of the ——— ——— I will not advocate nor become a member or an affiliate of any organization, group, or combination of persons that advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence.

——— ———
(Signature)

Witness ——— ———.
Date ———.

The Christian Amendment to Our National Constitution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. GRANT
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. GRANT. Mr. Speaker, Dr. John Coleman, whose record is given in "Who's Who in America" and who has taught political philosophy in American colleges for over a third of a century, has prepared the following radio program which is being broadcast on some 100 stations in our country. This program is No. 12 in a series of 13:

I am speaking in behalf of the movement which is seeking the adoption of the Christian amendment to our National Constitution. It has been before Congress for several years. The first section of the amendment reads:

"This Nation devoutly recognizes the authority and law of Jesus Christ, Saviour and Ruler of nations, through whom are bestowed the blessings of Almighty God."

A second section has been added to prevent any possibility of the use of the amendment as a basis for the establishment of any religious denomination as a national church; and a third section has been added to make it possible for those who do not accept Jesus Christ as Lord to take a modified oath of allegiance or of office.

The subject of this broadcast is: "America, a Pilot Plant for the Nations."

The greatest and most admired philosopher of all time probably is Plato, a Greek of Athens, who lived about four centuries before Christ. Plato roamed through all the fields of philosophy, but his chief delight was in the philosophy of politics. For a time Plato served as adviser of the young King of Syracuse in Sicily, but neither the King

nor his people were ready for Plato's stern ideals, and, somewhat disillusioned, Plato returned to Athens and established his famous school of philosophy. One series of his lectures is called "The Republic." It is a vivid picture of Plato's conception of an ideal city-state, one governed by a group of wise philosophers who sought nothing for themselves but only the welfare of the commonwealth, and were models of justice, temperance, courage and generosity.

In the ages since, men have read "The Republic" and have been inspired to dream their own dreams of a perfect society. Sir Thomas More wrote "Utopia"; Campanella, "The City of the Sun"; Ignatius Donnelly, "The New Atlantis." These are only samples.

I can remember as a boy in my later teens working out with real pleasure the pattern of a miniature republic, perhaps on an island, with every man prosperous and having his own home; no slums, no liquor, no vice; education for everyone, for most of them college; measures for physical health; the voice of worship heard in every home morning and evening and the churches filled on the Lord's Day. Through the Lord Jesus as Saviour and Ruler we would enjoy on that island the blessings of Almighty God, and our Christian democracy would be the admiration of the world and a model for the world's imitation; a pilot plant for the nations.

A pilot plant: is that a term that for any of you needs explaining? In western Pennsylvania, my home for most of my life, a professor of metallurgy at the Carnegie Institute of Technology devised a method of producing wrought iron without the cost and the arduous labor of the old puddling furnace. The great Byers Co. was interested, but was not ready at once to set up a full-sized plant that would cost $15 million. First a smaller plant costing only $100,000 gave the method a full testing, then the company invested its millions in full-scale production. Such a little experimental project is called a pilot plant.

What I dreamed of as a boy, what the world needs today, is a pilot plant, a Christian pilot plant, for the nations; or, still better, since Christianity has already in one field or another proved its supreme value, what the world needs is not a mere pilot plant, but a full-scale—vibrant, wholehearted and enthusiastic—Christian nation.

Ancient Israel was to have been such a pilot plant. Centuries ago a genius, Moses by name, was sent by the Lord to take a nation of slaves laden with the vices of slavery and of their heathen masters, and in one generation—40 years—make them into a stalwart, free and godly people. Moses not only set before them in great detail the laws and manner of life of the new civilization, he drove them hard in their education and God blessed them wonderfully. You can read the whole story in what are called "The Books of Moses." The last of these, Deuteronomy, is chiefly his farewell addresses to the nation, delivered before they entered into the land of promise. In the first address he set before them their mission as a pilot plant for the nations of the earth (Deuteronomy 4:5–7):

"I have taught you statutes and judgments, even as the Lord my God commanded me, that ye should do so in the land whither ye go to possess it. Keep therefore and do them; for this is your wisdom and your understanding in the sight of the nations, which shall hear all these statutes, and say, Surely this great nation is a wise and understanding people. For what nation is there so great, who hath a God so nigh unto them, as the Lord our God is in all things that we call upon him for?"

But Israel did not choose to fulfill her destiny.

Eighteen years ago "The Earnest Worker," Bible study magazine for the Southern Presbyterian Church, contained a paragraph presenting the need for America to become a Christian Pilot Plant for the world:

"What the world has waited for through the centures in a sample Christian nation. The greatest hindrances to the conversion of the heathen world come from nominally Christian nations. If America were thoroughly Christian, it would not take long for such an object lesson to work the conviction and conversion of all heathen people. If our American Christianity cannot purify our politics and elevate our ethical standards of business and establish just relations between races and classes in our own midst, with our increasing facility of communication, which is making the whole world a neighborhood and publishing our national sins on the heathen housetops, this failure will soon paralyze our missionary efforts in all the world and subject our missionaries to the taunt, 'Go back to America, and first cast the beam out of the eyes of thine own countrymen, and then come and cast the mote out of ours.'"

Yes, what the world has waited for through the centuries is a sample Christian nation.

America has been in many ways a model for the world. Back in the 1860's Japan sent a delegation to seek out institutions that Japan might profitably imitate. They found a model for the army in Germany, for banking in England, for industry and popular education in the United States. When asked about religion by those who sent them, they said that in the field of religion Japan did not need a change. Perhaps their guides in America did not show the travellers that side of our life, and our civilization seemed to them to be secular, that is, unrelated to religion. That was tragic. Had we been vitally Christian, and had they followed us in this also, there would have been no Pearl Harbor, no New Guinea, on Iwo Jima, no Okinawa, no bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

It is getting late in the world's history; perhaps it is even later than we think. International tensions are growing more tense; more and more the Communists seem to be proceeding on the assumption that the democracies will yield rather than subject their peoples to the, ghastly tragedy of the most destructive war in history. Twice America has sent her sons across the oceans, in some measure to fight for her own safety, but more for the defense of other nations, and for the better cause. After each war, America, on her own initiative, has given billions, both by the acts of our legislators and by private contributions, for the rebuilding of the world. History knows no parallel. The second commandment, as Jesus stated it, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," has been obeyed by our Nation. But it has been on a secular and humanitarian basis, not consciously on a Christian one. And we have forgotten that first commandment: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind."

Crime at home has crowded our jails until in some sections the lesser offenders are released before their time to make room for greater and later offenders. Juvenile criminals increase in numbers and in the recklessness with which they act—crime for crime's sake. While we have helped others, our own children have gone astray. Let us turn to the Lord Jesus, His law, His example, and His forgiveness; let us become a nation as righteous as we are mighty, and fulfill the mission of which the Pilgrims, William Penn and the Quakers, and many another company of our forefathers dreamed, when they came in their pitiful little vessels across the Atlantic—God's people, hoping to found a city of God in a new land.

Let America give her heart to the Lord, profess His name in her Constitution, rebuild her civilization according to His pattern, and then the world will say of us: "Surely this great Nation is a wise and understanding people." America will have become a Christian pilot plant for the nations.

Body and Soul

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following very interesting editorial which appeared in the National Tribune-Stars and Stripes, on January 7, 1960:

BODY AND SOUL

The caption which we have chosen for this editorial was not picked at random. It is directed to all the Members of the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives, and more particularly, to the Members of the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs and its chairman, Representative OLIN E. TEAGUE, of Texas. The subject of this editorial is the income limitation called for under present pension law for World War I veterans and the new pension law, Public Law 86–211, which goes into effect on July 1, 1960.

First, let us say frankly that we are opposed to income limitations when it comes to the question of payment of pensions to veterans of the First World War, or, to veterans of any war when the time comes where they may need some extra aid from the country for which they fought.

However, we do try to be practical in seeking aid for our war veterans and if some income limitation must be imposed we are ready to understand the situation and recognize it and agree that, for the benefit of those who oppose all war pensions, some concession must be made to keep them happy. We refer here to big business which apparently hates to put out for those who, by their courage have made big business so big.

Of course we could offer generalities in an attempt to prove our point that there should be no income limitation when it comes to payment of pensions to war veterans who need this extra help.

But we believe, if we are to impress our legislators we should offer them something concrete to consider when it comes to the possibility of amending the present pension law or the new law known as the Veterans Pension Act of 1959.

First of all we are firmly convinced that no war veteran should be penalized for whatever income he may have been able to acquire during his years of employment. By this we mean such benefits as social security, railroad retirement, and other pensions, annuities, and retirement benefit, whether payable by law, contract, or otherwise.

We are willing to go along with the proposal that an income earned by a World War I veteran—and we mean by this, earned from actual employment—should be considered in determining the eligibility of the veteran for pension, but we cannot admit that any benefits for which the veteran has paid during his working period, such as those listed

above, should be considered as earned income.

True, these benefits were bought and paid for by the veteran and by a far stretch of the imagination they could be considered as earned income, the veteran having made them possible during his employment period, but in a more liberal sense we do not believe they should be considered as earned income once the time has come when he can no longer contribute towards such benefits.

If we face the situation honestly we should admit that earned income is something which the veteran might earn when he is actually employed—not something that he had earned before his full employability ceased.

In our editorial of October 15, 1959 we printed a résumé of figures compiled by the General Accounting Office at the request of Congress as of July 31, 1957, dealing with the income of World War I veterans. These figures show that there are few veterans of the First World War who had excessive income and it follows that 3 years after the figures were put together there are many more veterans of World War I whose incomes have diminished.

While we may have indulged in some generalities in the foregoing these generalities are backed up by Government figures which show that there are few veterans of World War I with bloated incomes at the present time.

Now, let us take up a specific case. Under present law a World War I veteran, without dependents, 65 years of age, with sufficient disabilities may be paid a pension of $78.75 a month, provided his income does not exceed $1,400 a year.

Let us consider this particular veteran. He has worked steadily for many years. During that time he has held down a good job which required him to pay for social-security benefits at the highest rate the law demanded. He now reaches a period of unemployment. He may be paid as high as $120 to $127 a month from social security. Now 12 times $120 or $127 a month puts him over the $1,400 income limitation prescribed under present law.

Thus, he may not receive the $78.75 monthly pension because of the income limitation. As a consequence his ability to enjoy the few years which are left to him is curtailed since, in all reason, a man accustomed to the decent things of life is bound to feel the pinch when he has to exist on his social-security payments alone.

All this applies, of course, to the single veteran under Public Law 86-211 which becomes even more vicious when we come to the veteran with a dependent.

Under the new law not only does his own income earned from previous employment come into consideration in determining his eligibility to pension but any income which his wife might be able to earn, as well as any little nest egg which he and his wife have acquired over the years is also counted as is any property of which he and his wife may be possessed.

Under the new law this is known as the corpus of the estate. We would venture to say that very few World War I veterans know what is meant by "corpus of the estate." It is a neat legal term which the smart boys have inserted in the law. It sounds good when you roll it off the tongue but it amounts only to penalizing a man and his wife for being thrifty.

Now, "corpus" is the Latin word for "body"—in other words the body of the veteran's estate. With the introduction of the veteran's body we may look eventually for the inclusion of the word "anima" which is Latin for "soul."

Having made the veteran pay for having a corpus we may look for some other legal phrase which would include his anima.

Now this veteran might have in his soul some precious memories of the past—memories which to him are priceless. Should the Veterans' Administration and the Government attempt to put an estimated price on these memories the veteran, after having paid for his corpus would find his soul included with the result that he would wind up using as this theme song when he applied for Government aid the title of a one-time popular song, "I'm Yours, Body and Soul."

Two Natives of Wilkes-Barre Pass 50th Milestones in Notable Careers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader of January 11, 1960:

TWO NATIVE SONS PASS 50TH MILESTONES IN NOTABLE CAREERS

It is a singular coincidence that the E. I. duPont de Nemours Co. of Wilmington, Del., paid an impressive tribute to the chairman of its board of directors, Walter S. Carpenter, Jr., in the current issue of the employee magazine, Better Living, for a half century of service as another famous native son, Andrew Sordoni, founder of Sordoni Enterprises, is embarking on his 50th year in business. Mr. Sordoni was born in Nanticoke in 1887; Mr. Carpenter, in Wilkes-Barre just 1 year later.

This community has produced many outstanding executives for business and industry, as well as leaders in other fields. The names of Andrew Sordoni and Walter Carpenter rank high on the list of notables who started from scratch and carved for themselves outstanding careers in the finest American tradition. As self-made men, their achievements are all the more noteworthy.

While they are of different backgrounds and personalities, Andrew Sordoni and Walter Carpenter had, and still have, much in common. They share, among other things, a driving ambition as well as boundless energy and the courage of their convictions.

Andrew Sordoni, the youngest of 12 children, is the son of an Italian immigrant who came to Wyoming Valley from Venice, Italy. His father was a member of an old and wealthy family. His mother was a remarkable woman, serving as a court interpreter for more than three decades. "I owe what artistic appreciation I have to my father and to my mother I owe the determination to do that which is right," Andrew Sordoni once observed.

Life was no bed of roses for him. After a tour of duty in the Regular Army, he embarked in business for himself with a team of horses he borrowed from his father, a set of secondhand harness, a coal wagon, and a dump wagon. He worked 12 to 16 hours a day, a schedule he still follows despite efforts to slow him down.

Andrew Sordoni seems to possess an uncanny business sense. Everything he touches, associates say, turns to gold. But this is not accident or luck; it is the result of a combination of ability, experience and, above all, hard work. It explains his success as an industrialist, philanthropist, and public servant.

An extremely modest man for all the eminence he has attained, Walter Carpenter, like Andrew Sordoni, is one to recognize opportunity and take advantage of it. As a college boy, he worked summers for the Du Pont firm. In 1909, 2 years before graduation, he heard of an opening in a nitrate subsidiary in Chile and took off for South America. His judgment was vindicated, for in 1911 he was recalled to Wilmington on the basis of his record and he moved rapidly up the ladder until he became president of the company and chairman of the board, in which capacity he not only became a leading figure in American industry and philanthropy, but contributed substantially to his country's welfare and the cause of freedom.

While Mr. Carpenter insists on giving credit to others and minimizes his own importance, associates have other views on this subject. They know him not only for his broad knowledge and thoroughness, but for his fairness, self-control, and consideration of others.

It is a privilege and pleasure, on behalf of the community, to salute these two distinguished sons of Wyoming Valley on this milestone in their careers. That they still are in harness is most gratifying.

Shorter Presidential Campaigns

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, in further support of my suggestion for shorter presidential campaigns, I append herewith the following editorial which appeared in the New Milford Times on October 8, 1959:

GOOD IDEA, CONGRESSMAN

Representative JOHN S. MONAGAN, Democrat, of Connecticut, told his colleagues in the House of Representatives recently that "the time has come to reduce the campaigning period in our national election."

The Congressman pointed out that the total campaign time in the British election being conducted today amounted to just a shade over 1 month; the American presidential candidates are compelled to woo the voters for more than 4 months.

"The extended presidential campaign serves no useful purpose," Mr. MONAGAN declared. "Certainly we cannot say that as a result of our system, the American voter is better instructed than his British counterpart. On the other hand, a shorter campaign in this country would prevent wear and tear on the candidates, save millions of dollars and preserve the voters' interest in the candidates and the election."

We're inclined to agree. In fact, it seems that the Congressman may have understated his case. We can think of several advantages to a shorter campaign that he overlooked completely.

For instance, while he noted correctly that the prolonged politicking "brings the candidates to physical prostration," he said nothing of the effects of such a campaign on the voter. Besides the frustration of seeing their favorite TV programs chased off the air for months on end in favor of an address by the Honorable Zachariah Zilch, the voters often find themselves just this side of migraine in trying to sift some sense from the conflicting statements offered by candidates for the same office. Naturally, the longer the campaign; the more severe the headache.

Another significant factor to be considered, we believe, is that although the purpose of the campaign is to inform the voter about the issues, too many modern-day candidates decide at the outset to avoid as many of them as possible. This unfortunate choice puts a decided strain on the politico—he is confronted with the necessity for talking for 4 months without saying anything, and that kind of thing is bound to inflict hardship on both sides of the microphone.

Representative MONAGAN concluded his appraisal of American campaign methods with a pledge to introduce legislation that will correct the situation. For whatever it's worth, Congressman, we're behind you all the way.

Quesada and Air Safety

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. BROYHILL. Mr. Speaker, I am not a member of any of the congressional committees currently holding, or about to hold, hearings on air safety. However, I represent a congressional district in which many thousands of airline employees live.

The 10th Congressional District of Virginia is unique in that so many dedicated airline employees reside in Fairfax and Arlington Counties and in the communities of Alexandria and Falls Church.

The Washington National Airport is one of the world's busiest. Within another 2 years Dulles International Airport at Chantilly will assume some of the overload from Washington National, and, because of its great refinements, Dulles is certain to become one of the great commercial air centers of the world.

Mr. Speaker, airline personnel who reside in my district are dedicated people. Air safety is not only their job but their moral objective. We have all felt a sense of greater security since the passage of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 and even greater confidence since the President appointed Gen. Elwood R. Quesada to the position of first Administrator under the new act.

Mr. Speaker, the Washington Daily News of January 15 carried a most inspiring editorial entitled "Quesada and Air Safety," which, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I include in the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

QUESADA AND AIR SAFETY

Gen. E. R. "Pete" Quesada told a Senate committee the other day he thinks it is his public duty to make air travel as safe as possible.

There should be few to fault him on that score.

But apparently there are a few. General Quesada testified a "small hard core" of airline pilots was opposing some of his regulations.

Perhaps they have some talking points. This is true of almost any regulations. But General Quesada, while a determined man, is not unreasonable.

The fact is that last year the fatalities in plane accidents were the highest on record. This may be explained by the increase in air travel. But 294 deaths from commercial airline mishaps ought to be ample reason for the most stringent rules. If there is any doubt, it has to be on the side of safety.

The airlines have a remarkable record for safe flying. Everybody concerned — pilots, management, mechanics, the Federal aviation authorities — can be proud of it.

But there are more planes, more passengers, and more and more speed all the time. Airports are becoming more congested. The need for safety thus is increasing at a rapid pace.

Accidents never are prevented after they happen.

Those who oppose the strictest kind of safety rules for the air are inviting the type of fatal chaos which now besets our motor roads.

Rosiest Message in 30 Years Gives Ground for Caution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, again referring to the President's state of the Union message, I commend to the earnest attention of our colleagues the following article by Leslie Gould, financial editor of the New York Journal-American, as it appeared in that newspaper on January 8, 1960:

ROSIEST MESSAGE IN 30 YEARS GIVES GROUND FOR CAUTION

(By Leslie Gould)

The President's state of the union message was one of the rosiest in years—30 years to be exact—which may explain some misgivings.

The stock market did not respond as might have been expected. It acts almost as if it were suffering from an overdose of bullishness—or is it "fever of bullishness."

The President sees 1960 as the most prosperous year in history.

He promised a budget surplus for the current fiscal year, ending in June, but he did not refer to a $266 million "windfall" from the Federal Reserve—the turning over to the U.S. Treasury of that much from its surplus funds. This will be a major factor in any balance of this year's budget.

MORE INFLATIONARY SPENDING

The President interpolated in his message a promise of a whopping budget surplus of $4.2 billion in fiscal 1961.

Despite this promise and his emphasis on the need for holding down prices, the message is inflationary.

For example on the budget, after promising 1961's will be balanced, he boasts:

"In the area of defense, expenditures continue at the record peacetime levels of the last several years.

"With a single exception, expenditures in every category of health, education, and welfare will be equal or greater than last year.

"In space expenditures the amounts are practically doubled."

Nowhere is there a word or step in the direction of economy. Just continued heavy spending and, more often than not, increased spending.

Even in foreign aid, there is no indication of a reduction, although the President properly warns other nations, now restored to prosperity through U.S. beneficence, must carry their share of the burden.

While the theme of the message is "peace and prosperity," the President warns that the only present security from a general war is the United States and its Allies' military strength. This correctly justifies continued large defense spending, particularly in the missile field. On missiles he had encouraging words—the Atlas ICBM is now operational.

TONGUE IN CHEEK ON STEEL

The President must have had his tongue in his cheek when, in speaking of the steel settlement, he said the major steel companies announced "There will be no increase in steel prices at this time." He didn't say anything about later in the year—say, 6 months after the 7-cent-an-hour boost becomes effective at the end of June.

The steel companies were forced by political pressure to give up their demand for changes in local work rules which would have cut down union featherbedding. The President apparently is hoping this can be negotiated when he says "National interest demands * * * both management and labor make every possible effort to increase efficiency and productivity in the manufacture of steel so that price increases can be avoided."

REDS FORMIDABLE COMPETITORS

On the farm problem, he said production must be geared to the markets. Agriculture Secretary Benson wants a new wheat law to peg support to the average market price received by farmers in the last 3 years instead of the present "fair-price" parity system.

The President is hopeful of, but not trustful of, the present Russian gestures, and he warns the "competition they provide is formidable."

Extremists Raise Their Ugly Heads

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. GEORGE P. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, one of the best editorials that I have seen on the unfortunate resurgence of neonazism in Germany was published in the San Leandro (Calif.) Morning News.

I am inserting this editorial and urge my colleagues to read it:

EXTREMISTS RAISE THEIR UGLY HEADS

It is easy to speculate that the Communists are behind the new outbreak of anti-Semitic incidents, hoping to discredit West Germany as the time for negotiations over the German future approaches, but the speculation may not be well founded.

In the first place, there is no denying that there are Nazis left over in Germany, and neo-Nazi organizations containing hoodlums perfectly capable of the acts. The overwhelming popularity of Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, who has sought zealously to lead German thinking away from such fields, is sufficient evidence that these elements are neither representative nor powerful. But in Germany and the rest of the world there are enough extremists who, like anonymous letter writers, are willing to act surrepti-

tiously to create the impression of an organized movement.

Any Communist conspiracy in such a matter would be in constant danger of discovery and the resultant danger of the Communists cause is very real.

The Communists have always been extremely wary of charges of anti-Semitism, recognizing it as a link to czarist Russia where the pogrom was once a well-used weapon of the government to keep the minds of the people off their other troubles.

It still exists, of course, and at times has flared to the point where it was clearly discernible even through the Iron Curtain. But the line has seldom been clearly drawn betwen anti-Semitism and the general running fight which communism carries on against all religions in its effort to stand as a religion within itself.

Stirring up hatred is not the Soviet line today, although the Chinese Communists still go for it in a big way.

An Interesting Commentary on the Decline of the American Railroad System While Soviet Railroads Make Notable Progress Because They Are Used to Their Capacity

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, it is common knowledge that the American railroads have multiple problems many of them posing a real threat to the survival of an industry that has proved of vital importance in war or peace. It is an accepted fact that the importance of the American railroad system was never more apparent than during national emergencies when it was freely recognized as a strong and indispensable arm of our national defense. Such recognition was earned through stellar performance in doubling freight volume, tripling passenger traffic, and, at the same time, accomplishing such a feat with existing equipment and personnel.

An article by Harold E. Wefald, titled "Soviet Railroads in Boom Period," appeared in the January 17, 1960, issue of the Washington, D.C., Evening Star. It is an interesting recital of the growth of the Soviet railroad system at a time when many American railroads are teetering on the brink of bankruptcy unless rescued from their plight by an aroused America who recognizing their indispensable role in the economy and defense of this Nation will rise up and demand that they be dealt with in a realistic and practical manner lest they be forced to depart from the American scene.

The article by Mr. Wefald follows:

SOVIET RAILROADS IN BOOM PERIOD

(By Harold E. Wefald)

When train No. 8 of the St. Louis & Southwestern Railroad arrived in East St. Louis on November 30, with six revenue passengers, 59 years of passenger service on the Cotton Belt Line came to an end.

In the same month one New England railroad petitioned to drop commuter service and another asked to drop all passenger service.

With the Nation's railroads losing more than $600 million on passenger service last year, it is not surprising that such famous trains as the New Haven's Merchant's Special look ever more seedy. If present trends continue, railroad passenger service will disappear entirely by 1970. Freight volume also declined 10 percent in 1958, and in the first 10 months of 1959 the net income of class I railroads was 25 percent less than in 1957.

Meanwhile, Russian railroads are growing about as fast as ours are declining. In fact, Soviet Russia, in traffic volume, has become the biggest railroad country in the world. In 1957, when American railroads carried 626 billion ton-miles of freight, the Soviet haul was 680 billion ton-miles—the equivalent of 680 million tons carried a thousand miles. The passenger volume of Russian railroads is well over three times the American figure.

INHERITED FROM CZARS

In contrast to the largely new heavy industry, the Soviet rail net is essentially the system inherited from the czars, expanded and improved. The first Russian line was built in 1838, but not until after 1856, when the Russian defeat in the Crimean War revealed a shocking lack of transport, did Russian railroad building begin in earnest.

Two great railroad booms laster from 1868 to 1874 and from 1891 to 1900. They were nothing like the great American railroad boom, however. Between 1880 and 1890 we expanded our rail net from 94,000 miles to 163,000 miles—a 10-year increase almost equal to the total mileage of the entire Soviet Union today.

French money helped the Russians achieve their greatest railroad success, the building of the Trans-Siberian. Siberia was practically useless until the coming of this railroad, which was begun in 1891 and completed in 7 years. Since the Bolsheviks repudiated the czarist debt, the longest railroad in the world remains unpaid for. It is perhaps the most strategic railroad in the world, for in a large measure this ribbon of steel is Siberia.

This was demonstrated in the summer of 1918, when about 35,000 Czech troops were spread out along this railroad, for 5,000 miles from European Russia to Vladivostok. They were trying to reach the western front by traveling east around the world. The Bolsheviks, touchy about German pressure, ordered them to give up their arms. The Czechs answered by seizing the railroad. In effect they seized Siberia as well, for by their action this vast region, far larger than all of the United States, was lost to Bolshevik control. The opposition could thus organize, and the Russian civil war began in earnest.

GAINS UNDER SOVIET

During the Soviet period, Russian trackage has about doubled. Yet, with about 75,000 miles of main track, they have barely a third of our own railroad mileage. However, the 218,000 miles of line operated in the United States last year represents a decrease from the 1920 figure of 252,000 miles, which is almost as great as the Soviet increase during the same period.

Today, while some in this country raise the question of the railroads' survival, the Russians are embarking on a major program of railroad modernization. They plan to increase train weights to 4,000 tons and more. They could handle it with steam, which is cheaper to build, horsepower for horsepower.

But if they build 6,000 horsepower into a steamer, they would get such concentrated weight that many existing bridges and rails wouldn't stand up. In addition, steam locomotives convert much less of their heat energy into mechanical energy, and they run much less efficiently during the long and severe Russian winter. So in 1957, Russia built its last steam locomotive.

While in this country the switch has been almost entirely to diesel power, the Soviet production target for 1965 is 2,500 diesels a year and 2,700 electrics, with each handling about 44 percent of the traffic. By 1970, when steam is scheduled to disappear, they plan to have 24,000 miles of track under the overhead wires. The electrics are expensive, but they will run a million miles between capital repairs and will last 40 years. They are especially valuable in mountainous areas, because on the downgrade they reverse their motors and feed power back into the grid.

NORTHERN SIBERIA JOB

The next big railroad job is to help unlock the vast wealth of Northern Siberia. Almost 4 million square miles are covered with permafrost. The surface thaws out in the summer, but the ground underneath remains frozen the year around. In many areas rail beds won't stand up. The Reds are so concerned about this that they have even experimented with refrigeration pipes to keep the surface from thawing in the summer. If they ever solve this problem, they will increase the effective area of the Soviet economy by several million square miles.

In the United States, the volume of rail freight has fallen to less than half of the total freight volume; but in Russia the railroad share has increased during the Soviet period, and the rails now haul well over 80 percent of all Soviet freight. Russia has nothing to match our fantastic highway system. Compared to ours, her pipeline net is puny indeed. Her rivers and coastal waters remain frozen up to half a year and more. How then can the railroads meet the transport requirements of an area 2½ times the size of the United States?

They use their railroads to capacity. We don't. Only the innate efficiency of the steel wheel on the steel rail explains how the Soviets can begin to hold their burgeoning industry together over the gigantic Russian land mass. The modern diesel locomotive can produce 625 gross ton-miles on 1 gallon of dieses fuel, compared to less than 150 for a diesel truck. The average automobile produces only 20 to 30 ton-miles on a gallon of gasoline. With the flanged wheel and rigid couplings, the railroad represents built-in automation. It would take 13 times as many man-days to move 100,000 tons of freight between New York and San Francisco by truck as it would by rail. A single track can transport 20 times as many people as a single lane of highway.

DOUBLING FREIGHT VOLUME

The meaning of this is apparent from our own experience in World War II. Our railroads doubled their freight volume and more than tripled their passenger volume, and they did it with no appreciable increase in the railroad plant. When Nazi submarines hit the coastwise tankers, the railroad haul of oil to the East was increased nearly a hundredfold to a million barrels a day. Soviet Premier Khrushchev, who speaks to the production front as though it were a battlefront, had much the same transport objectives as ours during the war—to meet transport requirements with the least expenditure of manpower, fuel, and steel.

Perhaps the decline of American railroads is part of the price of being rich. Soviet motor vehicle production is less than half that of France, while America has twice as many automobiles as all the rest of the world. The $29 billion we spent on the purchase and operation of automobiles—exclusive of trucks and buses—in 1 year, 1955, is greater than the entire net investment, accumulated over a period of more than a century, of all our railroads combined. Perhaps the key word is "convenience." Russian pota-

toes ride the rails, American cake mixes go on the highway.

If the American people are rich, so, it appears, are the Federal, State, and county governments. The railroads looked huge 60 years ago, but they are quite small alongside the roadbuilders. The $8.6 billion spent on highway construction and maintenance in 1957 was greater than the total expenditure of all the railroads combined. At the same time, the unused capacity of our railroads is far greater than the total capacity of all the trunk highways in the United States.

Competition, Credit Policies, and the Captive Finance Company

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by Paul H. Banner as it appeared in the Quarterly Journal of Economics, May 1958:

COMPETITION, CREDIT POLICIES, AND THE CAPTIVE FINANCE COMPANY

(By Paul H. Banner)

The development of the captive finance company [1]—the finance company wholly owned and operated as a subsidiary of a nonfinancial firm—presents new problems in the field of consumer credit. The captive finance company has as its primary purpose the underwriting of the sale of the parent company's products and it is therefore influenced in its actions and policies by merchandising requirements, not by objective monetary standards and credit conditions. It is the purpose of this study to determine the effect of this sales device upon competition and upon credit conditions. This study suggests that the captive finance firm is most effectively used by, and is a competitive advantage primarily available to, the large company. A second conclusion is that consumer credit controls now available to monetary authorities are largely ineffective in dealing with this rising source of consumer credit. It is possible therefore that either direct controls will be required to regulate consumer installment debt expansion or divestiture will become necessary if the current growth of captive finance companies continues.

Installment credit is an absolute necessity in certain industries. The automobile industry, for example, could not have grown to its present size without some form of time payment plan. Credit, however, is not uniformly available as a sales method. Inadequacy of credit facilities has been a chronic complaint in industrial and agricultural history. In part, this complaint stems from the fact that credit institutions normally approach new uses of credit cautiously. New industries present greater risks than old ones. The prefabricated-house and home-trailer industries are current examples—the automobile industry an illustration of a few decades ago. Inadequacy of credit facilities is a relative matter, however, and in many industries today certain firms feel this inadequacy because of their inability to meet the credit terms offered by their competitors operating captive finance firms.

Footnotes at end of speech.

THE GROWTH OF CAPTIVE FINANCE COMPANIES

This study indicates that the number of captive finance companies has been increasing continuously. Since 1948 their number has doubled and in recent years there has been an acceleration in their formation.

Organization of captive finance companies [1]

Year of organization:	Number organized
1948 and prior years	19
1949	2
1950	3
1951	5
1952	1
1953	3
1954	5
1955	5
1956	7
10 months 1957	8
Unknown	11
Total	69
Number of parent firms	55

[1] Sources utilized in the preparation of this study include: "A List of 1,000 Large Manufacturing Companies, Their Subsidiaries and Affiliates," Federal Trade Commission, 1951; Standard and Poors Corp. Records; Moody's Industrial Manual; Wall Street Journal; Journal of Commerce. Company reports and stock registration statements were also used. The above summary does not represent a complete census of financing affiliates. There is no directory of finance companies reporting data such as is required to determine ownership. Subsidiary corporations are not always reported separately in financial manuals or they are referred to so obliquely as to make their operations difficult to determine. In certain cases in annual reports partially owned firms are treated as investments rather than as subsidiaries and little or no information is offered as to their operations. If the parent firm is not registered on an exchange, difficulties are compounded.

Most of the captive finance firms studied are affiliates of firms listed as among the 500 largest industrial firms in the country by Fortune magazine in its July 1956 Supplement. To some extent this indicates a limitation on the quality of the sample. It is known, for example, that automobile dealers frequently operate finance companies in conjunction with dealerships. If the number of firms with finance companies is considered small, however, it should be noted that many industry products are of such low unit cost that financing of sales is unnecessary. Also, in those cases where industry products are intermediary rather than consumer products, different forms of financing are utilized. In the petroleum, chemical, food, and textile industries, for example, sales financing is unnecessary to move a significant proportion of industry product. Among the top 25 firms ranked according to sales are 8 oil firms, 3 food processors, and 2 chemical firms, all of which would not be expected to utilize installment sales techniques.

EFFECTS ON COMPETITION

Frequently it has been found that ability to provide credit is a more effective competitive weapon than an attractive product price. Many instances, especially in automobiles and housing, can be found where the absolute level of monthly payment, not the overall cost of the product, is the determinant of sale. Flexibility in financing arrangements can be more important than total interest cost in selling a product. A captive finance firm whose only purpose is to further the sale of the parent firm's products can, therefore, provide competitive advantage.

Examples of the advantage to a producer in having a financing affiliate are found in many industries. Bus producers have insisted that financing is one of the chief advantages of General Motors. ACF Brill's president, for example, stated that his buses were priced competitively but because he could not offer financing for so long a period, he lost many sales.[2] The president of the Southern Coach Manufacturing Co. offered similar evidence. His firm was specifically told it could have sales if it could provide financing. His firm now makes no attempt to get customers unless it knows such customers can finance purchases locally.[3] A representative of another firm, the Flxible Co., stated that his firm had utilized General Motors Acceptance Corp. (GMAC) to finance its sales. He reported an instance of GMAC refusing to handle his financing of a bus sale and General Motors thereupon receiving the same order which it financed on longer terms through Yellow Motors Acceptance Corp., another General Motors affiliate.[4] Flxible now relies on customer financing by local banks.[5] The Ford Motor Co. reportedly left the bus business not only because the market was declining but also because financing of customers was necessary.

On July 6, 1956, the Department of Justice filed an antitrust suit against General Motors charging among other things monopolization of the manufacture of buses and the financing of the sale of buses through YMAC on terms which General Motors' competitors with more limited resources could not meet. One element of relief requested was that General Motors be required to offer to finance the sales of buses manufactured by any other company upon the same terms and conditions as it finances its own buses.[6]

Probably in no industry has credit become so important a sales device as in the retailing of automobiles. Only one firm, General Motors, owns a sales finance company. The problem posed will be discussed hereafter as part of a general discussion of the automobile industry, but at this time it can be pointed out that in 1954–55 there occurred a major challenge to General Motors' leadership in the automobile industry. The Ford Motor Co., planning a public offering of its stock, drove the industry into the most competitive battle for sales leadership in the postwar period. One retaliatory device resorted to by General Motors was liberalization of credit. This liberalization occurred only shortly after the firm in a policy announcement declared:

"GMAC's current experience shows that where downpayments on new cars are less than one-third, repossessions are disproportionately higher, as dealers are well aware." [7]

Shortly after this statement GMAC's policies were changed and the number of transactions involving downpayments lower than one-third about doubled percentagewise.[8] This flexibility had an immediate effect upon dealers of other cars and upon competing finance companies. A dealer testifying before the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly stated that the finance firm he had used had always offered competitive rates in the past, but in early 1955 he found he was losing sales to GM dealers because of financing. GMAC was taking automobile paper that in the past it would not have taken.[9]

There are insufficient data available to reveal whether GMAC initiated the liberalization of automobile credit terms in 1954 and 1955 which resulted in the greatest increase in automobile credit in any single year, but from 1954 to 1955 it can be shown that the major finance firms, the most important of which is GMAC, were more liberal than their smaller competitors in the granting of credit. In 1954 the median credit on new-car purchases for the four major companies in this

field was $1,590 in comparison with $1,650 for all other sales finance companies. In 1955 the median credit allowed rose to $1,790 and $1,770, respectively, or the four major companies increased the median size of loans $200 in 1 year, while their smaller competitors increased the median size of their loans only $120.[10] General Motors' share of the passenger car market in this booming credit market rose to its highest percentage in history. In a market in which credit purchases rose by one-half while cash purchases rose less than one-sixth, the firm with a financing affiliate found its market position considerably enhanced.

Credit liberalization is so effective as a competitive weapon in this industry because of the high number of sales involving trade-ins. More than four of every five new car sales involve trade-ins so that cash requirements for the purchase of a new car represent the difference between downpayment requirement and the trade-value of the used car. Liberalization of credit can reduce cash requirements to a negligible amount. A reduction in downpayment requirements from one-third to one-foutrh on a $2,400 car is $200. A three-year-old car which cost when new $2,400, is roughly worth $800, or the one-third down payment on a new car without any further cash payment. A four-year-old car would be worth about $650, or would require an additional $150 cash for a new car purchase on credit. A decline in downpayment requirements, however, to one-fourth or $600, would mean that another age group of cars could be tapped as a market for new car sales without cash down payment. According to Federal Reserve Board data the median interval before repurchase of a car declined from 37 months in 1954 to 32 months in 1955 for credit buyers of automobiles.[11] Concomitant with this decline in the median time interval on transactions, credit rose and cash paid declined.

Selected averages for credit purchases
[Mean dollar amounts]

Item	1955	1954
Contract car price	$2,890	$2,690
Effective car price [1]	2,480	2,320
Value of car traded-in or sold	590	580
Net outlay	1,900	1,740
Amount of additional cash [2]	210	240
Amount of credit [3]	1,690	1,509

[1] Contract car price less estimated overallowances on trade-in, if any.

[2] Cash paid less encumbrance on trade-in, if any.

[3] Excludes finances and insurance charges; excludes any supplementary borrowing for down payment.

Source: Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System, Consumer Installment Credit, Part IV "Financing New Car Purchases," 1957, p. 65.

While these important changes in the character of automobile installment paper occurred one item did not change, the average monthly payment on new car installment contracts. This remained constant from 1954 to 1955 at $72. Thus the lower downpayments were accompanied by a lengthening of maturities, the median for which rose from 24 months in 1954 to 30 months in 1955.[12]

The effect can be seen in the age distribution of cars traded in on purchases of new cars. In 1953, 50 percent of all cars traded in on new cars were 3 years old or less. Cars 4 and 5 years old comprised 20 percent of cars traded in. In 1954 and 1955, cars aged 3 years old or less declined to 45 percent and 42 percent, respectively, while cars 4 and 5 years old rose to 28 percent in 1955. Thus concomitant with a decline in downpayment requirements the importance of 4- and 5-year-old cars as trade-ins rose 50 percent.

Footnotes at end of speech.

OTHER EXAMPLES OF THE COMPETITIVE USE OF CREDIT

Another competitive use of the finance company is in the introduction of a new product. The firm offering liberal financing makes its sale easier. A recent example is the automatic pinsetter for bowling alleys. The substitution of capital equipment for labor in bowling alleys is a large investment for a business which has not previously required high capital outlay. The Murray Corp. and Brunswick-Balke-Collender Co. developers and marketers of this product, formed an affiliate, the Brunswick Murray Automatic Pinsetter Corp. to finance installment sales of these machines. Competition was undoubtedly a factor also. A rival product is offered on a rental basis by its developer.

An older example of the use of credit to introduce a product is the diesel locomotive. When General Motors introduced its diesel engines 40 percent of the mileage of American railroads was in receivership. Obviously railroad credit was poor, and in the depression period capital expenditures were avoided. In order to introduce its product General Motors offered to finance its sale with no downpayment required. A revolving credit of $5 million was established and engines were leased to railroads with purchase options. In 1937 and 1938, GMAC financed 12 percent and 67 percent, respectively, of GM sales to domestic railroads.[13]

In the appliance industry when production declined in 1956 and various firms dropped lines or sold out completely, General Electric turned to easier consumer financing as a stimulus to sales. It announced that a homeowner, or long-term renter, who made structural changes in his kitchen or laundry could have the whole project financed through General Electric Credit Corp., if at least two major appliances were bought. The President of the Philco Corp., a firm with only one-tenth of the sales of GE, commented "GE's new financing plan will have a lot to do with sales and will make it very rough for other manufacturers. Only a big outfit like GE could do such a thing."[14] The terms offered by GE include 10 percent down payment with 5 years to pay the balance. Philco is a well-known name in the appliance industry. The effect of GE's competition on smaller firms can be imagined.

Financing terms are powerful competitive tools which can best be utilized by the large firm which has better access to the money market and can borrow at lower interest rates. The large firm invariably has established sources of financing. Its name is known and it has established credit status. This is of importance since capitalization of a finance firm is less important than its borrowing ability both in the long-term capital market and in that for short-term money. With the parent firm's credit status, name, and reputation, the newly formed financing company has little difficulty in securing entry into the capital market. Sears, Roebuck, for example, upon the organization of its financing affiliate, did not find it necessary to operate its subsidiary using capital funds alone until it had built up a credit rating. Immediately upon the organization of the subsidiary in November 1956 with a capitalization of $35 million, a $50 million debenture issue was floated, underwritten by leading security houses and repeated soon thereafter. The firm which handled the greatest share of the issue was the firm which in the ordinary course of Sears' business handled its financing and the sale of its commercial paper.

With reference to the cost of money, a major part of the finance company's cost of doing business, one need only consult the difference in interest rates according to size of borrower. Rates normally vary with the size of loan. In addition, the firm which can place its short-term paper directly secures advantageous rates in comparison with paper placed through brokers. The average money market rate in 1956, for example, was 3.06 percent for directly placed finance company paper in comparison with a rate of 3.31 percent for prime commercial paper of comparable maturity.[15] Thus it is not only that the large firm can more readily utilize financing terms as competitive weapons, but the advantages of the parent firm's size can be translated into advantages of size in the money market.

NONCOMPETITIVE USES OF CREDIT

Interesting variations in sales financing arrangements are occurring in the carpet and trailer truck industries, variations which would appear to benefit the smaller rather than the bigger firms in the industry.

Sales financing arrangements in the carpet industry have developed in such a manner as to minimize competitive effects among carpet producers. In September 1955 Mohawk Carpet Mills arranged with Allied Building Credits, a subsidiary of the Transamerica Corp., to finance dealer sales of its products. In succeeding months other firms made similar arrangements with the same finance company. In October 1956 Alexander Smith, First Carpet Co., A & M Karghensian, and C. H. Marland & Sons simultaneously announced these arrangements and in December James Lees & Sons. Other mills in the country are reported to have done likewise. Terms offered are similar to all users and provide no advantage to any particular manufacturer. Such an arrangement is apparently the only noncompetitive intra-industry credit arrangement in effect.

Another noncompetitive credit arrangement different in purpose has been suggested for the truck trailer industry. In this industry a credit pool has been proposed to help both small truckers and producers.

EFFECTS ON CREDIT POLICY

The existence of large captive finance companies owned and controlled by leading manufacturers in their respective fields cannot but affect the credit structure of the country. The captive finance company is not an independent business entity. The fundamental objective of the company is not necessarily the same as that of an independent finance company. Is it to function principally as a finance company, or is it to function as a means of furthering the interest of the parent? It would appear that the paramount purpose is usually the latter. If so, then the existence of captive finance companies, as major suppliers of consumer credit, can create conflict with overall national credit policy. It may be to the competitive advantage of the parent to adopt policies at variance with monetary objectives and to be in a position to do so. If the Government, for example, is fostering credit restriction to limit business borrowings for inventory purposes, banks will more carefully review consumer credit applications and generally slow down their lending activities. If captive finance firms are the sources of credit for dealer inventories, pressures from the parent firm to continue lending may be too strong to resist even though further lending may be unprofitable. Independent market forces do not directly pass judgment on this demand for credit. One automobile dealer informed the author that his greatest protection from factory pressure to buy more cars was the independent finance company he used, which exercised independent judgment as to how many cars it would floor plan for him. He obviously did not build up the large inventories many other dealers did in the latter part of 1955.

Structurally, there are other effects of the captive finance company. In the market for funds, the capitive finance company probably has better credit than most independent finance companies. Its affiliation with an important manufacturing firm is advantageous. It has the credit of the parent organization behind it. It is therefore a preferred credit risk to the independent finance company. Credit policies that reduce the availability of credit will bear more heavily upon the independent than upon the captive firm of comparable size. The captive firm, though smaller than many independent firms, as an affiliate of a large manufacturing firm with nationwide sales, can secure credit lines in many banks.

Complementary to availability of credit as a limit upon the activity of finance companies in a tight market is the treatment of credit risks. With higher rates and restricted availability, independent firms survey their borrowers more carefully, ration credit, and react in the manner monetary authorities anticipate. Captive finance companies canont be relied upon to react in this manner. It must always be remembered that the captive firm exists primarily to promote the sale of the parent firm's products. Not only may it not feel the usual profit incentives operating upon the independent firm, but knowing that these conditions exist it may take advantage of the situation to enhance the parent firm's market position. If the captive firm is to be used to further the parent firm's market position, it cannot allow itself to be limited by the same criteria as limit the independent firm.

The captive firm usually has much better knowledge of its customers' positions than a banking relationship alone would supply. It surveys its own industry and while perhaps more parochial in outlook, it is more knowledgeable of its specialized field. Hesitation in judgment of credit worthiness or a general lagging in the granting of credit is unlikely.

More important, however, is the positive use of credit. If credit costs are rising it may be advantageous to absorb this higher cost and if necessary operate at a deficit to enhance a market position. The very limitation on credit for competitors' products may be the impetus to provide credit for the parent firm's products. At such a time new markets can be invaded and a broader distribution of products achieved. These are advantages to the firm which would impel it to act counter to current credit trends.

The above discussion has been applicable to a period of restricted credit. What of a period of liberal credit? In such instances either the captive firm can retire from the market and act passively or it can utilize its preferred position with the parent firm's customers to assure itself of a market for its services. This has been done. Pressure to use the financing and other services offered by a parent firm are not uncommon.

An example of credit policies entirely subservient to the interests of the parent corporation was previously noted in the action GMAC took in 1954–55. The same flexibility in interest rates was noted in the case of General Electric which in 1956 announced a liberalization of financing terms in a period of continuously rising interest rates and attempts by monetary authorities to limit availability of funds for credit expansion. The president of General Electric at a press conference praised the Federal Reserve Board's policy of credit restraint but at the same time announced that the GE credit company was helping those feeling the pinch.[16]

The tight money market has not prevented the growth of the captive finance company. It is possible that there is no casual relationship and the growth can be ascribed to demonstration effort. On the other hand, the very tightness of the market may be contributory and in addition the profitability of installment paper, in comparison with shrinking profit margins, may be influential. Large firms, and those studied were primarily among the largest manufacturing firms in the country, usually have established sources of credit and can be expected to attempt to circumvent credit restrictions as a barrier to sales. Furthermore, the large firm with a distributive organization can readily expand its services to include sales financing. Ease of entry is not a problem. The effect of such entry is a problem.

INDIVIDUAL INDUSTRY EXPERIENCE

The captive finance firm is usually a specialized firm. It handles paper arising from the operations of the parent corporation, and rarely handles other financing.[17] There can be, therefore, significant differences among firms, and no uniform pattern of operations can be expected. Credit requirements, procedures and practices vary among industries and the captive firm will be designed to fit industry requirements. Indeed the very existence of the firm may be in part due to the inadequacy, or lack of flexibility of alternative financing institutions. Channels of distribution, seaonality, and historic practices vary among industries and will influence credit requirements.

The motor vehicle industry is particularly dependent upon installment credit. Approximately two-thirds of all passenger car sales involve the use of credit and automobile paper accounts for almost one-half of the total outstanding installment credit. In an industry in which credit is of such importance, only General Motors owns its own finance company, and until recently its two major competitors were restricted by law from any affiliation with such a firm. In 1938 both Chrysler and Ford were prohibited by court order as a result of an antitrust action from any such affiliation, an order which was modified by the Supreme Court in 1948. General Motors now owns and operates two finance companies, General Motors Acceptance Corp., the largest sales finance company in the world, and Yellow Motors Acceptance Corp., a separate firm to finance the sale of GMC trucks and other heavy equipment.

Credit has always been a problem in the automobile industry, and in the twenties considerable attention was devoted by automobile firms to methods of supplementing credit facilities. While the automobile industry was profitable, there were many failures and the industry credit was low. The need for supplemental financing in the automobile industry arose from the unwillingness of banks to finance the installment sale of automobiles. Specialized lending facilities in the forms of sales finance firms grew rapidly after World War I, and without the ethical practices of the banking profession. Exorbitant finance charges, excessive insurance charges, "packs" fees, and so forth were loaded upon the auto purchaser, and the charges quoted in a purposely ambiguous manner so as to confuse the buyer. These practices, while still utilized today, were more blatant in the twenties when alternative financing sources were unavailable. The excessive charges for automobile financing detracted from the reputation of the industry and in addition raised the price of the product to the consumer. Automobile firms, therefore, defensively concerned themselves with sales financing and sources of credit.

General Motors organized its financing affiliate in 1919. Ford organized the Universal Credit Corp. in 1928. Other firms made agreements with "factory preferred" finance companies. Arrangements in the latter case varied but generally in return for lending at agreed upon rates the automobile firm paid a subsidy to the finance firm or assumed responsibility for repossessions.

General Motors initially provided its financing services as supplementary financing, but this practice was soon modified. GMAC financed on a recourse basis, that is, the dealer was obligated to buy back repossessed cars, a risk dealers preferred to avoid. Furthermore, it was profitable for the dealer to enter an agreement with a local finance company. In 1925 GMAC wooed dealers by offering a rebate on finance charges in the form of a dealers' reserve equal to 20 percent of the finance charge on new car sales and 30 percent on used car sales. Simultaneously pressure was exerted upon dealers to use the affiliate's services. By 1935, when it was estimated that 55 percent of all new cars were sold on installment sales plans,[18] GMAC's retail financing equalled 46 percent of General Motors car sales, which would imply that GMAC secured about 80 percent of its dealers' finance business.

In 1935 General Motors announced its 6 percent plan which provided the purchaser with a quick methods of computing his total finance charges. The plan while not the same as 6 percent simple interest offered lower interest rates than were currently being charged by other finance companies and forced a competitive reduction in finance charges. The competitive advantage of the plan can be seen in that form 1935 to 1936 GMAC retail financing increased 50 percent while car sales of General Motors increased 21 percent in value. General Motors' market share in the passenger car field also rose. from 38 percent in 1935 to 43 percent in 1936. In the following year as other firms met the GMAC rate, General Motors' market share dropped back.

The importance General Motors attached to financing can also be illustrated by its action in Germany upon purchasing an 80 percent interest in Adam Opel A.G. When it purchased this firm in 1929 it immediately formed a Germany Acceptance subsidiary. Opel Finanzierungs G.m.b.H.[19]

Chrysler Corp. had an agreement with Commercial Credit Corp., an independent finance company, from the time of the former's reorganization. In 1935 this agreement was revised and Chrysler bought considerable stock in the finance company. The agreement provided that Commercial Credit pay Chrysler a percentage of its earnings and that Commercial Credit provide financing terms for Chrysler dealers as favorable as those given to all but Ford dealers. Where preferable terms were given Ford dealers, their names were supplied the Chrysler Corp. Chrysler could request Commercial Credit to provide lower rates but would have to pay the subsequent difference in interest rates. Chrysler dealer and distributor contracts were revised to include the provision that charges in excess of those of Commercial Credit could not be charged. Pressure was also applied upon dealers to use Commercial Credit financing. In return Chrysler profited and in the 3 years this contract ran, Commercial Credit paid Chrysler more than $3 million.[20]

Ford organized the Universal Credit Corp. in 1928 to finance the sale of its cars. In 1933 Ford sold Universal to CIT. Ford also owned a finance company in Japan, the Fordson Finance Co., but it is unknown whether this firm is still in existence.

On May 27, 1938, the Department of Justice, as a result of complaints of independent finance companies and automobile dealers,

Footnotes at end of speech.

instituted an antitrust suit against the Big Three automobile producers charging a conspiracy in restraint of interstate commerce and coercion of dealers to use factory affiliated finance companies. On November 15, 1938, civil suits were substituted for criminal indictments and consent judgments entered in the cases of Ford and Chrysler. General Motors preferred to stand trial. The court's verdict held General Motors guilty and fines were imposed. General Motors appealed and the judgment was affirmed in 1941.[21] A civil suit was thereupon filed seeking divestiture. The final decree against General Motors was entered in 1952 and was similar to the judgments entered against Chrysler and Ford. In each case coercion of dealers to utilize certain finance firms was barred but General Motors was not forced to divest itself of GMAC. In 1941 and 1942 Chrysler unsuccess fought the bar against affiliation. On September 19, 1946, Ford appealed to have certain provisions of the consent decree lifted and in 1948 was successful. The Supreme Court reversed a decision of the lower court and lifted the ban on the Ford Motor Co.'s affiliation with a finance company.[22]

Financing of sales is also important in the sale of other transportation equipment. In the railway car and locomotive field, financing was particularly important during the depression when railroad credit was poor. General Motors as noted previously was able to enter the diesel locomotive field because it was willing to finance the sale of its product. ACF Industries, Inc., a producer of cars, has various financing affiliates. Fairbanks Morse has its captive finance company, the Municipal Acceptance Corp. Pullman, Inc., also has a financing subsidiary to aid in the marketing of its railroad products.

The largest producer of truck trailers, Fruehauf Trailer Co., established a financing subsidiary in 1948, the Fruehauf Trailer Finance Co. In 1956 it established the Trailer Acceptance Co. in Canada to finance the sale of its Canadian subsidiary's output. Trailmobile, a subsidiary of Pullman, Inc., established the Trailmobile Finance Co. in 1955. Fruehauf and Trailmobile are estimated to control about 60 percent of trailer production with the remainder of the market divided among many small producers. Since so many truck operators are relatively small and equipment comprises the major cost of entry into this industry, credit is extremely important. Fruehauf has offered its customers a 7-year financing plan, roughly parallel in time to equipment life, and longer than regular financing agencies have offered. Smaller trailer companies have been unable to offer similar terms. On August 17, 1956, the Federal Trade Commission charged the Fruehauf Trailer Co., among other things, with using its financing subsidiary to lessen competition and unfairly diverting trade to Fruehauf from its competitors.[23] This case has not been settled as yet.

Truckers themselves through the American Trucking Associations, Inc., are investigating a plan to establish an industry-sponsored credit pool to help truckers. Such a pool established by truckers and suppliers would not only help purchasers but would help the many small producers of truck trailers.

In addition to making passenger cars the big three auto producers are also major truck producers. General Motors' other financing subsidiary, Yellow Motors Acceptance Corp., exists primarily to finance its truck sales. These are about 11 producers in the automobile industry which produce trucks but not passenger cars. Among these producers are included International Harvester which operates a finance affiliate. In 1955 Mack Truck arranged a revolving credit with 48 banks to finance the sale of its products. White Motor Co. handles installment paper as ordinary receivables.

The aircraft firms have less need to finance the sale of their products since the Government is the largest single purchaser, and airlines have in the past arranged their own financing. The two major producers of aircraft for private use have financing subsidiaries: Cessna organized a financing affiliate in 1955, and Beech Aircraft organized an affiliate in 1956. Lockheed has had an affiliate since 1943; Bell Aircraft's major stockholder is a finance company.

Sales financing is of particular importance in consumer durable goods and agricultural machinery. Manufacturers of consumer durable goods have been particularly active in the establishment of finance affiliates.

General Electric Corp. has had a financing subsidiary for many years. Its major expansion, however, has occurred since World War II. American Motors' Kelvinator Division has had a financing subsidiary to finance the sale of its appliances since 1934. The Westinghouse Credit Corp. was organized in 1956 with initial capital of $10 million to help the company's appliance dealers obtain financing. Philco established a financing affiliate in 1954, with an initial capitalization of $5 million and its line of credit is now $25 million.

Avco Manufacturing Co. announced plans for a multimillion dollar financing plan for its dealers to meet the extended terms offered by competitive producers but no further information is available at this time. Borg Warner, producer of Norge appliances, established BW Acceptance Corp. in 1953. Various other manufacturers of heating equipment also have finance firms.

In the agricultural machinery field credit has always been of major importance and again we find the leading firms operating financing subsidiaries. Agricultural machinery producers in the past extended credit to their dealers and helped dealers to carry customer accounts. This is still the method used by Deere & Co., the Oliver Corp., and the Minneapolis Moline Co. The largest firms in this industry, however, have organized sales finance firms. International Harvester, the largest producer of agricultural machinery, established its financing affiliate in 1949. Caterpillar Tractor established its affiliate in 1954; Cockshutt Farm Equipment, Ltd., established the Farmers Financial Agency in 1955 and Allis-Chalmers established the Allis-Chalmers Credit Co. in 1956. The J. I. Case Co. has indicated that it, too, will organize a financing subsidiary.

Ford's activities in the agricultural machinery industry and the financing of such products is of interest in the light of Ford's experience in automobile financing. Various Ford Motor Co. officials, though not members of the Ford family, including Ernest R. Breech, John S. Bugas, Lewis D. Crusoe, John R. Davis, William T. Gosset and Delmar S. Harder, own more than one-half of the stock of the Dearborn Motors Corp. which distributed Ford tractors and manufactured agricultural machinery. The company has, as a wholly-owned subsidiary, the Dearborn Motors Credit Corp. which finances tractors and other farm equipment at wholesale and retail. On July 31, 1953, Ford purchased the assets of Dearborn Motors Corp., excluding Dearborn Motors Credit Corp. The latter firm has continued its finance business and has financed more than half of the wholesale sales of Ford tractors and farm equipment and a smaller portion of the retail sales of such equipment. Thus, the Ford Motor Co. does not own a finance company, but the Chairman of the Board of the Ford Motor Co. and five vice presidents own one which finances a goodly proportion of Ford agricultural implement output.

In the road machinery industry credit will undoubtedly be a major determinant among firms selling equipment for the new road building program. Contractors are generally small firms and in bidding for jobs must indicate financial soundness. Rental, long-term lease and extended time sales for equipment will be sought by this industry. Those firms with finance affiliates will be in a strong position to bid for this market. It should be noted that the large truck and agricultural machinery producers also build road machinery equipment, and also own finance companies, unlike smaller producers of specialized equipment.

In addition to manufacturers supplying credit, sufficiently large retailers have also entered the field of consumer credit. Various manufacturers who operate retail stores have been previously mentioned. In addition, the mail order houses have pushed time sales.

Sears, Roebuck recently found it advantageous to establish a sales finance company, Sears' second venture in this field. It first entered the installment field in 1911. When the Federal Housing Administration was established Sears organized the Sears Finance Co. to provide FHA improvement financing. When banks entered this field, Sears retired, selling its accounts to banks and its financing affiliate became inactive at that time. It continued to finance installment sales, however, and the growth of such sales has been impressive. In the 9 month period ending October 31, 1956, installment sales comprised 44 percent of total sales.[24] In 1937 Sears began selling some of its installment paper to banks. In 1952 as installment sales continued to rise, Sears borrowed $200 million from various banks to finance the time payment accounts held rather than sold.[25] On January 31, 1952 installment balances outstanding were $493 million and by October 31, 1956, these balances had grown to $973 million and the number of accounts from 5.7 million to 8.1 million. With the maturity of the bank loans Sears established the Sears Roebuck Acceptance Corp., wholly owned by Sears. Its initial capital was $35 million plus $50 million in debentures. Sears is particularly well situated to enter the field of consumer credit. It has extensive local representation in the form of retail stores and catalog offices.

Montgomery Ward finances its own credit accounts and at present holds in excess of $200 million of such accounts.

SUMMARY

It is probable that monetary authorities have little interest in the competitive effects of captive finance companies and that antitrust authorities have little interest in their monetary effects. Each problem is significant in its own right but together they add up to the general problem of size in our economy.

If we are to experience a continuing expansion of captive finance firms, general credit controls will become increasingly inadequate to limit expansion of installment credit and the only control methods that could be effective in dealing with the situation created by the captive finance firms are direct credit controls. Furthermore, a critical study of the captive finance firm is needed to determine whether this is a more powerful tool to limit competition than has heretofore been utilized.

The captive finance firm is a growing influence in the credit structure of the country. The basis upon which these firms operate, their very reasons for existence, indicate that they are more effective from the parent firm's point of view when countering national monetary policy than when paralleling it. There are also reasons to believe that these firms are less responsive to general credit controls than are independent finance

Footnotes at end of speech.

companies. Secondly, since the captive finance firm can be effective only if it has large sources of credit, its successful use is restricted to the large firm. As such it is another competitive advantage of size.

[1] This study is concerned only with the financing of sales by nonfinancial firms, in most cases manufacturing concerns. Factoring is not included since it does not present the same competitive and monetary problems. Ownership of financing affiliates by other financial firms is also excluded from consideration since this is a problem of concentration and no new monetary problems are at issue.

[2] Hearings, U.S. Senate, Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly, 84th Cong., 1st sess. (1955), vol. VI, p. 2655, hereafter referred to as hearings.

[3] Hearings, p. 2659.

[4] General Motors Acceptance Corp. (GMAC) and Yellow Motors Acceptance Corp. (YMAC) are wholly owned subsidiaries of General Motors Corp. GMAC finances sales of the passenger cars and appliance divisions of GM while YMCA's principal business is the wholesale and retail financing of trucks and coaches manufactured by the GMC Truck and Coach Division of GM, Euclid Division products and trailers, bodies, and special equipment sold in conjunction with trucks, coaches, and Euclid road moving machines.

[5] Hearings, p. 2665.

[6] *United States* v. *General Motors Corporation*, civil action No. 15816, July 6, 1956.

[7] Hearings, p. 3999.

[8] A Study of the Antitrust Laws, staff report of the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, 84th Cong., 1st sess., p. 70.

[9] Hearings, p. 3104.

[10] "Financing New Car Purchases," Consumer Installment Credit, pt. IV, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, 1957, p. 73.

[11] Consumer Installment Credit, op. cit., p. 37.

[12] Consumer Installment Credit, op. cit., p. 37.

[13] Hearings, op. cit., VIII, 4252.

[14] Raymond A. Rich, Philco Corp., quoted in Wall Street Journal, June 4, 1956.

[15] Federal Reserve Bulletin, Jan. 1957, p. 53.

[16] Ralph J. Cordiner, quoted in Wall Street Journal, Dec. 14, 1956.

[17] General Motors, for example, financed the sale of 752,506 new automobiles in 1954, of which only 4,027 were non-GM products, or only one-half of 1 percent of its retail auto financing.

[18] National Association of Sales Finance Companies, quoted in W. C. Plummer and R. A. Young, Sales Finance Companies and Their Audit Practices, National Bureau of Economic Research (New York, 1940), p. 95.

[19] Annual Report, General Motors Corp., 1929.

[20] Federal Trade Commission Report on Motor Vehicle Industry, 76th Cong., 1st sess. H. Doc. No. 468, p. 614.

[21] 121 F. 2d 376.

[22] 335 U.S. 303. The court in lifting the ban argued that so long as the interdiction had not been decreed against General Motors the Government must prove its case rather than rest on a consent decree. If the Government wished to outlaw the Ford arrangements with a finance company, it had to establish its case in court. Thus, the reversal still left Ford with the possibility that if it did affiliate, the Government could reopen its case and attempt to prove the illegality of the arrangement. The financing of Ford agricultural machinery output is described elsewhere.

[23] In the matter of Fruehauf Trailer Co.: Federal Trade Commission docket No. 6608, Aug. 17, 1956.

[24] Prospectus, Sears Roebuck Acceptance Corp., Jan. 10, 1952, p. 2.

[25] Moody's Industrial Manual, 1955, p. 280.

Grain Storage Costs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONARD G. WOLF
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, there are over 1 billion people in the world who are literally starving, and yet we are paying outrageous prices to individuals and groups in order to store food which we call surplus. This is a social paradox which is, to me, beyond comprehension.

Within the rotten mess which is coming out of the hearings that are being held, certain pertinent facts have been made known.

First. Benson uses private storage tanks at a cost which is six times greater than it was when public bins were used.

Second. In Iowa alone the price for storing grain has jumped from 3 cents a bushel to 17 cents a bushel by the transfer of stocks from Government to private storage bins.

Third. This has become big business. And just as some armaments manufacturers have a vested interest in the cold war so it is that many private groups and contractors have a vested interest in seeing that the food distribution problem is not handled rationally.

Fourth. The farmer is being reviled for difficulties which he can neither control nor change—nor which he caused.

I hope that these hearings will point up the fact that we would do better to help people all over the world with food than to line the pockets of various speculators.

Under unanimous consent I include the following statement by Drew Pearson in the Appendix of the RECORD:

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 14, 1960]

GRAIN STORAGE COST LAID TO BENSON

(By Drew Pearson)

In connection with Senator Symington's investigation of the cost of storing of Government farm surpluses it should be noted that until recently Secretary Benson had done nothing about getting a yardstick to show what the cost of grain storage really ought to be. He just paid what the big elevator operators demanded.

Result: Benson is shelling out $1.5 million of the taxpayers' money per day for storing surpluses, not including transportation, interest, administration and other overhead.

Benson's cost for wheat of about 19 cents per bushel is three times that paid by his predecessor, Charlie Brannan. It is also double the cost of storing wheat on surplus Government ships—10 cents per bushel.

One of the unsolved mysteries of the Benson regime is why he hasn't made more use of these idle ships. In the past a total of 100 million bushels was stored on ships in the James River, the Hudson, Puget Sound, and the Columbia River. The storage has been very successful, the grain well preserved in quality, and it costs half as much as in private elevators. Despite this, Benson has cut down on ship storage by over 50 percent. Today only 40 million bushels are stored in Government ships.

Shortly after he took office, Secretary Benson announced that he was turning grain storage over to private enterprise.

GREEN LIGHT FOR PROFIT

Charlie Brannan had built Government bins and encouraged building of private bins on farms, had managed to keep storage costs at between 4 and 6 cents per bushel. But when Benson announced he would build no more Government bins, would turn all storage over to private industry, it was the signal to big elevator men to charge whatever the traffic would bear. And they have charged plenty.

Here is how some of them profited from storing farm surpluses:

Biggest beneficiary from surplus storage is the C-G-F Grain Co. which raked in $14,787,434 in 1958 for storing wheat, grain, sorghum, and corn in its elevators in Texas, Kansas and Nebraska.

Close behind is the giant Cargill company of Minneapolis, headed by stanch Republican John H. MacMillan, which was paid $13,226,340 by Benson for storing grain in 1958, the last year for which figures are available.

Another elevator company which profited from Government storage was the F. H. Peavey Co. of Minneapolis, headed by Frank Peavey Heffelfinger, finance chairman of the Republican Party in 1953, and husband of the Republican National Committeewoman from Minnesota, Mrs. Elizabeth Heffelfinger. His company was paid $2,428,860 by Benson. He and his family contributed $3,000 to Republican organizations in 1956.

Benson, however, did not play politics. He even rewarded some of his critics. The Farmers Union has been vigorously critical of Ezra, but Bill Thatcher's Farmers Union Grain Terminal at St. Paul picked up $3,328,487 from Benson for storing wheat, soy beans and rye in 1958.

Some of the other big firms which received big warehouse rentals were Union Equity of Enid, Okla., $6,452,587; Archer-Daniels-Midland of Minneapolis, $6,240,198; Continental Grain, with elevators in Fort Worth, Kansas City, Buffalo, Norfolk, Minneapolis, and Chicago, $5,833,689.

MERRY-GO-ROUND

Clark Clifford, Harry Truman's former counsel, says: "Secretary Benson announces that last year he traveled 547,000 miles—1 mile for every farmer who's chasing him."

That swank birthday party for Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN of Illinois certainly made headlines. What didn't make headlines was who picked up the tab. He was Ben Regan, who rents the Senate restaurant. This nice little contract has helped Regan build up a multimillion-dollar food business around the Nation, and he showed his gratitude to the man who swung it for him—Senator DIRKSEN. President Eisenhower rushed from his airplane to the Dirksen birthday party, but didn't attract as much attention as Vice President NIXON. At one point Ike was left with only two ladies talking to him while the politicos clustered around the man they think will be the next President. (The king is dead; long live the king.) Pretty Iris Peterson of United Airlines has been conducting an effective lobby on Capitol Hill against drinking on airplanes. She has cases showing where drunk passengers have barged into the pilot's compartment and interfered with the operation of the plane. This was one reason the FAA suddenly banned private bottles—and tipplers. However, when stewardesses are busy serving drinks to drinking passengers, other passengers frequently go hungry. Meals are delayed. Gen. Nathan Twining, who has long and ably guided the Air Force will resign soon as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 15, 1960]

SLUGGING OF U.S. GRAIN ASSAILED

(By Drew Pearson)

One of the worst scandals connected with Government storage is the manner in which some of the big grain companies have been slugging high-quality Government wheat by mixing it with wheat screenings, then selling it as high-quality wheat to our foreign customers.

This practice of willfully deteriorating American wheat is gradually driving it off the foreign market, so that about the only wheat being sold abroad today is that which is virtually given away under Public Law 480.

Yet Secretary of Agriculture Benson insists on selling Government-owned wheat through the big grain companies.

The practice of slugging has become so flagrant that Congressman CARL ALBERT, of Oklahoma, recently returned from a European wheat survey, is asking for a congressional investigation.

"The big grain dealers would just as soon sell Canadian or Argentine wheat as they would American wheat," Congressman ALBERT told me.

"Too many exporters are after quick profits rather than long-term markets. Slugged wheat is ruining our markets. When we throw trash in our wheat, we just can't expect European customers to continue buying.

"I found that our farm exports had dropped 18 percent to Britain for 1958," the Oklahoma Democrat continued, "30 percent to West Germany, 34 percent to Italy, and 30 percent to Belgium—partly because of this practice."

PROSECUTION IS DROPPED

Previous Secretaries of Agriculture stored a large part of Government-owned wheat in Government elevators and shipped it abroad under careful Government supervision, frequently in Government ships. Benson, in contrast, has let the private elevator operators make huge profits on storing grain, and then has required that all wheat be shipped abroad by private companies. This, in effect, means the Big Four—Cargill, Buneg, Leval, and Continental.

In addition, the Eisenhower administration has dropped the prosecution of several grain companies which slugged and stole Government-owned grain.

In one case the Justice Department had indicted the Argentine Bunge Corp. for defrauding the United States to the extent of $1.7 million by mixing frost-damaged Canadian wheat classified as hog feed with good-quality U.S. Government-owned wheat at Galveston, then selling it abroad as wheat fit for human consumption.

This had the effect of both getting rid of Canadian wheat "unfit for human consumption" as American wheat and simuletaneously spoiling future American markets abroad. Yet just before officials of the Bunge Corp. were to go on trial in Houston, Tex., Gov. Allan Shivers, of Texas, flew to Washington, lunched with Eisenhower, and immediately thereafter orders were given the Justice Department to drop the prosecution.

E. H. Thornton, father of Governor Shivers' campaign manager, was one of those under indictment.

Thornton, manager of the Galveston grain elevators, had freely confessed to slugging grain ships with poor quality wheat.

"I gave orders," he had testified, "to slug as many ships as possible."

Yet, on direct orders of President Eisenhower the indictments of Thornton and officials of the Bunge Corp. were dropped. Later the Bunge firm, as a corporation, pleaded guilty and was fined $5,000. But the individuals involved did not have to face trial.

LEGAL OFFICE CLOSED

On another occasion, the Government had indicted, and in some cases convicted, a number of grain dealers for selling Government grain and beans which they were supposed to be storing. Under direction from Benson's predecessor, Charlie Brannan, the following grain elevator men and grain dealers were convicted:

C. M. Henderson, Farwell, Tex.: Four years plus $1,000 fine and the repayment of $1,086,000 for stolen grain.

Tenner's, Inc., Cortez, Colo.: A series of prison sentences ranging from 18 months to 3 years for its executives, plus the repayment to the Government of $1,108,000.

Herman Dawson, Fort Worth: Six years imprisonment and $15,000 fine with the repayment of $454,000.

O. L. Shannon, Sudan, Tex.: Five years in prison and $15,000 fine with $1,043,000 to be repaid.

On March 30, 1953, however, 2 months after Benson took office, a letter was sent to William Farrell, Dallas attorney for the Agriculture Department who had secured these prosecutions, which stated in part: "You should not take any affirmative steps toward the institution of new suits against third-party purchasers or the making of additional demands for payment upon them until further advice is received from this office."

The most important further advice received was word that the Agriculture Department's legal office in Dallas was being closed down and Farrell, the man who obtained the convictions, transferred.

New Senate Subway Cars Made at ACF Plant at Berwick, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following news story from the Wilkes-Barre Record of Friday, January 8, 1960:

SENATE CARS FROM BERWICK—FOUR USED TO WHISK SOLONS TO CAPITOL

WASHINGTON.—A new railroad system started rolling here when the first of four Senate subway cars made its inaugural run from the New Senate Office Building to the Capitol.

The four cars, each with its own power unit, specially built for the Senate subway by the Berwick, Pa., plant of ACF Industries, Inc., replace antiquated monorail cars that operated for 45 years between the Old Senate Building and the Capitol.

The new cars links the Capitol with both the Old and New Senate Buildings. Two cars are used on each line. The monorail subway, a point of interest to tourists through the years, will continue in use as a utility tunnel.

An ACF spokesman said the new four-wheeled cars make the 1,200-foot trip in about 45 seconds, thus making it possible for Senators to be hurriedly whisked to important Capitol business.

The cars have open tops and partially enclosed sides. Each car seats 18, 3 abreast in 6 seats. The driver sits in the middle of the car and automatically controls all operations from a small instrument panel. The cars require no turn around at either the Capitol or Senate terminals. "They go back and forth, carrying passengers either way, much like a horizontal elevator," said the spokesman.

A Government contract for $363,180 awarded to ACF, covered the four cars, an overhead conductor system, and a power supply substation.

Air Service in the State of Tennessee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. B. CARROLL REECE

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. REECE of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the committee and of the Subcommittee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce that wrote the original civil aeronautics legislation and set up the Civil Aeronautical Board, I have taken great pride in the development of civilian aviation and in the work of the Civil Aeronautics Board.

Before the civil aeronautics legislation was enacted, civil aviation, as did military aviation, came under the House Committee on Military Affairs, of which I was a member at the time.

Recently an Opinion and Order E-14754 in the Southeastern Area Local Service Case, Docket 7038 et al. was rendered that caused grave concern among a great many people. The application involved service in the State of Tennessee. The decision was significant in that an examiner recommended that Southeast Airlines, the existing Tennessee carrier, should continue in the service. The majority opinion selected the Southern Airways, which initially had made application to render part of the service but, as a result of a study conducted prior to the hearing, Southern decided not to prosecute its limited application for Tennessee. The Southeast renders Convair service from Bristol to Memphis, and additional feeder service to some half a dozen significant points in the State. It has rendered a highly satisfactory service without any subsidy or even permission for interchange.

It is significant that only three members of the board participated in the final decision and only one of these heard the oral argument. It would seem as if it would be good procedure for the Commission as presently constituted to rehear the case with a view of the majority of the opinion reaching a de novo decision in this case of such great importance to the State of Tennessee and the area served.

I am including a copy of the dissenting opinion, signed by Hon. G. Joseph Minetti, December 30, 1959.

SEPARATE CONCURRENCE AND DISSENT

(Opinion and order E-14754 in the Southeastern Area Local Service Case, docket 7038 et al., dated December 18, 1959)

MEMBER MINETTI, CONCURRING AND DISSENTING

Like the examiner, I would authorize Southeast Airlines (Southeast), the existing Tennessee carrier whose continued services have been enthusiastically supported by the residents of that State, to provide local air service in Tennessee.

I am astonished by the award to Southern Airways, Inc. (Southern). Considering Southern's disinterest in providing local service in Tennessee, plus the inevitable difficulties in assimilating its many new route awards, it is highly doubtful whether Southern will soon provide Tennessee with satisfactory local service. Yet in the face of these factors, the majority has selected Southern over a carrier which currently serves Tennessee, to the satisfaction of its residents, with more modern equipment than that operated by Southern.

The majority selected Southern because of its belief that Southern would require less subsidy support and provide greater passenger benefits. As to subsidy it is the majority's surmise that Southern will serve Tennessee at less expense than Southeast by virtue of the availability of a more extensive route system over which indirect costs may be spread. The argument, unfortunately, overlooks a number of important considerations. First, Southern's probable costs are entirely conjectural, since due to its lack of interest in providing local service in Tennessee, Southern did not submit cost estimates or any other evidence related to Tennessee service. Second, whatever such estimates might have revealed if submitted, there can be little doubt that Southern will require far more subsidy support than presently estimated by the majority if Southeast continues to serve its present routes in direct competition with Southern, as it well may. In these circumstances, Southeast's advantages as the existing carrier, as the carrier supported by Tennessee civic groups, and as a carrier which has demonstrated its willingness to serve Tennessee, would be overwhelming. Third, and lest we forget, Southeast has offered to provide service over a selected route in Tennessee[1] without subsidy and for this reason alone the majority's cost argument must fail. As to this selected route, Southeast seeks only the right to service mail pay and the advantage of interline connections. Both rights, of course, would follow Federal certification and would materially enhance the carrier's revenue position. Finally, Southeast, as a new entry into air transportation, would provide a long-needed yardstick by which to measure the reasonableness of the costs of the entire heavily subsidized local service industry.

The passenger benefits foreseen in Southern's service by the majority, moreover, are illusory. The existence of trunkline service at major Tennessee cities, for one thing, is of far greater benefit to passengers than any beyond-area service benefits which could be provided by Southern. Certainly it is unlikely that many passengers will travel to distant points on Southern's system via that carrier in preference to faster connecting trunkline service. Moreover, any possible passenger benefit that might exist by virtue of Southern's more extensive system would be more than counterbalanced by the deficit in ontime performance which that system vis-a-vis Southeast's would entail.

In my view, clearly, superior passenger benefits would result from the selection of Southeast, nor Southern. For, Southern would provide an all DC-3 operation, in contrast to Southeast's present operation of Convair-240 aircraft between the more populous cities of its Tennessee routes. Amazingly, while Southern has not sought to avail itself of the opportunity to purchase replacement equipment under the Government guaranteed loan program, Southeast, without the benefit of that program and without even the minimal security of Federal operating authority, has itself raised the capital to purchase its Convairs out of consideration for the comfort of its passengers and a desire to lower its unit costs of operation. In spite of these highly commendable efforts by this small independent carrier, the majority, in choosing Southern's inferior, reluctant service, may well have destroyed Southeast's Convair investment.

My difficulties with this award are fundamental. First, as the result of a study conducted prior to trial of this proceeding, Southern decided not to prosecute its limited applications for Tennessee service.[2] Accordingly, by letter dated November 12, 1957,[3] F. W. Hulse, President of Southern, notified the examiner that it would not prosecute its application for Tennessee route authority other than its application to serve Jackson, Tenn. Yet in the total absence of evidentiary foundation for determining Southern's willingness, fitness and ability, the majority has certificated Southern for extensive Tennessee local service. Even more serious, however, is the fact that the lack of evidentiary basis for selecting Southern has in effect denied Southeast a hearing on its opposition to selection of Southern. For, in the absence of Southern estimates of revenues and expenses, proposed schedules or other evidence in support of Tennessee local service by Southern, Southeast has been effectively deprived of the opportunity to analyze the merits of Tennessee local service by Southern or to argue, other than through noting Southern's total disinterest, the reasons why it believes that such service would be economically infeasible or otherwise unsuited to the needs of the people of Tennessee. Elementary fairness, if not due process, demands nothing less.

Second, the consequences of duplicating the services of a nonsubsidized, intrastate carrier with a federally subsidized local service carrier, even an unwilling one such as Southern, are disturbing. On the one hand, Southern may divert enough traffic from Southeast to cause that carrier to suspend its operations. On the other hand, because of the obvious preference of Tennessee residents for Southeast's service and because of its superior equipment, Southeast may successfully continue operations over the more populous cities of its present route, with consequent large increase in Southern's subsidy costs. Even assuming that Southeast could not permanently survive the U.S. subsidized competition, destruction of the private investment in Southeast will only be accomplished at high cost in Federal subsidy. Neither alternative is in the least satisfactory.

I conclude that this Board should grant Southeast a 3-year certificate to provide complete local service in Tennessee except for those points in West Tennessee as to which the Ashbacker principle requires contemporaneous consideration of Lake Central's application with that of Southeast. As to West Tennessee local service, however, and because of the Board's disposition of applications for service in that area, I would recommend a different solution. The Board has deferred decision on service to West Tennessee until it can give contemporaneous consideration to other applications consolidated in the Piedmont Local Service Area Investigation, docket No. 5713 et al.[4] Since both the Examiner and the Board, in their respective opinions, have recognized the thinness of the traffic potential in West Tennessee, as contrasted with other Tennessee areas, and since Southeast has long served West Tennessee and may continue to do so, despite the majority decision here, I would certificate Southeast, with right to subsidy, to continue to provide West Tennessee local service until 60 days subsequent to final decision on that issue in the *Piedmont* case or other proceeding in which the right to provide the local service is finally resolved.[5] Since service to these cities will in any event require subsidy, Southeast, like any other local service carrier, is entitled to be reimbursed for losses sustained in providing interim public service and Tennessee, like any other State, is entitled to the benefit of that service.

In passing, I note that the Board in deferring decision on the applications of Southern, Piedmont and Trans-Texas for route authority in Western Tennessee, failed to similarly defer action on Southeast's application for West Tennessee authority. The omission can only be an oversight which, I assume, will be soon and suitably corrected.

G. JOSEPH MINETTI.

DECEMBER 30, 1959.

Footnote at end of speech.

[1] Between Memphis and Tri-Cities via Jackson, Nashville, Knoxville and Chattanooga (tr. 2120, 2121). The offer appears to have been amended in brief by the addition of Shelbyville-Tullahoma (brief to the Examiner, p. 80).

[2] Tr. pp. 2519, 2520.

[3] Letter accompanying Supplemental Exhibit SOU-D.

[4] It is not clear whether comparative or contemporaneous consideration of other applications is contemplated by the majority. I note that in an earlier stage of this proceeding the Board, in discussing the possibilities that an award of West Tennessee authority might preclude the grant of a similar Lake Central application, stated: "Should the record lead to such conclusion, 'the Board would not make the award without affording Lake Central a comparative hearing' on its application." (Order No. E-11821, September 26, 1957.) Compare the majority opinion, at pages 18 and 31, which speaks of "comparative" consideration and "contemporaneous" consideration, respectively.

[5] While, as the Board notes, hearings on the expedited portion of the Piedmont case have been completed and briefs have been filed with the Examiner, the matter may not quickly be resolved. Southeast, for example, is not an applicant in the Piedmont case, presumably because it believed that all Tennessee local service issues would be resolved in this proceeding (see order No. E-11519, July 2, 1957). Accordingly, however quickly the Examiner arrives at a decision in the Piedmont case, the Board must at the very least, review the record in both proceedings in arriving at its final decision. As yet the record in this proceeding has not been consolidated into the Piedmont case.

Social Security Benefits

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD G. McINTIRE
OF MAINE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. McINTIRE. Mr. Speaker, numerous bills have been introduced to the Congress with a design to broaden coverage and increase benefits through certain amendments in our social security law.

While nobody will take issue with the worthy objective of extending enhanced benefits to deserving American citizens, we of the Congress might well give some serious thought as to how this might best be accomplished. For instance, there is a need for effecting a critical examination of the dimensions of the proposed changes in the Federal law, just as there is the necessity of appraising the feasibility of advancing the desired ends

through a private rather than a Federal approach.

Just recently I received a letter from one of my constituents which, because it contains some poignant thoughts with regard to this important matter, I commend to the attention of my colleagues.

BANGOR, MAINE,
December 28, 1959.

The Honorable CLIFFORD G. MCINTIRE,
U.S. Representative, Maine, Third District, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Who will deny that the year 1960 will be big? It will be big in domestic politics; big in spending, public and private; big in international affairs; and big in "ax-grinding." It will be a tough year to keep one's balance.

In the coming session of Congress, more could be heard from the Forand bill (H.R. 4700) backers. The principal supporter of this bill, the AFL–CIO, could become a bit intoxicated, with their new combined strength, and make a very loud noise for the members. Or, it could be that the new steel contract may not be everything desired from the union standpoint. The Forand bill, therefore, could provide a "save-face" issue for the union leaders.

Nevertheless, should the Forand bill be presented for further consideration, your opposition should be felt.

Every line of information, statistic, and evidence of private industry effort show that this proposed amendment to the Social Security Act cannot be given serious consideration, at this time.

Our social security taxes will increase substantially in January 1960, but the benefits will not increase. The increase is due to previously voted benefits. Increases are scheduled every 3 years to 1969, using past predictions of mortality and morbidity.

We have not yet felt the impact of the "Disability Over 50" amendment. Should one attempt another extension into the morbidity field, under the controlled(?) basis, on which a public fiscal policy must operate, then, most assuredly, we shall have the proverbial lion by the tail. Another political football will have been tossed onto the field and God knows, the air is filled with enough footballs now.

Private enterprise can, and is now solving the problem of the senior citizen's need for hospital and surgical protection. Nearly half of all people, over 65, are now covered. This is an increase of 25 percent since 1952. Today, these senior citizens are being covered at a faster rate than the number of people who are entering this age bracket.

The Forand bill would exclude some 25 percent of our over-age people. It would take much longer to provide maximum number coverage, by this bill, than it would by letting free enterprise and competition solve the problem, at the present pace. This would be independent of such considerations as relative costs of the two methods (who will deny that private business is more efficient than Government business), the future impact of increased Social Security Act taxes and, without a doubt, in conjunction with higher personal income taxes (if present inflationary spiral continues) and the continuing trend toward the evasion of personal responsibility which has been one of the cornerstones of our system of government, since its founding.

Thinking citizens, in the United States, young and old, like the responsibility that goes with freedom. Nowhere, in the world, has it ever been proven that individual freedom can be retained under any other system than the one we have enjoyed.

Social security legislation is a segment of our economy which needs very careful treatment—even in a political year.

Very truly yours,

ROBERT F. SEDGELEY.

The Postal Deficit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it was no surprise that the President, in his budget message yesterday, included as part of his anticipated surplus some $554 million, which he proposes be raised by increasing first-class and airmail rates by 1 cent to liquidate the postal deficit.

Over the years the administration has complained about the size of the postal deficit and has periodically proposed legislation to increase rates. Yet, for some strange reason it carefully avoids proposals which would increase the rates on the types of mail which really cause the tremendous postal deficit.

I refer, of course, to the preferential second-class rates granted newspapers and magazines—outright subsidies totaling more than $200 million a year for profitmaking second-class publications. A few large magazines, such as Life, Saturday Evening Post, Reader's Digest, Look, and others, are carried at taxpayers' expense to the tune of $4 million, $7 million, and up to $10 million a year.

Mr. Speaker, last July 28 I introduced H.R. 8433 to place an annual limitation on publishers' second-class mail subsidies, based on a 5-year sliding scale—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, July 28, 1959, pages 13275–13279.

The bill would provide that during the first year, Post Office Department costs of receipt, handling, processing, transporting, and delivering of second-class publications to its subscribers by mail may not exceed by more than $5 million the annual postage paid by the publication. During the second year this subsidy could be a maximum of $3 million per publication; the third year a maximum subsidy of $1 million; the fourth year a maximum subsidy of $500,000; and during the fifth year and each year thereafter, a maximum subsidy of $100,000 for each publication. Once the subsidy limit were reached for any publication during any year, the full postal rate necessary to cover the Department's costs for that publication would go into effect.

This bill is similar to, but meets specific criticisms offered by the magazine publishing industry to a previous version of my bill, adopted by the House as an amendment to the postal rate bill in the last Congress, but subsequently dropped from conference.

Mr. Speaker, my bill would bring in new revenue to the Post Office Department from the types of mail now incurring the deficit. First-class mail is more than paying its own way. The administration proposes to impose the burden on the average mail user to cover up the huge deficits being incurred by profit-making magazines. There is no doubt of this fact. During the last year's hearings before the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Treasury-Post Office Department, Mr. Hyde Gillette, Assistant Postmaster General, Bureau of Finance said, in anwer to a question about magazine losses to the Department:

Mr. Chairman, it is true that magazines probably pay more than a hundred million dollars less than the cost of handling them, but part of that is offset by the extra amount that the first-class mail pays over and above its fully allocated cost, so that the net effect is not carried through directly to the deficit.

If the Post Office Department were really interested in eliminating the postal deficit, it would support my bill and urge that the Post Office and Civil Service Committee schedule hearings. Yet both the Department and the Bureau of the Budget has reported adversely on H.R. 8433 and its companion bill, H.R. 8603, introduced by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. REUSS].

Mr. Speaker, the overwhelming support I have received for my bill from persons all over the country has convinced me that Americans are becoming increasingly resentful of having their tax dollars used to subsidize profitable publishing companies. As evidence of this fact, I call attention to Bulletin No. 252 "The Mandate," published by the National Federation of Independent Business. Members are familiar with these ballots on national issues, conducted by this organization for many years.

Question No. 3 of Bulletin No. 252, circulated last fall reads:

Reduce postal rate subsidies: Are you for or against Congress requiring all large national magazines to pay their full share of Post Office mailing costs, the same as users of first-class mail are required to do?

As is the usual practice, a pro and con statement on the issue was presented:

Argument for reducing subsidies: $200 million yearly, that's what it is costing the U.S. Post Office to handle the weekly and monthly mailings of the Nation's giant magazines. That is the difference between its costs, and what they pay for postal services. This subsidy has amounted to $2.5 billion during the past 12 years, and it has been paid for out of the pockets of people who more than pay their way when they use first-class mail. Meanwhile the firms publishing these magazines have been running up record profits, and indulging in all sorts of cut-rate offers to take bread and butter out of the mouths of small businessmen in the magazine distribution field.

Argument against reducing subsidies: These national magazines are paying their way. Through countrywide advertising programs they make possible, they help to keep the wheels of industry turning, employment high, and earnings ever mounting, which means purchasing power available for business, large and small. More than this, they are educating our people about important national issues and events, and furnishing them top-flight entertainment. In our postal scheme, they are never supposed to "pay their way," in anyway other than these. Despite this, their mail handling cost is low, and they are charged for part of the services they receive.

Mr. Speaker, the results of this nationwide poll among small businessmen were published in bulletin No. 253 as follows:

Reduce postal-rate subsidies: For, 84 percent; against, 13 percent; no vote, 3 percent.

So long as the administration opposes efforts to curb the exorbitant second-class publishers' subsidies, we must continue to vigorously resist pressures to raise the rates on first class and air mail.

Jews and Judaism in the U.S.S.R.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a memorandum by Dr. Richard C. Hertz, rabbi of Congregation Beth El, of Detroit, Mich., which he presented to the White House upon his return from a visit to the Soviet Union. The purpose of Rabbi Hertz' visit was to study the status of Jews and Judaism behind the Iron Curtain and I believe his report will be of great interest to all Members of this body.

The memorandum follows:

MEMORANDUM TO THE WHITE HOUSE ON JEWS AND JUDAISM IN THE U.S.S.R.

(By Dr. Richard C. Hertz, rabbi, Temple Beth El, Detroit)

I. On the basis of my visit to the U.S.S.R., Poland, and Czechoslovakia this summer, I am convinced that the U.S.S.R. leaders are very touchy on the subject of the Jewish question. It is obviously a sensitive, sore spot on which they feel considerable embarrassment because of their inability to resolve it to the satisfaction of Soviet Jews or world opinion.

II. I am convinced that expressions of concern over the Jewish question by the United States will be received sympathetically, since the U.S.S.R. is anxious, particularly at this time, for peace and friendship with the United States of America.

III. The discrepancies and inconsistencies between publicly announced Soviet goals and actual reality in the U.S.S.R. are so flagrant that the lack of good faith of U.S.S.R. leaders is transparently demonstrated by their position vis-a-vis the Jewish question.

IV. The post-Stalinist years have revealed that Stalin's special policy regarding the Jews, placing them in a special category with a double standard applied to them as Soviet citizens and as a Jewish minority, is still in force. This special treatment discriminates against them and places them in a position infinitely worse than that of all the other national, ethnic, cultural, or religious groups in the U.S.S.R. This special treatment singling out the Jewish minority is a flagrant contradistinction to both the ideological and constitutional principles of the U.S.S.R.

V. Mikoyan's visit with the leaders of the American Jewish committee in New York, January 1959 revealed that he denied that Jews would be transferred to Biro-Bidjan. He denied that cultural or religious discrimination is being practiced against Soviet Jews on the ground that Jews are now assimilated and not interested in separate cultural outlets. He defended his position by saying that Jews occupy high posts in the Soviet hierarchy and that many Soviet leaders are married to Jewish women. On his return to the U.S.S.R., he said nothing in public that he had been questioned in the United States of America over America's concern for Soviet Jews.

VI. What is the situation now with respect to Jews and Judaism?

1. U.S.S.R. says it officially guarantees equality of rights in law and fact for all its citizens.

(a) Yet discrimination is widely practiced against Jews.

(b) Anti-Semitism has not been uprooted, as its leaders claim.

(c) The government is dedicated to the complete extinction of Jewishness and the liquidation of all Jewish culture.

(d) Every identification card and internal passport carried by a Soviet Jewish citizen is a direct contradiction of freedom and equality. It reads: "5. Nationalnost—Evri" (Jew).

2. Jews are recognized and singled out as a special minority, yet Jews have none of the privileges granted other national minority groups.

(a) No newspapers, no voluntary associations, no cultural groups, no Yiddish schools (primary, secondary or of higher education), no books, no artistic or cultural life—none are permitted to Jews.

(b) Synagogues are being closed by the government, despite their denials, in a calculated program of spiritual starvation for Soviet Jewry.

(c) Again and again people expressed their fears to me at attending synagogue worship lest in retaliation their jobs be jeopardized and they be "reported."

3. Of the four major religious groups in the U.S.S.R.—Russian, Orthodox, Moslem, Protestant (Baptist) and Jewish—only the Jewish are prevented from having a centralized organization.

(a) The Russian Orthodox has its Patriarch Nikolai, with 22,000 churches and 35,000 priests, one for every 4,000 Russian Orthodox citizens.

(b) Jews have no chief rabbi or federation of Jewish synagogues. No contact or communication exists between the synagogues scattered over the U.S.S.R. In all the U.S.S.R. there are about 60 rabbis for the U.S.S.R.'s 3 million Jews—one for every 50,000 Jews. Percentagewise, Jews have less than one-twelfth the religious personnel of the Russian Orthodox. Of the 60 rabbis, all are old and many of them are not properly ordained.

(c) Many confiscated mosques have been returned to Moslem congregations. Not a single synagogue has been built or returned to the Jewish congregations.

(d) Ten Russian Orthodox theological seminaries for the training of priests exist, with over 1,000 students. Until 2 years ago, there was no Jewish seminary. The one started at that time at the Moscow synagogue has only 20 rabbinical students. When I went to inspect it, I was refused admittance because the rector was so embarrassed over its inadequacy.

VII. What would American citizens of the Jewish faith like to see done on behalf of Soviet Jewry?

(1) Guarantee that no further synagogues will be closed and those cities where synagogues have not been restored will be returned. This would do much to end the atmosphere of fear of retaliation for those Jews who choose to attend synagogue worship and thus guarantee freedom of worship.

(2) Lift the ban on Jewish and Yiddish publications and encourage cultural activities, as other areas of culture are officially encouraged in the U.S.S.R.

(3) Seek an opportunity of contacts between Jews of the U.S.S.R. and the rest of the world on mutually interesting and vital subjects relating to literature, art, history, philosophy, ethics, and other scholarly subjects.

(4) Seek permission for providing religious necessities which I found to be in evident short supply—such as matzoh at Passover time, new prayerbooks, Bibles, talesim, tephilim, religious calendars, and other ceremonial objects.

(5) Open up an opportunity for relatives and humanitarian organizations like CARE or Red Cross or American Joint Distribution Committee to send clothing and food to Soviet Jews in need.

(6) Open up contact between Soviet and American Jews through exchange of visits between delegations of Jewish leaders, such as rabbis, writers, social workers, professors, artists, and others in Jewish life.

(7) Maintain vigilance to register foreign opposition on humanitarian grounds to the Biro-Bidjan plan of forcing the mass settlement of Jews in that primitive, underdeveloped area. In my conversations in the U.S.S.R., Biro-Bidjan was often pointed to as the Soviet solution to the Jewish question. I came away with grave fears lest the plan be seriously activated.

(8) Recognize the right of emigration to go to countries of their choice for Jews who wish to leave their present countries of residence, including the right to take with them all possessions. All compulsion upon the individual to uproot himself should be opposed, so that emigration should be a voluntary and not a compulsory act.

(9 Give an opportunity for Jewish culture in the U.S.S.R. to exist and flower as it once did in former years, prior to the 1948–53 "black years." I came away from the U.S.S.R. convinced that people want Yiddish magazines and books and newspapers and schools and theaters. They are hungry for this "bread of the spirit." They also want some kind of voluntary association that would give connection and communication to this minority group of 3 million Jews.

(10) Recognize that the argument of Soviet leaders that "there is no demand for these things" is coy. Who is going to demand these things now when to make such a request is to invite the secret police in or be sent to Siberia?

VIII. It is hoped that in the interest of better feeling and good will between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., President Eisenhower on his forthcoming visits with Soviet leaders may express the moral concern of American Jews over the lot of Soviet Jews.

WASHINGTON, D.C., *August 24, 1959.*

The Future of State Labor Relations Agencies and Federal-State Jurisdiction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN H. DENT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, there has been an uncountable number of words written and spoken about the Landrum-Griffin bill.

There has been little said, however, that would add to our thinking on this legislation as it affects Federal-State labor relationships.

I am introducing today, for the RECORD, an address entitled "The Future of State Labor Relations Agencies and Federal-State Jurisdiction," by the Honorable Stephen E. McCloskey, chairman of the Labor Relations Commission of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

This address was given at the third annual conference of the Association of

State Labor Relations Agencies, in Detroit, Mich., recently.

Since this subject is an ever-present problem before both Federal and State Governments, I believe that it will give Members of Congress an insight into this subject on a phase seldom discussed either in committee or on the floor.

I present the address without comment exactly as it was given:

Mr. President, officers of the association, distinguished guests, chairman and members of State labor relations agencies and their guests, I deem it a privilege to be given the opportunity of addressing you on the occasion of your third annual conference. Thank you for the invitation. His Excellency Gov. Foster Furcolo has asked me to bring to you the greetings of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Before I begin my remarks on today's subject for discussion, I have a few items of interest regarding the Massachusetts Labor Relations Commission, which I would like to mention.

Our commission, in addition to providing advice and information to employers and employees under the statute, also provides information on a multitude of labor relations matters that do not come within the purview of our State labor relations law. Frequently we find it necessary to direct the employer or employee elsewhere. I think it is about time we took credit for the service we provide employers and employees and it is my intention to set up within our commission an information center which will supply the employer or employee with the answer to his inquiry or direct him to the proper State or Federal agency. Perhaps you could do likewise on your own board or commission.

The organizing efforts of State, county, and municipal workers should provide opportunities for increasing the caseload of State labor relations agencies. Cities and towns are excluded as employers within the meaning of our statute. However, in a few cases involving the representation of employees, the city or town, on the petition of a local union, has made certain stipulations, consented to an election and asked us to supervise and conduct an election. For the future I can foreseee legislation amending our statute to include cities and towns as employers within the meaning of the statute. When this legislation is enacted it should provide many new representation cases for our commission.

This is an untapped area of additional cases for us, and I hope it will provide the member States of this association a similar opportunity for expanded service in their respective States.

In the void that has existed since the passage of the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosures Act of 1959, because no staff or even employee has been made available in the Boston office of the U.S. Department of Labor who can answer questions about the new law, we have made our staff available to assist employers, union officials, and union members in reaching conclusions regarding their inquiries concerning the new law.

My thoughts on "the future of State labor-relations agencies," especially since the passage of title VII of the Landrum-Griffin bill, produces mixed feelings of deep concern on the one hand and subdued elation on the other. As a trade-union leader and a member of the Bridge Structural & Ornamental Ironworkers' Union, I am very apprehensive for the labor movement in the South and those States where no State labor-relations law or agency exists. There unions must face an archaic and reactionary common law and rely on economic force to obtain their objectives while they face labor's mortal enemy, the injunction, in an unfriendly atmosphere.

My feelings of elation, on the other hand, are subdued and not as strong as they might be for the reason I have mentioned and for the additional reason that I am not yet quite sure whether the Congress has given us anything to be happy about.

Under the Taft-Hartley amendments contained in title VII, the National Labor Relations Board is permitted to decline to assume jurisdiction over that class of employers where the effect of the labor dispute is not sufficiently substantial to warrant the exercise of jurisdiction. The State agencies are then permitted to exercise jurisdiction over those cases which the National Labor Relations Board has declined to assert jurisdiction. However, the prohibition in the law preventing the National Labor Relations Board from lowering the jurisdictional standards that were in effect on August 1, 1959, seriously limits State labor-relations agencies, for it is my opinion that the impact on interstate commerce in the cases of many of these employers is not sufficiently substantial to warrant the exercise of jurisdiction. Apparently the National Labor Relations Board is reluctant to permit the exercise of jurisdiction over those cases which commonsense indicates really belong to State labor-relations agencies.

If State labor relations agencies are to have a future, a realistic and commonsense approach to the problem of jurisdiction must be developed. The line should not be drawn according to the dollar size of a business or the volume of goods brought from or sent to other States, although the second method should not be entirely excluded as it might be necessary to use it in some cases. I do not believe that Congress should write detailed jurisdictional standards into the National Labor Relations Board. Rather a combination of legislative and administrative action could achieve the desired results. Perhaps we should organize and conduct a study of various segments of the economy in order to formulate a new concept or new criteria for the exercise of jurisdiction by State labor relations agencies. The feasibility of such a course of action and its implementation I leave open for discussion by the lawyers and by the members of this association for your ideas.

The come-to-rest doctrine is one that deserves review and the thoughtful consideration of the State agencies and the National Labor Relations Board.

Such an approach should, of course, recognize those employers and companies that have a truly interstate character and have a substantial effect on interstate commerce.

The employers that should be subject to the National Labor Relations Board are those in the manufacturing and production industries, the transportation industries, newspapers and communications systems, utility industries and those industries that have a substantial effect on national defense.

Those employers who should be subject to the local control of State agencies are companies operating office buildings, retail concerns such as supermarkets and department stores, hotels, motels and restaurants, automobile agencies, gas stations and metropolitan transit systems. The employment relations of the above employers are not matters of national concern, but rather of local concern.

Local authority means local responsibility which is closer to our democratic philosophies of home rule and to our ideal of self-determination. State agencies are more flexible, closer to the facts and can reach practical and sound decisions because of their knowledge of and familiarity with local conditions. Their familiarity with the individuals involved permits them to appraise the human problems and this, of course, is not the case where the National Labor Relations Board is forced to consider cases on the basis of a printed record.

I think it is most important to the economy of our individual States to see to it that a good industrial climate exists where the labor disputes of local unions and small business may be settled quickly and inexpensively. Since State agencies are able to handle cases more conveniently and expeditiously, local unions and small businesses should not be required to make time consuming and expensive trips to Washington.

In addition, the prospect of 50 States, or in reality 15 States administering a State labor relations law appeals to me for each of these States could supply new ideas and new solutions to labor-management problems. No better approach could be developed in providing constructive thought and action in this vital field than by allowing each State to serve as a research laboratory for testing progressive measures.

The views of the Honorable John R. Dethmers, the distinguished chief justice of the supreme court of this State in the area of Federal-State relationships are the most compelling and profound of any I have heard or read. His remarks made in an address delivered before the midwinter meeting of the Massachusetts Bar Association at Holyoke, Mass., on February 14, 1959, are, I think, apropos and particularly deserving of our attention at this time. Your chief justice was speaking by reason of his chairmanship last year of the National Conference of Chief Justices whose report he was discussing. The title of that report was, "Federal-State Relationships as Affected by Judicial Decisions."

The following remarks are meaningful to me and, I trust to this association:

"Of transcendent importance to the Nation, overshadowing all others in the concern of the conference, is the matter of Federal-State relationships as affected by judicial decisions.

"No consideration of the report can be balanced or complete without these observations:

"(3) The conference's expressed alarm, and mine, at the noticeable trend toward increased national powers accompanied by a diminishing of the powers of States and local governments, relates not to mere sectional or selfish interests, but springs from the same concern as that of our Founding Fathers that liberty's cause may be lost in too high a concentration of powers in the National Government, and from the conviction that safety for the rights of man inheres in a diffusion of those powers and maintenance of the highest possible degree of local self-government compatible with national security and well-being. So long as we would adhere to the determination of the fathers that the State, the Government, exists for man and not man for the State, in the consideration of every proposed extension or withholding of governmental powers and the division of those powers between the States and the Nation, our lodestar must always be, 'How will the cause of freedom best be served, how the rights of man advanced?' The 14th amendment achieves its intended goal when it prevents State action destructive of human freedom; it misses that goal when used as a tool to concentrate power in the National Government at the cost of liberty."

A close analysis of these considerations reveals that a sound labor policy requires participation by both States and Federal Governments. Perhaps the criteria to be employed by the Board should be whether sound labor policy requires State action and not consistency with specific provisions of the act.

Although a multiplicity of tribunals may well lead to a multiplicity of results, this is not necessarily undesirable for it is in diversity, that this country has found its greatest strength and unity.

The President's Proposed Tour of Latin America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONARD G. WOLF
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, shortly the President is going to leave for Latin America on a good will tour in order to remedy some of the bad feeling which exists between some of the Latin American nations and the United States. It is supposed that the President will try to restore some of the good neighbor policy which was enunciated by President Roosevelt in the 1930's and which has deteriorated badly since the Second World War. The United States will long remember the treatment accorded Vice President NIXON in 1958 on his tour of South America as a result of shabby relations on the part of various members in the State Department.

Although good will tours may have some value, their results are transitory and, in many cases, may well backfire. For example, in personal contact with De Gaulle of France, the President personally assured him of his support for the French position in Algeria, an assurance which was not met, nor should it have been, since it involved a derogation of American principles as regarding political independence for that area of the world. What the President promised he could not carry out. And consequently, our country suffered badly in the eyes of the leaders of France. The entire NATO alliance was further weakened.

This same problem exists with the President's impending trip. It is hoped that the President, who will be leaving office, at the end of this year, will not promise anything which he knows cannot be carried out or won't be carried out by our Government. He should promise only that which he intends to initiate and make successful. Otherwise, the trip to Latin America could be disastrous for the United States. Joseph Alsop, in his article, which I wish to insert into the body of the RECORD suggests that this haphazard method of diplomacy was followed in India where he hinted strongly at more foreign aid for that nation, but sent budget conscious Joseph Dodge to be his economic emissary to India.

Mr. Speaker, I submit that it is a dangerous practice in international affairs to promise and then, not to perform: to raise hopes and expectations and then to disappoint. I sincerely hope that this will not happen on the impending visit by the President to Latin America.

The above-mentioned article follows:

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 15, 1960]

JOURNEYS AND JUNKETS

(By Joseph Alsop)

The scene was the Elysee palace. The chief actors were President Eisenhower and Gen. Charles de Gaulle, but in this curious scene that took place last month in Paris, the speaking part belongs almost wholly to Mr. Eisenhower. De Gaulle merely listened in a silence that was glacial, almost hyperboreal.

The President was protesting American good will toward France in North Africa. He was explaining that the American failure to vote with France on the Algerian resolution in the United Nations had by no means meant what the French thought it meant. He believed, evidently, that the Franco-American misunderstanding could be straightened out. James Hagerty was even waiting in an outer room, no doubt to superintend the issuance of a cordial joint communique.

But the misunderstanding could not be straightened out. While the President's explanations and expressions of good will continued, De Gaulle maintained his silence. When at last the President also fell silent, De Gaulle was content to answer in two frigid words, "Je regrette—I am sorry." And so the meeting ended with no joint communique, as badly as it began.

This summary of General de Gaulle's own account of his meeting with the President comes from an undoubted Parisian source. It is worth attention at this time primarily because the President's plans for a South American journey have just been announced, while a visit to the Far East after the Soviet Union is already being talked about. The point is that the inglorious episode in December stemmed directly from the President's glorious triumphal tour of Europe in September.

On that tour, France was the high point. Never, said everyone, had there been such a reception. No one, said the whole world, could have done so much to improve the always difficult relationship with General de Gaulle.

But what the President did in September was to give De Gaulle promises, or what were interpreted as promises, of all-out support for his Algerian policy. With considerable justice, De Gaulle interpreted the American U.N. vote as a betrayal of those promises. It was the sense of betrayal, much more than the U.N. vote itself, that made the ugly trouble when the President visited Paris again.

In other words, these good will journeys that the President so much enjoys can be exceedingly dangerous as well as enjoyable. The danger is, very simply, that the President will awaken expectations which he cannot or does not wish to satisfy. He did so in France, with really grave results. There are some signs he also did so in India. He had hardly left Delhi before Nehru, at a press conference, delicately but quite plainly hinted that he now expected much more generous American aid. Judging by the man the President has chosen as his economic emissary to India—former Budget Director Joseph Dodge—Nehru's expectations are also due to be disappointed.

At the risk of seeming ironical, it is interesting to compare the Eisenhower method with the method of Nikita S. Khrushchev, who is also going junketing this spring to India, Burma, and Indonesia. India has an inflamed border problem with Communist China. Burma has a smoldering border problem. Indonesia is in a bitter row with China over the status of the oversea Chinese in Java. Khrushchev will quite certainly talk about these problems during his junket.

Almost equally certainly, there is a decided chill in the relationship between Moscow and Peiping. The Western policymakers are currently much stirred by the report of a semi-public lecture at Moscow University, in the course of which the Chinese Communist leaders were sharply rebuked for their improperly cold reception of Khrushchev at Peiping in October. There is other evidence of the same sort. But now, apparently, the adroit Khrushchev is going to turn the Moscow-Peiping chill to his own advantage. He will use it, in fact, as proof of his admirable impartiality, and thus assume the role of jolly mediator between China and India, Burma and Indonesia.

There are symptoms, already, that Khrushchev is doing what he needs to do for this purpose—persuading and bullyragging the Chinese into agreeing in advance to arrangements which Khrushchev can then offer to the other Asians as generous compromises. The outlines of the Indian compromises are already visible, too. China will retain de facto possession of northern Ladakh, with its crucial strategic road, while giving ground on the eastern border, in the area of the MacMahon line.

The Chinese have lately increased their force in Tibet from 70,000 to 100,000 men. The Indians now really fear a serious attack on their border. Thus they will quite probably be grateful for Khrushchev's compromise. In this event, their gratitude will teach the lesson that there are even more ways of generating good will than there are ways of skinning a cat.

The Swinging Pendulum

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, in recent years there has been considerable discussion and volumes written on the philosophy of liberalism and conservatism. An editorial entitled "The Swinging Pendulum" from the January 17, 1960, Peoria Journal Star sums up the issue very well and I commend its reading to all my colleagues.

THE SWINGING PENDULUM

The most used and least understood word in American politics today is liberal.

Historically, liberal parties have been distinguished by reform in behalf of the masses and by increasing the political power of the people and gaining privileges for the underprivileged.

That corresponds roughly with the concept of liberalism in this country since 1932, the year the New Deal was voted into power. But along with this we have the juvenile concept that the "good people" are liberals and the "bad people" conservatives. Another naive concept is that conservative politics is a thing of the past, as dead as prohibition and the gold standard.

Actually the two opposite political poles, liberalism and conservatism, are both, necessary in two-party politics. One checks and balances the other. If liberals are long in power, as they have been in the United States in both parties, that doesn't mean that they will remain in power permanently.

All Government policies tend to be self-liquidating. Conservative policies eventually evoke liberal sentiments. Liberal policies finally revive conservative thinking. The pendulum never stops swinging.

Many Americans equate liberalism with the New Deal policy of granting new powers and privileges to labor. The underdog of our economy in 1933 was labor and it needed the new power it got from the Roosevelt administration. But abuses came with that power and now, a quarter of a century later, they have been revealed. The pendulum has started to swing the other way.

Farmers desperately needed the help of a liberal government and got it. But with this

help came new problems of surpluses and heavier tax burdens. Only a conservative government will eventually solve these.

The poor and the aged needed the help of social security and got it from a liberal government. But financing the ever-expanding social security system is fast becoming a problem that only a conservative party can solve.

Liberalism broke stubborn barriers depriving Negroes of civil liberties, and that was good. But some are now beginning to believe that a conservative government can pace the integration of schools and other civil rights progress more practically.

Liberalism has boosted taxes to the confiscatory point, raised the national debt to an astronomical total and got Government bureaucracy breathing down every citizen's neck.

So conservatism will return. The pendulum must swing and it has started.

The question is, will it swing far enough to become a real political force in 1960? Or will it need another 2 or 4 years to gain that momentum?

Resolution of New England Governors' Textile Committee on Importation of Woolens and Worsteds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a resolution adopted by the New England Governors' Textile Committee at Boston, Mass., on November 19, 1959, and an explanatory memorandum accompanying the resolution:

RESOLUTION (AND EXPLANATORY MEMO) OF CONFERENCE OF NEW ENGLAND GOVERNORS, ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, NEW ENGLAND CONGRESSMEN, AND THE COMMITTEE FOR RECIPROCITY INFORMATION

Whereas since 1947, when duties were reduced, importation of woolen and worsted fabrics have increased almost nine times; and

Whereas employment in this industry during the same period has been reduced by two-thirds; and

Whereas the change in the country's balance of payments has greatly strengthened the case against liberalization of trade and in fact, points toward increased exports, reduced imports as required by our balance-of-payment situation as well as reduced offshore (abroad) purchases by the United States; and

Whereas under pressure from the British Government and others, the State Department has announced intention to renegotiate through GATT woolen and worsted fabric duties, including the tariff quota: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That quotas by quarterly periods on the importation of woolens and worsteds be applied on a country-by-country basis and on the basis of categories of goods.

EXPLANATORY MEMO ON WOOLENS AND WORSTEDS

In the course of his visits with President Eisenhower, Prime Minister Macmillan of the British Government urged the President to reduce further the tariffs on wool textile fabrics, including British woolens. The British have experienced increasing competition in the U.S. market in selling woolens as the result of intensified competition from Italy and Japan. Dealing with global problems, the President apparently felt that such demands should be explored. Hence it has been announced that there are to be hearings before the Tariff Commission and the Trade Agreements Committee prior to negotiations with the British and others on tariffs and quotas on woolen and worsted imports.

We point out that the Geneva protocol of 1948, which reduced tariffs on woolens and worsteds from 45 to 25 percent, with a reservation that the issue would be reconsidered if imports exceeded 5 percent of domestic production, caused the industry a great deal of harm. In the succeeding 8 years the industry lost about 50 percent of its jobs, and since it is heavily concentrated in New England, New England's losses were especially severe. The industry continues to suffer declines. We are not implying that the explanation is merely the trade policies of the Federal Government, for we realize that man-made fibers have to some extent been substituted for woolens and changes in fashion have also contributed to the decline. We are also aware that the relatively high price of wool has been a serious factor. But an industry that has been subjected to such depressing forces should not be subjected to additional losses through governmental policy,. Liberalization of tariffs has been an important factor in this loss.

We are not opposing liberal trade policies in general, but it is important that these concessions which result in increased imports should not be too heavily concentrated on textiles and especially on woolens.

In view of the fact that it took the Federal Government 8 years to rectify to some extent the mistakes made in 1948, a period of great losses for the woolen and worsted industry, we are not too hopeful that any mistakes made in 1960 will be soon corrected.

It is also important to take into account the change in economic conditions since 1957. In a period of less than 2 years, this country has lost about $7 billion in gold and dollars and promises to lose even more over a 2-year period. The excess of gold reserves over short-term claims on our gold has been reduced from $7 billion at the end of 1957 to a negligible sum by the latter part of 1959. Before 1957, we could argue to some extent for increased imports or increased exports of capital or even reduced exports for the United States in order that other nations should have the dollars that they need to carry on their economic programs.

But the world has changed greatly since 1957. Our problem now is not a shortage of dollars, but a glut of dollars for foreigners. This problem has to be solved in some form or other. One obvious solution is, of course, for the United States to increase its exports, and we should therefore plead for a reduction of restrictions on American exports, for generally these restrictions have been much greater than ours, on the whole. It is also possible that in some areas Government grants and loans, and military spending abroad may be cut, and also that capital investment abroad might be discouraged or not encouraged as much as it has been in the past. But surely, in view of the changed situation, a case for an increase of imports through a liberalization of tariffs is much weaker than it was in the past. A rise of exports stimulated by increased efficiency and lower costs here and reduced barriers abroad, and increased purchases in the United States under various aid programs should contribute to the improvement in the dollar position. Unless our dollar position does improve, this country will be hampered in its program for high levels of employment and for the kind of level of activity that we have had since the outbreak of World War II. Surely in this kind of situation the case for liberalization rests with foreign countries, not with the United States—and above all not in an industry that has lost two-thirds of its jobs and 50 percent of its output since 1947.

The Late Charles A. Boyle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I place in the RECORD an editorial from the Sunday Star of Chicago, concerning our late, lamented friend for whom we all had an affectionate regard. The editorial follows:

HIDDEN LAUGHTER
(By Leo A. Lerner)

Charlie Boyle's life was suddenly snuffed out on election night, when his automobile struck one of those steel posts on Western Avenue, the kind that stick out into the street.

This was an irony in itself. Here was a Congressman serving his third term, with one of the best voting records in Washington, an expert on housing and planning in big cities, killed by the posts which were bound to be eliminated if Charlie Boyle's plans and program had come to thier ultimate conclusion.

But the posts couldn't wait. They were impatient to take home the life of a man who in principle was their enemy. They seized the opportunity on a wet, dark night when he had worked too hard and too long on election day.

All the city hazards lurk and wait like that for their chance. The bottlenecks, the overpasses, the blind corners, the misplaced posts, the slippery outer drive—they all wait in light and night for their victims.

When I think of Charlie Boyle, I get only one image—that ruddy face, crown of grey hair, and eyes that seemed to say, "I like you."

He would come into the office, stand around talking in a very offhand way with the staff members, and those gleaming, moist eyes would take everything in.

If I came hurrying through the room with a fistful of papers in my hand, he would murmur with a certain good-humored tolerance, as if he were smiling at me from up above instead of from the floor he was standing on, "There's the editor, my editor, hello editor."

It was just a way of talking with three parts to it, part amusement because I was always in such a hurry, part respect (I preferred to think), and the part that comes clearest to me now that he is dead—a friendly voice from the distance, a sound from a mysterious bourn, a purr, maybe a whisper, from somewhere out of this world.

We always think that people who die before their time had some premonition of it. There was more evidence of that in Charlie than in other people I have known who died unexpectedly, not because he spoke of it, but because he had the undefinable ethereal quality of a person attached to the world and yet somehow detached.

Yet Charlie's attachment to the world was quite tight. He was interested in a thousand subjects.

He understood the intricacies of many things only a conscientious Congressman has to learn, not that all of them do. He moved over the face of his world, between Chicago and Washington, like a moth attracted to the flame of human affairs. I learned many things from his enthusiasms and intrests.

He sent me one copy of almost everything he put in writing, and while there are some people whose memos I seldom read, I always read Charlie's, even those that were printed by the U.S. Government. There was a pixie somewhere in Charlie that forced me to look through all the dull things for that hidden laugh I knew was there.

Charlie was a man full of hidden laughter.

Every once in a million there's a man with a personality like that.

On election night of 1958, he dropped into the office, not to get congratulations on having been reelected, not to have his hand pumped or get a little gloating started, but just to be with the newspaper boys, to smell the ink, to observe the tabulation, to watch the headlines being written. Other candidates came in for a minute, or phoned, but Charlie sat the whole night in the newsroom, away from the big celebrations downtown, away from the tumult of ward headquarters.

He loved the atmosphere of politics. We were the last two people to leave Democratic headquarters in 1948. I had gone there to get their precinct totals.

"Well, it looks like Dewey beat Truman," said Charlie, reluctantly.

"What'll you bet?" I asked.

"A new hat," he said. I knew he was praying he would lose.

He did, of course, when the West was heard from, and the next week I wore a new gray feedora, bought by Charlie Boyle, the man who was then, as later, willing to lose for a good cause.

Winston Churchill, on his 75th birthday, said, "I am ready to meet my Maker, but I am not sure that my Maker is ready for the ordeal of meeting me."

I think Charlie Boyle's wife and family may be sure that wherever the meeting is taking place, Charlie Boyle is organizing a caucus to establish a liberal side in heaven, if they don't have a good one there already. And his voting record will be perfect.

The Late Honorable Richard Simpson

SPEECH
OF
HON. RUSSELL V. MACK
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. MACK of Washington. Mr. Speaker with the passing of my longtime friend and colleague RICHARD SIMPSON, DICK most of us fondly called him, the Nation lost a great and able statesman and we who knew him best a kind, companionable and lovable friend.

DICK SIMPSON was gifted with an alert and constructive mind. He dug hard and diligently for facts. Once he possessed them he based his decisions on the facts as he found them and courageously made known his views letting the chips fall where they would.

Because of his forthrightness and courage he held the confidence and respect of friend and foe, if those of different political opinions can be called foes. His influence was great. He was universally liked, admired and respected by all who knew him. DICK SIMPSON will be greatly missed in the Halls of Congress.

Competition—TVA Style

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, I suppose that, in view of the legislation passed last year, any further discussion of the immediate future of the Tennessee Valley Authority is somewhat academic. For the longer-range view, however, I think it well for all of us to try to keep in perspective what TVA's impact has been and can be on the industrial States situated outside the valley it serves. To that end, I include the following "Letter to the Editor" from the New York Times of January 15, 1960:

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

It is understandable that you deemed it necessary to preface your editorial of January 4, "TVA Keeps Growing," with the explanation that TVA is not "that entertainment gadget so many of us have in our homes."

Perhaps a complacent public would not need this clarification if they realized how they shared in the cost of this growth in two ways: That the taxpayer's interest-free investment in TVA for electric power purposes now totals more than $1,850 million plus spending commitments during 1960 of $303 million more and, despite a constitutional requirement that taxes shall be uniform, TVA pays no Federal taxes on power sales to its 1½ million customers.

Investor-owned electric light and power companies of America, serving approximately 80 percent of the Nation's electric customers, pay more than $1 billion annually to the Federal Government in taxes. In addition, these taxpaying utility companies pay more than $600 million to local and State governments. Taxes represent about 23 cents on every dollar of electric revenue of these companies. Compare this with 6.8 percent of electric revenues stated as taxes in your editorial and we see why this seems to satisfy people of the valley.

TAX DISPARITY

During the fiscal year 1958 TVA paid 77 cents per $100 of plant investment in taxes (this excluded power sales to the Atomic Energy Commission), whereas the American electric utilities paid $5.14 per $100 of plant.

While this tax disparity may be alarming to some of our citizens outside the valley, few taxpayers know what share of Federal money is invested in TVA.

The Economic Research Department of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States has computed the percentage of all Federal taxes paid by each State. For example, the Federal Government collects 13.68 percent of all taxes from New York State taxpayers. These New Yorkers have contributed $294,530,400 to make TVA possible—13.68 percent of $2,153 million.

New Jersey taxpayers with a tax burden of 4.22 percent of all taxes paid to our Federal Government, paid $90,856,600. Connecticut taxpayers (2.25 percent) $48,442,500.

I often wonder why so few Americans realize how near we are to socialism under the guise of the Federal power program. We have learned by bitter experience that Federal power projects such as TVA and others, which were authorized for the purpose of irrigating arid lands or controlling floods or for navigation aid, often turned out to be the means of putting the Federal Government into the power business further.

Back in 1932 7 percent of the country's electric generating capacity was Government-owned or financed. By 1940 this had increased to 14 percent of the total generating capacity and in 1958 23.5 percent of generation facilities in the United States was Government owned or financed.

POWER INVESTMENT

As of January 1, 1959, $5½ billion of public money had been allocated for Federal power projects. If the projects now under construction, authorized and planned are completed this power investment of taxpayer money will soar to $15 billion.

Getting back to TVA—we wonder how many of your readers in New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut realize how this tax avoidance and interest-free Federal money competes economically.

Advertisements have appeared in the New York Times and other newspapers inserted by the Tennessee Industrial and Agricultural Development Commission pointing out that industry moving to the Tennessee Valley could buy industrial electric power as low as 6.03 mills per kilowatt-hour.

It may startle some readers to know that an investor-owned company pays almost this much per kilowatt-hour for taxes alone. Some day the Northern industrial States will feel this unfair use of Federal subsidy.

Is TVA leading the way? We agree with you, it is—down the left road to socialism.

B. L. ENGLAND,
ATLANTIC CITY, N.J., *January 7, 1960.*

New Starts, U.S.A

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. OLIVER
OF MAINE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. OLIVER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following statement which I was privileged to make before the Electric Consumers Information Committee on January 18, 1960, at the Willard Hotel in Washington:

NEW STARTS, U.S.A.

(Remarks by Hon. JAMES C. OLIVER, of Maine, at the ECIC Legislative Workshop in Washington, D.C., on January 18, 1960)

Ladies and gentlemen, we meet here today to discuss one of the most vital problems which confront the American people and, in effect, that could mean, as well, the people of the entire free world, because of the international leadership which has been thrust upon us since the end of World War II.

I refer, of course, to the issue of so-called new starts in the progressive and aggressive developments of the natural resources of America. At least, in my opinion, the effect of availing ourselves or not availing ourselves, both as people of America, and as people of the world, of the maximum benefits which can, and will flow from such development of our real wealth, namely, the natural resources of our earth and its usable environment can mean the difference whether we survive, both physically and economically. Therefore, to me, the issue of new starts goes far beyond the immediate

scope of the specific projects which may be in our minds for fiscal years, 1961, or thereafter.

Naturally, every one of us is concerned as to the fate of specific projects which have great importance for our States and our regional areas. This, of course, is as it should be. But, when I think of the dedication of such great Americans as Senator George W. Norris, and his vision of multipurpose development of the great major river basins of this Nation, together, with the unselfish and never-deviating determination which he applied over the years; then, it is, that I am forced to lift my thinking from the trees of individual projects to the forest of the basic significance of full exploitation of the great unharnessed potential of the natural resources of America and of the world.

Mr. Chairman, unless we get bold, courageous, and creative imaginative leadership in our Government in the elections of this year, the new starts, so vital to America and the world are doomed. We can no longer gamble that time is running in our favor as we realize the potency of the drive and the determination of the Soviet-Sino bloc. My distinguished colleagues, here today, have a far better understanding than I, in this regard. My friend and leader from Maine, our former Governor and now Senator, able ED MUSKIE, for whom Maine people have a most abiding and sincere affection and the upmost respect, has already given our folks his impressions of the dedicated drive and purpose of the Soviet leadership and the Soviet people to unceasing efforts to develop all of their natural resources.

The Soviets and the Chinese know nothing and want to know nothing of the issue of new starts. They never stop. Our policy of stop and go, of the turning off and on of the spigot of needed public projects is a luxury that we might conceivably have afforded in the past, but, not today as we face up in this last half of the 20th century to the life and death challenge of those who would bury us.

However, I appreciate that this gathering of leaders and members of organizations, who have been devoted for years to the philosophy and crusading spirit of statesmen of the stature of George Norris, does not need any words from me to renew their faith or to stimulate their already aggressive attitudes to get this job done.

As I see it, the job which must be done is to persuade the American people that we can no longer rest upon our gains of the past. This means that we must move forward with progressive action. In science, and technology, we do not hesitate. We know that we must have basic research, and from the ideas, gleaned from such research, we have no hesitancy in applying these ideas to our industrial operations. Without this sort of pioneering, we would soon be bankrupt. Conservatism, to the point of ignoring our needs, and of sweeping under the rug, our obvious problems is nothing but radicalism of the most dangerous type. It means ruin. These next 40 years of the 20th century will continue to find us in such competition as we have never known before. Being afraid or reluctant to reach for unorthodox answers to unorthodox problems is not Americanism or the American way. Call it smugness, complacency, or what you will. It adds up to defeatism—defeatism which must result in bankruptcy and ruin.

But, my friends, this has been the policy of this administration. It has called itself progressive; but, it has failed to meet the needs of the people; and, consequently, it has been regressive. It has failed to measure up to the challenge. It has placed dollars above needs. It has subordinated the dignity of people to an idolatry of dollars. It has paid obeisance to stability, and, in some areas, even stagnation when we should have been surging ahead with new life, growth and expansion.

Under these condition, it is only natural that we should have the policy of no new starts. It is only natural that we should be handicapped with the tight-money policy and the unconscionable increase in the interest rate structure which is strangling us with accumulative usurious results. This has been done in the name of anti-inflationism. We are told that there is scarcity of credit and money. Money should only be thought of, in my opinion, as a reflection of our economic activity. When the administration decides to get off its knees where it has been paying tribute to the golden calf of dollars, and decides to expand the credit supply of this Nation; then, and then only, will we get the new starts which are so essential to our survival.

The money supply today is less in terms of the gross national product than it was 7 years ago. For example, per $1,000 of gross national product in 1953 there was $345 of money supply. In 1959, per $1,000 of gross national product, there was $295 of money supply. Expansion and growth through new starts just cannot survive in this contracting environment. We are told that there is not enough money to meet the demands. Yet, the Federal Reserve board of governors, which control the money supply, refuse to take those measures which would expand the money supply. Again, we are told that this would be inflationary. Yet, the scarcity of money, we are told, increases the rental rate of dollars; Namely, the interest rates. This, in turn, is one of the most inflationary factors that is feeding the fire of inflation. If the interest rate of 5 percent is increased by 1 percent, this represents, in my arithmetic, to a 10 percent administered price increase, which is felt in the homes and business activities of every nook and cranny of this great Nation. Such increases strangle new starts on the public projects which are the lifeblood of this Nation.

Tight money, increasing interest rates, and unwillingness of the administration leaders to face the facts of the needs of a growing Nation and the threat of the Soviet-Sino challenge are the basic factors which will cause this administration to be recorded in history as the leadership which did not lead and which threatened to cause America to lose its opportunity to remain as the world's leader for centuries to come.

But, this can be changed. It can be changed if this session of the 86th Congress refuses to lift the 4½ percent ceiling on interest rate of long term bonds. At least, this must not be done until fiscal and monetary reforms are realized. To lift this ceiling, otherwise, will mean that a green light will be given to that school of thought which believes that money is a commodity rather than a medium of exchange; which believes that we can be prosperous and healthy without a restricted cost of money; that 7 percent money is not inconceivable in a healthy economy; that our taxpayers can meet an ever-increasing debt service charge on our public debt; that we can afford the continued strangulation of new starts in our program of public projects; that, in short, we can continue a policy of the rich getting richer and the poor getting poorer.

It is my feeling that we can do something about these dangerous policies. This session of Congress can refuse to lift the interest ceiling. It can direct the Fed to support all types of Government securities. It can direct the Fed to use its power to increase reserve requirements of member banks whenever necessary. In short, it can establish the same policy that was used to finance the war.

In other words, it can expand the money supply in terms of the needs of the people of this country. But, to be practical, it will probably do none of these things and America will be forced to wait until the next administration takes over to face up to the urgent needs of an economy which is already to go but which is being held in check by those who prefer to sit on the powder keg of conservative and orthodox policies which are not meeting, and will not meet, the unorthodox conditions which confront us.

Meanwhile, those of us in Maine who are first and always for a policy of action, rather than inaction and reaction; those of us who have supported and will always support "new starts"; those of us who know that America must process into use those natural resources which are its real wealth; and those of us who believe that dollars and credit are only mechanisms to make the economy grow rather than being a cushion upon which to sit call your attention to our "new start"; namely, the Passamaquoddy-St. John Power project, located in the international waters of Canada and the United States. We urgently solicit your wholehearted and active support of our efforts to realize this start and the completion of this project which can be the beginning of the great northeastern power grid, envisioned by that devoted crusader in power development, Leland Olds, who has already contributed in a substantial way to our cause.

In closing, let me say that it was been a real pleasure to have been invited to be with you in your deliberations. I assure you that the programs of your organizations, devoted to the best interests of the electric power consumers of America, always have had and always will have my enthusiastic and complete support. You are doing a great job and you deserve all possible support for the great battles which so obviously lie ahead.

Principal Draftsman of Smith-Hughes Act Presents Case for Federal Aid to Education

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent I am extending my remarks to include an article by my distinguished constituent, Dr. John A. Lapp, in the Chicago Schools Journal of November 1959, that I earnest recommend for the thoughtful reading by my colleagues.

Dr. Lapp was a member of the National Commission, appointed by President Woodrow Wilson, which in 1914 drew up the Smith-Hughes Act, a program of Federal aid to vocational education. Dr. Lapp was the principal draftsman of that act and he is the only member of the Commission appointed by President Wilson now alive. He long has been recognized as the foremost authority in America in a field to which he has contributed a long lifetime of outstanding leadership. He is a past president of the City Club in Chicago and of the citizens school committee. He has been a bulwark of strength for popular education in our city, and it has been largely due to his efforts that many reforms

have been instituted and the citizenry of Chicago roused to an awareness of school problems and brought closer in cooperative understanding with school administration than perhaps in any other large city in our country.

In a preface to Dr. Lapp's article, the Chicago Schools Journal says:

Congress, as it debates the Murray-Metcalf bill, will face another showdown on Federal aid to education. In this article, a distinguished proponent of such aid offers counterarguments to statements frequently advanced by opponents of such participation.

The article follows:

THE CASE FOR FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION—HISTORY PROVIDES ANSWERS TO OPPONENTS

(By John A. Lapp)

Federal aid to the States for the promotion of education is an old and time-tried practice in our country. Scarcely had the Federal Government been established when grants of public lands were made to the States for promotion of common schools. A succession of grants of public lands, and later of money, for educational purposes followed, until today more than a score of educational projects managed by the States and local communities are aided with Federal money.

A mere recital of the projects for which State and local governments receive part of the cost from the National Treasury should be sufficient to show the vital role of Federal aid. Agricultural colleges; experimental stations; agricultural extension services; vocational education in agriculture, trades, and industries; homemaking and distributive occupations; school lunches; vocational rehabilitation of the handicapped; defense educational activities; library services; and school construction are among the educational activities aided by Federal funds.

OPPONENTS OF AID IGNORE HISTORY

The history of Federal aid for a century and three-quarters should be sufficient to silence the critics, but not so. In spite of the long, uninterrupted, and fruitful experience in the use of grants in aid of education from the Federal treasury, a hue and cry is raised every time a proposal is made to give Federal support to an educational project. The same statements are repeated over and over again, despite the fact that our history for 175 years has proven them to be baseless.

Three such statements form the stock in trade of opponents of Federal aid: (1) That the Constitution left the management of schools to the States with no power to aid education vested in the Federal Government; (2) that education is not a Federal matter but one solely for the States and local communities; and (3) that Federal aid means Federal control of the schools.

Anyone familiar with educational progress in this country knows that history does not sustain any of these statements; in fact history refutes every one of them. Let us look at the record.

FEDERAL POWERS IN EDUCATION

To say that there is no power to aid education vested in the Federal Government is to fly in the face of fact. There were no free public schools when the Constitution was adopted and apparently no one in the constitutional convention ever mentioned the subject of public schools or of education—the words do not appear in the records of the convention. A proposal that Congress should have power to establish a university was not pressed, because it appeared that the power to do that was given in the grant of power at the seat of government. It was more than half a century later before free schools were seriously promoted, and, even as late as 1875, President Grant was impelled to recommend a constitutional amendment "to require the States to establish and forever maintain free public schools adequate to the education of all the children in the rudimentary branches."

No one of the Founding Fathers proposed that the Federal Government should establish schools, but no one disagreed that it could help the schools. Even Jefferson, strict constructionist though he was, held that grants of land could be made to the States for education, and he desired a constitutional amendment to permit the Federal Government to play a role in education.

FEDERAL PARTICIPATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

The idea that the Constitution did not permit Federal aid to education went out the window when President Lincoln, in 1862, signed the Morrill Act, which gave public lands to the States for colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts. Sixty-nine universities, which today enroll more than three-quarters of a million students, resulted from this act. For their support, the Federal Congress appropriates more than $80 million a year and turns over to the laboratories of the universities more than $200 million for research work.

No informed person today raises seriously the question of the constitutional right of Congress to grant aid to the States for educational purposes. If anyone does raise the question, it is certain that he does so without knowledge of the extent to which the Federal Government has long granted such aid.

ROLE OF EDUCATIONAL IN NATIONAL WELFARE

The statement that education is solely a local matter has never been made by serious statesmen or thinkers. It is too narrow a conception to be held seriously by any person who knows fully the functions of education in our national life. Jefferson expressed the national purpose when he said, "The nation that expects to be ignorant and free expects what never was and never will be."

Even a cursory view of our dependence upon education for national welfare and for national security makes clear that the nation has a responsibility to aid in the development of those agencies of education that will provide ways to develop the professional and technical skills which are needed to assure the welfare and safety of the whole Nation. Cooperation of the Federal, State, and local governments in support of education is a national policy which has deep roots in the past and which is evident in the many branches of education in which such cooperation exists in the present.

SMITH-HUGHES ACT AIDS VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Forty-two years ago, the Smith-Hughes Vocational Act was passed to meet a national need for skilled manpower. The Smith-Hughes Act was framed by the Commission on National Aid to Vocational Education and adopted by Congress with few dissenting votes. The writer of this article was a member of that Commission, the principal draftsman of the bill which became the Smith-Hughes Act, and is happy to record that it was the first Federal Act which spelled out a complete cooperative arrangement between the Federal Government and the States.

The report made by the Commission on National Aid to Vocational Education is a classic statement of the national dependence upon education for skilled workers in agriculture, the trades, and industry. It should be read as a sedative by those who wildly decry Federal aid to education. On almost every page of the report, the reliance of the nation upon education for economic survival in world competition is emphasized.

The Commission on National Aid to Vocational Education found that Federal grants to the States are justified:

1. By the urgency of the demand for effective training of our workers which the States cannot meet in time without Federal encouragement and aid.

2. By the interstate and national character of the problem, due to its nationwide interest and importance.

3. By abundant precedent in appropriations by Congress throughout our entire history for educational purposes and the cooperation between the Federal Government and the States where teamplay was necessary to handling matters that could not be handled well by the States alone.

4. By the successful results to the Nation as well as to the States of previous grants for educational purposes.

NATIONAL EMERGENCY CRYSTALLIZES OPINION

When the report of the Commission was submitted in June, 1914, there was no hint of war, but as soon as it became apparent that this country might be involved in war, the passage of the Smith-Hughes Act became imperative.

President Wilson declared to Congress in 1915 that "we should give intelligent Federal aid and stimulation to industrial and vocational education." In a later message he said, "We ought to have in this great country a system of industrial and vocational education under Federal guidance and with Federal aid." In a final appeal to Congress to pass the Smith-Hughes bill, he said that the bill "concerns a matter too long neglected upon which the thorough industrial preparation for the critical years ahead in very large meaasure depends. * * * It contains plans which affect all interests and all parts of the country, and I am sure that there is no legislation now pending before Congress whose passage the country awaits with more thoughtful approval or greater impatience to see a great and admirable thing set in the way of being done."

SMITH-HUGHES ACT NOT A WAR MEASURE

Statements that the Smith-Hughes Act was intended only for the national emergency of an expected war are entirely false. The Commission that framed the act never suspected the coming of a war in which this country would be involved. There is not a single word in the 300-page report even hinting of war. The law was framed to strengthen our hand in world economic competition and to buttress our lagging agriculture. Some persons, wholly uninformed of the history of the law, have stated that it was passed as a temporary measure. How they got that idea is a mystery. There is not a single word or even a hint implying a temporary purpose. This writer can testify that not once was it suggested by any member of the Commission, nor by any witness before the Commission.

The Smith-Hughes Act has been in force for 42 years. Three and a half million persons are this year taking work under it. Fully 60 million persons have been enrolled in one or more courses since it has been in force.

NATIONAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATION

Forty-one years after the passage of the Smith-Hughes Act, Congress, faced with a national crisis and recognizing that education is the great national hope, passed, in 1958, the National Defense Education Act, which appropriated more than $200 million a year for the next 5 years to bolster up the educational system.

Prefacing the act is a notable statement that "the Congress finds and declares that the security of the Nation requires the fullest development of the mental resources and technical skills of its young men and women."

While recognizing that the States and local governments should operate the schools—

"The national interest requires that the Federal Government give assistance to education for programs which are important to our defense. To meet the present emergency

requires additional efforts at all levels of government. It is therefore the purpose of this act to provide substantial assistance in various forms to individuals and to States and their subdivisions, in order to insure trained manpower of sufficient quantity and quality to meet the national defense needs of the United States."

CONGRESS APPROVES FEDERAL AID

Congress, in passing the National Defense Act, paid tribute to the Smith-Hughes Act in a preamble thus: "The Congress hereby finds that the excellent programs of vocational education, which States have established and are carrying on with assistance provided by the Federal Government under the Smith-Hughes Vocational Education Act and the Vocational Act of 1946, need extension to provide vocational education to residents of areas inadequately served, and also to meet national defense requirements for personnel equipped to render skilled assistance to fields particularly affected by scientific and technological developments."

In passing the National Defense Act, Congress showed its approval of the original principles of the Smith-Hughes Act by authorizing a national grant of $15 million a year to be expended by the States on plans approved by the State boards for vocational education "providing vocational and related technical training and retraining for youths, adults, and older persons, including related instruction for apprentices, designed to fit them for useful employment as technicians or skilled workers in scientific or technical fields."

FEDERAL PARTICIPATION AN ESTABLISHED FACT

The kind of cooperation between the Federal Government and the states which is exemplified in the Smith-Hughes Act and the National Defense Education Act has come to be the hallmark of American education. The states give guidance and financial aid to local communities and the Federal Government gives financial aid, stimulation, and research assistance to the states to promote kinds of education needed for national welfare and safety. Known as "grants-in-aid" such plans are found in all non-centralized governments. England was the originator of the grant-in-aid system many decades ago. England's Comonwealth nations subsequently adopted the system, and the United States followed by adopting the kind of cooperative arrangement which first found full expression in the Smith-Hughes Vocational Act in 1917. The pasage of the National Defense Education Act in 1958 indicates clearly that our law makers believe that the Federal Government has a deep and serious concern in our education, a concern which the Congress could not have stated more clearly than it did in the passages from that Act quoted above.

AID AND CONTROL ARE NOT INSEPARABLE

The opponents of Federal aid to education advance frequently the sing-song slogan, "Federal aid means Federal control" of local schools. This statement is without basis in fact. A hundred and seventy-five years of national experience contradict and deflate the slogan. Federal, State, and local officials work cooperatively, with state acceptance, under the systems of Federal aid now in force. The history of the Smith-Hughes Act is a complete refutation of the charge of Federal interference. This law has been in effect since 1917, and, so far as is known schools are still under state and local control.

No one wants the Federal Government to operate the schools. Faced with national necessity, the Federal Government could establish Federal school of technology, science, and foreign languages; just as it has established the service academies for military, naval, air force, coast guard and merchant marine education. The cooperative arrangement between the Federal, State, and local governments has been proven to be the better way.

COORDINATED ACTION PRODUCES RESULTS

The national dependence upon education is seen plainly through the eyes of experience. For many purposes, we are a Nation, not an aggregation of separated, independent States without common objectives. The national need for specialized education, so apparent today, cannot be met by uncoordinated action of the separate States—certainly not by the uncoordinated action of local communities.

There are special conditions which support the above statement. These were outlined 45 years ago by the Federal Commission on National Aid to Vocational Education and have been clearly emphasized by experience ever since.

A UNITED EFFORT STRENGTHENS EDUCATION

The Commission summarized the reasons for national cooperation in the following six points:

1. To make the work of vocational training possible in those States and localities already burdened with the task of meeting the requirements for general education.

2. To help the States, with their widely varying resources, bear the burden of giving vocational education as a national service.

3. To equalize among the States the task of preparing workers whose tendency to move from place to place is increasing, making their training for a life work a national as well as a State duty and obligation.

4. To secure national assistance in solving a problem too large to be worked out extensively and permanently save by the whole Nation.

5. To give interest and prestige in the States to the work of preparing our youth for useful and productive service.

6. To secure expert information from the agencies of the National Government, bringing to bear a countrywide knowledge and viewpoint, which will put the work of the States on a scientific and businesslike basis.

The reasons for national participation so cogently stated by the National Commission are plainly seen by informed people as operative today, as our Nation girds to prepare itself for the scientific, technological, and technical competition ahead. The fate of the Nation rests on meeting the challenge through a united effort on the educational front.

What They Say About the Price Squeeze Down on the Farm

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. CARL ANDERSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. ANDERSEN of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I am including a very timely article by Glenn Kreuscher, staff farm writer, which appeared in the Lincoln Sunday Journal and Star of December 20, 1959.

I am including this not only because it is an excellent factual presentation of the economic difficulties of rural people, but also because it typifies conditions which exist today in much of the agricultural Midwest. Lincoln, Nebr., is only about 200 miles from my home town of Tyler, Minn., and this could well be the story of our immediate area except for the fact that our problems have been made worse due to very poor crops last year. In the following story, for example, the writer refers to 88-cent corn while the corn produced on my farm has been valued at about 56 cents a bushel.

The article follows:

[From the Lincoln (Nebr.) Journal and Star, Dec. 20, 1959]

WHAT THEY SAY ABOUT THE PRICE SQUEEZE DOWN ON THE FARM

(By Glenn Kreuscher)

You may not believe it—but this story is true—and it could affect you.

Your paycheck has been cut 15 percent—there is another cut coming next year that will take another 10 percent and there is a good possibility the way you are now headed that additional reduction in income can be expected.

Your net income for 1960 will be the lowest since 1942.

Your expenses next year will reach a new peak after rising steadily for the fourth consecutive year and will undoubtedly match the alltime record.

Most readers will agree this forecast appears out of line with our general economy. But these are the actual facts now faced by farmers, and the prospect is just what you have already been thinking as you read the preview: How can they continue under an arrangement like this?

Interviews with farmers and businessmen who are closely connected to agriculture brings out this general feeling: The farmer is in a vicious "price squeeze" that is damaging our general economy. Some sample comments:

A 40-year-old Nebraska farmowner: "Today I went to town to pay up some of my bills. For an example of how my purchasing income has shrunk, look at my hog check.

"Last year I sold 60 hogs that averaged 205 lbs. for $19.60 per cwt. for a gross of over $2,400. Last week I sold 60 head at the lowest figure in 4 years, $12.50 per cwt., and for an almost identical group I got $1,500.

"The loss of $900 income on one group of hogs in the face of the highest operating expenses on record pretty well tells the story of why farmers can't meet their current expenses.

"Farmers are trying to compete with 1930 prices during 1960—It will not work."

A farmer who raised 120-bushel corn speaks: "The most misleading news in the world is the record corn crop that folks point to and say the "farmer is rolling in dough."

"Very few farmers selling corn from the new crop are getting over 90 cents per bushel. Our margin of profit was wiped out with the corn price 30 cents under last year.

"It is impossible for the farmer to go in and buy new equipment when his income is so drastically cut and what he buys continues to reach new levels."

A machinery, filling station and elevator operator: "We have a good opportunity to see many farming operations and in our estimation the farmer's buying power has dropped even more than the Government figures show. Lots of farmers would be making purchases but they can't see enough future to take on the burden or payment.

"Our business is hurt now—our accounts receivable are way out of sight."

From a banker with over 50 years serving a farm community: "I have gone through good and bad times. I am worried about the continual reduction in farm income and the steady rise in farm expenses. It is getting to be extremely difficult for many good operators to meet their obligations.

"The tight money situation has caused the refusal of many loans.

"The farm situation needs immediate attention—we cannot continue without serious results to our general economy."

From an implement dealer in business since 1936: "Our account receivable are the highest they have ever been and some farmers are having trouble meeting their payments.

"The machinery business is closely tied to the farmer's ability to buy—we must cut down on our orders at the factory unless a favorable farm program gives some stability to farm prices.

"Want a strong economy? Treat agriculture with a fair return and there is nothing wrong with the future. The farmers may only be 10 percent of our population but another 35 percent depend upon them."

A young veteran—farming since 1947: "The 300 laying hens I just showed you returned a net of $10 last month which is too close a margin when your laying production is at peak level.

"This past week I got grandfather's old diary out and found that the prices he received beat what I am getting now.

"I also found that today's farmer spends 15 to 20 times more than the generations before him in town."

A central Nebraska banker gives this report: "The farmers in our area had an excellent corn crop—but those wishing to sell now on the cash market are selling corn for 88 cents—those high yields that make news as record crops are expensive to raise. Many of my customers have nothing left after paying their operating expenses.

"Our note case is filled and we wonder where our customers can get the returns with declining livestock prices to meet their obligations."

An eastern Nebraska farmer: "How many folks are aware that in a time of mounting expenses and spiraling prices that hogs sold at the lowest price this week they have for 4 years?

"Many urban citizens who read the paper see only the prices quoted as the top figure for the day. Those figures only reach a small part of the farmer's products. For instance everyone thinks corn is worth $1.06 per bushel—ask the farmer selling. More are getting around 88 cents per bushel, or less than their grandfathers received many years ago when cost of production was in line with selling price."

A third generation farmer: "The best way I know to illustrate the farmer's price squeeze is to check the constant shrinking of the farmer's income. This is illustrated by the percentage the farmer receives of the consumer's food dollar. Recently that figure was quoted by the USDA as 38 cents, the lowest figure since 1934.

"To think that a farmer can operate on 1934 income in 1960 is unbelievable and the only way I can exist is to try this year to pay my current bills and cut out all additional expenditures."

A 57-year-old Nebraska farmer: "This year from the standpoint of meeting my expenses with what I have to sell is the toughest one I have had since I started farming in the 20's.

"Many folks look at the declining number of farmers and lose sight of the fact that today's farmer spends probably 20 times what his grandfather did in town and for products produced by others."

A dryland farmer: "Let's look at my records. My wheat acreage is so small that it offers little income. Corn was the largest crop on my farm and it was good this year but when I pay my operating expenses I will show about $6 per acre profit, which is too small to be effective purchasing power.

"The poultry and dairy operation just about broke even. Hogs, always a main income, dropped better than 40 percent from what I received a year ago. We always made a little on our beef cattle, they have been our surest income and will be the only thing on the place this year that will still show a profit.

"What can I do? I need a new truck and some more equipment but I cannot go out and contract to buy this equipment when the 1960 outlook says I can expect another 8-percent drop in prices."

A young veteran: "I believe that the drop in prices is far more than the 15 percent that the Government uses as a figure, as I know that my own loss has reached almost 25 percent."

Generally the farmers interviewed say they would like to see agriculture appropriation figures broken down to show the taxpayers how much goes for administration, inspection, storage, and many other figures that have no connection with what farmers realize from the farm program.

Businessmen and bankers say they already feel the pinch of reduced farm income. Many are disturbed about the accounts receivable from farmers who had no way to know that such a drastic income and price squeeze would be in store for them.

What part of the farm program meets with the most approval? Over 85 percent of the farmers questioned considered the conservation reserve as the best plan to control production and apply conservation measures to the land.

Farmers are hard workers, they have a lot of pride, most of them are hoping for some workable plan that will give equal purchasing power to agriculture—farmers want to remain the best customers of labor and industry.

The Pawn of Arab Power Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include an article which appeared in a magazine published by the Society for the Prevention of World War III which is appropriate even though the U.N. has voted the continuance of the program for the maintenance and support of the Arab refugees in the Middle East.

The article follows:

THE PAWN OF ARAB POWER POLITICS

Of all the issues which have plagued the Middle East, the plight of the Arab refugees seems to be the most colored by emotionalism.

The feelings of many Americans show understandable concern over the human suffering involved. Consequently, there is a widespread belief that works of charity and generosity alone can solve the problem. Leading Arab politicians also speak in highly emotional terms when referring to the refugees. However, their actions—or lack of action—cast the problem in an altogether different light.

In the fact of the miserable conditions under which the refugees live, it is difficult to speak in a matter of fact way about this subject without seeming to appear callous. Nevertheless, it is necessary in the interest of truth and for the cause of peace in the Middle East that the Arab refugee problem be reduced to its essentials.

ARAB RESPONSIBILITY

The refugee problem is the product of the Arab invasion of Israel in 1948. This willful aggression had its roots in the Arab decision to tear up the U.N. General Assembly resolution of November 29, 1947, calling for the partition of Palestine. Indeed, on the very same day the Arab Higher Committee declared that the U.N. partition plan was "null and void." The Committee warned that it would "not permit its implementation * * *." This brazen defiance of the United Nations signaled the Arab military attack which turned out to be one of the darkest days in the lives of Palestinian Arabs. The Arabs living in Israel at this time were encouraged and browbeaten to leave, despite the many pleas of Israeli authorities not to do so. In short, there would never have been a refugee problem in the first place had it not been for the aggressive and unscrupulous tactics of Arab leaders who, from the very beginning, regarded the unfortunate Arab refugees as pawns.

A REVEALING REPORT

Since then Arab policy has not changed one iota. No more authentic proof of this fact can be found than in the latest report of the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA) to the latest U.N. General Assembly. This report covers the period of July 1958 to June 1959.

The report itself, laden as it with technical data, will never become a bestseller. Yet, it is a most revealing document and would shock most people if its essential facts were presented in popular form.

Underlying the whole report is the implicit fact that the refugees are the real scapegoats of Arab power politics. Space does not allow us to deal with all of the many facets of the report, but certain facts must be recounted in the interest of obtaining a true perspective of the problem.

The report mentions the UNRWA has two basic tasks, i.e., to provide temporary care and help to the refugees, and long-term assistance so they will become self supporting. Yet, the report is obliged to admit that in spite of the hundreds of millions of dollars spent over the past decade, only temporary relief has been maintained, and that the "long-term task" of putting the refugees on their feet has never been implemented. Why this basic failure? In the words of the report itself, this is due to "a political climate both among the refugees themselves and in the host countries." (The "host countries" refer to the Arab States where the refugees are presently located.) What this means is simply that Arab leadership today does not want to solve the refugee problem on a long-term basis.

EGYPT'S ATTITUDE

The attitude of Egypt is most striking in this respect. According to the report, Egypt refused to recognize UNRWA as a subsidiary organ of the U.N. though the General Assembly on December 12, 1958, specifically resolved that the agency was an organ of the U.N. Moreover, Egypt persists in its refusal to apply the Convention on Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations" in the Gaza Strip where many of the refugees are located. This convention is vital for the independent functioning, judicial standing and prestige of UNRWA. Hence, the report charges that the Egyptian policy stands "in the way of the solution to many problems and presents serious obstacles to UNRWA's assistance to refugees."

Therefore, UNRWA's operations are under severe stress. For example, the Egyptian government has subjected UNRWA to taxes. The report indicates that total Agency claims, including tax refunds against the United Arab Republic, total $395,000. Despite the restrained language of the report in discussing Egypt's treatment of the Agency, one can easily see that this is a scandal that deserves far more exposure than it has received up to date.

Egypt tries to discredit UNRWA in every possible way. For example, at one time Cairo propaganda charged that UNRWA doctors were trying to kill off Palestine refugees in Gaza by fatal injections (see CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 3-18-59, Remarks by Cong. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.). Staff members of this U.N. Agency are continually harassed. In Gaza, the report notes, there have been a number of instances "in which staff members were arrested, subjected to interrogation, or interfered with in connection with acts performed in an official capacity and in accordance with the Agency's instructions."

To further impede the work of the Agency, Egyptian authorities have "seriously hampered" the work of the Agency in Gaza by obstructing the movement of staff members and involving them in all sorts of bureaucratic procedures. In fact, in some instances UNRWA staff members have been refused admission into Gaza!

The deliberate effort by the Egyptians to cripple the work of UNRWA at Gaza and to squander UNRWA's energies in squabbles with government bureaucrats, is revealed by the following episode.

For a while, Egyptian officials at Gaza recognized the Agency's exemption from stamp taxes and even made a partial refund. Subsequently, these Egyptian officials arbitrarily reversed themselves. Not only have they halted further refunds "but have asked for the return of the payment already made." Therefore, UNRWA has been harassed at every turn, its officials badgered and abused, its limited funds unnecessarily exploited and its prestige seriously undermined in the eyes of the refugees.

TROUBLE IN SYRIA

In the Syrian region, the situation is hardly any better. Agency officials are prevented from traveling through the areas where the refugees are located. Indeed, there have been cases where staff members have been prevented from entering the refugee camps. On one occasion a staff member was seized on Agency premises "in disregard of his inviolability and was summarily expelled from the country without proper cause."

As at Gaza, the Agency in the Syrian region is enmeshed with all sorts of time consuming bureaucratic regulations.

JORDAN AND LEBANON

In Jordan, too, the work of UNRWA is hamstrung by a variety of impediments. Although the report notes that Jordan has finally recognized the Agency as a subsidiary organ of the UN. "There have been several instances in which lack of understanding of this status has been evidenced." In this connection, the report relates how the Agency's mail bags and premises last year were searched without permission and how Jordanian authorities arrested a staff member when he refused to deliver UNRWA'S records.

The Agency is confronted with similar situations and conditions in Lebanon. "Although the authorities (Lebanese) have shown goodwill and a desire to fulfill their obligations, the protection offered (to the Agency) has not always conformed with international law and practice."

According to the report, staff members have been attacked, Agency property damaged and/or looted while there has been persistent interference in the activities of the Agency, particularly in the refugee camp clinics. Concluding its comments on the Agency's position in Lebanon, the report states that while the Agency is recognized as a U.N. subsidiary "the problem of implementation throughout all ministries and governmental units, particularly at lower echelons, has not, however, been solved."

Can one draw a more astounding picture? Here we have an official Agency of the U.N. dedicated to the alleviation of the miserable conditions of the refugees, battered, insulted, and abused by the Arab governments who speak in the name of these refugees.

By insulting the U.N. flag through these contemptible tactics, these governments have intensified the problem and have increased the miseries of the refugees.

It should be borne in mind, too, that the Arab states do not contribute a penny to the Agency. (Neither does the Soviet Union or its satellites.) The lion's share (93 percent) of the contributions to UNRWA comes from the United States, Britain, and Canada. Yet, Cairo propaganda continues to scream how the Arab peoples are victimized and exploited by "Western imperialism."

FRAUD

On the other hand, the Arab states have not lifted a finger against the wholesale frauds perpetrated by certain Arabs who desire to get free hand-outs from the Agency at the expense of those who are in real need. The Agency Report reveals that "an appreciable proportion of ineligible beneficiaries" remain on certain ration rolls maintained by UNRWA. In the case of Jordan, ration rolls involving 150,000 persons require "rectification" in view of the fact that about half of this number are dead while the balance consist mostly of persons "earning enough money for self-support and those fraudulently registered from the beginning." It must be emphasized that the victims of this particular fraud are more than 100,000 children who are deprived of rations because the dead must eat. The government of Jordan has expressed the desire to "cooperate"—that is all.

The Report also mentions that a whole new group of "refugees" are trying to get into the act. These so-called refugees who, for the most part, are just poor people neglected by their own governments, do not come within the purview of UNRWA's tasks, but they are certainly working hard to get free handouts.

Whether their governments have egged them on, is not stated in the report itself. In any event, these wretched people, located primarily in Jordon and in Egypt, are the responsibility of their respective governments.

Unquestionably, these people should be fed. But why should the U.N. take on a responsibility which belongs to the Arab governments, especially since these governments refuse to contribute to the Agency's funds?

Admittedly, the Arab countries are not flowing over with gold, but if the will were there funds could be found. Let the Arab sheiks who are sitting on fortunes made from oil, show their brotherly love and make a small donation which would still allow them to purchase brand new Cadillacs every year. Mr. Nasser, too, whose portrait is found all over Gaza and other areas where the refugees are located, could make a small contribution instead of devoting so much of Egypt's resources to the building up of a war potential.

MISERY

The amount of money spent for each refugee, the report states, is "barely sufficient to meet his basic physical needs." Their opportunities for self-advancement are practically nonexistent.

As a result, they live a life of enforced idleness without morale, without hope. The young among the refugees are a particularly tragic lot. Their future is a blank. "The result is that every year some 30,000 young people reach maturity with little hope of earning a living or establishing homes in a normal way. This present lack of opportunity with its accompanying disappointments, frustrations and blighted hopes, is even more tragic in terms of human waste than is the need to improve food, shelter and clothing."

This is not a pretty picture, but it suits present Arab leadership. It not only keeps alive tensions in the Middle East, but more important, increases the degree of desperation of these people. Let them continue to stew so that they will make good, young cannon fodder. Thus Nasser's Deputy Foreign Minister recently urged the formation of a Palestine army to defend the right of the Palestinians.

FACTS TO CONSIDER

The Arab countries stand fast in their refusal to grant the refugees permanent homes. This is part of their policy of "brotherly" love. The United Arab Republic goes so far as to prevent refugees from immigrating to other lands, even when such opportunities are available. This is part and parcel of the Arab plan to maintain the Arab refugees in a constant state of excitement and desperation and thereby keep alive the idea that they will one day return to Israel.

The Arab refugees, thanks to the Arab host governments have been kept in ignorance as to the true state of affairs in the Middle East since 1948. They have not been told that Israel has borne the cost of absorbing over 450,000 Jewish refugees who fled from persecutions in their native Arab countries, in addition to integrating approximately 50,000 Palestinian refugees. They have not been told that it is physically, politically and economically impossible for Israel to absorb over an estimated 1 million refugees. Nor have they been told that Israel has taken in a number of these refugees, where possible, and has unfrozen millions of dollars of blocked refugee assets. As noted by the Catholic publication Commonweal "There is no conceivable way in which the refugee Palestinians could be restored to the life they led prior to 1948, short of the elimination of Israel—and the creation of still another mass of refugees."

On many occasions Israel has given clear indication of her willingness to sit down with the Arabs and solve this deplorable problem.

WHAT THE ARAB LEADERS WANT

Recently U.N. Secretary Dag Hammarskjold proposed a large scale development plan to resettle the refugees. There are vast areas in the Arab countries that could absorb these people and benefit considerably from their labors. The idea that refugees are a liability to a country is an historical myth. On the contrary, willing hands can always add to a country's resources and wealth. A recent example, of course, is the case of West Germany where millions of refugees have made a substantial contribution to the present prosperity of that country. However, the Arabs have consistently ignored Israel's pleas for a negotiation as they have now rejected the Hammarskjold plan.

The latest UNRWA's report answers the riddle of the Arab position on this issue. On page 6 of the report we are told "after nearly 10 years of operations, the Agency is still confronted with a residue of serious problems in its relations with host governments—problems which should have been solved in the earliest days of the Agency's existence but which in fact have become chronic and which handicap it in its work." This is the language of understatement. But what it tells is simply that Arab leadership has no interest in elevating these refugees to productive human beings. Thus the problem is not one of charity. It is, above all, an unscrupulous and coldblooded game of politics played by such men as Mr. Nasser to cover up plans for aggression.

Principles and Home Rule

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the January 18, 1960, issue of the Washington Evening Star.

PRINCIPLES AND HOME RULE

Three of the presidential candidates have issued statements supporting home rule for the District of Columbia and each contains one or more of those ambiguous generalities favored by political statement writers.

From Mr. NIXONS "The right to vote is a fundamental right in a free society * * *. Consistent with this principle the administration proposal, which would grant District residents the right to elect their own legislative assembly should have the support of both parties in this session of Congress."

What is this fundamental right as defined by the administration proposal? It is the right to vote for members of a local legislative assembly whose acts would be subject to vetoes from at least three sources—an appointed Governor, an elected President, and Members of an elected Congress—in the choice of whom the people of the District would have no vote whatsoever. The administration proposal was ditched before it even reached the Senate last year without protest from administration leaders. Senator MORSE denounced it as a compromise of principle, for the sake of expediency * * * which provides only a false front, facade of self-government, a political charade. The reasoning behind the compromise, produced by the Commissioners and the Budget Bureau, was that the form of home rule subsequently approved by the Senate could endanger the predominant interests of the National Government in this Federal city.

From Senator KENNEDY: "It is long past the time when home rule for the District is merely a subject of discussion. With statehood already a fact for Alaska and Hawaii, the major item of unfinished business becomes self-government for the District."

Is the Senator advocating statehood for the District of Columbia? We doubt it. Would so-called home rule give to the people of the District any semblance of the self-government attained by Alaska or Hawaii? Of course not. Some 26 years even before Hawaii became a territory in 1900, a version of the home rule advocated by the administration and not unlike the traditional territorial government from which Alaska and Hawaii have now emerged was tried and abolished in the District. Why does so progressive and forward-looking a young man as Senator KENNEDY now wish to turn the clock back 85 years and try it all over again, either in the form proposed by the administration or the more radical plan approved by the Senate?

From Senator HUMPHREY: Denial of self-government to the people of the District is "in direct conflict with our cherished principles of representative government." The people of any American city should "have the right to be governed by officials of their own choosing."

Would home rule remove the conflict with our cherished principles? It would not. It would magnify and more grossly distort them. Would the people of the District, under home rule, have the right to be governed by officials of their own choosing? They would not. They would continue to be governed by a President and a Congress, without a vote in the choice of either. Their elected puppet municipal government would lack even the degree of autonomy enjoyed by the Government of Hungary and would be saddled with a financial responsibility greater than the local resources available to meet it.

When Messrs. NIXON, KENNEDY and HUMPHREY begin advocating real voting rights for the residents of the American Capital—the right to vote for President, Vice President and representatives of their choice in Congress—we will then take off our hats and cheer. But not as long as they talk about noble principles not exemplified in the legislation they endorse.

Beware of the Medical Fallacies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article written in October 1950, by Alfred Rosskamm Ross, doctor of medicine, now a practicing physician in Deposit, N.Y.

I wish to emphasize that the opinions expressed are those of Dr. Ross, but believing that medical science benefits from the full circulation of all reasonable theories, I ask that Dr. Ross' article, now nearly 10 years old, be reprinted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

BEWARE OF THE MEDICAL FALLACIES

(By Alfred Rosskamm Ross)

OCTOBER 1950.

For times immemorial, mankind has lived on the produce of our good earth, has thrived, and multiplied. After Columbus had discovered that the ocean could be crossed, sailors found out during long voyages that it was not enough to get sufficient quantities of bread, sugar, fat, and preserved meat to keep in good health, but that they needed fresh vegetables, fresh fruit, and fresh meat from animals slaughtered aboard. About three and a half centuries later, Louis Pasteur discovered that several diseases were caused by microbes which could be killed by boiling. After fighting him to the utmost, the medical hierarchy went to the other extreme. They persuaded the public, especially the mothers of young children, that all food must be thoroughly cooked, and that little children in particular should never eat anything raw. There were some people, living close to nature who protested against this unnatural feeding; they were contemptuously called food-fads, and their opinion was ignored by the medical hierarchy. When the morbidity and mortality rates of these scientifically fed children alarmed the public, the hierarchy did not admit that the food-fads had been right all along in their demand for fresh food with its natural molecular structure that makes it biologically active. The medical hierarchy countered with the dogma that every food consists of the foodstuff itself and one or more so-called vitamins which are supposed to be necessary for life. Their vitamins are now manufactured in numerous factories and bring more money than all other medicines together.

The American Indians discovered many centuries ago that smoking tobacco, which contains nicotine, sooths the nerves. As the nerves of pellagra patients are also soothed by nicotonic acid, the medical hierarchy has concluded that pellagra is due to lack of nicotonic acid in the diet. With their logic, they could just as well argue that rheumatic fever is due to lack of salicylic acid in the diet, as salicylic acid and its derivatives relieve the signs and symptoms of rheumatic fever. To cover up, the medical hierarchy has changed the name of nicotinic acid into "Niacin, a vitamin." In my opinion, a poison does not lose its toxicity by being called a vitamin. They have inveigled upon our Government to have our daily bread "enriched" with nicotinic acid and other poisons. Our Government should allow us to say the old blessing over our bread in all honesty: "Blessed art Thou, Lord our God, King of the universe, who bringest forth bread from the earth." A favorite vitamin is activated ergosterol, which has been given in rheumatoid arthritis in large doses with resulting calcifications and ossifications of the soft tissue. It is given together with calcium to virtually all expecting mothers under prenatal care, preventing the physiological softening of the maternal pelvis and causing the premature hardening of the fetal bones with the result that between one quarter and one half of our young healthy women are no longer able to bear children by their own efforts but need instrumental deliveries. Expecting mothers are being frightened out of their wits with the tale that the blood of the child a mother bears under her heart might be incompatible with his own mother's blood. As a scapegoat, the medical hierarchy uses the innocent RHesus monkey. I wonder what is greater, the senselessness or godlessness of this absurdity.

When the childbearing stage draws to an end, women in their "change" get estrogen injections for years on end, thus prolonging indefinitely the period of life during which cancers and mental disturbances most frequently develop. How far carcinogens amongst the vitamins might be responsible for the increase of cancer, leukemia, and other blood dyscrasias in general needs unbiased investigation.

After the Thirty Years War, animal organs and excretions became so popular as medicines that a special "Dreckapotheke" dirt pharmacy was published. In our war-torn century, medicine has returned to dirt. Mold-extracts like penicillin, streptomycin, etc., are now called antibiotics and praised as wonder drugs. They certainly are potent medicines, but no miracle drugs. The public has not been told that these dirt extracts may cause severe damage to the skin, liver, and kidneys, and sometimes even mental derangements. In this antibiotic age, the mortality rate of pneumonia in New York City has been kept at over 12 percent.

Paracelsus von Hohenheim (1493–1541) introduced the elements antimony and silver into western medicine. For a hundred years to follow, every physician who dared to try antimony was excommunicated by the medical hierarchy. It was only after King Louis XIV of France had been cured by tartar emetic, an antimony preparation, that the ban was quietly forgotten. Their fight against silver is still on. The polio monopolists are experimenting on mice with artificial encephalitis to find a cure for human poliomyelitis. They have been and still are preventing a fair clinical trial of silver treatment of acute poliomyelitis, though very good results of silver treatment were observed in humans suffering from encephalitis; this silver treatment has not caused any harm whatsoever. They prefer arrow poison which cannot cure poliomyelitis but can increase its death rate.

The medical hierachy is now treating patients suffering from rheumatic fever with cortisone, an extract of the adrenal glands. Effective doses cause hypercortisonism, and

prolonged use may cause atrophy of the adrenal glands with ensuing death. Some years ago, Swedish physicians demonstrated that severe cases of rheumatic fever could be cured within a few days without any drugs whatsoever by keeping the patients in an air-conditioned room at a tropical temperature. These United States produce more air-conditioning units than the rest of the whole world, but I do not know of one American hospital where this poison-free, effective, and safe treatment is carried out.

Most of these medical fallacies have as their solid background the close cooperation between the medical hierachy and the pharmaceutical industry with their medical hucksters. In order to overcome them, we need the open school, the open shop, the open state (free movement of American physicians from one State to the other 47 States in accordance with article IV, section 1, of our Constitution), and last not least, an open mind.

The Full Potential of Educational Television Must Be Realized Without Prejudiced Obstruction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, during the adjournment months of Congress several members of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce conducted an extensive field study on educational television and its present and future place in our American system of education. This study was done in western, middle-western and southern States and covered all phases of educational work now being done through the facilities of television on both an in-school and home study basis.

One of the principal benefits cited in favor of educational television and its expanded use is the opportunity offered to equalize educational opportunities between areas with scattered populations, limited financial resources and inadequate or smaller schools with the better resources of other larger and better equipped schools. A second major argument for the expansion of educational television is one which must be given conscientious and unbiased evaluation, namely its wider use of superior teaching skills in the sciences and foreign languages. Subjects such as Spanish, Russian, German, chemistry, biology, physics, and mathematics may now be included in school curriculums through the use of educational television by expert teachers who become a part of the daily schooling in several classrooms at the same time. The number of students who seek instruction in highly technical subjects, like advanced mathematics, physics and chemistry, is constantly increasing, thus opening the door to a greater use of superior teaching skills through the medium which can be made available in practically every village and hamlet across the country.

As in any other field where established and conventional methods are employed, a wider and more effectual use of educational television is likely to encounter initial opposition in some quarters because of the normal tendency to resist changes from that which is customary. Progressive educators in some areas have moved forward with enthusiasm in this field. One very interesting presentation which I heard personally during the field study came from Mr. Joseph Hall, superintendent of the Dade County Public Schools, who pointed to an actual savings of $3 million in capital outlay in classrooms. Most interesting in his testimony was the following statement:

By using the large groups (300–400 students) involved in the television program and the extended school day, we are able to accommodate 30 percent more pupils in a building than we can otherwise handle. It works in this manner: Approximately one-third of the pupils report to school at 7:30 a.m., another one-third at 8:30, and another one-third at 9:30 a.m. They leave school at 2:15, 3:15, and 4:15 p.m. This means that for four periods during the middle of the day, the entire group of students is present in the building. In this period, by utilizing our school auditoriums for the large groups, we are able to accommodate a much greater number of pupils within the same facility. With the program we now have involving only a limited number of our schools, we feel that we have saved at least $3 million in capital construction. To provide for the number of pupils in the established pattern for education that we now have in our buildings would require an immediate capital outlay program of at least $3 million. We believe as we involve other schools that the amount of capital savings will be increased far beyond this point.

Mr. Speaker, during the course of hearings in which I participated, I had an opportunity to go into several classrooms during the televizing of a variety of in-school programs. In a biology class, for example, we watched youngsters intently observing the disecting of small animal life which had been magnified to a greater degree than would ever be possible under a normal microscope. We saw fourth- and fifth-grade youngsters who had learned Spanish through daily in-school television instruction carry on classrom conversations fluently in that language. We spoke to both grade school and high school youngsters in schools to get their reaction to the value of learning through this medium. We saw the specialized teaching personnel of the stations which work in the ETV studios. We studied with them their financial problems and the potentiality of expansion.

The work of the committee and the statements of a parade of witnesses was far too vast and detailed to permit a complete presentation at this time. It will, of course, be available to every Member of Congress when the subcommittee report is issued in the near future.

However, there is one conclusion that must be recognized. In-school educational television has a tremendous potential. It is now and can become an effective tool for better education, particularly in specialized fields. Every obstacle of prejudice must be removed so that its full potential, its advantages and its disadvantages, can be fully realized.

Adlai: Delectable and Electable

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1960

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker Adlai Stevenson is the best man by far for President, many a citizen says most sincerely. And then, like as not, he will add, just as sincerely, "But he cannot be elected."

And why can he not be elected? Well, he has been defeated twice and now the prestigious University of Michigan Research Center has determined, to its satisfaction anyway, that Adlai Stevenson is not electable.

Adlai, it seems, is delectable but not electable.

Such defeatism only incenses many Adlai supporters who feel much like William R. Allen of the University of California. Under a previous consent I am including both the story from the Washington Post—January 18, 1960—about the survey research center findings and Mr. Allen's effusion from the New Republic of January 18, 1960.

I know a better poll than the one done by our expert public opinion probers in Michigan. It is called a primary. We have one in Oregon on May 20. Its results, as pondered upon elsewhere and especially in Los Angeles on or about July 11, 1960, can give an authoritative answer to the question whether or not Adlai can be elected President of the United States.

Under a previous consent, I am including here the article from the Washington Post and the article from the New Republic:

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 18, 1960]

POLL VIEWS ADLAI AS NOT ELECTABLE

(By Earl Mazo)

There is a great danger threatening Adlai E. Stevenson's prospects of becoming the Democratc nominee again.

A poll by the University of Michigan Survey Research Center, scheduled for publication in May, could trigger the finish of Stevenson's candidacy.

The poll, part of a book reporting on Nationwide samplings of why Americans vote as they do, says, in effect, that Stevenson is not electable.

Being the work of eggheads popularly regarded as Stevenson devotees, the poll actually an exhaustive depth survey taken over a period of years—may well bolster the contention of former President Harry S. Truman and other anti-Stevenson Democrats that the former Illinois Governor has the mark of a loser.

The book is called "The American Voter." Stevenson's image as a vote getter is dissected in a chapter entitled, "Perceptions of the Parties and Candidates."

The image projected by President Eisenhower—a phenominally favorable one—is also discussed, but no potential candidate in 1960 other than Stevenson is analyzed.

A few mimeographed copies of the manuscript have been circulating among top-layer Democratic leaders here, and there already has been much tongue-clucking and head-shaking, in private, over findings such as these:

Stevenson dropped 30 spectacularly in public acceptance between his 1952 and 1956 campaigns that more than half the voters interviewed in the poll sample thought of him unfavorably.

Many were actually hostile to Stevenson's campaign performance in 1956, and there was a sharp increase in expressions of irritations with some blend of eloquence, wit and urbanity which characterized Stevenson as a campaigner.

Despite his expertness in foreign affairs, his extensive travels abroad and his concentration on the subject over the years, Stevenson has made no real impression on the electorate as a man equipped to handle the Nation's foreign relations.

Stevensonian eloquence notwithstanding, the public remains largely unaware of his positions on vital issues.

[From the New Republic, Jan. 18, 1960]

A STEVENSONIAN SPEAKS

Recently I told a friend that I would never quite recover from my disappointment if the Democrats fail to renominate Adlai Stevenson in 1960. The friend expressed the fear that he might never quite recover from a third Stevenson campaign, because of the feeling of personal involvement which Stevenson uniquely inspires and the consequent trauma one experiences while following Stevenson's struggles.

Since a Stevenson campaign is different, it cannot be conveniently taken in stride or ignored. How unusual to observe high mental competence and scholarly sensitivity on the political rostrum. Here is a man who is articulate and literate, amusing and inspiring. Here is a man with a genuine interest in public issues and a fundamental urge to analyze, with a willingness to struggle and to sacrifice for comprehension and a scorn for oversimplification. Here, in short, is a man.

Many of us tend to be more Stevensonian than Democratic. Indeed, in light of the party's position in such areas as agriculture, labor, and monetary management, a professional economist may well feel that he can support Stevenson only in spite of Stevenson being a Democrat. For us, Democratic victory as such is little to bleed for, if, indeed, it is to be welcomed at all. Democratic victory without Stevenson as the candidate could easily be only a minimization of loss, at best, and not a maximization of gain. In most elections, the choice of the lesser evil is the best that is possible; with a man of Stevenson's caliber on the ballot, there is available a very different sort of alternative. I want to have that alternative next November.

To those who are Stevensonians and who believe that something less than the fate of the Republic hinges on which party is victorious in 1960 (and probably most Stevensonians are too sophisticated to believe that a Republican triumph would be tantamount to national total calamity), it is not very persuasive to say simply that "Stevenson can't win." For one thing, it is scarcely self-evident, to say the least, that Stevenson would stand a poorer chance than any other obvious candidate. But, strange as it probably seems to most practical (or practicing) politicians, those of us who are vastly more intrigued by the qualities of an extraordinary man than by the prospects of party victory do not feel compelled to fight out the question of which Democrat is most salable. We do not feel obliged to argue, even if we believe that Stevenson would run the best race; we feel it sufficient to contend that Stevenson should be nominated.

Do not come to me with an alternative to Stevenson unless you are willing to state the criteria and standards by which you decided on your alternative. And if your criteria and standards are in terms of electability rather than excellence, of strategy rather than principle, do not bother to come to me at all.

The things which hurts most about the Stevenson defeats of 1952 and 1956 is not that so many preferred a fatherly hero with a Huckleberry Finn smile and who looks and speaks like an inarticulate Daddy Warbucks. This was easily predictable—and many Democrats would have loved having such a candidate on their own ticket. The really depressing thing is the frailty of the idealism of some earlier Stevenson supporters.

Alas, some of those splendid liberals who so proudly proclaimed their dedication to the grand and the noble in 1952, and who so joyously expressed their gratification that in Stevenson they had a man worthy of their pure and glowing faith, appear now to have been only summer patriots. It is not difficult to be brave in the absence of danger or dedicated to an apparently winning cause. But the exacting test is: Are you prepared to draw a line decreed by mind and conscience and to defend that line irrespective of the odds on victory?

May of us believe, with Stevenson, that it is "better to lose the election than mislead the people." Some, whose primary allegiance is to partisan expediency, accepted that principle only in form and not in substance, as if it were nothing but campaign oratory.

To express the basic case for Stevenson in terms other than the probability of his winning the election, if nominated, is not to concede that his chance of winning is lower than that of alternative nominees. (Indeed, purely on the basis of strategy, there would seem to be wisdom in nominating a man who has in the past so effectively crossed swords with that frightening individual who, it is now apparent, will lead the Republicans into battle.) But it is true—and this, also, was easily predictable—that Stevenson's very assets have plagued him in some circles. Some are uncomfortable with a clever, quick, witty, thoughtful and courageous man. It is tempting to conclude that Stevenson is too good to be President. Speaking literally, that is nonsense, for the job calls for the best. However, speaking practically, Stevenson may be too obviously good to be elected President. Perhaps, in the tradition of Lincoln (but not of Wilson—or of Jefferson and other giants), electability requires that a man's talents be camouflaged.

I am perfectly willing to negotiate with the former supporters of Stevenson, but only on these grounds: (a) bring me a man of Stevensonian quality who (b) stands a perceptibly better chance of winning. I suspect that few will meet condition (b) and still fewer condition (a). I will be astounded if I am presented with a man who meets both conditions.

WILLIAM R. ALLEN,
University of California, Los Angeles.

Pope Denounces Anti-Jewish Bias

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, there is no doubt that intelligent, responsible, and morally sensitive people throughout the world deplore the recent rash of anti-Semitic manifestations wherever they appear, here in America or elsewhere.

The civilized world cannot afford to tolerate such fundamentally uncivilized behavior without risking a repetition of the horrors and degradation of past anti-Semitic displays. Anti-Semitism is evil. It must be condemned and relentlessly opposed, especially by persons in positions of authority and influence.

This is why it is gratifying, Mr. Speaker, to read of the strong and unqualified denunciation of anti-Semitism in all its forms which His Holiness, Pope John XXIII, has recently expressed.

The Rome correspondent of the New York Times, Mr. Arnaldo Cortesi, has reported the Pope's severe condemnation of all forms of persecution and discrimination in the January 19 issue of the Times. It is a story, too, of the great respect and mutual cooperation that exists between Catholics and Jews and their respective institutions and organizations throughout the world.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include Mr. Cortesi's report of the meeting between the Pope and a delegation representing B'nai B'rith, the international Jewish service organization, and commend it to our colleagues as an example of religious friendship and understanding:

POPE DENOUNCES ANTI-JEWISH BIAS—TELLS LEADERS OF B'NAI B'RITH HE ABHORS DISCRIMINATION—THEY HAIL RELIGIOUS AMITY

(By Arnaldo Cortesi)

ROME, January 18.—Pope John XXIII severely condemned anti-Semitism today, expressing detestation and abhorrence of all forms of persecution and discrimination.

The Pope was replying to an address delivered by Label A. Katz of New Orleans; president of B'nai B'rith, the international Jewish service organization.

Mr. Katz and a small delegation were received in a private audience in the Pope's private study in the Vatican.

The delegation included Maurice Bisgyer of Washington, D.C., executive vice president of B'nai B'rith; Max J. Schneider of New York, a member of the organization's international board of governors; Benjamin R. Epstein of New York, national director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, and Bernard Simon of Washington, D.C., information director.

COOPERATION MENTIONED

The audience lasted almost 20 minutes. Mr. Katz spoke of the excellent relations and constructive cooperation between B'nai B'rith and many Roman Catholic organizations and institutions.

He spoke also of B'nai B'rith's warm friendship with the clergy and scholars of the church and of the Pope's dedicated efforts to promote world peace and advance the well-being of men.

Mr. Katz expressed appreciation of the Pope's profound understanding and keen sensitivity in revising some passages of the Roman Catholic liturgy in such a way as to respect the sensibilities of the Jewish people.

This was a reference to the action taken by Pope John last March and October when he ordered the deletion in some prayers of passages making objectionable references to Jews and Moslems.

DESECRATIONS CALLED GRAVE

After remarking that the Pope, when he was Apostolic Nuncio, or Ambassador, in Istanbul, Turkey, had "eased the anguish and aided the rescue" of Jews, Mr. Katz said:

"We share the concern of Your Holiness over the eruptive struggles between good and evil that challenge our generation and that of our children. The desecration of synagogues and churches—whatever the stimulation and motivation that underlies this behavior—is a matter of grave import to all

who have a deep-rooted belief in the inviolability and dignity of man."

"The discordant events of these past weeks," Mr. Katz continued, "caution us that there is an urgency for men of goodwill and democratic spirit to continue to stand together more resolutely than ever in defense of justice, morality and universal peace."

"We are confident that righteousness shall prevail," he said.

POPE'S REPLY NOT RECORDED

It is a Vatican rule not to allow the Pope to be quoted when he speaks in a private audience, so there is no record of what the Pontiff said in reply.

After the audience, Mr. Katz limited himself to saying that it had been extremely satisfying and that the Pope's response had been gracious and very gratifying. Vatican sources said the Pope had been positive and outspoken in his condemnation of anti-Semitism in all its manifestations.

Mr. Katz and his delegation had paused in Rome on their way to Israel, where they will confer with Premier David Ben-Gurion and participate in laying the cornerstone of a B'nai B'rith house. Later Mr. Katz will join other B'nai B'rith leaders for a meeting of the organization's international council in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, on January 26 and 27.

Civil Rights Again

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following most interesting editorial on the civil rights issue which appeared in the Boston Herald on January 5, 1960:

CIVIL RIGHTS AGAIN

One of the hottest potatoes on the congressional griddle this session will be civil rights. Both parties are committed to some kind of action on the subject in 1960, and neither is particularly hopeful of the result.

What makes the issue particularly hot this session is the demand for an antilynching bill in addition to the more or less routine proposals on school desegregation, voting rights, and school and church bombings.

Antilynch legislation has come to the fore again as a result of the Mack Charles Parker lynching in Mississippi last spring. When a Mississippi grand jury failed to bring in any indictments, U.S. Attorney General Rogers called the State's handling of the case a travesty on justice and promised Federal action. A Federal grand jury is hearing evidence in the case now. A report is expected in about 2 weeks.

But the Federal prosecutors are handicapped by weak Federal laws. Although the FBI is said to have overwhelming evidence against the lynchers, the heaviest penalty any of them might draw under the Federal civil rights statutes would be 10 years in prison and a $5,000 fine for conspiracy to deprive the lynching victim of his civil rights. (A State or local official might get an additional year in prison and $1,000 fine for violating Federal rights under color of State law.)

So the principal effect of the grand jury action will presumably be to show up the weakness of present State and Federal enforcement and heighten the pressure for antilynching legislation.

But what sort of legislation? That's the question that will bedevil Congress. The legislators could pass a law making lynching a Federal crime. But would it be constitutitonal? Lynching is just another name for mass murder, and the punishment of murder (unless there is a special Federal angle) is a police power reserved to the States.

In any case, how much would be gained by federalizing this crime? The Mississippi grand jury didn't indict the Parker lynchers, because it knew petit jurors in Mississippi wouldn't convict. A Federal trial would still be before the jurors and presumably Mississippi jurors (although some in that case would be Negroes). Would a Federal label make them any more tolerant?

Perhaps some legal and useful way can be found to strengthen the law against lynching. We certainly hope so. But the problem is not a simple one, and Congress will sweat before it finds a solution.

Meanwhile civil righters in both parties might do well to ponder Justice Douglas' dictum:

"The strength and vitality of civil rights are not measured merely by judgments of courts or verdicts of jurors. Their greatest measure is * * * the tenacity with which the community defends them, the care with which local governments foster and protect them."

The urgent need is to make Mississippi and other States of the deep South believe in civil rights.

Wilkes-Barre's Wilkes College Honors Adm. Harold R. Stark, Native of Wilkes-Barre, and Former Chief of Naval Operations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newsstory from the Wilkes-Barre Record of Thursday, January 7, 1960:

WILKES HONORS STARK ON BECOMING CHAIRMAN OF COLLEGE'S TRUSTEES

Adm. Harold R. Stark, newly elected chairman of the board of trustees of Wilkes College was honored last night at a dinner in the College Commons, attended by more than 250 friends, trustees, and faculty.

Frank Burnside, speaking on behalf of the board of trustees, welcomed Admiral Stark back to Wyoming Valley and to Wilkes. He spoke affectionately of Admiral Stark as the intimate of statesmen and sovereigns who came from retirement to take command in time of need. "A proven and experienced leader answers the unanimous call of associates, friends, and the community," Mr. Burnside said, "to lead Wilkes College in its second quarter-century of service."

He recalled the spirit and character of Admiral Stark in perpetuating the ideals and program of Wilkes College, and who now leaves retirement to carry on in the tradition of the late Gilbert S. McClintock, first chairman of the board.

"A beloved leader is lost," he said, "and a gap is created in the ranks. A man steps in to fill the gap, humbly and almost shyly, though he has already earned several times over the highest honors his Nation and community can conceive.

"This tribute to Admiral Stark expresses to him the profound respect of this community and the gratitude of all those people who are Wilkes College," he said. Mr. Burnside regarded the appointment of Admiral Stark to this position of leadership as a motivating force "which will further the cause of liberal education, the cause of the community college, the cause of Wilkes College."

He quoted the role of Wilkes, as of all liberal colleges, to be "the creation of unity among diversity, the subordination of special interests to the general. This has always been democratic society's most challenging task. It is esepcially so in a pure democracy, and the liberal college is perhaps our closest approximation to a pure democracy."

In conclusion, Mr. Burnside said, "Here is the cause, here is the motivating force to which all of us here tonight, all of our friends of Wilkes and liberal education everywhere are dedicated. On behalf of our associate trustees, the administration, faculty, and all of the people that are or will be a part of Wilkes College, it is wonderful to have you abroad, sir, and to welcome you to your latest command."

Dr. Eugene S. Farley, president of Wilkes College, drawing a verbal picture from the career of Admiral Stark, illustrated Stark's quiet simplicity, real dedication, and integrity. "It is these personal qualities," he said, "that inspire all of us as teachers, board members, and students. It is this man, as Winston Churchill said, whose dedicated leadership meant so much to the free world. This same devotion to his community permits us to enjoy his leadership today."

Dr. Farley referred to the serenity which comes to all associated with Admiral Stark, "a serenity which comes when we do the best we can, accept the results whatever they may be with the knowledge that what we have done was accomplished to the best of our ability," he said.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

Appendix

Let's Help the Small Tobacco Farmer: Statements of Representative Ken Hechler and Senator Randolph Emphasize West Virginia Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, there are some 4,500 farmers in West Virginia who harvested tobacco in 1958. The growers in our State produce on a small scale.

My colleague from the Fourth District, Representative KEN HECHLER, has most of these farmers in the area he serves—and serves so well.

It is my privilege, Mr. President, to ask permission to have printed a recent statement by Representative HECHLER before the meeting within the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Tobacco Division, to discuss the outlook for supply and demand of burley tobacco.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LET'S HELP THE SMALL TOBACCO FARMER

(Remarks of Hon. KEN HECHLER, Democrat, of West Virginia, before the Tobacco Division, U.S. Department of Agriculture, January 14, 1960)

Gentlemen, when I appeared before you last year, I urged the Tobacco Division to resist attempts to reduce quotas in burley tobacco which would have reduced further the small incomes earned by many of the Nation's small tobacco farmers.

I was delighted that the Department of Agriculture did indeed resist this unwise and unwarranted pressure and retained tobacco allotments for the 1959 crop year at their 1958 levels.

The visible proof that your decision was a wise one is contained in the projected figures for the 1959–60 marketing year, which show that total supply—instead of increasing disastrously, as some feared—actually has declined in the past year from about 1,750 million pounds to an estimated 1,735 million pounds. I also understand that disappearance will show an increase this year which, based on a reasonable projection of existing market trends, may be in the neighborhood of 12 million pounds, or from 515 million pounds in 1958–59 to possibly 526 to 528 million in 1959–60.

This is ample evidence to me that tobacco, under the wise guidance of your division and the cooperative spirit of the growers, remains our most intelligently marketed crop.

I believe both the farmers and the policymakers in the Tobacco Division deserve the commendation of all citizens.

Now I would like to speak for a moment on the 1960 crop year and the manner in which it relates to my district, which lies in the Ohio Valley and embraces the major tobacco-growing area of the State of West Virginia. In fact, 4,191 of the 4,565 tobacco allotments in West Virginia—or more than 91 percent, are in the Fourth District, which borders the Ohio River.

These 4,565 farmers in West Virginia harvested only 2,211 acres of tobacco in 1958. The small size of the average quota is obvious—it amounts to only forty-eight one hundredths of an acre. All West Virginia growers are raising tobacco on a very small scale.

I would like to bring you up to date on a few additional facts about the State of West Virginia.

The State's unemployment continues high, and the rate of unemployment is the highest in the Nation. Nearly one out of seven members of the work force is unemployed. And there is no relief in sight for the depressed condition of the State's economy.

Many of the quota-holders in West Virginia have, in the past, held part-time or full-time jobs, with the income from their farms supplementing these earnings. Today, many of these farmers have lost outside employment. There simply are no jobs to be had, and they are attempting to subsist entirely on the pitifully small income from tobacco farming.

For many of these farmers, the cash income from tobacco often provides the only dollars they see during an entire year. It is their only cash crop. Therefore, I cannot emphasize too strongly the importance of this crop ot these small landholders. It frequently marks the difference between proud, self-sufficient living and the dependence upon public assistance funds to keep body and soul together.

The economic situation in West Virginia has improved only slightly since I reported to you in January 1959. Therefore, it is still just as urgent that the small farmer be given every reasonable protection under the law.

I would also like to suggest that some consideration be given to trying to increase quotas for small tobacco farmers in areas which the Department of Labor rules as "chronically depressed areas," with persistently high rates of unemployment.

Last year I was happy to support a tobacco bill which retained the principle of quotas and marketing supports but corrected a flaw which has developed in the modernized parity formula. This was a step to preserve and protect our export markets for tobacco, and I voted for it because I knew that tobacco farmers all over the Nation—in the spirit of cooperation and responsible citizenship which has characterized their statesmanlike attitude to the tobacco problem for many years—would be behind me in this fight.

Unfortunately, this bill, like many other good measures in 1959, met with a poorly-explained and unjustified Presidential veto. Now I have been advised that a compromise measure has been evolved and again will be offered to the Congress. It is my hope that an effective and workable tobacco bill can be enacted into law this year.

Legislation is not the only item on the tobacco horizon at this time. I have been advised that there is a move under way to request a general raising of tobacco allotments for the 1960 growing season.

It seems to me that the matter of increasing tobacco quotas must be approached with greatest caution. This should not become a political football for profitable kicking around during an election year—with the tobacco farmer left to reap the horrible consequences after November 8.

The tobacco farmer does not want to sell his long-range, effective program down the river for a few short-range benefits, and I recommend that any decisions, to alter the allotment structure in any way be made with this thought firmly in mind.

But I believe that the time has come to raise quotas for those small tobacco farmers now growing less than six-tenths of an acre. There is ample authority for such preferred and just treatment under the law. The Secretary of Agriculture is specifically granted such authority, in fact.

May I cite section 313(c) of the Agriculture Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, which provides:

"The Secretary shall provide * * * for the allotment not in excess of the national marketing quota * * * for further increase of allotments to small farmers."

I hope that under the terms of this section of the law which governs tobacco growing and marketing that the division could provide some relief for the struggling small farmer. I further respectfully submit that such a formula could be instrumented without creating undue hardship upon the larger farmer and without exceeding the provisions of section 313(c).

May I propose for your consideration the following program:

For each farmer presently assigned an allotment of less than 0.2 of 1 acre, an increase of a flat 0.2 additional acreage shall be granted.

For farmers now growing from 0.21 to 0.3 of an acre, a sliding scale of increases not less than 0.15 acre but not in excess of 0.2 acres shall be granted.

For farmers with allotments from 0.31 to 0.4, an increase not less than 0.1 and not in excess of 15 shall be granted, again on a sliding scale dependent on previous acreage.

For farmers with allotments from 0.41 to 5 acres, an increase not less than 0.05 acre and not in excess of 0.1 shall be granted on the same sliding scale.

For all farmers with allotments of more than 0.5 acre, a flat increase of 10 percent of the 1959 allotment.

This would be a workable plan, within the framework of a 10 percent increase which I understand may be under active consideration within the division.

This would be an altogether reasonable formula which would not deny deserved increases to the larger farmer, would not upset the marketing and support program, and would provide benefits where they are most needed.

In addition, it would not even require the Secretary of Agriculture to utilize the full 5 percent benefit provision contained in section 313(c).

Under my formula, slightly less than 3.5 percent of the total national marketing quota would be set aside to benefit the small farmer.

If a 10 percent increase should be feasible, this would mean that the present marketing quota of about 310,000 would rise to about 341,000 acres.

Now, if the Secretary should choose to utilize only seven-tenths of the 5 percent "increase of allotments to small farms" provided under the law, this 3.5 percent increase would provide for the distribution of an additional 11,935 acres in increased allotments.

Sharing in this increase would be 25,000 farmers across the Nation who now hold allotments of 0.2 acre or less. A flat 0.2 increase would add 5,000 acres to their present production of only 3,095 acres.

The 13,700 farmers now raising from 0.21 to 0.3 acre could add 2,408 acres to their present production total of 3,425, under the formula I have outlined here. The 14,100 farmers now raising 4,935 acres would increase their production by 1,763 acres. This is the number of farmers with allotments ranging from 0.31 to 0.4 acre.

The 27,900 farmers with 0.41 to 0.5 acre would add 2,093 acres to the 12,555 acres they now grow.

And how much would this increase the national marketing quota?

I am happy to say that it would amount to a total increase of 11,264 acres—less than 600 acres of the 11,935 acres which would be provided for the small farmer if the Secretary will use the authorization of section 313(c) to increase allotments for small farmers not 5, but only 3.5 percent.

I firmly am convinced that in this way allotment increases could be apportioned among farmers who need them most. Every dollar added to their income would go toward providing a more stable way of life for them—and coincidentally would be pumped immediately back into the Nation's economy as the purchasing power of these deserving farmers increases.

This would be a humanitarian approach to the problem, and would render the maximum good for the largest number of people.

This, I believe, should be the underlying motive and governing factor if it is deemed possible to increase 1960 quotas.

The tobacco farmer wants these increases, if they can be granted without damaging the program which has proved the most successful and effective of an otherwise dismal farm administration.

They want to increase production and earn more dollars, but they do not want to return to the roller-coaster days of tobacco marketing, when a year of boom was followed by several of inevitable bust. The present program was an outgrowth of the problems raised by this damaging cycle, and the tobacco farmer is determined that it shall never return again.

The tobacco farmers of West Virginia have shown their patriotism by their record. They have stood with other farmers in defending and protecting their program even when it meant drastic reduction of their allotments in the face of falling markets a few years ago.

Consequently, the tobacco industry today is sound. Export markets apparently are weathering a serious storm and have risen about 30 percent over 1958. Disappearance is increasing and we all hope that its steady upward curve will continue.

It is most heartening that an increase appears to be justified this year or in the near future. For this I am truly thankful.

We must, at all costs, preserve the tobacco program which has been proven so effective.

If it does prove feasible to raise quotas for 1960, we should consider it only a matter of simple justice to distribute the major portion of this increase among the small allotment holders who depend so strongly upon tobacco to provide them with life's necessities.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, I ask further consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD correspondence between Director Joe R. Williams and myself in reference to the subject of Representative HECHLER's address.

There being no objection, the correspondence was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
COMMODITY STABILIZATION SERVICE,
TOBACCO DIVISION,
Washington, D.C. December 18, 1959.

Hon. JENNINGS RANDOLPH,
U.S. Senate.

DEAR SENATOR RANDOLPH: A meeting will be held at 9:15 a.m., e.s.t., on Thursday, January 14, 1960, in the Jefferson Auditorium, South Building, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C., to discuss the supply and demand outlook for burley tobacco and to obtain views and recommendations on the amount of the 1960 national marketing quota.

We shall be pleased to have any comments which you may wish to give us either by letter or telephone or to have you attend the meeting.

Sincerely yours,
JOE R. WILLIAMS, *Director.*

BURLEY TOBACCO SUPPLY AND DEMAND SITUATION

The carryover of burley tobacco on October 1, 1959, beginning of the current marketing year, totaled 1,236 million pounds, farm sales weight basis. This represented a decrease of about 50 million pounds, or about 4 percent, from a year earlier.

The 1959 crop of burley tobacco was estimated as of December 1, 1959, to be 500 million pounds, about 35 million pounds, or 7 percent, larger than the 1958 crop.

The total supply of burley tobacco (i.e., carryover plus estimated production) for the current marketing year is 1,736 million pounds, down 15 million pounds from a year ago. For the fifth successive year, the total supply has declined. The total reduction from the 1954–55 peak supply of 1,866 million pounds has been 130 million pounds, or 7 percent. At the current level of disappearance, the present supply is sufficient for a duration of about 3.4 years, while a supply of about 2.8 years' duration is considered normal under the formula contained in the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended.

Domestic consumption of burley tobacco during the marketing year ending September 30, 1959, was 480 million pounds, a gain of about 6 million pounds, or 1½ percent, over the previous year.

Exports of burley tobacco during the marketing year ending September 30, 1959, totaled about 35 million pounds, farm weight. This was a gain of about 7 million pounds from the level of the past 2 years, but about the same as during the 1955–56 marketing year. For the calendar year 1959, burley exports are running about 1 percent below the same period of last year.

It is estimated that cigarette production during the calendar year 1959 will reach an alltime high of about 488 billion, or 3.8 percent more than in 1958 and 12 percent more than the previous high of 1952. The quantity of domestic tobacco utilized in cigarettes has gained little in the last few years despite this substantial increase in the number of cigarettes manufactured.

It is estimated that the production of smoking tobacco during the calendar year 1959 will total about 73 million pounds, about 3 million pounds, or nearly 4 percent, less than in 1958. The production of chewing tobacco in 1959 is expected to be about 1½ million pounds, or 2 percent, less than in 1958.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
TOBACCO DIVISION, CSS.
DECEMBER 1959.

JANUARY 13, 1960.

Mr. JOE R. WILLIAMS,
Director, Tobacco Division, Community Stabilization Service, Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. WILLIAMS: Thanks very much for your letter and the enclosed analysis of the tobacco supply and demand situation. The comprehensive statistics included are informative and helpful.

To my regret, previous commitments will prevent my attendance at your meeting but I appreciate the opportunity to express my views concerning the tobacco program for 1960.

I wish to commend the Tobacco Division of the Commodity Stabilization Service for maintaining stable growing and marketing conditions in the tobacco industry during the past year. I shall hope that this stability can be maintained throughout 1960. In allocating quotas for the present year, it is my opinion that special consideration should be given to the small tobacco farmer whose allotment is less than half an acre, and I respectfully urge your Division to take this action. There is ample authority for such action under section 313(c) of the Agriculture Adjustment Act of 1949, as amended.

There are thousands of small tobacco farmers in our State of West Virginia whose average allotment is only 0.48 of an acre. Many of them depend on tobacco as their only cash crop and an acreage increase would be of genuine assistance to them. This adjustment would be particularly important because of the areas of unemployment in our State which significantly affect its economy.

I would not, however, advocate any increase which would impair the tobacco program administered by your Division. If it is feasible to grant increases for this year, I strongly recommend that they be distributed to the small farmer, including the constituents which I am privileged to represent.

With kind regards and best wishes, I am,
Sincerely,
JENNINGS RANDOLPH.

Address of Mrs. Frank Lloyd Wright at Dedication Services of the Beth Sholom Synagogue, Elkins Park, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN TOLL
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, September 20, 1959, the new Beth Sholom Synagogue, in Elkins Park, Pa., was dedicated. The original congregation started in the congressional district in Philadelphia which I am privileged to represent, and the original building still stands at Broad Street and Wyoming Avenue.

Six years ago Frank Lloyd Wright accepted the invitation of the distinguished leader of the Beth Sholom congregation, Rabbi Mortimer J. Cohen, to design a new synagogue. The new building in Elkins Park is the only synagogue ever designed by Wright.

At the impressive dedication day exercises, Mrs. Frank Lloyd Wright, widow of the great architect, was the principal speaker. I believe that Members of Congress and other readers of the CONGRES-

SIONAL RECORD will enjoy her inspiring message and am including it below:

GIVE US THE TEMPLE WHEREIN TO WORSHIP

(Address delivered by Mrs. Frank Lloyd Wright at the dedication services of the Beth Sholom Synagogue, Elkins Park, Pa., September 20, 1959)

What can be greater than faith? Faith in man, in God, and immortality of the human spirit? What can be greater than faith that is made manifest through man's thoughts, heart, and action? What can be greater than a place in which he can momentarily withdraw himself from the chores and drudgeries of his physical existence to partake of a meditation sacred to his spirit? And what can be greater than man's innermost fulfillment of an idea that he cherishes more highly than himself?

For thousands of years he has searched for it in loneliness and solitude. He came near it in the glory of nature, in fields and meadows, in hills and mountains; he has searched in the midst of multitudes where he yearned to feel himself a part of his world and his universe; and when life forced him to live in the city, he seldom experienced the desired union with God in the crowded streets and the crowded day of his work. So he built for himself temples of worship where he could withdraw within the realm of his inner world to be inspired and sustained by the expression of beauty that his temple might offer him.

And all of the millions of men on earth built themselves temples according to the tradition and heritage of their faith. And the truer the expression of man's heritage and his faith the more perfect was the joy in which he exulted in union with his Creator.

Among the oldest of religions is Judaism. This great ancient faith established the traditions, the laws, the ethical excellency of human conduct through the Torah, the Pentateuch, and sacred symbols. Eternal light and the seven-branched Menorah graced its temples. "And let them make me a sanctuary that I may dwell among them."

Judaism has flowed like a mighty river from generation to generation to extol man's deep communion with God, communion which was direct as man to man in its simple exposition of the profound significance of its faith.

The synagogue was the temple of worship of this ancient religion. But it never had an architectural expression of its own in the form appropriate to the principle of its faith. Through centuries of the alternating rise and fall of civilizations the temple underwent so many changes that its character, its power, and its inspiration were barely recognizable in architectural terms. The synagogue was subjected to many other influences: Assyrian, Babylonian, and the Greek. The architectural character that the faith might have found for itself was completely lost as the ages replaced one another.

The 20th century bore sterile impersonal architectural forms without the faintest semblance of the principle which held above all the majestic sense that man and God are one. Insignificant copies of copies were scattered through cities of the world. And the synagogue stood humble on the street in ignorance of its own inner power.

Then in this somber 20th century of ours there rose an architect—a man who daringly built a synagogue through which the voice of God and Moses were called again to life in visible form. The spirit of Mount Sinai grew on a street, independent, strong, declaring its original faith when man spoke directly to God and God answered man. Their voices ring through sheets of glass and plastic—through steel and concrete—through living forms of today, binding them with the power of their noble past, to seal their legacy to the future. The white light like the breath of God pours through these walls and descends from this high pyramidal dome embracing the Torah, the Eternal Light; the Menorahs, the voice of the cantor, the rabbi, and the throbbing silence of the congregation.

Rare among men, this creator of new forms, when he designed and built, gave to each great religious faith its own symbol. This synagogue is the symbol of victory over the destructive forces and the persecution of the Jewish faith. It is a new architectural expression whose roots are dipped into the long measures of time, and which has once more risen in the proud dignity and character of its faith. This temple fulfills the indestructible wish of the human soul to share in divine beauty and to feel the presence of God.

Frank Lloyd Wright built the synagogue on Old York Road in a section of a suburb called Elkins Park and in a city called Philadelphia. Whoever comes to this synagogue, to whatever faith he may belong, his heart will be purified and he will hear the voice of God in answer to his deep sorrow. For there is no one among us in this precarious age of nuclear menace that does not feel a deep sorrow within. There is no one among us who does not yearn for a higher force, divine in nature, to strengthen the love and understanding of his fellow man. This is our only weapon in the face of the newly risen enemy.

Many have come already as a pilgrimage to the Beth Sholom Synagogue—the living symbol of Mount Sinai—to refresh the spirit, to clarify the mind, and to purify the heart. And those whose heritage is the faith of Judaism will feel that once more they have come back home to their great religion to fortify their faith in man and God.

Reappraising the Goals of Public Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, on December 1, 1959, Mr. Palmer Hoyt, editor and publisher of the Denver Post, addressed the California school administrators in San Francisco, Calif., upon the subject "Reappraising the Goals of Public Education." I believe this speech outlines very clearly the need for an accelerated program of Federal aid.

It is especially significant as a plea for a sense of urgency. Mr. Hoyt has called attention to the same problems for a number of years. It is my hope that this session of the Congress will result in some action.

I ask unanimous consent to have Mr. Hoyt's speech printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REAPPRAISING THE GOALS OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

(By Palmer Hoyt, California School Administrators, Dec. 1, 1959, San Francisco, Calif.)

Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, thank you for according me the high privilege of talking to you who have the future of this country so much in your hands.

I am not here as an expert, but as a layman who is also a newspaper editor, and thus, to some degree, an educator, since newspapers are still considered to be the No. 1 medium of adult education.

I am here primarily, however, as an American citizen who is vitally and principally interested in preserving this Nation under God—and to help again test Abraham Lincoln's immortal question, "whether this Nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure."

The fact that we are here today to discuss the problem of our continuation as a nation is significant; thus, I believe the problem half solved, because we recognize it.

And what is the problem?

The problem as I see it, my friends, can be simply stated:

It is survival.

And don't, if you please, just capitalize the "S"; capitalize all the letters.

To delineate your continuing responsibilities as educators, we should go back a little to October 4, 1957, when the Russians startled the world by launching Sputnik I. Never had anything so small upset so many.

The appearance of this tiny satellite in our skies shocked complacent America to the grassroots. The reverberations of this scientific earthquake rolled on into the high places of Government, the moneychanging temples of Wall Street, into the churches and cathedrals, into the halls of learning and into every American home.

The people asked: "What is wrong? We thought we were better than the Russians, and way ahead of them in all things."

Men in high official places replied reassuringly with such phrases as:

"A neat scientific trick."

"They shot a piece of iron into the sky, so what?"

"Sputnik has no military significance."

The President also attempted to give reassurance, but the people found scant comfort.

And then, someone came up with the answer: "Our schools have failed, our teaching system is inadequate. Education is responsible for our dilemma. We just don't have enough scientists. We don't have enough technologists."

Everybody, but everybody, bought that one. And, of course, everybody was very happy indeed; that is, everybody but the educators.

Crash programs were suggested, the debates in Congress rose to fever pitch, soul searching became a national pastime. The hue and cry to quickly turn us into a Nation of astro-physicists was in full flow.

The outcry was understandable—and it reflected a very real need—the need for more graduates with scientific training.

But largely neglected was an equally great need, which was indicated by the statements of our highest officials when sputnik went up. We got another clue to this equally great need when, about that time, someone reread the famous Smyth report, which, as you know, is the story of the Army atomic bomb project.

The clue was in one of the sidelights of the Smyth report. This was the revelation of the lack of interest shown by the Navy, which was first aproached on the possibilities of making military use of atomic fission. The Navy apparently saw no practical application in the breaking of the atom and said in effect:

"Don't call us; we'll call you."

The attitude of the Navy, and the ill-conceived statements in response to sputnik, might well be taken as proof that we need to educate not only scientists, but also all-around men and women who understand enough about science, and the humanities as well, to provide the leadership and judg-

ment that may prove more important to a nation in peril than either bombs or satellites.

Perhaps we should stop a moment to decide what education is, or should be.

As I see it, education is preparation for life.

Education is preparation for service to the Nation and to mankind.

The purposes and techniques of education generally are tempered by each nation to fit its national purposes.

Example: In Russia, education is shaped to carry out national objectives that include bringing the world into the fold of Russian communism.

In Russia, education is adjusted to the idea that the state is supreme.

In Russia, the state is supreme. In Russia, the individual is the servant of the state, and exists for no other purpose. The state is the master.

In this America of ours, it is different. Here education is and should be directed to the competence, dignity and freedom of the individual so that he, in turn, can better serve the State that has been formed and exists for his benefit.

Now, in time of vital crisis, it is all important that recognition by the American citizen of his responsibilities to destiny be clear cut and immediately implemented.

We properly consider ourselves more enlightened than the Russians, because we believe in freedom and they do not.

But it does not mean that we shouldn't recognize their superior practical adaptation of their educational system to their own philosophy.

We cannot brush aside the fact that they are substantially ahead of us in many things, from the production of space vehicles to the production of doctors in great numbers.

We should no longer cling to the mistaken idea that we are superior to everybody in everything—to do so is not only the path to destruction; it is destruction.

But in searching for an explanation for the successes of our principal rival, let's not make an equally grave mistake. Let us analyze the Soviet educational system for clues to their successes, without foolishly assuming that their system would be suitable for us.

So if, ignoring their achievements, and doing nothing about them invites destruction from without, adopting their system means destruction from within.

History offers us parallels, one of which is the rivalry between ancient Athens and Sparta.

I am going to quote a passage on the subject, from "A Study of History" by Arnold Toynbee, which is pertinent because, in the work, Toynbee is principally concerned with the reasons for the rise and fall of civilizations. He is describing the solutions offered by the Utopian philosophers of Athens after the Athenian society passed its Golden Age and had begun its decline. He says:

"The first concern of the Athenian postwar philosophers was to repudiate everything that for two centuries past had made Athens politically great. Hellas, they held, could only be saved by an alliance between Athenian philosophy and the Spartan social system. In Plato's Utopias and Aristotle's alike, the aim is not the happiness of the individual, but the stability of the community. Plato advocates a general censorship over 'dangerous thought' which has its latter-day parallels in the regulations of Communist Russia, National Socialist Germany, Fascist Italy, and Shintoist Japan. The Utopian program proved a forlorn hope for the salvation of Hellas. * * *"

I was thinking only recently of the glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome and wondered, somewhat idly, what our opposite numbers were thinking about when Greece was about to become Glory and Rome about to become Grandeur. Apparently the Greeks realized in Athens that while the pursuit of knowledge is man's noblest aim, they did not realize that a practical application of that knowledge is a mighty handy thing to have around, what with the nearby barbarians getting more barbarous by the minute.

The Greeks in Athens, and the Romans in Rome, came to the end of an epoch apparently without much awareness of their fate. But whether they knew it or not, they didn't survive it.

Have we come to the end of an epoch? We have unless we have learned something from history.

We Americans are today on stage in the greatest of all dramas—the struggle of a civilization to survive. We hope the play will have a long run, and that we will take many curtain calls, not just for ourselves, but for the whole human race as well.

I mentioned earlier that the American people were happy to blame education for our falling behind the Russians. But the real blame belongs to the American people.

We have in education just what we asked for. If it isn't good enough, it is our fault; we the people can have better.

We need better—better educated men in all walks of life. The need is great.

An anonymous sage once said, "Great minds discuss ideas, average minds discuss events, and small minds discuss people".

In this complex age, we live or die by the greatness of our minds, our ability to understand, transmit and use ideas.

Unless our educational system is geared to the production of great minds, our chances for survival are severely limited.

You recall the line from Gilbert and Sullivan's Mikado, "Let the punishment fit the crime". So may I say, let education and the training of our young fit the need—and the need is for men to match the times.

And to me, this need adds up to a definite, specific and rapid step-up in quality and quantity of our educational processes.

It has been estimated that there is a shortage of 135,000 public school teachers at the present time. This much we need merely to meet the requirements of our expanding population, and doesn't begin to fill the bill that all-out competition with the Russians entails.

It would take a tremendous outlay just to hire these missing teachers at today's rates, assuming we could find qualified people.

If we found them, could we talk them into becoming teachers at present salaries?

Present salaries, of course, aren't enough to attract the minds we need.

So, if we want better minds—which we must have—to be attracted to the field of teaching, and if we want them to put in the extra preparation to enable them to really master the subjects they are going to teach, then we are going to have to offer commensurate salaries.

Obviously there is a special need for science teachers—and a great shortage exists—because potential science teachers are being constantly lured into private employment at high wages.

But what of the shortage of language teachers? It has been established on competent authority that of the 30,000 to 40,000 language teachers in the United States, only 200 are fully qualified to teach Russian.

This contrasts with the vast number of Russian teachers who are teaching 6.5 million Russians to speak English.

Are languages as important as science? They are and absolutely are. If Americans are to hope for world leadership, they've got to be able to speak the world's languages.

Example: Mr. Justice Douglas told me recently that when he was in Tehran, there were 55 people in the American Embassy, and only one could speak Persian. As far as the Justice could find out, the Russians had a comparable number in their embassy, and all could speak Persian. Unfortunately this sort of thing is more the rule than the exception.

It is not just the scientists and the linguists we need; we need everything that education can produce.

We need most urgently the kind of people who can think our problems through to possible and logical solutions.

These people are going to come from the 2 percent of superior minds and the 8 percent of above average minds.

And it is going to cost money to give the 2 percent and the 8 percent the kind of particular attention their potentials deserve. We can no longer afford to retard the superior for the benefit of the average and the subaverage. On the other hand, we can't afford to neglect the other 90 percent. Their adequate education is vital to the continuance of our type of civilization, for these are the ones who must make the ultimate decisions on which our existence will be based.

For what else do we need money? It is obvious that we are going to have to provide more teaching facilities—classrooms, laboratories, and textbooks—to take care of needed teachers and expected students.

Thus we are going to have to spend more money, and spend it more wisely than we have yet done.

We've got to get rid of our built-in and often unreasonable prejudice against Federal aid for education—and against State aid, too—too many small school districts with limited tax resources.

The positive case for Federal aid rests on two very simple facts:

The first is that only the Federal Government has the taxing power to give the big boost that our national educational drive needs.

The second is that unless our national leadership gives us a bold program, it is not likely that enough boldness will arise spontaneously from the States, school districts, and individual citizens.

But instead of a bold package to meet the crisis, we have had from Washington only a bundle of timidity in gaudy, deceptive wrappings.

The provisions of the National Defense Education Act of 1958—our only national legislation to meet the sputnik challenge—sound imposing. The act provided loans to students, fellowships and grants to State agencies to improve science and language teaching. In all, it has made about $125 million available thus far.

But it did nothing to help solve our two greatest problems, the classroom shortage and the teacher shortage.

Let's face it. This $125 million is only a drop in the bucket—not even a dollar a citizen. We will have to spend additional billions in education where we are now spending only millions.

We've been talking about billions since October 4, 1957. Now we've got to quit talking so much and do some acting instead.

I've made several references to the date of the launching of the first Soviet sputnik. I have, because I believe it to be one of the most important dates in American—yes, American—history.

For us it was, or should have been, what the bullfighters call the moment of truth, the decisive moment, if you please.

For us it was, or should have been, the turning point, the time when we awakened to the danger and decided what we should do to overcome it. On that date we became a second-rate Nation. We have successfully maintained that status since.

In those dark moments of realization, I recall many voices raised in warning and in promise about the effort we would have to make in public education.

I recall it well, because I happened to be one of those who spoke in this vein at the time.

In the reading I did in preparation for today's talk was a speech I made to the presidents of the land-grant colleges. The date

was November 14, 1957, 6 weeks after the sputnik launching.

The speech is significant now principally for one reason. So little has happened in America since that time that I could repeat that speech today virtually unchanged.

My theme then, as it must remain yet, was that we were in a bad fix; that we were doing precious little about it; and that we had better get busy doing a great deal about it or we were lost.

The pleas for urgent action are still needed—because we have taken so little action. It is almost as if we have been asleep these past 2 years, years in which, I guarantee you, the Rusians have not been asleep.

Rereading that speech has been a startling experience. The experience spells out for me this thought:

If we do not start making our supreme effort very soon, if we do not start providing the intelligent and tough-minded average American with some truly creative leadership very soon, it will very soon be too late.

I have mentioned the address I made before the land-grant presidents in November 1957. I would like to close this talk with the same words. And though few of you will recall it, they are the very same words with which I ended my address before this group in Long Beach on October 20, 1954.

I'll tell you why I want to restate these oft used phrases. So much is needed and so little has been done since 1954 and particularly since 1957, that these thoughts are perhaps more appropriate than when they were spoken before. These are the exact words:

"Every civilization thus far devised by man has written its own epitaph, and all men have had a part in that. I suppose it makes little difference to us what will be said of us in the year 3000, but we are proud enough, on the other hand, to want to pass on to the people of that time our worthiest contributions. You, I am sure, do not want to leave to posterity such a sorry picture of your service, such a monument to your efforts, as T. S. Eliot once penned about the British upper classes:

"'A cry from the north, from the west and from the south,
Whence thousands travel daily to the time-kept city;
In the lands of lobelias and tennis flannels
The rabbit shall burrow and the thorn revisit;
The nettles shall flourish on the gravel courts,
And the wind shall say: "Here were decent, Godless people;
Their only monument the asphalt road
And a thousand lost golf balls."'

"Americans, of course, would leave behind many more lost golf balls than that, without counting those that Mr. Eisenhower has driven out of bounds. They may, if they're not careful, leave a whole lost heritage of freedom, for their descendants to mourn.

"Freedom lives and thrives at the grassroots—among the men who work, the women who keep house, the children who go to the local school. And there freedom can die, as it has died in so many lands."

Progress and Prosperity in Formosa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following article by John O'Donnell, the eminent columnist, appeared in today's New York Daily News.

Mr. O'Donnell does well to call his readers' attention to the spectacular prosperity and progress of Formosa, or Taiwan, under the government of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. We hear so much about the strides made in Communist-dominated lands, notably on the Chinese mainland, that we lose sight of the truly magnificent progress and prosperity that has developed on the island of Formosa.

When will we start praising and helping our friends instead of our enemies. We can and should all be proud of what the general has achieved, because we helped him to this great achievement.

PROGRESS AND PROSPERITY IN FORMOSA

(By John O'Donnell)

WASHINGTON, January 19.—In all the hoopla over the defense pact the United States signed with Japan today, we shouldn't lose sight of the fact that our strongest ally in the Far East—bar none—is still the Nationalist China of Chiang Kai-shek.

We're not just referring to the fact that Chiang has some 600,000 crack troops under arms, compared to a mere 200,000 or so for Japan. We're also thinking of the unpublicized but fantastic industrial development which has made Formosa the greatest model of progress-through-freedom in the whole of Asia.

The accomplishments of the Nationalists have been literally smothered under the myths and phony facts which Chiang's enemies have been spreading for years. Plenty has been written about the industrial gains in Communist China—so much so that there have been fears that the propaganda might lure some weak-sister Asian neutrals into the Red orbit. But nothing—or practically nothing—has been said about the much more spectacular economic and industrial feats of the Nationalists.

The actual fact is that Nationalist China is the fastest developing nation in the Far East. Although Japan is a bigger industrial power, Nationalist industry has been growing 16 times more rapidly in the last 8 years. Its agricultural efficiency also matches Japan's, which is considered a world model.

Communist China has used the full force of regimentation and brutal repression in its frantic drive to lift its economy into the 20th century. But U.S. experts said Formosa will make the grade first; its individual productivity is already running 30 to 40 percent ahead of the mainland's.

And the striking as well as significant thing about the Nationalist progress is that it has been achieved mostly through private enterprise rather than government action. In Red China, India, and the other underdeveloped countries of Asia, the great push toward industrialization has been through government planning and action.

THE FARMER'S LOT HAS IMPROVED

Another generally unrecognized fact is that Nationalist China has carried out the most effective land reform program in Asia. Some 80 percent of the farmers now own their land and the other 20 percent are charged only moderate rents. And their income has jumped more than 100 percent.

Nearly all of the farms now have bicycles, sewing machines, radio sets and other modern conveniences. Many of the girls are sporting beauty aids like lipstick and powder. And before long, every farm will have access to electrical service. Countries such as India, can't claim anything like this.

The United States has, of course, poured millions of aid into Formosa. This has certainly given its economy a boost, but the money has gone mainly toward shouldering some of the burden of the 600,000 troops. And American aid experts said that the Nationalist record of self-help is better than any other Asian country's, except perhaps Japan. In fact, it is now exporting more goods to other nations than it is importing.

It may not be surprising that Formosa is the second largest sugar supplier in the free world. But it may be an eyebrow-lifter to most people to realize that it ships aviation gasoline all the way to Australia, that it runs the largest oil refineries in Asia and has built two 35,000-ton supertankers, and sells machinery and other metal products all over the Far East.

ITS GOODS FLOW INTO WORLD

It makes first-rate sewing machines, electric fans that rotate a full 360 degrees, fluorescent tubes, cement, textiles, plastic goods, metal lathes, toys, and, under American guidance, jeeps. These goods are flowing into international trade, especially to Japan and southeast Asia, and they are more than holding their own with their competitors. Always a dominantly agricultural economy, Formosa is rapidly becoming widely diversified. And this is having a stimulating and healthy effect on the naton.

In terms of cold war politics, this economic phenomenon in Formosa is immensely significant, even though the facts have been largely ignored or distorted. And if the West did a better job of telling the story in India and the other free but neutral nations of south Asia, there might be fewer illusions about the accomplishments of Red China.

For reasons buried deep in China's recent tragic past, Chiang Kai-shek has never been popular among the so-called free nations of Asia. Even though he never resorted to the mass brutality of the Communists, he was accused of failing to give the Chinese people a fair deal.

THEY'LL SIT UP AND TAKE NOTICE

What has happened in Formosa is a ringing rebuttal to his critics. Under him, the island has shown incredible economic progress through great energy, private enterprise, little government interference, massive land reform, and a vigorous attack against disease.

More than anything else, underdeveloped countries are impressed by the economic progress shown by their neighbors. American authorities feel that as Formosa's accomplishments become better known, as more and more of its industrial products move into south and southeast Asia, these countries will sit up and take notice. Some of the old anti-Chiang prejudice will be reduced—and the achievements of a free economy recognized.

Helping this trend, of course, will be Communist China's own muscle flexing. The more it shows its real colors to its neighbors the more readily will they accept the example and the lesson of Nationalist China.

Role of American Labor in World Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, in a recent edition of the USIS Feature Service distributed by the U.S. Information Service, there appeared the text of a statement by Mr. Harry Pollak, AFL-CIO international representative. This splendid statement, called "The Role of American Labor in World Affairs," points out the practical activities of the

American labor movement both in attending international meetings and in aiding technical assistance programs in all areas of the world. We are indebted to our great free labor movement for its ceaseless fight for a better America and a strong free world.

I am pleased to call the attention of the Senate to this document. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE ROLE OF AMERICAN LABOR IN WORLD AFFAIRS

(By Harry Pollak, AFL–CIO international representative)

The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations spends nearly a million dollars per year of its sorely needed income for international work of one kind or another.

A trade-union school in Kenya has been constructed partly through funds from our labor movement. Plantation workers in Honduras and Guatemala have been getting technical help from an American trade-union organizer. An American trade-union representative will be loaned to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions to help resolve an industrial-relations problem in the Far East.

This is the kind of practical assistance which the AFL–CIO believes is necessary in order to achieve a really stable world under conditions of social and economic justice.

U.S. labor's participation in international affairs is not of recent origin. Labor historians often note the role of Samuel Gompers at the Versailles Conference in 1919. It was Gompers who helped lay the foundation for the International Labor Organization—an intergovernmental structure, composed of representatives of government, labor, and management, which helps to set up improved labor standards as models for governments to follow.

Long before the existence of the AFL–CIO, individual trade-union representatives traveled to Western Europe to attend various trade-union congresses. But the real activity did not begin in earnest until after the Second World War.

American labor was ahead of many other groups in developing a genuine international concern. Both the AFL and CIO contributed generously to relief and rehabilitation work in Europe and the Far East after the war. Of the utmost importance for the future was the yeoman work which U.S. labor performed in helping to rebuild the shattered trade-union organizations so that they could perform their basic function and, at the same time, ward off Communist penetration.

In the office of the AFL–CIO's secretary-treasurer in Washington there is a painting of two workers clasping hands and underneath is the simple inscription, "Offering of thanks from the German people to the workers of America in gratitude for assistance in time of need."

Another phase in U.S. labor's international role was the establishment of a workers' U.N. In 1949 the AFL and CIO participated with representatives of almost 50 million workers from 53 countries to form the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. For the first time, international labor was to look beyond Europe and North America to the newly emerging worker movements of Latin America, Africa, and Asia. The ICFTU chose as its slogan: "Bread, peace, freedom," and emphasized that they were indivisible.

American labor is working ceaselessly with other trade-union movements in the free world to make these aims a reality. More fortunate than many of its brethren throughout the world, it has provided the services of its representatives for special assignments in far-off places.

It is not unusual to see a veteran American steelworker like Nick Zonarick of Pittsburgh in McKenzie, a remote mining area of British Guiana, helping the workers strengthen their infant union; or Maida Springer, a garment worker from New York, doing educational work among women laborers of Nairobi, Kenya; or Kermit Mead of the United Automobile Workers lecturing to Italian and French metalworkers on time and motion study techniques.

Even closer to home, Bill Doherty, Jr. of the Letter Carriers and Ernie Lee of the Retail Clerks are helping to stimulate trade union development in Latin America. The names of these "labor missionaries" are legion. I have given only a sampling.

The struggle to establish and protect free and democratic trade unions is not an easy one. History has demonstrated that where totalitarianism comes into power, the first target for infiltration and destruction is the trade union movement. And conversely, when tyrannies become unbearable, among the first to raise the banner of revolt are the workers. Witness East Germany in 1953, and later Poland and Hungary.

I am proud to say that American workers responded generously in helping thousands upon thousands of Hungarian freedom fighters to reestablish themselves. They gave of their funds, their energies, and their moral and spiritual support in the herculean task of resettling these new immigrants on our shores.

Abroad, U.S. labor is helping to add a further dimension to the role of our country in international affairs. It has recommended many experienced trade unionists from its ranks for work with America's oversea embassies as labor advisers, labor attachés, and labor information officers; and as technical assistants in specialized fields of apprenticeship, safety and the like.

In many parts of the world, a union card is helping to open doors which are sometimes closed to the professional diplomat. In Japan a former shipbuilding union officer, a machinist union leader, and a labor newspaperman form an able team to assist U.S. policy in the labor field and interpret American labor to the Japanese worker. There are many others like them performing similar roles—a textile worker in Athens, a meat cutter in Brazil. The list is long.

At home, American labor has extended its hospitality to thousands of visiting trade unionists from other countries. We have opened our union offices, our homes, and our hearts to them. We have demonstrated that America is a land of many groups, many virtues and defects—and that these groups, including labor, all have a part to play in developing a meaningful and satisfying life.

Why are we interested in what happens to other workers? Why should we help other unions half way round the world? The answer is simple: humanitarianism and enlightened self-interest.

Whether it is Calcutta or Paris, London, or Accra, Buenos Aires, or Tokyo, we are all linked together. Bread, peace, and freedom in a shrinking world are indivisible.

Address by General Committee of Assembly of Captive European Nations Relating to Captive Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, with the passage of the Captive Nations Week Resolution on July 17, 1959, Congress once again expressed its deep concern over the subjugation of the peoples of eastern Europe and in the Far East by the Soviet Union and Communist China and its support for those peoples in their aspirations for freedom and independence.

In the recent conferences of the leaders of the Western Powers and in their forthcoming meetings with the head of the Soviet Union, it continues to be a matter of first importance that the agreements of the Soviet Union for self-determination and free elections in those enslaved countries are not overlooked, ignored, or by an implication undermined.

One of the most timely and penetrating warnings against any retreat on this issue was on December 4, 1959, addressed to President Eisenhower, Prime Minister MacMillan, President De Gaulle, and Chancellor Adenauer by the General Committee of the Assembly of Captive Nations, of which the distinguished Dr. Peter Zenkl is chairman.

This appeal makes quite clear the necessity of maintaining our strong position in support of the freedom of these peoples, not only because it is their right, but also because it is a major factor deterring Communist aggressive thrusts against Western Europe.

For the information of Members, I ask unanimous consent that this significant address by the General Committee of the Assembly of Captive Nations be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TEXT OF ADDRESS BY THE GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE ASSEMBLY OF CAPTIVE EUROPEAN NATIONS, DATED DECEMBER 3, 1959, TO PRESIDENT EISENHOWER, PRIME MINISTER MACMILLAN, PRESIDENT DE GAULLE AND CHANCELLOR ADENAUER, IN CONNECTION WITH THEIR MEETING IN PARIS, ON DECEMBER 19, 1959

SIR: The silenced peoples of Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Romania are looking forward with hopeful anticipation to your forthcoming meeting with the heads of the British, French and German Governments. They enjoin us, their spokesmen in the free world, united in the Assembly of Captive European Nations, to impart to you their anxieties and their hopes at this critical juncture of your quest for a durable peace.

The messages reaching us from our homelands are disturbing. They advise that the Communist rulers, who usually mirror with accuracy the mood of their masters in the Kremlin, have never before displayed a more genuine self-confidence. They stress that, under the impact of recent international developments, discouragement is alarmingly spreading among the overwhelming majority of the people. And they warn that unless events will soon disprove the widespread feeling that Soviet power and communism are irresistibly on the march towards their goal of world conquest, resignation or worse would set in.

It is widely recognized in the West that the resistance of our peoples has been and is a major deterrent to further Soviet aggressive moves in Europe. It is widely accepted but equally true that their freedom and independence remains the very condition of a durable and secure European peace. If so, the West has a vital stake in keeping alive the spirit of resistance of our peoples and in working tirelessly for their release from their present bondage. This propostion, we submit, will be increasingly valid in the years ahead.

The approaching nuclear stalemate, far from diminishing Soviet pressure upon Western Europe, will only intensify it. The Berlin issue and other crises and showdowns will be used by the Soviet to demonstrate that the main element of American military power, nuclear retaliation, has been neutralized and that Western Europe has therefore been left defenseless. Intense political warfare will be waged to disrupt NATO and to lure the Western European nations into neutrality and ultimate absorption into the Communist orbit.

Soviet propaganda is already preparing the ground for the coming political offensive in Western Europe. It tries to condition the public to the idea that the balance of power has so decisively shifted in favor of the Soviet Union that peace on Soviet terms has become the only alternative to a cataclysmic war. It fosters wishful thinking and the search for "easy ways out" by nurturing undue reliance on such factors as the pressure of the Russian people for improved living standards, or Soviet-Chinese rifts. It carefully promotes artificial distinctions, such as the very strict ground rules, proposed by Premier Khrushchev, with regard to "relations between states", in contradistinction to a completely unregulated "ideological struggle". Thus, all Western political and propaganda activities would, perforce, come under the first heading while no hold would be barred for activities carried out throughout the world by the Soviet Union under Communist Party label.

We believe that, confronted with such a purposeful offensive, the West will come to share our conviction that it is no longer realistic to separate the struggle for the defense of freedom in Western Europe from that for the recovery of freedom in Eastern Europe. Without a strong and more self-reliant Western Europe the outlook for the captive countries is dim. Conversely, the transformation of the captive countries from liabilities to the Soviet Union into political and military assets for Soviet expansion would render the defense problem of Western Europe substantially more difficult if not unmanageable.

We are the last to question the widespread thesis that the most valuable contribution to a joint European freedom struggle would be, at this stage, a greater effort to expand the non-nuclear NATO forces in Western Europe and to accelerate the process of European integration. The Soviets now possess in their superior land forces a dangerous means of political pressure. We, therefore, realize that an adequate Western counterweight to these forces would not only neutralize this Soviet advantage and thus safeguard Western Europe against Soviet advances by political means, but would also assure the time required for long-range solutions in regard to captive Europe to develop. In our view, however, to render these long range solutions possible and to remedy the immediate problem of discouragement in our countries, further steps are required.

First, it is incumbent upon the Western Powers to refrain, in any conferences of negotiations with the Soviet Union, from entering into arangements, on issues of substance, participation or procedure, which would be incompatible with the legal and moral obligations of the great powers, and/or which would explicitly or implicitly confirm or prolong Soviet domination over the erstwhile free nations of Central and Eastern Europe. The recognition of the East German regime, for instance, would implicitly be tantamount to the sanctioning of the political status quo in Eastern Europe. And the insistence with which the Soviet rulers seek to obtain the stamp of legitimacy on this status quo makes it quite clear that they would like the Western abandonment of the east-central European countries to accomplish what neither Soviet terror nor Soviet lies had been able to achieve, namely, the resignation of our peoples to their present fate. Such recognition would not only deprive the West of an important element of its own security but would also severely undermine the faith of the smaller nations, committed and uncommitted, in the dependability of the Western Powers.

Secondly, the Western Powers should avail themselves of all international conferences and forums to urge the Soviet Union to comply with the wartime and postwar agreements to which she was a party, and which guaranteed both the independence of our countries and the right of our peoples to choose freely the institutions under which they would live. They should insist on the inscription of all the unresolved consequences, of World War II on the agenda of high-level international conferences, and of the U.N. General Assembly. They should ceaselessly call for the withdrawal of Soviet forces and agents, as well as for free elections under international supervision.

Thirdly, considering that the Soviet concepts of the cessation of the cold war, peaceful coexistence, and relaxation of tensions are designed to assure freedom of action for themselves in areas controlled by the free nations and a complete cessation of any Western concern for areas dominated by the Soviet Union, Western action should be guided by the realization that the acceptance of these concepts by the West only encourages the Soviet rulers and their puppets to revert to a hard course in the captive countries. Recent developments in Poland best illustrate this point.

It is our deep-seated conviction that in thus assuming the offensive in the most vulnerable part of the Soviet Empire pressures would be unleashed, which would eventually wear down even the most stubborn adversary. We are equally convinced that continued adherence to a purely defensive political policy would have very harmful consequences both in the free world and the enslaved parts of Europe. For the question is no longer whether Europe will be united or not. It is rather: Who will unite it; will it be united in freedom or slavery, and what will happen to the entire free world in the latter case?

With the people on our homelands we trust that the decisions the Western statesmen will take in their Paris meeting will bespeak of their determination to unite Europe in freedom. Specifically we trust that these decisions will reflect the determination of Western Powers (1) to raise the question of the captive countries at their projected conference with the head of the Soviet Government and press for a solution compatible with the right of self-determination and individual liberty, and (2) to remain faithful to the principle that, to become final, decisions which determine the fate of a nation require the consent of its freely elected representatives.

The peoples of our homeland regard the United States of America as the foremost repository of their hopes. We are confident that you, Mr. President, will use your unequalled authority as leader of the free world to bring about a decision of the Western governments in harmony with the stand you have so repeatedly taken in the past and which you have so forcefully expressed in your letter of January 1958 to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union.

The State of Outer Space

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK KOWALSKI
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. KOWALSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I call to the attention of my colleagues an editorial which appeared in the Meriden (Conn.) Record on Tuesday, January 19.

The editorial cites the importance to America of an adequate space program and urges the President to take strong, immediate action.

The Meriden Record is one of Connecticut's distinguished newspapers. Its thoughtful editorial analysis of the space crisis is worthy of study by all Members of the House.

[From the Meriden Record, Jan. 19, 1960]

THE STATE OF OUTER SPACE

The President's recently delivered state of the Union message reflected pretty fairly the man, his policies, and the state of mind of the country of which he is chief. It was confident but not cocky, strong in determination to maintain the strengths of the programs under way in the foreign field without dramatically expanding them, aware of the difficulties which we face at home but not disposed to take drastic steps to solve them, and in spite of all problems eternally and consistently optimistic.

It's a fair enough attitude to take and one which will carry us through well enough in every field but one. The crisis of our development in the exploration and capabilities in outer space does not disturb the President, seemingly, as much as it does a great many men of science and a great many thoughtful citizens who have been alerted to it. No great, grave concern is evinced by Mr. Eisenhower over our lag behind the Russians in the space race, and no large-scale, immediate measures are contemplated to help us catch up. All that is proposed is a shake-up in organization and an upping of the finances for the program from $500 millions to $800 millions.

This is not enough. The immediate probabilities of the next few years in the field of space exploration and control are the fantastic possibilities of a few years back. They range from space-spy satellites which can ferret out the atomic secrets of an unfriendly neighbor to manned rocket landings on the moon and other planets which will

bring about as yet hazy complications of claim, ownership, and use. And in spite of the President's observation that space exploration "is often mistakenly supposed to be an integral part of defense," they include the possibility of sky control of our country by unfriendly satellites or penetration of it by distantly launched rockets.

Russia believes in the importance of the space race to her safety and progress; it's certain that the men in the Kremlin aren't putting on a program of this cost and scope out of intellectual curiosity alone. In the interests of our own survival as a great power, fantastic as it seems, we must do likewise. We need more than another reorganization and a few extra millions to catch up, or even at present terms, to stay in the race for tomorrow. Mr. President, let's get to it.

Cutback of the Armed Forces in the Soviet Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the world has now had time to evaluate the move by Soviet Premier Khrushchev on the announced cutback of the armed forces in the Soviet Union.

The proposed cutback, I believe, is a "grandstand gesture toward—but no real contribution to—disarmament.

Mr. Khrushchev disqualified the announced cut in military manpower from the category of disarmament by bragging about increased striking power in rockets and missiles that could annihilate human life and destroy vast portions of the globe.

If this were truly a move toward reduction of forces—that threaten world peace—by the Soviet Union, the people of the globe, I believe, would welcome it with open arms.

The Kremlin leader, however, can hardly expect enthusiastic reception of an announced manpower cut by bragging—in self-contradiction—about greater striking power of the Communist armed forces.

Today, too, there exists no inspection agency to ascertain the reduction in manpower will be completed. This situation is one more example of the need for such inspection forces—as consistently emphasized by the U.S. Government.

Although there is a dearth of information from inside the U.S.S.R., the following factors may well have figured into the announced cut in military forces:

First. As Khrushchev says, Soviet progress in the development of missile power now enables the U.S.S.R. to cut back its military manpower, and yet retain its striking force;

Second. The move may be a shift in manpower, not a trend toward disarmament—as Khrushchev would imply—based on the needs (a) to reduce manpower costs in the military services; and (b) to augment the labor force in areas of shortages; and

Third. While such an act would somewhat reduce the armed forces, the militancy of the Soviet economy would make it possible for quick remobilization, at the beck and call of the Kremlin.

The world should not forget that the United States and its allies undertook similar reductions many years ago.

However, we must not underestimate the favorable psychological impact which Mr. Khrushchev's announcement will have on the world—an effect which the Communist propaganda machine performs the neat trick of maximizing.

Today, the production of missiles and other space weapons makes inevitable the reduction of mighty armies—except, insofar as these are deemed necessary for either, first, starting wars, including brushfire conflicts, by the Communists, or other troublemakers; or, second, putting out such wars by the peace-seeking nations of the world.

Overall, however, the move by Mr. Khrushchev cannot—by any stretch of the imagination—be interpreted as a step toward disarmament; rather, it is a disarmament gesture—aimed at maximum favorable psychological impact—while, at the same time, maintaining the striking potency of the Communist military machine—to utilize either for threats, blackmail or outright aggression—as these fit into the Communist plan of world conquest.

Recently, the Milwaukee Journal published an interpretive report by Mr. John M. Hightower entitled "Necessities Dictated Khrushchev's Move," containing some thoughtful comments on the motivation behind the Kremlin leader's gesture for a manpower cut.

I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INTERPRETIVE REPORT—NECESSITIES DICTATED KHRUSHCHEV'S MOVE—RUSS ARE REGROUPING TO EASE MANPOWER SHORTAGE, NOT DISARMING, WRITER SAYS

(By John M. Hightower)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Soviet Premier Khrushchev is reorganizing rather than disarming.

His claims to disarmament, in fact, are substantially contradicted by his own words about the growth of Russia's nuclear weapons and rocket power.

These points highlighted initial reaction in official quarters here Thursday to Khrushchev's speech before the supreme Soviet.

His announcement of a manpower cut did not come as a surprise. Earlier remarks by Khrushchev—and the labor needs of Soviet industry and agriculture—had foreshadowed such a move.

Khrushchev told the Soviet legislative body that the nation's armed forces totaled 3,623,000 men and would be cut to 2,423,000. He also announced that production of bomber aircraft would be halted and that the air force would be equipped with rockets.

CONTRADICTS HIMSELF

Khrushchev claimed the manpower cut was a contribution to disarmament. In that section of his speech he said the great powers had failed to reach international agreement on lowered force levels so the Soviet Government decided to go ahead with a reduction on its own, without conditions.

But at another point in his speech, Khrushchev said that since no agreement had been reached with the Western Powers to stop production of nuclear weapons, "we are compelled to continue this production."

In a third section he argued that "the Soviet Army wields such means of warfare and such firepower as no other army has ever had."

In other words, the manpower cut by Khrushchev's own testimony does not mean a cut in striking power. What it obviously signifies, according to his speech, is a shift from reliance on masses of men to reliance on masses of machines and nuclear weapons.

NECESSITY DICTATES MOVE

It is the existence of such vastly destructive means of warfare which has come to be recognized in recent years as the central problem of disarmament.

Khrushchev's announcement Thursday has little bearing on this problem.

His emphasis on disarmament is considered rather as a means of making propaganda out of necessity.

The necessity, authorities here said, arises from the fact that as a result of the loss in birth rate in World War II, Russia is developing a manpower shortage.

Therefore the Soviet Government needs to switch men from the armed forces to industry and agriculture whenever it can do so without impairing security. At the same time it needs to use every device of propaganda to persuade the world at large that the Soviet Union is the most peaceful of nations and ready to make sacrifices in the interest of arms control.

ANNOUNCED CUTS BEFORE

Twice before in recent years the Soviet Government has announced manpower cuts totaling close to 2 million men. The criticism was made by the U.S. Government each time that there was no way to tell whether that many men acually were demobilized. From the Western point of view the most important element of any disarmament pact with the Soviets is the policing system.

A claimed cut in Soviet military strength under the conditions of secrecy which exist in the Soviet Union serves to emphasize the point.

Nevertheless Khrushchev stands to gain substantially if he can put across to the rest of the world his idea that even without agreement on arms control Russia is reducing its military establishment.

Appreciates Flag

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, one of the most cherished holiday greetings I received during the past season was from two West Germany youths who attended Everett (Wash.) High School in my congressional district as exchange students. Many of us sometimes take our flag for granted and often forget it represents a great nation and is the symbol of freedom and our way of life to other peoples of the world.

Under leave to extend my remarks I include in the RECORD the letter, written by Ratje and Claus Koser, because I believe it may renew our faith in our Republic.

The letter follows:

MONDHAGEN 61,
Celle, Germany, December 19, 1959.

Congressman JACK WESTLAND,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN WESTLAND: I hardly dare to think of the long period of time that has passed without sending you our thanks for having done that great favor for us. However, when the beautiful flag arrived, I was in the hospital for surgery, and that is the main reason for my belated answer.

I just cannot express how happy everybody in our family was at the arrival of this great souvenir that reminds my brother and me so truly of our year in the country that is represented by it, and of all the people whom we may call our friends today. This emblem will not only be a souvenir of 1 impressive year in your country, it also will remind us to strive more intensively for a better understanding of the people of our two nations.

Always thanking you for your kindness, we now would like to send you our best wishes for an especially merry Christmas and a very bright New Year.

Very sincerely yours,
RATJE AND CLAUS KOSER.

Saga of Capt. Henry T. Waskow: Immortal Texas National Guardsman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, it has been the good fortune of Texas and our Nation to have had great numbers of unflinchingly brave men who were completely dedicated to the ideal of human liberty. This has been true, otherwise freedoms as we know it and believe in it could not have survived.

One of the great war heroes of all history was Henry T. Waskow, a central Texas boy who enlisted in Company I of the 143d Infantry Regiment, 36th Infantry Division, at Belton, Tex., on June 3, 1935. His story, written by Ernie Pyle during the war, and by Woody Montgomery of the Temple Telegram, is one of the most stirring accounts of personal heroism ever written.

Mr. President, an excellent account of Captain Waskow's training and service is contained in an article entitled "Last Letter Revives Saga of the Immortal Captain," published on page 14 of the magazine National Guardsman for January 1960. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the National Guardsman, January 1960]

LAST LETTER REVIVES SAGA OF THE IMMORTAL CAPTAIN

Sixteen years after his death was immortalized in one of Ernie Pyle's best-remembered news dispatches, the spirit which brought immortality to Capt. Henry T. Waskow again has touched the hearts of his fellow countrymen and National Guardsmen.

This time, the qualities which Pyle described so movingly are brought back to life in the courageous National Guard captain's last will and testament, made public after all these years by members of his family.

"If you get to read this, I will have died in the defense of my country and all that it stands for—the most honorable and distinguished death a man can die," are the opening words of the document.

Those and the words that follow may explain why the soldiers in his company felt compelled to stand silently by the body of their dead captain, to hold his hand, for a moment and, as if he were still alive, to share with him a final few minutes.

"Through good fortune and the grace of God, I was chosen a leader * * * an honor that meant more to me than any of you will ever know. If I failed as a leader, and I pray God that I didn't, it was not because I did not try. God alone knows how I worked and slaved to make myself a worthy leader of these magnificent men."

In a story which later was printed in many books and magazines, and became the basis for the movie "GI Joe," Pyle told of the moonlight night when Captain Waskow was brought down a mountain trail in Italy, his body tied to the back of a mule. The soldiers stood around quietly, then one by one moved closer, "not so much to look, I think, as to say something in finality to him and to themselves," Pyle wrote.

"I'm sorry, old man," one of them said as he looked down into the face of the dead captain.

"Then," Pyle wrote, "the first man squatted down, and he reached down and took the captain's hand, and he sat there for a full 5 minutes holding the dead hand in his own * * * and he never uttered a sound all the time he sat there.

Captain Waskow's family withheld his last will and testament, according to a copyrighted story by Woody Montgomery in the Temple (Tex.) Telegram, because they regarded the cherished letter as so personal they vowed to keep it from the prying eyes of the public until it in itself might help some mother or her soldier son.

The family finally released the letter with that view in mind.

Captain Waskow was killed on December 14, 1943 at the age of 25. The War Department telegram reached his family on December 29 and less than 2 months later his mother, Mrs. Frank C. Waskow, died of of a broken heart."

A year ago, reports the Telegram story, Captain Waskow's father died, "not in such a brief time as the mother but just as surely of a broken heart . . ."

In the impersonal, formal terms of the military record, here's how Captain Waskow's service is described on the books of the Texas National Guard:

"Capt. Henry T. Waskow enlisted in Company I, 143d Infantry Regiment, 36th Infantry Division, at Belton on June 3, 1935, and was inducted into Federal service as a corporal on November 25, 1940. He was commissioned a second lieutenant March 14, 1941, at Camp Bowie * * * promoted to first lieutenant February 1, 1942, and captain, January 16, 1943, and was killed in action near San Pietro, Italy, December 14, 1943."

But in the warmer terms used by the Temple City newsman who wrote of his last letter, some of his devotion to duty, and his strict sense of responsibility emerges.

As a youth, the writer recalled, week after week Waskow hitch-hiked from Waxahachie, where he was attending college, to his home town of Belton to attend National Guard drills with Company I. He graduated with a teacher's credentials and was serving as a substitute teacher in his home town when Company I went into Federal service in 1940. He was Corporal Waskow then and his progress from that point on followed a path familiar to oldtime Guardsmen—training at Camp Bowie, a transfer to Company B, examinations for OCS, commissioned and returned to his old company at Camp Bowie—then overseas.

In Africa, he and other members of Co. B trained for the forthcoming invasion of Italy, and wrote letters home. He was homesick but seemed to understand better than most the meaning of the sacrifice he and his fellow soldiers were making. But let's go back to that last letter, the one which was to be given to his family only in the event of his death, and listen to him explain his feelings in his own words:

"Yes; I would like to have lived—to live and share the many blessings and good fortunes that my grandparents bestowed on me—a fellow never had a better family than mine, but, since God has willed otherwise, do not grieve too much, dear ones, for life in the other world must be beautiful, and I have lived a life with that in mind all along. I was not afraid to die, you can be assured of that. All along, I prayed that I and others could do our share to keep you safe until we returned. I pray again that you are safe, even though some of us do not return."

Or in an earlier letter:

"When you remember me in your prayers, * * * pray that I be given the strength, character, and courage to lead these magnificent Americans."

That his life had been patterned by the words he wrote was attested by the veneration shown by his soldiers when his body was brought down the rocky Italian mountain trail.

"In this war I have known a lot of officers who were loved and respected by the soldiers under them," wrote Pyle in that still-remembered news story, "but never have I crossed the trail of any man as beloved" as Captain Waskow.

Now, writing when he knew that death waited behind every rock and bush, Captain Waskow once again has reminded guardsmen of their legacy of gallantry and service.

In words which would have sounded trite and overdone had they been written by a lesser man, he reiterated a creed which has become the first article of guard faith:

"I thought that I might * * * do just a little bit to help this great country of ours in its hour of darkness and need—the country that means more to me than life itself—if I have done that then I can rest in peace, for I will have done my share to make this world a better place in which to live."

Decline of Politeness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a most enlightening article written by Bishop Sheen on the true worth of courtesy:

DECLINE OF POLITENESS
(By Bishop Sheen)

What has happened to politeness? One cynic said that it is "an acceptable hypoc-

risy." Another said that he would be so polite to his wife that she would think he was a perfect stranger.

Drivers of automobiles hidden behind the anonymity of a windshield, regard other motorists as trespassers; they also often hold as a fundamental creed that every year ought to be a "leap" year for the pedestrians.

Boys call girls by their last names; northerners criticize southerners for saying "you all" claiming that if they had manners they would say "youse guys." At parties during conversation, eyes roam around the room as if searching for a less boring conversationalist.

The passing of courtesy is one with the modern forgetfulness of the value of the individual person. The three totalitarian movements of the 20th century absorbed the person into either the class, the race, or the Nation. Furthermore, with the denial of the soul, no one has value within himself, but only because of his relation to something else.

Courtesy is paid to those who sell it at wholesale or to those who permit a sharing of their limelight. But courtesy is not of these things; it is the giving to everyone his human due as interpreted by love. It is not something that is learned at a charm school, but rather is the sister of charity which banishes hatred and cherishes love.

Courtesy is based upon the scriptural idea that everybody is better than we are. Cooks, housemaids, delivery boys, truck drivers are all men and women with joys and sorrows, hopes and aspirations, like our own. We cannot know them on the inside, but we can know ourselves on the inside.

Since there is so little commendable in the garden of our heart which we know is so full of weeds, then in the unknown garden of their hearts, we must believe that there may grow flowers which demand our reverence and respect. This is what is meant by "in honor preferring one another."

A false idea is abroad that the way to make oneself popular is to flatter everyone you meet: "I hear all the great things you are doing, Joe; keep up the good work." Though there are some men who like to be told what they think of themselves, the fact is the really lovable people are those who love others

In colleges, factories, in shops and in business houses, it is invariably true that he who thinks the least of himself and the most about others, is most popular. The whole world is like the miller, "who cared for nobody—no, not he—because nobody care for him."

Courtesy is kindness without parade of favors; it is tender and affectionate in looks and acts, always giving preference to others in every little enjoyment. Alexander the Great used to call his soldiers his "fellow footmen"; Aristotle never taught from a podium, but walked among his disciples to be one with them.

And Christ the Son of the living God washed the feet of His disciples saying: "You hail Me as the Master and the Lord and you are right; it is what I am. Why then, if I have washed your feet, I who am the Master and Lord, you in your turn, ought to wash each other's feet. I have been setting you an example which will teach you, in your turn, to do what I have done for you."

There was no sense of loss of dignity in this humble action, for twice He told them that He was their Lord. Making ourselves little for others, does not destroy true greatness. Nor is it to be forgotten that at the moment, when He girded Himself with the towel of a servant, the apostles were quarreling among themselves as to who should be the greatest among them.

True courtesy descended from heaven and dwelt amongst us, and is extended to those who are undeserving of it.

As St. Francis of Assisi said: "Know dearest brother, that courtesy is one of God's own properties, Who sendeth His rain and His sunshine upon the just and the unjust out of His great courtesy."

Washington Irving once warned against the sham courtesy in which the eye is taught to brighten, the lip to smile and the countenance to irradiate a semblance of friendly welcome, while the bosom is unwarmed by a single spark of genuine goodness

Just as an oily smoothness is the opposite of true charity in the soul, so is roughness and uncouthness in the soul that claims to be religious. Christianity, when practiced, is the etiquette of heaven.

Ukrainian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a proclamation by the Governor of Masachusetts designating Friday, January 22, 1960, as Ukrainian Independence Day, in commemoration of the 42d anniversary of the Ukrainian Declaration of Independence.

It is, I believe, most appropriate that those of us in the free world pause to mark this day in order to reaffirm our devotion to freedom and keep faith with the courageous people of captive nations.

There being no objection, the proclamation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A PROCLAMATION

(By His Excellency Foster Furcolo, Governor, 1960)

"Whereas the 42d anniversary of the proclaiming of a free and independent Ukrainian Republic will be marked on January 22, 1960; and

"Whereas behind the Iron Curtain, there are more than 40 million Ukrainians who share the common desire of the captive and satellite peoples of Eastern Europe for freedom and self-determination; and

"Whereas the Ukrainians have presented strong opposition to communism, despite mass deportations and continuous destruction of their culture, and constitute the Achilles heel in Communist imperialism; and

"Whereas our Nation has always supported the causes of freedom loving people of the world, and the desire and love of freedom of the people of the Ukraine cannot be ignored and must not be denied; and

"Whereas, it is fitting to pay tribute to the heroic Ukrainian people whose will for national liberty and human dignity is indeed a source of inspiration to all free men: Now, therefore,

"I, Foster Furcolo, Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, commemorating the anniversary of the Ukrainian Declaration of Independence, do hereby designate Friday, January 22, 1960, as Ukrainian Independence Day in Massachusetts and urge the citizens of our Commonwealth to cooperate in its observance."

Given at the executive chamber in Boston, this 4th day of January, in the year of our Lord 1960 and of the Independence of the United States of America, the 184th.

By His Excellency the Governor:

FOSTER FURCOLO.
JOSEPH D. WARD,
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

The Principles for Which the South Fought

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, on yesterday, January 19, the Commonwealth of Virginia and many other States in the Union commemorated the birthday anniversary of Gen. R. E. Lee. The Richmond Times-Dispatch of that date has an editorial commenting on the principles for which Virginia fought during the War Between the States. It is an interesting editorial which I believe many of the Members of Congress would like to read. Under leave heretofore granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the editorial which is as follows:

THE SOUTH FOUGHT FOR SLAVERY

Obviously, the American Civil War arose, at least in part, out of bitter arguments over slavery. This, however, is a very different thing from saying, as some still do, that the South fought to preserve slavery.

An appropriate time to emphasize this is today, when the birthdays of Lee and Jackson are observed.

As the war's centennial approaches, it should be useful and constructive in this connection to point out certain facts to our friends, and critics, in the North and West.

They may not be aware, for example, of how few people in the South owned slaves. In 1860, fewer than 1 southerner in 4 owned a single slave, and fewer than 3 percent had as many as 20.

Charles Francis Adams, the New England historian, was quoted in this place on January 2 as saying—correctly—that the South fought not for slavery, but because it denied, as a matter of firmly held principle, that the National Government had the right to coerce a sovereign State. Not until Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers to coerce the 7 cotton States that had left the Union, did Virginia secede. That launched the war.

Was the average poor white in the Confederate army interested in preserving slavery? It is hard to believe. But it is also hard to believe that this large element of southerners was interested in constitutional doctrine. Why then did the poor whites fight so bravely? A northern soldier asked one of them during the war why he was fighting, and he replied, "Because y'all are down here." In other words, the South had been invaded.

But, you may ask, didn't the wealthy southern slaveowners drag the rest of the white South into war to save their slaves? Virginia's situation was much like that of the rest of the Confederacy. We quote again from that invaluable work, Virginia's

Attitude Toward Slavery and Secession, by the late Beverley B. Munsford, of Richmond. Mr. Munford says concerning Virginia's five most notable generals:

Robert E. Lee never owned a slave, except the few he inherited from his mother—all of whom he emancipated many years prior to the war * * *.

Stonewall Jackson never owned but two slaves, a man and a woman, both of whom he purchased at their own solicitation. He immediately accorded them the privilege of earning their freedom * * *.

Joseph E. Johnston never owned a slave and, like General Lee, regarded the institution with great disfavor.

A. P. Hill never owned a slave, and regarded slavery as an evil, much to be deplored.

J. E. B. Stuart inherited one slave from his father's estate; and while stationed * * * at Fort Leavenworth, Kans., purchased another. Both of these he disposed of some years prior to the war.

Given the foregoing indisputable facts, it's a bit difficult to understand how the argument can still be advanced that the South fought to preserve slavery. It did no such thing.

Hi-Interest and Housing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the fact that our high interest rates discourage housing starts is vividly described in an article entitled "Easier Money, Builders Cry," written by Paul Herron, a staff reporter of the Washington Post. On January 5, 1960, in this article, Mr. Herron showed that there will be a decline in the number of housing units being built after 1959, and that even in that year, the building starts were not adequate to meet our national housing needs.

Mr. Herron says:

The outlook for 1960 is that housing starts will show a moderate decline from the 1959 level—perhaps 10 to 15 percent—and the reason, a contracting supply of mortgage money.

Housing observers agree that the resulting 1.5 million-unit building rate will be inadequate and that 2 to 2.5 million units are necessary in 1960. Mr. Herron continues:

The problem of financing seems to begin at the consumer level.

Mr. President, I call the attention of the Senate to this discussion of the effect of our high interest rates on housing, and ask that this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 5, 1960]

"EASIER MONEY," BUILDERS CRY

(By Paul Herron)

The Nation's homebuilders created approximately 1.3 million new homes in 1959 and became more firmly convinced than ever that record housing production is tied directly to easy home financing.

When the final statistics are tabulated, 1959 production may approximate the all-time high of 1.32 million houses in 1955. However, housing economists believe that had mortgage funds been ample, the 1959 figure would have been about 1.5 million units.

The outlook for 1960 is that housing starts will show a moderate decline from the 1959 level—perhaps 10 to 15 percent—and the reason, a contracting supply of mortgage money.

All housing observers agree that even a 1.5 million unit building rate will not be adequate for our rapidly increasing population. Federal Housing Administration Commissioner Julian H. Zimmerman believes that a rate of 2.5 million units per year will be necessary in the decades ahead. Senator JOHN SPARKMAN, Democrat, of Alabama, chairman of the Senate Housing Subcommittee, puts the figure at 2 million units per year by the end of the sixties.

DOWNPAYMENTS LACKING

The problem of financing seems to begin at the consumer level. A house is generally the biggest investment a family ever makes, a fact repeatedly pointed out. However, it is also the investment that the buyer seems least prepared to make. Builders are continually amazed at the number of prospects who are perfectly able to assume heavy monthly mortgages but who have little or no money set aside for downpayments.

The answer, as Senator SPARKMAN sees it, is to create some form of central mortgage facility that will provide a stable flow of mortgage funds to builders at all times. Higher and higher interest rates, he says, are not the solution. SPARKMAN is backed in this opinion by Raymond T. O'Keefe, head of the Chase Manhattan Bank, who avows it's not so much the psychology of tight money as it is the psychology of expensive money that discourages buyers.

"They know the difference between 5¾ and 6¼ percent," O'Keefe says, "and they aren't ready to pay it."

The remarkable reversal of the financing trend began soon after World War II. Prior to that time, many buyers paid all cash for their houses or assumed loans of short mortgage periods with second and third mortgages payable in lump sums at specified dates.

DOWNPAYMENT CUT ASKED

The National Association of Home Builders has successfully lobbied for legislation reducing the size of downpayments and extending mortgage repayment periods. In each instance, the new Housing Acts have increased Government participation in the housing field to the point where the Federal Government is able to manipulate the amount of new home construction almost at will.

The National Association of Real Estate Boards, on the other hand, declined to support the Housing Act of 1959 on the grounds that it was inflationary. NAREB believes that quality homes can be sold on more stringent buying terms.

As SPARKMAN and others have pointed out, general credit controls seem to have a disproportionately severe effect upon the housing industry—an effect created in part by easy buying terms. Commercial banks and other major lending institutions would like to have greater equity paid into the loans. They balk at the lack of liquidity associated with 30- and 40-year loans. In addition, the fixed interest rates of VA and FHA-insured mortgages often are not competitive with rates charged in the general money market.

Despite the handicap of an erratic supply of money, most builders are optimistic and believe they'll hit the "necessary" shelter figure of about two million units annually in the decade ahead. Miles L. Colean and other nationally-known economists told realtors at a recent convention in Toronto that by late spring mortgage money will be more plentiful.

In addition, there are several plans in the works aimed at easing the tight money situation. One would create a central mortgage bank—possibly with private funds. Another contemplates a Federal agency which would lend to middle income families. Also proposed are changes in the Federal National Mortgage Association to expand this agency's role in the secondary mortgage market.

At any rate, builders expect good business in 1960.

For the consumer, 1959 was a good year. Financing terms remained lenient, competition improved the quality of new homes and the minor increases in home prices were occasioned, primarily, by the increased cost of purchasing and developing new land. As a matter of fact, land scarcity, many builders predict, will soon cause difficulties that will overshadow financing problems.

Another portent is the continued swing to apartment construction in the close-in suburbs. The trend is being received with mixed reactions.

Urban renewal has been moderate. The United States entered the fifties with approximately 16½ million substandard dwellings. These have now been reduced to an estimated 12 million substandard.

Need for Revision of Status of Forces Treaties

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill requesting the President to revise existing treaties to preclude foreign countries from taking jurisdiction over members of our Armed Forces stationed overseas.

This is hardly a new proposal in the Congress. I personally have been urging this resolution since 1955. Two years later the Girard case came to public attention and there was renewed support for a revision of our policy.

This is now 1960. Our boys are still subject to foreign jurisdiction under treaties which have remained the same despite congressional protest.

I feel very strongly that it is time we renewed that protest. The Girard case, which pointed up the problem so dramatically, was hardly an isolated incident. The list of less-publicized examples continues.

I am requesting the Department of Defense to supply me with date on the number of our servicemen who are currently serving jail terms in foreign countries, and I shall make that date available as soon as I receive it.

The reasons for my resolution have been too often described for me to discuss them in detail at this time. It remains basically unfair, regardless of constitutionality, to draft our young men into military service and then unceremoniously abandon them to the vagaries of

foreign jurisdictions, which may or may not adhere to our concepts of justice and fairplay.

I was personally familiar with a case of a young serviceman from my district who, several years ago, narrowly escaped British execution on evidence which turned out to be not only flimsy, but inaccurate. As I said in a statement at that time, the fact that this could happen in a judicial sysem so much like ours suggests strongly what coud happen, and does happen, under systems which are far more dissimilar.

Perhaps the greatest problem which the serviceman who is tried in a foreign court must face is the hostile sentiment which often makes conviction inevitable. Further, this conviction, which may be based as much on the hostile temper of the court as on available evidence, is frequently the basis for discharging that man from the service under less than honorable conditions.

I feel very strongly that we cannot, in all conscience, permit this situation to continue.

I do not believe that these treaties, as is frequently alleged, are necessary to the conduct of our foreign policy. To the contrary, I feel that the passions which are periodically aroused, whenever a foreign court tries a serviceman accused of a serious crime, do far more to strain our normal relations with our allies than would result were these cases turned over as a routine matter to our own military authorities.

Again, I want to emphasize that, although the Girard case is a thing of the past, this issue is as pressing today as it was in 1957. I therefore urge that this matter be given the serious and immediate attention it deserves.

New Honors for Ellsworth Tompkins

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, New Jersey is proud of a new assignment to one of its hard-working citizens. Mr. Ellsworth Tompkins of Paterson has been named executive secretary of the National Association of Secondary School Principals. At a time when all Americans are vitally interested in the future of high schools in this Nation, Mr. Tompkins' new position is obviously an important one. I ask unanimous consent to insert in the appendix of the Record this proud, hometown editorial which appeared in the January 6 issue of the Morning Call in Paterson, N.J.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ELLSWORTH TOMPKINS WEARS HIS HONORS WITH DIGNITY AND GRACE

Having been a classmate at Paterson High School of Ellsworth Tompkins, we were especially delighted to learn of the latest of a long line of honors that has deservedly been bestowed on him. Recognized for his brilliant achievements in education, he has been named executive secretary of the National Association of Secondary School Principals, a post which will afford him greater opportunity of advancing the educational standards of high schools throughout the Nation.

We recall Ellsworth Tompkins in the days when he was a staff member of former radio station WODA, a pioneer in broadcasting. He was an announcer and singer, his voice a rich baritone. And we saw his steady climb following graduation from college, first as an instructor, then vice principal and later principal of Eastside High School.

Realizing that in the service of the secondary school division of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare he could be more useful in his chosen profession, Ellsworth Tompkins went to Washington.

He wears his honors well, with dignity and grace. And Paterson is rightly proud of Ellsworth Tompkins. He is a worthy son of this city. Although there was regret when he retired as head of Eastside High in 1947, his friends and colleagues—aware of his tremendous capabilities and charming personality—knew he was destined to serve in a broader field of education and thus have been happy for his steady advancement.

A coauthor with Dr. Peter Sammartino, president of Fairleigh-Dickinson University, Tompkins and Sammartino published a book on "Community College in Action" in 1950. He has been a delegate to seminars on secondary education and has edited various educational publications.

In his new office we wish him every success, and congratulate the National Association on its splendid choice of Ellsworth Tompkins as executive secretary.

Revision of the Social Security Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, I think all my colleagues will agree with me when I say that one of the major, if not the major, issues facing the 2d session of the 86th Congress is revision of the social security law. Researches and on-the-scene surveys conducted throughout 1959 have demonstrated beyond question that our elderly citizens have suffered a steady deterioration so far as their income positions are concerned, and that this trend is certain to continue unless this Congress takes remedial steps.

In this connection, I should like to call my colleagues' attention to an anniversary that is being remembered and celebrated this month by millions of elderly citizens throughout the vast reaches of this great land.

Dr. Francis E. Townsend, who pioneered the pension movement in America, and still heads the organization he founded, was 93 years of age on January 13. Still hale and hearty despite his advanced years, the doctor is even at this moment engaged in a vigorous speaking tour on the west coast, urging upon his audiences the acceptance of the plan he fathered.

That plan is before this Congress in the form of my bill, H.R. 4000. It calls for universal retirement benefits to persons age 60 and older, and to certain other groups including the disabled and widows with dependent children.

This program, to be financed from the proceeds of a modest 2 percent tax on gross incomes, would result in monthly benefits of about $140, and would be paid as a matter of right. H.R. 4000, unlike the social security program, calls for genuine pay-as-we-go financing.

The genius of Dr. Townsend lies in the appeal of a dream which captured the imagination of millions of his fellow citizens some 25 years ago and today commands increased respect, not only among the aged people of this country, but now, too, among the students of the social security problem, and among those of us in this Chamber who have been elected to serve the best interests of our constituents.

It is fitting, therefore, that we pay tribute to Dr. Townsend on the occasion of his 93d birthday. It is given to few men to live so long and accomplish so much and earn the devotion of so many fervent followers. May he live to celebrate many another birthday—and to realize at long last the fruits of his efforts on behalf of his fellow Americans.

The Story of Project Talent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I was pleased to learn recently of "The Story of Project Talent," a survey of our aptitudes and abilities as a Nation to be undertaken by the University of Pittsburgh with the support of our administrative agencies. The bulletin of the project talent office describes the program that is being set up.

Certainly, at this time we must use all our available abilities and talents to aid our national security. I applaud this university scientific survey that will take a census of our scientific resources.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the bulletin explaining "The Story of Project Talent" be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the bulletin was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE STORY OF PROJECT TALENT—OUR COUNTRY NEEDS THE FULL USE OF ALL ITS TALENTS—THIS APTITUDE AND ABILITY CENSUS WILL TELL US WHAT IS AVAILABLE

Our country's continued growth and development require the identification, development, and utilization of all available talents. We cannot use all of these talents unless we know what is available. A national inventory of aptitudes and abilities will enable school personnel to assist their students in developing and making the most of their potential.

If we are to plan properly for meeting the increased needs for advanced education—if we are to know, for example, how many educators or physicians we may expect to educate and train in the years ahead—we need a better idea of how many of our young people have the aptitudes, the inclination, and the education for entrance into various careers. Everyone has his own special talents. But how many persons fail to receive proper encouragement and education?

There are many tests in standard subjects, and for some years it has been possible to test one person or a thousand persons for general intelligence, musical ability, or capability in languages. Project Talent may be an historic enterprise, for it is the first scientifically planned national inventory of human talents: the aptitudes and abilities of a people.

NINETEEN SIXTY IS A CENSUS YEAR—PROJECT TALENT IS A SCIENTIFIC CENSUS

This inventory will be conducted in March of 1960, in order to coincide with the 1960 population census. When the census taker comes to the door of a home, the householder does not feel the census is an examination which is to be passed or failed. The same is true of Project Talent. No special preparation is necessary for this examination. Other sets of tests search for certain abilities or superiority in selected subjects. Project Talent will report fully the unique potential and all the talents of all students tested.

A scientifically selected sample of half a million high school students will be given a 2-day series of examinations. These tests will measure many different kinds of things. Project Talent will be carried out through local school systems all over the Nation—in the country and the city, and in public, private, and parochial schools.

The scores from the tests will be made available to the individual school, to be used as the school wishes, but Project Talent will not evaluate specific schools, nor compare on student with another. The tests will be available only to those schools selected as a part of this scientific study. The tests are not intended as substitutes for present testing programs; they are special instruments scientifically designed for this particular purpose.

This project covers more than school activities; followup studies are planned. The project will seek to determine what these people are doing in their jobs or in higher education 1 year after graduation from high school. The first survey and later questionnaires also will ask about their interests or hobbies. A young person may have a hobby which involves a special talent in photography or music, for example, but that interest may not be revealed in ordinary school work. These examinations will be designed to measure potential aptitudes and abilities of a more general sort in addition to measuring what the student knows.

Most teachers are interested not merely in school grades, but in the student's potential, and what he eventually does. When Project Talent is completed schoolteachers will have much more definite information about the kinds of talents and potential they may reasonably expect to find in their classrooms. Educators will have realistic answers to some of their questions about how to guide and develop these talents.

PROGRESS IN EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH, TEST DEVELOPMENT, AND NEW COMPUTERS MAKES POSSIBLE THIS NATIONAL INVENTORY

This national inventory of human resources has long been needed for planning in education. The scientifically selected cross section of American youth to be tested is large enough that the findings will give educators important facts about the total student population. The goals outlined below indicate some of the ways this basic information may be used.

Educators have long known that a collection of smaller studies cannot be as definitive as a national study. There are several new factors which now make such a survey possible:

Fundamental tests of aptitudes and abilities have been developed.

New electronic scoring machines, coupled with high-speed electronic computers, make it possible to process thousands of test items in a small fraction of the time required in the past. Each of the 500,000 sets of student's answer sheets will contain about 2,000 items. These 1 billion bits of information will require 1,250 machine-hours for initial scoring, reporting to schools, and recording on magnetic tape for analysis and future followup studies. The analyses of these data on high-speed computers are expected to take less than 100 hours. This data processing would have required millions of manhours of work as recently as 5 years ago.

The principal factor in the initiation of this project, however, is that the Nation has begun to appreciate the importance of assuring an educational system designed to offer proper training and opportunities to students having diverse aptitudes and developmental needs.

Thus, leading educational research institutions, agencies of the Federal Government, and representatives of professional, educational, and scientific associations have joined together to assist in guiding the study and interpreting the results from Project Talent.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT IS BEING PROVIDED BY THE OFFICE OF EDUCATION WITH ASSISTANCE FROM OTHER FEDERAL AGENCIES

Project Talent is financed for the most part by funds from the U.S. Office of Education through Commissioner of Education Lawrence G. Derthick. These funds came from the cooperative research program, directed by Assistant Commissioner of Education Roy M. Hall. The plan for the project, as developed by the University of Pittsburgh and the American Institute for Research was reviewed and recommended for approval by the advisory committee of the cooperative research program.

The chairman of this committee was Dr. Ralph W. Tyler, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Palo Alto, Calif. Other members of the committee were Dr. Finis E. Engleman, executive secretary, American Association of School Administrators; Dr. Chester W. Harris, professor of education, University of Wisconsin; Dr. Erick L. Lindman, professor of school administration, George Peabody College for Teachers; Dr. Henry J. Otto, professor of education, University of Texas; Dr. J. Cayce Morrison, assistant commissioner for research, New York State Education Department (retired); Dr. H. H. Remmers, director, division of educational reference, Purdue University; Dr. Dewey B. Stuit, dean, College of Liberal Arts, State University of Iowa; and Dr. Dorothy Adkins Wood, chairman, department of psychology, University of North Carolina.

Support for the project is provided also by the National Institute of Mental Health and the Office of Naval Research, with aid in the planning stages from the National Science Foundation.

Dr. John C. Flanagan, professor at the University of Pittsburgh and director of the American Institute for Research, prepared the initial proposals for the study and is the responsible investigator.

THE PLANNING AND ADMINISTRATION OF PROJECT TALENT IS UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF NATIONAL COMMITTEES AND COORDINATORS

Four panels of the Nation's leading specialists worked with the staff for more than a year planning the study. This staff included six full-time research workers headed by Dr. John T. Dailey. The overall chairman of the advisory panels during the planning phases was Dr. John H. Fischer, then superintendent of the Baltimore Public Schools. The present chairman is Dr. Kenneth E. Oberholtzer, superintendent of the Denver public schools. The chairman of the guidance and counseling panel is Dr. Edward Landy, director, division of counseling services, Newton (Mass.) public schools. The chairman of the educational research panel is Dr. Robert J. Keller, director, University High School, University of Minnesota. The chairman of the testing problems panel is Dr. Robert L. Thorndike, head, department of psychological foundations and services, Teachers College, Columbia University. The chairman of the manpower and sociology panel is Dr. Samuel A. Stouffer, director, laboratory of social relations, Harvard University.

The plans developed through these groups were reviewed by an advisory council composed principally of presidents and executive secretaries of the professional associations most interested in the findings from this study. These associations included the American Association of School Administrators, National Association of Secondary School Principals, Council of Chief of School Officers, National Catholic Education Association, National School Boards Association, American Association for the Advanciment of Science, American Personnel and Guidance Association, and American Psychological Association.

Regional coordinators will administer the program locally. They will distribute tests, arrange for cooperation of schools, and serve as advisers on procedures. These local officials, familiar with the educational needs and resources of the local communities, will be the key representatives of one of the largest educational studies ever undertaken.

All results from the survey and the studies which follow will be published and will be freely available to educators and research specialists. Prior to publication, these studies will be reviewed by the panel of experts and the advisory council. Many educational and research groups have expressed keen interest in these studies and will be kept fully informed. A series of reports will be made to educational agencies throughout the country. These will go to school systems, to schools of education, to State departments of education, and to private educational associations as well as to the supporting agencies. Results will be of interest also to parents, to industry, to the military services, and to anyone concerned with planning for proper future use of manpower.

The responsibility for administering the tests and collecting the data about the students and their past experiences is placed directly in the hands of the selected schools. The scientific analysis of the original data and the collection of the follow-up data will be done under the direction of the program staff of the University of Pittsburgh with special assistance from the American Institute for Research.

The success of the survey phase depends upon the capability and effective assistance of local coordinators, principals, teachers, and others.

PROJECT TALENT IS A SCIENTIFIC STUDY USING ONLY TESTED TYPES OF INSTRUMENTS

It is expected that this historic national census and follow-up will give the Nation a great many new facts. Some will be surprising. Also, it is to be expected that administration of such a large program will produce new methods and new ideas in the field of educational research itself. This should be one of several important by-products from the study.

"Project Talent" is not an experiment to try out new theories. All the major components of this project have been tested and proven in previous studies. Systematic measurement and description of students is es-

sential to understanding and improvement. Educational leaders, teachers, colleges, school superintendents, and school boards will always be better able to apply educational theories when they have more facts. This is an attempt to carry out a detailed survey of human talents in a segment of the population with tested instruments.

BASIC GOAL: INFORMATION TO HELP AMERICAN YOUTH TO DEVELOP THEMSELVES AND THEIR NATION

In this kind of scientific study, it is possible to know in advance some of the major types of information which will be produced.

Some of the important results of this National Aptitude and Ability Census will be:

An inventory of human resources: Project Talent will be a tremendous inventory or stocktaking in which we find out the capabilities of our youth.

We also plan to study the relationships between one kind of ability and another, between one type of schol course and another, and between personal hobbies and the development of many types of competence.

A set of standards for educational and psychological measurement: When reliable measures have been obtained from thousands of persons in a systematically selected sample, it will be possible to provide a more accurate set of benchmarks or standards for test authors to use in standardizing tests so that scores indicate comparable levels of ability.

This may be roughly compared to the basic standards such as the marked bars for measuring length, or the standard weights which the National Bureau of Standards maintains.

A comprehensive counseling guide indicating the patterns of aptitude and ability which are predictive of success in various careers: In the followups after the national examinations and analysis, students who took the tests will be located and asked to report on educational and vocational experiences. A young girl may have become a secretary, or a housewife, or she may have gone to college. By studying thousands of student aptitude, interest, and ability patterns, and finding out the person's later activities and occupations, we will learn a great deal. This will help students by predicting more precisely what kinds of aptitudes and abilities, what kinds of courses, and what kinds of interests constitute the best basis for various kinds of careers. An artist needs good color sense, a scientist needs mathematical ability, but counselors and teachers know that many other factors enter into the qualifications for success in a career. Motivation is a necessary ingredient, but the best use of the student's special talents requires that he identify this talent early and obtain the education essential for the full development and effective use of his powers.

It is anticipated that Project Talent will make a significant contribution toward meeting this need: better prediction, based on actual followups, of a young person's chances for success in a given field. To some extent, this can be done today, and it has been an enormous incentive to teachers, young people, and parents to be told, for example, "This boy unquestionably has talent in a given direction. If he can continue his education, he may reasonably expect to master his chosen trade or profession."

A better understanding of how young people choose their life work: Many people follow their family trade or profession. They tend to think that people know quite early what their life work will be. Other people drift into an occupation and they tend to think that everyone else more or less drifts into a particular trade, business, or profession. Many people feel that they have very little choice.

However, many people today do have a choice, and the diversity of occupations and the need for special training continue to increase. We have begun to learn something about the processes by which a young person decides that he would like to be a teacher, a lawyer, or an apprentice for a trade. This study and others can help us understand at what ages certain lifetime careers tend to be chosen.

Naturally, high school seniors talk more about their future careers than do high school freshmen. Yet there are many indications that even younger children already have interests which are related to the fields in which they later work.

A better understanding of the educational experiences which prepare students for their life work: American education is noted for its diversity. Only through the analysis of detailed information about students, their educational experiences, and their subsequent successes or failures can we hope to make our educational system as flexible and responsive to the individual needs of its students as it must be if our Nation is to continue to develop and prosper.

Project Talent has been carefully designed to fill an important national need for facts regarding the identification, development, and utilization of our human resources. This information is intended as a basis for manpower policies and as a basic resource for the many individuals responsible for the education of our children.

Federal Trade Commission Conference on Public Deception

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a statement by Daniel J. Murphy, Assistant Director, Bureau of Litigation of the Federal Trade Commission, designed to protect the consumer from exploitation by salesmen who misrepresent their products.

The statement follows:

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION CONFERENCE ON PUBLIC DECEPTION, DECEMBER 21, 1959—DIRECT SELLING PRACTICES

(By Daniel J. Murphy, Assistant Director, Bureau of Litigation)

When a salesman rings your doorbell or telephones you, his motive is not to render a social service or to aid your economic welfare. The only thing he is concerned about is selling his product. He "sets his sights" for the consumer. He uses all the aids of pictorial presentation and emotional and glamorizing copy to accomplish his purpose. His object is not only to increase your existing demands, but to create continuously new wants. The luxuries of yesterday become the necessities of today.

Thus, there is in reality a contest between the salesman and his advertising, oral and written, on one side and the household consumer on the other. But it is a one-sided contest. Business plans the organized strategy and conducts the well-thought-out sales campaigns. The consumer, on the other hand, is unorganized and often apathetic about the abuses heaped upon him. It is to protect this huge ill-informed consumer army that Federal regulations have been developed.

In this uneven contest, knowledge is the best weapon of the consumer. To become aware of the abuse is to be on guard. This is the purpose of this conference.

Now, of course, the salesman has a right to push his own products. As a matter of commercial interest, we expect that; but he has no right to misrepresent them.

The distinction between "puffing" and "misleading representation" is often difficult to determine. The best distinction, determined by the U.S. Supreme Court, is that legitimate puffing is mere exaggeration of qualities the merchandise has and misleading representation is assigning to merchandise qualities it does not have.

Misleading representations may be divided into a number of methods, that is, affirmative misstatements, half-truths, literal truths, concealment, silence, improper emphasis, and in other ways. The misleading representation may apply to different subjects, such as the product itself, the origin of the product, the price, the business of the seller, the nature of the sale, guarantees, etc.

When a salesman comes to your door and tries to sell you a vacuum cleaner or a sewing machine, be sure the vacuum cleaner or the sewing machine is new and not repossessed nor used for rentals or for teaching purposes.

Watch out for the salesman who calls himself some fancy name, other than a salesman, and tells you that you have been selected to purchase new and revolutionary cooking utensils that will protect your health, save you on fuel and food bills, and that such utensils will come to you directly from the factory.

Be alert to the salesman with one foot in your door claiming to be a representative of the city government or some civic organization who claims his only desire is to make a fire prevention talk or demonstration but whose real purpose is to sell fire alarm systems. He informs you your home has been especially selected for demonstration purposes. Once in the home, he exhibits newspaper clippings and horror pictures of fire fatalities calculated to arouse parental emotions and representing this is what the prospective purchaser may expect if he does not purchase the product.

Don't be convinced by the salesman who claims your home has been selected in your particular neighborhood as a model or demonstration home to advertise and sell his products, whether it is siding material, a fancy roof job, an additional porch, a carport, etc., and that you will receive a special price and commissions or fees on other sales made in your vicinity.

Be very careful about signing contracts and promissory notes on purchasing products sold from door-to-door. Sometimes it is represented that you are signing documents for credit checking when in fact you are signing promissory notes, sometimes in blank, or other evidence of debt.

These negotiable promissory notes are subsequently transferred to bona fide purchasers for value without notice who then demand payment free from the agreements and obligations existing between the seller and the buyer.

Always ask for the credentials of salesmen who claim to represent some well-known and well-established business and check the credentials before doing business.

Be a little shy of a ready guarantee. Be sure the guarantee has validity and strength and that all its terms and conditions are clearly disclosed. Watch out for restric-

tions with respect to time, material, and services.

Don't be fooled by the storm door and window salesmen who represent a specific amount of savings in fuel bills will result from the installation of such doors and windows.

Be on guard against representatives of furnace manufacturers whose sales crews masquerade as city or business utility inspectors and under the guise of a safety campaign deliberately sabotage a householder's furnace in order to make a sale of a new furnace or extensive repairs on the old one. Many times the salesmen would dismantle a furnace and then refuse to reassemble the unit, misrepresenting that such a service would involve great danger of fire, explosion, or asphyxiation of the householder and her family.

The encyclopedia salesman is a frequent caller at the home. Don't be persuaded by representations that his books are the most authoritative, most complete, contain more articles, or are the official reference work of Government departments, educational institutions, or public libraries. Don't be misled by the production of a letter from sonny's teacher which indicates the purchase of the encyclopedia is necessary for sonny's education—a little payola may be involved.

When you buy carpets from a door-to-door salesman, be sure you are getting what is represented. At times the representation is made that the carpet is Acrilan or a fiber of the acrilan line when in fact it is composed of rayon and contains no Acrilan at all.

Don't be taken in by the phony promotional telephone quiz. Your phone may ring and after the preliminary representations of selection, you may be asked a very elementary question, such as "Who was buried in Grant's Tomb?" After exercising your profound erudition, you are advised you have won a contest and will be entitled to a very special deal. These promotional schemes are not bona fide quizzes or contests, but are merely gimmicks to sell merchandise.

Watch out for the perennial magazine solicitor who goes from door-to-door with his credentials and certificates of authorizations. Many times these solicitors sell subscriptions for magazines which are not on their authorized list of magazines and are undeliverable. In these instances, the solicitor or his company refuses to refund the customer's money and requires such customer to accept a substitute magazine from the authorized list which they would not have otherwise ordered or accepted.

Be on guard for the distributors of photograph albums, certificates for enlargement of snapshots or negatives of snapshots who want to beautify and color and frame Johnny's picture or make a handsome enlargement in oil painted by an artist, similar to the sample displayed. This salesman fails to disclose to customers at the time the enlargements are ordered that the finished enlargement, when delivered, will be so shaped that it can be used only in specially designed odd-styled frames that cannot be obtained in stores accessible to the purchasing public and that it will be difficult, if not impossible, to obtain frames to properly fit the enlargements from any source other than the salesman's company.

Don't be deceived by the door-to-door nurseryman with a beautiful, colorful catalog representing that your grass will be greener, and your roses redder—that this gorgeous galaxy of color is yours by the purchase of his stock, and especially his rapid fertilizer.

With this spread of fertilizer, I will close as "time runneth out." As you must perceive, the subject covers a big field. The products and practices are almost unlimited in their scope and variety.

My final admonition—always read the fine print and be skeptical of the fast-talking salesman who offers you a special deal.

Hate on the Prowl

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, the acts of hate and prejudice which have broken out throughout the world in the past weeks have been roundly condemned by heads of state, community and religious leaders. Whether these represent a broad plan or are just scattered incidents, reasonable men must stand firmly against the continuation of these outbreaks and sweep out the causes. I think the editorial which recently appeared in the Trentonian of Trenton, N.J., vividly describes the outbreaks and presents an estimable approach to dealing with them.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have this fine editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HATE ON THE PROWL

Somewhere or other, the pied piper of hate has sounded his clarion call and the rats have scurried out of hiding to do his bidding. As a result, we see holy edifices desecrated; the final resting places of the honored and the honorable are marked with the symbol of intolerance and scourged with the blasphemous words of prejudiced minds; despicable hate sheets filled with the rantings of bigots come into renewed prominence.

The outbreak of swastika painting, cross burning, and door-to-door distribution of hate sheets in the Trenton area is far more serious than it might seem at first glance. It appears to be part of a calculated campaign of professional antagonism. If so, that is deplorable enough, but even more disturbing is the fact that those who act without thinking, particularly youngsters, can be swept up in such a floodtide as it feeds on itself.

It may well be, as the Reverend Garnett Phibbs, of the Greater Trenton Council of Churches, says, that youngsters fall easy prey to hate mongering because parents have failed to give them an adequate understanding of modern history. To that it can only be added that all parents should now stand alerted to the danger.

In Trenton and elsewhere law-enforcement agencies will do their utmost to apprehend perpetrators. Eventually, this spate of ugliness will be stamped out or run its evil course. Meanwhile, we may well remember that the swastika was damned by the late Pope Pius as being a cross which is not the cross of God; and we can remember, too, that in this great Nation of ours there is only one real minority group—that group which espouses hate, religious prejudice, and racial bigotry.

The Next Election Is Already Rigged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Richard Lee Strout which appeared in Harper's magazine, November 1959:

THE NEXT ELECTION IS ALREADY RIGGED
(By Richard Lee Strout)

(Why a fair ballot has become impossible in most States, how one farmer often outvotes 500 city dwellers, and why our politicians refuse to fix the political breakdown which is crippling local governments.)

Consider, my friends, the case of Louis Cahoon. He represents the town of Victory in the Vermont Legislature. He also is the father of eight—four sons, four daughters—and a solid citizen. Formerly he was selectman and justice of the peace. Now he is a lister—the Vermont term for "appraiser"—tax collector, and constable. If you live in Victory, he can set your tax, send you the bill, and arrest you if you don't pay it.

If you are driving through Vermont, you may have a little trouble finding Victory. Before you get there, the power line stops and the telephone stops and the macadam gives out. Mr. and Mrs. Cahoon read by kerosene lamps. So do the 47 other inhabitants of Victory. But they have their own representative in the State legislature because Vermont gave each town a seat in the lower house in 1793—and hasn't changed the rules since.

When Mr. Cahoon is serving as a legislator, he sits not far from Joseph Moore, who represents the thriving city of Burlington. Its population is 33,000. Since Vermont is still operating under a system of apportionment set up 166 years ago, Victory and Burlington have equal representation. That means that one rural vote is equal to some 600 city votes. The people of Burlington are not merely second-class citizens; politically speaking, they are the poor relations of Mr. Cahoon and his Victorian neighbors. As everybody knows, the farmers run Vermont—and under this setup, it is easy to see how.

But Vermont, after all, is a notoriously conservative State. All over the country Americans are leaving the farms for the cities, taking with them their fond folk memories of country life. How fortunate for all of us, they are probably thinking, that Vermont, at least, keeps alive the quaint old custom of equating a tiny village with a thriving city.

So, by way of contrast, let's see how they do things in progressive, up-to-date California. A fairly typical California politician is Charles Brown. He runs the general store at Shoshone and serves as the representative in the State senate of the 14,014 residents of three cow counties—Inyo, Mono, and Alpine.

And there is Dick Richards, a prominent young lawyer with political aspirations. He sits in the senate too, representing the 38th district. The 38th—oh, that's the county of Los Angeles. It has a population of 4,151,687. It gets one senator, just like Inyo, Mono, and Alpine. One rural vote here is worth three hundred city votes—not quite as bad as Vermont, but hardly what we think of as democracy where every man's vote is supposed to be as good as any other's.

DISFRANCHISED AND SHORTCHANGED

This kind of political deck-stacking is not confined to the coasts. It is common all through the country, and it is distorting the whole political process. It is growing worse, as more and more people move to the cities. It has given the farmers vastly more than their fair share of political power. (A fact which helps explain why our ridiculous and costly scheme of farm subsidies can perist so long.) It has spread to the national House of Representatives, where farm areas now have from 20 to 30 more seats than their population entitles them to.

So long as we permit it to go uncured, this warping of our political system throws the fairness of every election in doubt. It rigs the results of the voting far more effectively than all the ballot-stuffing and bribery which went on in the bad old days of machine politics.

The most astonishing thing about it is that the cities do not revolt. What prevents them?—that is the mystery. Maybe the answer is that most city people simply don't know how badly they are being cheated.

The U.S. census next year will show 7 out of every 10 Americans living in urban areas—but the balance of political power still rests with the country districts and the small towns. In Kansas, for example, one-third of the population—the most rural part—can elect a majority of the State senate. In Maryland it is 16 percent. In Rhode Island it is 14 percent. Indiana has six counties which contain almost half of its population—yet get only a third of the seats in both houses. Michigan's voters are concentrated largely in Detroit and its suburbs, which means that two-fifths of them live in Wayne County; but they can elect only one-fifth of the State senate. This fact underlies most of the State's recent financial troubles. The upstate farmers with their bagful of representatives simply aren't willing to vote the tax money which the urban majority thinks it needs to run a modern community.

A similar situation is building up in Florida as it becomes increasingly urbanized. Two-thirds of its people live in nine counties; they can elect less than a quarter of the legislature.

Nearly every State constitution begins with a sonorous statement of the basic rule of democracy—one man equals one vote—and goes on to direct regular reapportionment of the legislative seats at stated intervals. But the record shows a disgraceful disregard of these constitutional directives. Only 16 States actually carried out their reallocation of seats and legislative redistricting on the last two occasions when they were required to do so by their own constitutions. And in some of these States the adjustments were minor. For example, the Illinois Legislature simply ignored the reapportionment clause in its constitution from 1901 to 1954—thus setting its people a bland example of lawlessness for half a century. Finally, in 1955, after suffering outrageous underrepresentation in both houses of the legislature for years, Chicago agreed to have this injustice frozen permanently in the senate in exchange for a fair allotment of seats in the lower house.

In much the same way New York City is hobbled in Albany. Eight million city people elect only 90 members of the assembly, while seven million upstaters have 118. The hostility that has resulted is one of the deep-seated aspects of Empire State politics. The city's budget is half a billion dollars larger than New York State's (and larger than any State's in the Union) but its officials must make annual trips to Albany hat in hand. There the metropolis is treated like a freckless stepchild which can be trusted to levy only certain taxes and only on a short-term basis, and is seldom, if ever, allocated its proportionate share of State revenues.

In Colorado, in the same fashion, the legislature doles out to Denver only $2.3 million a year in school aid for 90,000 children. But adjacent, semirural Jefferson County gets a generous $2.4 million for 18,000 pupils. In Pennsylvania the legislature pays $8 a day for the care of indigent patients to every nonsectarian hospital in the State—except Philadelphia's city-owned General Hospital. The exception costs the city $2.5 million a year.

"I think Philadelphia is even more disliked by our State legislature than New York City by the New York State Legislature," Mayor Richardson Dilworth blurted out at a recent Congressional hearing. "Every mayor of a city over half a million has reported the same condition."

Only a political innocent could miss the meaning of this nationwide feud. Outside of the South, the cities are generally Democratic while Republican strength tends to be concentrated in the rural areas. The latter, of course, gain from the imbalance in representation. In New York, Illinois, Michigan, and other important States, the upper chamber of the legislature has been given, virtually in perpetuity, to the Republicans. It has become a rural conservative fortress, a kind of petty House of Lords almost above the swings of majority rule.

What has happened to the normal process of democracy when Gov. Mennen Williams wins popular majorities for six successive terms in Michigan but has never yet won control of the legislature? When New Jersey shifts regularly between the parties in national and gubernatorial elections, but the State senate remains forever Republican? When Adlai Stevenson won the governorship of Illinois by 570,000 in 1948 but faced a Republican senate throughout his term of office? When there has been a Democratic Governor in Albany during 25 years since 1920, but the Republicans have held a majority of the senate in all but 8 of those years and lost control of both chambers in only 1?

BACK-SEAT DRIVERS FROM THE BACKWOODS

Our curious system of misrepresentation has its roots down in the counties which are the home bases of most State lawgivers. (In New England it is the township.) County government is in widespread decay; most counties are headless and disintegrating. This obsolete unit of government supports a variety of strange elective offices such as the sheriff (descended from the English shire-reeve who preserved the shire's peace) and the coroner (a Crown officer around 1194 who kept his eye on the shire-reeve). Today when the proud voter parades to the polling place in a county election, he takes his choice between a couple of seedy undertakers to determine whether there shall be Democratic or Republican autopsies in the next biennium. There are 3,057 counties and they are the dark continent of American government.

However, jobs on the county payroll and county construction contracts and purchases are an important source of nourishment to the rural grassroots of our political parties. State lawgivers are usually picked by the county organization and have a parochial outlook. State legislatures generally meet for only a few months and some convene only every other year. Many of the State assemblymen and senators are firstrate men. But inevitably they look askance at the teeming problems of the exigent cities.

This does not prevent them, however, from being invetrate back-seat drivers. A stop light at the corner of Main and Elm? Let the city fathers first consult State officials. A city tax on cigarettes? St. Paul and Minneapolis won permission for such a levy in 1949 from the State legislature, which then appropriated the money for the State budget.

But these are mosquito bites compared to the real problem. In the United States, great supercities are forming, not metropolises but megalopolises. Already, one vast urban region stretching 600 miles from New Hampshire to Washington, D.C., holds a fifth of the country's population. Similar agglomerations will run from Los Angeles to San Diego, from Cleveland to Pittsburgh, and among the cities along the St. Lawrence Seaway—Detroit and Toledo, Chicago and Milwaukee. How can rural lawmakers—men who never rode a subway—deal with the super-cities' staggering transportation, industrial, housing, and other social problems? In fact, they don't.

Back in 1953 President Eisenhower was determined to scale down centralized government by returning more functions to the States. So he set up a Commission on Intergovernment Relations headed by one of his special assistants, Meyer Kestnbaum, a much respected business magnate. The Kestnbaum report proclaimed facts which college professors had vainly tried to tell the Nation for years; cities are bringing problems to Washington because State legislatures won't handle them.

"In a majority of the States," said the report, "city-dwellers outnumber the citizens of rural areas., Yet in most States the rural voters are overwhelmingly in control of one legislative house and overweighted if not dominant in the other. * * * If the States do not give the cities their rightful allocation of seats in the legislature, the tendency will be toward direct Federal-municipal dealings."

This is why Senator JOSEPH S. CLARK of Pennsylvania last summer introduced a bill to set up a special Federal commission on metropolitan problems. Such a device might conceivably help the city voter to get a better shake in Washington, but the odds are heavily against them.

As we know, Nevada with 160,000 people has two U.S. Senators, just like New York with its 14.8 million. But the House was to be the "grand depository of the democratic principle" with membership determined proportionately by population. It has not worked out that way. Rurally biased State legislators draw the boundaries of congressional districts and have been most obliging in giving Representatives from the hinterland safe, sparsely populated fiefs. In Texas, for instance, SAM RAYBURN'S district has a population of around 200,000 while the State's lone Republican, BRUCE ALGER of Dallas, has nearly three times as many constituents. Republican-dominated South Dakota, on the other hand, splits its two congressional seats so that the Democrat has 494,000 constituents, the Republican 159,000.

Some of the worst inequities result, not from positive acts of injustice but from no action whatever. The controlling faction in the State legislature simply does nothing while population within the States gravitates toward the cities. This is the "silent gerrymander" which has done much to devalue the city-dweller's vote. Partisanship is not always a factor. Thus in Ohio the 3d and 15th Districts are both Republican, but the 3d, which includes Dayton, has nearly double the population of the semi-rural 15th. This follows the political rule that Republicans where possible shortchange Democrats, and Democrats where possible shortchange Republicans, and both shortchange city-dwellers.

THE URBAN-MINDED SENATE

The irony of our present situation is that the Senate has become more urban-minded than the House, for in most States Senators can't win without city votes. Many Representatives, on the other hand, come from districts that don't even have a large town. After World War II the Senate passed public-

housing bills three times before one got through the rural-minded House and became law. Since then the House has repeatedly voted to reduce or eliminate public housing and similar appropriations needed by the cities. Slum clearance, urban renewal, city-health benefits all tend to fare better in the Senate than the House. In both Houses, the seniority system of picking committee chairmen also handicaps city-dwellers; congressmen from one-party districts are bound to outlast urban Representatives who often face fierce competition and must battle every 2 years for the votes of a huge, constantly changing constituency.

Rural overrepresentation involves one more thing—the Constitution. After Congress passes an amendment, it goes for ratification to the State legislatures. How representative is this jury? The fate of the 18th amendment might have been very different if it had been voted on by the people rather than by State legislatures fearful of Wayne B. Wheeler. The 22d amendment limiting the President to two terms (which has lost its glitter for some of its original backers) also had a peculiar charm for conservative rural legislators who chronically mistrust executive power, whether the Governor's or the President's.

Now the Nation faces the 1960 census. The scramble to reshuffle congressional seats will be the biggest in years. States expected to gain seats are: California, 7; Florida, 4; Michigan and Texas, 2 each; Arizona and Hawaii, 1 each.[1]

Probable losers are: New York and Pennsylvania, 3 each; Massachusetts and Arkansas, 2 each, and nine other States, 1 each.

WHAT MAKES A SAFE DISTRICT?

Up for grabs before the 1960 election is the juicy task of redrawing a couple of hundred congressional districts. Although the census will require the redistribution of only about three dozen seats, most of the other districts in the affected States must—or at least should be—remapped. For politicians this is a momentous matter, and all over the country they are laying their plans.

Suppose, for example, that a State which formerly had only 7 Congressmen will have 8 next year. If the two parties happen to be closely matched this is a particularly challenging opportunity for the dominant one which runs the State legislature. Subject only to the Governor's veto, it will try to slice up the total population into five or six safe districts for its side and leave its opponents only two or three. It will take care to give itself the sparsely inhabited safe areas and let the other side have the densely populous districts. The same game can be played in reverse if the State's representation is shrunken rather than increased by the census.

Most State legislatures go about redistricting as though they had "some sort of popular mandate directing the victor to monopolize the spoils," writes Dr. Gordon E. Baker of the University of California in his pamphlet "Rural Versus Urban Political Power." In fact, the dominant party can draw any boundaries it thinks the public will stand for without gagging. Few courts will interfere and there are few laws to restrain it.

From 1842 to 1920, a Federal statute did require State legislatures to make congressional districts compact, contiguous, and reasonably equal in population. After the 1920 census, the House and Senate couldn't agree on a new apportionment act. When one finally passed in 1929 it omitted the old fair-apportionment clause, although Congress lacked the effrontery to repeal it expressly. When the matter was brought to the Supreme Court by a Mississippi citizen in 1932, the Court dryly declined to intervene on the grounds that Congress deliberately intended to drop the voters' safeguard. President Truman asked Congress to restore it in a special message in January 1951. Almost certainly our next President, Republican or Democrat, will make the same appeal in January 1961. Will Congress heed? Not if the public reaction is no greater than that given to hearings called by Chairman EMANUEL CELLER of the House Judiciary Committee. He has been trying to rouse interest in a reform bill but has stirred hardly a ripple.

Even if Congress fails to act, the oppressed city dweller could—if he chose to do so—bring about some changes. The chief weapons at his disposal are these:

The courts: Until very recently the Supreme Court and State courts generally declined to intervene in redistricting questions. However, a three-judge Federal court in Minnesota, July 10, 1958, required the legislature to obey the State constitution and undertake reapportionment. An encouraging precedent has thus been set.

Pressure by civic groups: The League of Women Voters, long an active proponent of reform in several States, is now compiling a nationwide record from data collected by local chapters. Municipal organizations are also awakening to the problem. Many "greenbelt" suburbs (often Republican) are now growing faster than parent cities (usually Democratic). This gives a new, refreshingly bipartisan impetus to the drive for reform.

Initiative: The constitutions of 20 States make it possible to force legislative reforms by circulating petitions among the electorate. Initiative has been used, in recent years, to increase urban representation in four States: Washington, Colorado, Oregon, and Arkansas.

None of these remedies is easy to apply or certain of success. Attempts at reform have been known to backfire for there is a powerful vested interest in preserving malapportionment. Strong groups within the cities themselves which are content with the status quo make common cause with conservative rural lawgivers—they are, perhaps, easier to manipulate than city types.

Consider what happened in California in 1948. A bipartisan group with labor support initiated a petition for reapportionment. There was little doubt as to the need: the four million residents of Los Angeles then—as now—had only a single senator in Sacramento.

But the reform was fought tooth and nail by—of all people—the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce (which had backed reapportionment a few years earlier). Other business groups denounced it and so did the metropolitan press almost without exception. (Less surprisingly, the Farm Bureau and the Grange were opposed.) In a frenzied attack, the petition was called "a labor plot," "a Communist plot," "un-American," an effort by "crackpots" to impose ruinous taxation on "city homeowners and wealth-producing farm areas." The project was overwhelmed; it didn't carry a single county. Even the under-represented cities voted against it.

All of which brings us back to our original question: How long will 115 million city suckers stay under the green thumb of 57 million country slickers?

Maybe the urban voter needs a psychiatrist. Floating before his inner eye is the image of a trim white farmhouse—a purity symbol. Next door, in his subconscious, is the guilty, haunting memory of ancient American municipal corruption labeled Tammany Hall. The psychiatrist might try to explain why the obsession lingers on, even though the reform of so many city governments is one of the inspiring developments of the past 25 years.

Yet the buttercup myth of rural superiority survives. It sprouts in every American when he goes to school and reads "The Village Blacksmith" and "Snowbound." Along with Jefferson he learns to mistrust men who don't till the soil. And he cherishes the lost simplicity of a Vermont farmhouse with pump, and flakes floating down that are either apple petals or snow. Here is the true America of Longfellow, Whittier, and Robert Frost. A lovely image. The only trouble with it is that it stands between the city dweller and the city's new sewage disposal plant.

[1] Hawaii elected one Representative this fall and will gain another by the census. Alaska will not be affected by the census. Unless new legislation is passed there will be a total of 435 House seats after 1960.

Economics for the Voter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article by Dr. Charles L. Jamison, professor emeritus of business policy, which appeared in the Autumn 1959 Quarterly of the Michigan Alumnus. Dr. Jamison, in his excellent article, warns that many citizens with little knowledge of the basic rules of economics can be bamboozled by vote seekers who promise prosperity for everyone with schemes that are completely unworkable and unsound.

The article follows:

ECONOMICS FOR THE VOTER

(By Charles L. Jamison)

Amid the clamor for more and better-trained scientists, little heed is given to the muffled protests that too few colleges and university students take even a cursory interest in the science of economics. This is a serious neglect, because most of the major domestic issues of Government have an economic overtone. An economically illiterate electorate cannot possibly understand the import of unsound public policies. People can be easily swayed by misinformation given out by propagandists who are promoting the selfish interests of one or another pressure group. A current example is the campaign to curb inflation, which seems to be shaping into a major political issue. For years a bundle of complex economic forces has been contributing to the instability of the dollar as a measure of value. Symptoms of the disease of inflation are plain enough, but the causes are beyond the comprehension of the average citizen.

It is not surprising that there is confusion in the public mind as to what can be done about inflation. Professional economists today do not agree, nor have they been in agreement at any time throughout a century and a half of economic controversy. A political leader can pick the economic philosophy that best suits his purpose and can find authoritative backing for the theory that he wants the public to believe.

The man on the street may not be able to understand the technical language of the

science of economics, but any intelligent person can understand simple rules of logic. If asked the straightforward question, "Do you want the dollars you have saved to be worth less at the end of this year than they were worth at the beginning of the year?" the answer without doubt would be negative. But if asked, "Would you like to have twice as many dollars in your pay envelope?" the answer would be a vehement "Yes," with no questions asked as to how the magic is to be brought about. It was Aristotle who propounded the obvious law that every man must, in the last analysis, fend for himself. Aristotle merely restated for human beings what all animal life knows through instinct—that self-interest is the supreme compelling force in life. Too many people, however, find that the easiest way to fend for oneself is to cast a ballot for a politician who promises to do all the fending for them.

In any case, most people wish to improve their own economic well-being and will lend an eager ear to the blandishments of the proponents of any scheme that is represented to guarantee prosperity for everyone. That is why a clear understanding of a few basic economic truths would deter citizens from giving support to unworkable panaceas for economic ills.

The most visionary schemes are born in depressions such as that of the early 1930's. In February 1936, Virgil Jordan wrote: "The number and variety of schemes * * * is vast, and the exploitation of them is limited only by the energy of their promoters and the credulity and endurance of their devotees and victims. * * * They are the product solely of a hypothetical, uninformed and unrealistic conception of the nature and operation of the enterprise system of production, and result from incompetent and careless use of synthetic pseudostatistical estimates constructed out of fragmentary and inaccurate records."

The particular scheme that called forth this rather emphatic denunciation was known as the Townsend plan. The plan was discarded long ago as a political issue, but the basic belief still lingers that "free issuance, wide distribution, and rapid circulation of money will automatically assure prosperity and security." Current application of the doctrine is more subtle than the Townsend plan and is supported by arguments that are so plausible that fallacies are not readily detected. It may be worthwhile to review the palpably unworkable Townsend plan as an example of the way people can be gulled by unsound economic doctrine.

The Townsend plan proposed to pay a pension sufficient to provide a total income of $200 a month to all citizens of the United States who were at least 60 years of age, and who were not habitual criminals; who would "solemnly promise" to spend the entire amount of the pension during the month in which it was received; and who retired and abstained from all productive and gainful occupation or labor. Persons with private incomes from any source other than payment for services, if such incomes were less than $2,400, were eligible to receive whatever sum would bring their incomes up to $2,400 a year, but had to promise not to save a single dollar.

The cost was to be met by a tax of 2 percent on all gross business transactions. The following were regarded as "transactions":

1. The sale, barter, or exchange of real and personal property.

2. Interest, rent, concessions, fees, and other pecuniary benefits derived from any loan, deposit, rental, lease, pledge, or other use or forbearance of money or property.

3. Personal services of all kinds.

4. Public utilities services.

5. Transportation and communication services.

6. Amusements, recreation, and education.

A few limited exemptions from the tax were provided, chiefly all banking transactions.

It was estimated that between 8 million and 10 million elderly persons would come under the plan. The annual cost would have been upwards of $20 billion. It was claimed that the plan would sustain itself by a 2-percent transactions tax without further Government aid. It was claimed further that trade would be accelerated tenfold by the spending of the money—$1 released into the channels of trade would soon liberate 10 credit dollars during a period of financial confidence. Demand for goods would be increased and thus provide new employment to supply an increasing demand for goods. Indeed the demand for goods would be expected to test our capacity to produce as never before experienced within this Nation. The list of imaginary advantages of the plan embraced enough benefits to cure almost all of the Nation's economic ills.

Conservative political leaders loudly derided the plan. Among the objections were the enormous cost and difficulty of collecting the tax, the inadequacy of the income that might be produced, and the certainty that the tax would be added to prices and in the end would increase the cost of living, thereby contributing to inflation. The plan lacked widespread political appeal, although a few million elderly people were enthusiastically in favor of it. Congressman Clarence E. Lea, of California, in an interview published in the Wall Street Journal, February 1, 1936, stated that the annual tax burden imposed by the plan would amount to about $190 for each man, woman, and child in the United States. The per capita tax at that time for all purposes—district, municipal, county, State, and Federal—was estimated at $122. Thus, the Townsend plan would more than double each person's tax. Congressman Lea made this wise observation, "Taxes must be paid out of earnings and savings of the industrious and frugal. The buying power of the aged is increased but only to the extent that the buying power of the taxpayers is decreased."

The Townsend plan was not the only reform scheme hailed by visionaries as a way to insure prosperity. Subsidies to farmers were claimed to perform the same wizardry. An editorial in the Commercial and Financial Chronicle of January 11, 1936, pointed to an apparent fallacy in that reasoning. "It has become customary to speak of the immense purchasing power which has been placed in the hands of the farmers in the form of benefit payments. * * * Let it be carefully noted, however, that this purchasing power was not created from thin air. It was taken in the form of processing taxes from the general population. What the farmer gained accordingly was lost to those who had to provide funds for the payments. * * * The assertion is made that farmers are more in need of purchasing power and more likely to make prompt and effective use of it than other sections of the population."

"These schemes," wrote Virgil Jordan in 1936, "are all expressions of the consumption theory of prosperity. They all rest upon the assumption that depression, unemployment, and old age dependency are the result of the inherent capacity and persistent tendency of modern industry to produce more goods and services than can be consumed; that failure to consume them is due partly to displacement of labor by machinery and partly to insufficient income among employed workers; that both of these factors of inadequate purchasing power arise from an improper distribution of the national income among the population."

During World War II full employment and austerity silenced the protectors of purchasing power. But at the termination of the war the issue once more was brought forward. At this time pesrons in Government and labor circles were "convinced that demobilization would bring deflation and acute depression." This conclusion was based on the assumption that the elimination of overtime work at time-and-a-half rates of pay, together with the reduction of the labor force as demobilization proceeded, would involve a quick shrinkage in aggregate purchasing power. "To this group a price and business debacle appeared inevitable unless the prospective deficiency in purchasing power was promptly made good. They urged a twofold program: first, an increase in standard wage rates to offset the loss of overtime pay, and second, a public works program to sustain employment at or near wartime levels."[1]

Prices and wages had been frozen for the duration of the war, but the Director of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion announced; "We must be prepared to make some upward adjustments [in wage rates] to compensate for the severe decline in take-home pay."

President Truman, in a nationwide radio address on October 30, 1945, said: "Workers have been receiving time-and-a-half for overtime—for all hours they worked over 40 hours. That overtime pay is now gone in the change to the 40-hour week. The result has been a decrease of almost one-quarter of the workers' weekly pay. Wage increases are therefore imperative to cushion the shock of our workers, to sustain adequate purchasing power, and to raise the national income. There are many people who have said to me that industry cannot afford to grant any wage increases without obtaining a corresponding increase in the price of its products. And they have urged me to use the machinery of Government to raise both. This proposal cannot be accepted under any circumstances. To accept it would mean but one thing—inflation. There are several reasons why I believe that industry as a whole can afford substantial wage increases without raising prices."

The reasons referred to were five in number. Two of them were expressed in the belief that employers would save money by eliminating overtime work and the time-and-a-half penalty for the extra hours, and through the downgrading of workers to lower rated jobs. Two more of the reasons were that employers would transfer to workers money that otherwise would be paid to someone else—excess profits taxes that no longer would be assessed, and profits that otherwise would be paid to stockholders or reinvested. The final reason for believing that employers could increase wages without increasing prices was that increased productivity per man-hour could be expected from technological improvements that had been adopted during the war.

A careful examination of the foregoing reasoning reveals the sort of error that many well-intentioned persons have committed. Transfer of income from one group to another does not increase material wealth; it merely effects a redistribution. It does not forestall depression or increase prosperity. Of the five reasons why prosperity could be expanded by increasing wages, the only realistic argument was increased output per man-hour.

With the encouragement given by the Government in setting aside wage controls, unions demanded and, after a rash of strikes, got substantial wage increases in 1946. It was then that the expectation was born that each renewal of a wage contract must embody a new round of wage increases. In

[1] Harold G. Moulton, "Can Inflation be Controlled," Anderson Kramer Associates, Washington, D.C., 1958, p. 158.

addition to negotiated rate increases, many contracts contain escalator clauses which provide for automatic increases as the cost of living rises. A supplementary provision in some contracts adds a percentage to wage rates each year known as the productivity factor.

The pressure on wages has been effective insofar as it has, from 1946 to the close of 1958, brought about an increase of about 87 percent in the weekly earnings of factory workers. In the same period the cost of living has risen about 49 percent. Transfer of purchasing power from other groups to factory workers has kept them well ahead of the rising cost of living. Pensioners and persons on fixed incomes have been contributors to the prosperity of factory workers.

Persons of all classes who save money know that the erosion of the dollar robs them of eventual purchasing power. Hence the public interest in the controversy over what has been causing prices to rise. Is it deficit financing by the Government, or the increasing cost of productive labor? A well-known economist (Schumpeter, History of Economic Analysis, pp. 109–110) has said: "There is not much more sense in quarreling over the question whether it is the increased quantity of money or increased payroll that causes inflation than there would be in quarreling over the question whether it is the bullet or the murderer's intention that causes the death of the victim."

Stabilization of prices will stop inflation. Government control of prices, of course, would solve the problem, but that remedy is abhorrent to most people. Those who believe that the wage push is responsible demand that labor costs be stabilized, since about 75 percent of the final cost of products in retail stores is wages paid somewhere along the line. Consumption theorists, on the other hand, maintain that increasing purchasing power is the basis of national economic growth. Increased wages create more purchasing power, which stimulates production, which gives employment to more people, whose purchasing power is added to the stream of consumer income, and so on and on. A typical proponent of this theory is the president of one of the large labor unions. He said in a hearing before the Joint Economic Committee of Congress in February 1959: "A boost in consumer buying power is needed in 1959. It is unrealistic to expect a substantial rise in consumer spending—particularly for hard goods and homes—while the buying power of per capita after-tax income is less than it was more than 2 years ago. Wage and salary increases and a reasonably stable price level are essential in 1959. With profits rising rapidly from the recession low point in recent months, there can be no rational reason why substantial wage and salary increases cannot be granted without raising living costs."

The foregoing proposal assumes that production costs can be increased without a compensating increase in prices. The added cost must come from some source. The unionist implies that it can come out of profits. Of course, a reasonable source would be increased productivity per man-hour. But many unions already have tapped that source of funds by contract provision for an annual increase in pay equivalent to a productivity factor of a percentage that absorbs all, if not more than, any gain from production efficiency.

Saving in production costs would benefit all consumers if passed on as a reduction in selling prices. But when all the saving goes to factory workers they are the only persons who benefit. The buying power of a few is increased at the expense of the many. Three increments are embodied in rising labor costs—hourly rate increases with each contract renewal, cost-of-living adjustments, and the productivity factor. The question now is whether all this added cost can be taken from profits without completely destroying profits.

Statistics in the following tabulation indicate that in the period from January 1, 1946, to December 31, 1958, wages and salaries have increased at a greater rate than the national income, and at a rate almost five times the rate of increase in business profits:

	1946 (millions)	1958 (millions in 1946 dollars)	Percent increase
National income	$180,879	$260,500	48
Wages and salaries	91,241	139,500	53
Business profits before taxes (corporations and unincorporated business)	43,872	49,500	13

In the above statistics the effect of inflation has been removed by deflating the 1958 figures to the value of the 1946 dollars. In other words, if prices had not increased, the situation would have been as shown in the 1958 column.

The economic growth of the country is reflected in the 48-percent increase in national income. If all the sharers in the national income had received the same proportionate share in 1958 as in 1946, each group—wage earners and investors in private business—would have had a 48-percent increase in purchasing power. But in 1958 wage earners received 5 percent more than the share they received in 1946, and investors in business had a 35-percent reduction in their share.

A case can be made for the contention that transfer of purchasing power from investor to wage earner, instead of stimulating the rate of increase in industrial expansion, tends to retard it. The wage earner generally spends most of his income for consumption goods; the investor reinvests a considerable proportion of his in new factories, new communication and transportation facilities, and the like. The idea seems to prevail in the minds of some that invested money is diverted from the stream of spending. On the contrary, the building of machines and structures of any kind creates jobs, channels money into payrolls, and thus into the buying of consumption goods. Dividends to stockholders likewise are spent.

Many short-term forces, when at work, can influence prices; when the influence is withdrawn, prices will recede to their former level. But forces that persist year after year will not allow prices to recede. Two conspicuous examples are (1) persistent deficit financing by the Government, and (2) unremitting pressure of labor unions for annual wage increases. Government fiscal policy can cause inflation when the Government spends more money than it collects in taxes. Money flows into the pockets of potential spenders in excess of the production of goods and services for which the money may be spent. Not many years ago such an excess was regarded as serious and was called the inflation gap. It is illustrated by the following figures from Survey of Current Business, September 1943, page 5:

[In billions of dollars]

	1942	1943
Income payments to individuals	115.5	142
Less personal taxes and nontax payments	6.6	16
Disposable income of individuals	108.9	126
Less consumer expenditures	78.2	88
Gross inflation gap	30.7	38

In the year 1958 defense expenditures of about $30 billion had released purchasing power, much of which had gone to individuals as disposable income; yet persons receiving that income had produced no goods for which the money might be spent. The difference between the situation today and that which prevailed in 1943 is that there is not now a shortage of civilian goods as there was during the war. Buyers do not bid against each other for a short supply, as they would have done in wartime, when they were restrained by rationing and price controls. There is little evidence that price increases during the past few years have resulted from demand pull. Indeed the cost push is regarded by some economists as the primary cause of rising prices.

As long ago as 1941 Bernard M. Baruch, wise counselor of men in high places, is quoted as having told a congressional committee on the prevention of inflation: "Wages form the biggest component of all price structures. To attempt to fix price levels without thorough consideration of this element would be as abortive as to try to cure a sick man of all his ailments except the one that is most dangerous—the one that is likely to be fatal to him."

Prof. Jules Bachman recently expressed the belief that creeping inflation will prove disastrous unless checked. "Increases in money wages and nonwage benefits have been exceeding gains in output per man-hour by some 2 percent or 3 percent a year. The net impact on prices has been called creeping inflation. While price increases of 2 percent or 3 percent a year seem small, they aggregate into a major erosion of purchasing power over a period of years. Thus, an annual rate of increase of 3 percent a year would double the price level in a quarter of a century. The prospect that half the purchasing power of the dollar would be wiped out in a generation is certainly no ground for complacency"

From another economist, Harold G. Moulton, comes this statement: "The crucial question now to be considered is whether the primary motivating force in price advances proceeds from the cost side or the demand side. When costs of production rise in consequence of an increase in wage rates (without compensating changes in production efficiency) the business enterpriser has no alternative except to recoup the added costs by raising selling prices or retire from business. The pressure from the cost side, is real, insistent and inescapable."

Criticism is heard of companies which raise prices as soon as a new wage contract goes into effect. It is contended that they should wait to see if they can afford it before raising prices. Moulton justifies the manufacturers' practice. "Wage increases nowadays commonly appear as costs before they become available as purchasing power. A wage contract to extend over a year or more instantly creates a new cost level which quickly becomes a basis for new price quotations. On the other hand, some time may elapse before the increased money wages become available for expenditure. Meanwhile prices will already have been

marked up because of the push from the cost side."

The current controversy over inflation is summarized by Dr. Neil H. Jacoby: "Despite general agreement that a stable price level fosters economic growth and should, along with full employment and free markets, be an accepted goal of public policy, surprisingly little has been written on ways and means of achieving this end. There is even much dissension over the causes of inflation. The popular view is that creeping inflation arises from excessive Federal spending. * * * Although systematic control of Federal expenditures is important, they cannot be the salient cause of inflation because they form only about 15 percent of aggregate demand. * * * Granted that the upward push of wages on prices has played an important role in inflation, experience has shown that the admonition to use restraint is not very effective. Let us view creeping inflation in a long perspective, develop a theory to account for it, and then deduce from this theory a feasible program of public policies to prevent it in the future. What they—advocates of creeping inflation—fail to understand is that even more rapid growth would be possible under a reasonably stable average of prices, if the price and resource structure were sufficiently flexible."

Although the subject of economics is elusive, application of its principles is vital in formulating rational public policy. One fact is clear to the majority of citizens—the dollar has lost more than half of its value in the past 20 years. One segment of the population has been able to keep its income abreast, or a little ahead, of rising prices; many others have been much less fortunate. But almost everyone would like to see the erosion of the dollar stopped. Differing ideas are advanced for effecting a remedy and are leading to sharp controversy. The argument is spreading over into politics. Voters are asked to support candidates representing one school of thought or another. Confusion because of lack of understanding of fundamental economics might conceivably lead voters to support a political scheme that would destroy the private enterprise system.

Economic education for each voter is much to be desired. At least, each one should have enough understanding to be able to distinguish flagrantly unsound proposals. A program that would accomplish that end would have to be introduced in the high schools. But if only college students were exposed to such training, the competence of the electorate would receive a great uplift.

Do You Sleep Well?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, on January 14, 1960, Maj. Gen. I. S. Morris, U.S. Army, addressed the 36th annual and 110th regular meeting of the Atlantic States Shippers Advisory Board in Washington, D.C. General Morris' statement, which follows, was based to some extent on the Kilday subcommittee inquiry of the House Armed Services Committee conducted during the 1st session of the 86th Congress and reveals the additional need of congressional action in providing adequate transportation systems in support of the national defense effort in the event of mobilization. The address follows:

DO YOU SLEEP WELL?

(Address by I. Sewell Morris, major general, U.S. Army, to 36th annual and 110th regular meeting, Atlantic States Shippers Advisory Board, Washington, D.C., January 14, 1960)

Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen.

Just recently I was able to prevail upon the generosity of Dr. Paul Beall to come over to our agency headquarters and talk for an hour or so to my staff on a subject on which he is an expert. When I use the word "expert" I fancy I see faint grins flicker across a few of your faces, because you are recalling several of the facetious definitions of the word "expert." Dr. Beall is a real, honest-to-God expert who is widely sought as a consultant in the preparation and delivery of what we call "decision briefings." I have decided that my talk to you today is a "decision briefing" because I am going to urge you to make a decision concerning a need that I see.

One of Dr. Beall's first rules is, "Capture their interest," and he goes on to explain that interest is much different from attention. Attention is a fickle little elf that can be captured for varying periods of time by gimmicks and can be lost by any one of a thousand distractions—if that light went out, or if someone spilled a drink at your table, your attention would flit to that point. Interest, on the other hand, is wrapped up in substance; it runs much deeper than attention. Interest is a personalized thing. Interest concerns me—and you.

Today I am seeking your interest. I am competing with something much more profound and more elusive than the distraction of a spilled drink. I am reaching and hoping to pry loose from your thoughts of affairs which are subjectively vital to you—your inner concerns, your business worries, your special ambitions. As most of you have learned when you have been called on to speak, this is no easy trick.

I am not going to take the time to talk about the aims and objectives of our agency, the Military Traffic Management Agency. I think this alone may begin to catch the interest of some of you, for MTMA, being new, has had a good many speeches made about it, and quite a few have been—understandably—braggadocious. I will say that I believe that I have the best job in the Army, and I am proud of our agency with its four colors of uniforms and its dedicated staff. But that is not today's subject.

My discussion today is much more vital than any agency—MTMA or any other. It is vital to our country, and it is vital to each of you. I want to talk about "Traffic citizenship"—for you and for me—and what we can do about it in behalf of the defense posture of our country. Probably you could take my topic and make a better speech. I believe this because the very nature of shippers advisory boards means that they are composed of good traffic citizens. I observed that the purpose of this organization is to promote adequate and efficient transportation service to meet the requirements of industry by the interchange of ideas and information as it relates to one of our great modes—the railroads—through the Car Service Division of the Association of American Railroads. It means that here are people who are smart enough to have had their interest captured by the need for traffic planning. You are people who are motivated by an understanding of the importance of a marriage between transportation capabilities and transportation requirements, particularly to meet emergency situations.

We in MTMA share that understanding. We have been doing something about it. So, too, has Congress. On the 15th of July 1959, a congressional subcommittee commenced an inquiry into the adequacy of transportation systems in support of national defense in the event of mobilization. This subcommittee was chaired by the Honorable PAUL J. KILDAY, of Texas, and its parent committee is the House Committee on Armed Services, of which the Honorable CARL VINSON is chairman. Before it began the 10 days of hearings, the committee submitted 12 questions to the Department of Defense directly related to this important inquiry. Department of Defense witnesses, including myself, answered these 12 questions in statements during the hearings held by the committee. The committee took a lot of pains with this inquiry and I believe it rendered a good service to the country.

Part of my testimony, which you can read on pages 149 through 167 of the printed hearings, sets forth the very best analysis we could make of national transportation capabilities as compared with military—I repeat, military—requirements. I should say that not all the details are included in the printed hearings, because certain graphs and statements dealt with classified matters. Nevertheless, I believe you will have no trouble getting the important gist of our findings.

The scope of our study included only military requirements, although in dealing with capabilities we did something that has not been done before. We went to the several transportation industries, worked closely with them in establishing criteria for developing capabilities, and came up with national transportation capabilities by rail, motor, and air, for both passenger and freight transportation. This was subdivided into a number of useful categories. We received fine cooperation from the respective carrier industries in doing this, as well as from all of the military departments who submitted their prospective requirements to us. As you can imagine, all of this demanded a good deal of backing and filling so as to get requirements and capabilities stated in terms which could be matched and compared.

This is not just a one-time effort on our part. We have been continuously updating our studies as criteria and conditions change. We have been furnishing appropriate industry associations the impact data of these studies so that they may be kept posted as our findings cocerning military requirements are determined. Being essentially first-time efforts we recognize that shortcomings exist in some of our calculations. We are aggressively refining our planning to minimize these discrepancies. One thing is certain—our planning today for emergency situations is aggressive, finite, well conceived and is turned to the varying conditions of this nuclear age.

In answer to a specific question from the committee, we expressed the conclusion that sufficient capability does exist in the transportation system to meet military requirements. Once more, I must repeat, this included military traffic only. Military traffic, as I use it, embraces the flow of men and material within this country moving by Government transportation request or Government bill of lading. That flow, of course, does not include the enormous volume of first destination traffic of materials, such as raw materials and subassemblies, not immediately identified as military equipment, supplies or stocks. The Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization has set in motion the machinery to compute the requirements for essential civilian activities and for the war-supporting industries.

Consider the magnitude of this task with all its implications and ramifications. Would

you say it can be carried out successfully without the utmost of cooperation from good traffic citizens like yourselves? Certainly not.

To me this is not wholly a task for a few. Transportation preparedness is everybody's business. For you who represent the traffic "know how" it is a challenge you cannot shuck off. A vital ingredient in national transportation preparedness is to know what is to be expected of our transportation systems, large though they may be. To predict what the military requirements may be is not enough. We must calculate the predictable demands to support the civilian economy and our war supporting industries. For us to achieve true readiness we must then continuously update our national calculations, both from the requirements side and from the capabilities viewpoint. We must crank in varying conditions of emergency so as to provide for multiple contingencies. Only when we have accomplished these things on a national scale can we talk from facts.

Your support of OCDM, the ICC, and other Government agencies in this vital task is a way you can literally contribute to transportation preparedness. It is not a glamorous role but one of great importance.

I make so much of this point because transportation serves everyone. We in the military rely upon commercial systems to transport our traffic within this country. We rely upon the same systems as do you—the shippers in this audience—and as ordinary citizens. We must know what the total load might be. To have enough for the military is in fact not enough. Believe me, we know that our strength comes from the total national life of this country.

One thought is particularly important in considering this subject of transportation adequacy against contingent events: The nature of planning against adverse contingencies is such that is is necessarily directed at relatively few of the possibilities. Just to calculate against one of these imaginary conditions is a rather monstrous job. What this means is that we must be flexible in our thinking about these calculations, for other imaginable sets of circumstances could produce worse results, especially in spot situations. For instance, there is a fairly widespread view that railroad motive power can be considered adequate for national emergencies. But could you not visualize certain sets of conditions wherein motive power itself might be deficient? What about fuel supply? Under certain conditions it could be the limiting factor.

This certainly is not a group which needs anyone to belabor the theme that total number of units of equipment is only part of the true measure of capability. Although the Army has done some pioneering in large-scale containerization, I think you are better versed than I in the advantages not only of containers, but of the other instruments of integration, such as piggyback, fishyback, through billing, interchange of equipment, interline accounting, and so forth. I notice that the forwarders seem to be providing some of the impetus for a portion of the progress in these matters.

You have probably noticed the announcement that the Army is testing prototypes of the new universal size metal container which has been recommended as apparently the best suited to interchangeability among the various modes of transportation. This recommendation came just last fall from a National Defense Transportation Association committee which is doing some vigorous thinking on this subject.

In the report by the Kilday subcommittee on its inquiry, recommendation No. 4 is important enough to you that I hope you will suffer my reading it to you verbatim:

"There was demonstrated in these hearings an obvious urgent need for a national traffic control system, in being, staffed by officials in Government and in the transportation industry, who will work together and be ready to operate in time of emergency on a national and regional level. The Military Traffic Management Agency advised that it has the machinery for such an organization in the realm of its responsibility and that it has been tested. The OCDM has such a plan in its executive reserve but this plan, on a national and regional level, has not been fully implemented or tested.' It is the recommendation of this committee that a national traffic control system be established on a civilian level, that it be implemented on a permanent basis by the OCDM, tested and in a position to be augmented by its executive reserve plan in event of an emergency."

To me, the challenge is clear. Simply stated, it means that we as a nation must be able to employ effectively our transport resources to our national needs, under any conditions. This makes sense. How to do it cannot be left to chance or improvisation. That machinery should be oiled and ready to go. In that effort you are all involved, for you are either users or providers.

No one will dispute the great importance of techniques of manipulation and utilization of equipment in stretching the supply of equipment. We seize upon equipment units as a measuring device because that is purely arithmetical—something finite; something we can get our calculators working on. But less finite factors, like quality of management, affect the situation much more definitively.

Utilization of equipment capacity, for instance, can completely change the picture of adequacy. Let me mention here parenthetically in passing what most of you already know—that military carloads and truckloads average over 25 percent heavier than carloads and truckloads generally. I am not implying that this is all attributable to good management; there are many factors which contribute to it.

Among improvements in these manipulative techniques that must be considered—very importantly—are the movements underway to reduce the specialized restrictions of freight equipment. One of these which Morris Forgash showed me is a combination of universal-type trailer bodies and flexible bags for carrying liquids. With this combination, bulk liquids can be carried in one direction and dry freight in the other. There are scores of other innovations under study or consideration.

One of the unfortunate developments in our high-speed, sophisticated, modern world is that some of the most basic truths have become labeled "square," "corny," and "trite." But it is not for fear of being labeled "square" that I do not remind you that "no man is an island." It is because I feel that it is totally unnecessary. If you who are shippers didn't believe that "no man is an island" you wouldn't be here with other shippers and with the representatives of the railroad industry. The same thing is true of you who are railroad officials. In fact, I believe it was you who originally pressed for the organization of shippers' advisory boards.

In recent years all of us have read and heard a great deal about "traffic statesmanship." Without decrying the need for traffic statesmanship, I should like to put in a plug for something which seems to me much broader and perhaps more valuable in the long run.

This is "traffic citizenship."

You will remember that Lincoln was one who was a strong exponent of the theory that all apparently altruistic actions are subjectively motivated. Lincoln, of course, wouldn't have said it in such big words. He would perhaps have said, "A man helps another because by that act he helps himself." Perhaps you remember the celebrated story about Lincoln's riding back along his route one stormy night to release an animal caught in a fence. His companion said, "Abe, that was an unselfish act." Lincoln said, "No; I did it because it helps me; I can sleep better tonight."

This same theme of subjective orientation was expressed by Dr. John Donne, the same poet who said that, "No man is an island." He went on further to say, "Therefore, never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee." Why am I stressing transportation adequacy with you? Because if transportation fails in an emergency, I, in my present assignment, will be one of the first ones for whom that bell tolls.

Another trite thing I can say that bears on this whole subject of transportation adequacy is that public opinion is important. It is becoming more and more apparent that public opinion is the most important force in the world. We must never underestimate the power or basic wisdom of public opinion, even in our business.

I believe this completely and sincerely. In the long run, nothing will do more to assure adequacy of transportation in this country than a great body of understanding and thoughtful people being truly concerned with the subject. This means informed public opinion. If this comes about, the stupendous task of Congress, OCDM, and other governmental bodies in dealing with this subject will become vastly easier.

Here then, is a place for traffic citizenship. Traffic citizenship does not imply that everyone must be a leader. Traditionally, our citizens outnumber our statesmen many, many times. It can be just that way in our field—the job of traffic citizenship is for everyone.

For these reasons, I believe this talk should be classified as a decision briefing. There is, indeed, something for you to decide to do. It is easy, and it is small enough not to be a big burden on anybody. Simply this: Get this book (indicating committee hearings), or at least go back and dig out the published accounts of the Kilday committee's report. Devote, say, 1 hour of your time—which I know is valuable—to studying what you find. Encourage your staff to do the same. Perhaps devote a small staff meeting to the subject of "Adequacy of Transportation for National Defense."

After you have done this, do everything you can to support OCDM in accomplishing its transportation mission. You will do both your country and yourself a vital service if, as an organization or as individuals, you provide moral and mental assistance in developing an understanding of the need for machinery to determine transportation requirements and capability, and to plan and provide for effective transport control in emergencies.

I believe this would be a priceless exercise of traffic citizenship. And as Lincoln might have said, I think we'd all sleep better.

Amusing Utterances

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, since this is an election year, the public's interest is being stimulated by political statements, many of which are of very educational value. This thought is contained in an editorial of January 14 appearing in the Harvey Tribune, a com-

munity newspaper in my district. I should like to include it in the RECORD for the consideration of my colleagues:

[From the Harvey (Ill.) Tribune, Jan. 14, 1960]

AMUSING UTTERANCES

We were amused the other day to note where Gov. Nelson Rockefeller was quoted as having said that "the chief problem of the low-income farmers is poverty." Other editors have commented on that, and possibly better than we, and this is reminiscent of Calvin Coolidge's gems of wisdom.

For example, one editor recalled that Calvin Coolidge had once said: "When people are out of work, unemployment results." Needless to say, this was hot the most profound statement of the century.

All of which brings us around to the plain fact that 1960 is a presidential election year. As a result, we can expect a constant blast of political gobbledygook, and even some significant political pronouncements. In fact, many of the speeches by certain individuals in Congress will be edited for public consumption, to a greater degree than usual, because of the presidential race this year.

Who's Fooling Whom?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include an article which appeared in a magazine published by the Society for the Prevention of World War III. I believe that this article is interesting in view of the World Bank's voting a loan of $56 million to Egypt's Nasser for the widening of the Suez Canal despite the fact that he is committing acts of piracy against cargoes of members of the United Nations who seek to use the Suez Canal, an international waterway, all in violation of the Constantinople Convention of 1888, the armistice signed between Israel and Egypt in 1949, and the resolution of the United Nations Security Council of 1951.

The article follows:

WHO'S FOOLING WHOM?

Writing from Jordan in the spring of 1959, the Associated Press analyst William L. Ryan reported that qualified observers in the Middle East were convinced that President Nasser's leadership in the Arab world was on the decline. Even Cairo's propaganda mills were losing their punch, Mr. Ryan observed. The deterioration in Nasser's political fortunes could turn out to be "one of the most important developments in the Arab world."

President Nasser's political difficulties did not subside during last summer. On the contrary, his efforts to maintain unrivaled leadership were plagued on all sides by growing distrust of his intentions and the determined efforts of other Arab states to keep him at arms length. This was noted by the Middle East reporter for the Manchester Guardian, Michael Adams (Sept. 17, 1959). Mr. Adams has been reporting on the Middle East for some time and is conversant with the explosive stuation there. His report lends further credence to Mr. Ryan's earlier observations.

The Arab world, Mr. Adams states, is in disarray. Its apparent cohesiveness, brought about by a certain attraction to the Nasser leadership, no longer exists. A year ago, Mr. Adams writes, refusal to cheer Nasser in countries like Jordan, Iraq or Syria would court lynching. "Today the story is very different."

One of the rocks against which Nasser's leadership has floundered, is the bold resistance put up by the Iraqis who refuse to bow to Nasser's commands. The fact that Nasser's conspiracies in Iraq have been unmasked and defeated, has turned out to be a severe blow to his prestige. The daring resistance of the Iraqis has been most upsetting and its reverberations throughout the Arab world should not be underestimated. The idea that Nasser was a sort of superhuman hero has lost all of its glamor. Resistance by Sudan, Jordan, Tunisia, and Lebanon have detracted still further from the Nasser myth of invincibility. Nasser is in trouble and he knows it. In this connection Mr. Adams feels that Nasser's scope for maneuvering has progressively narrowed. The road ahead is strewn with treacherous rocks. Mr. Adams writes: "It is a gloomy prospect for President Nasser's government, with the Egyptians themselves audibly asking how much longer they must wait for the fruits of the revolution; with the Syrians growing nostalgic for the old days, and the Arab peoples losing their enthusiasm for the modern Saladin."

It is significant, too, that alongside of the growing political isolation surrounding Nasser, events in his own backyard are none too promising. Already in the latter part of 1958 the Egyptian economy was facing trouble. Since then the situation has not changed significantly although Nasser continues to pile promise upon promise of better things to come. During last summer, Nasser took to the stump assuring his listeners that his United Arab Republic was moving ahead. He painted the most inviting picture concerning Egypt's future. The fact that he had to spend so much time whipping up public enthusiasm is at least indirect evidence that many of the citizens of his country are beginning to question. However, Nasser knows this much, that if the Egyptian fellahin does not eat enough, at least their leader dares not stop talking about pie in the sky.

If we dispense with Nasser's oratory and take a hard look at the present state of the Egyptian economy, we cannot help but come to the conclusion that things are going from bad to worse. Nasser promised radical agricultural reforms to elevate the miserable lot of the peasantry. Yet, comparing the conditions in the Egyptian cotton fields of today with those which obtained, let us say, 20 years ago, it is hard to find important differences. The same archaic techniques are employed involving the same kind of backbreaking labor. Child labor is also a feature just as it was 20 years ago.

Nasser trumpeted a great deal about his land reforms. The landless were to receive a bit of land. But what good is the land when the peasants are still at the mercy of loan sharks? This has increased the debt burden of the Egyptian peasantry to a point where their labor is virtually owned by these usurers. Even the so-called cooperatives widely advertised by the Cairo regime, have become instruments of ruthless exploitation, dominated by Nasser's local henchmen. In short, the peasants are both economically and politically strapped by the bureaucrats who really run the local agricultural communities. This deplorable situation has been aggravated by black-marketeering which has raised still higher the cost of working the land while the market price for Egypt's main cotton crops are at the lowest levels since the end of the war. The agricultural crisis has forced many peasants to sell their animals and has increased the number of the landless.

In the cities the industrial and white-collar workers, as well as the lower middle classes, have also been squeezed by Nasser's economic reforms. In 1952, the average industrial wage was estimated to be approximately E£2 a week. There has been virtually no improvement since then. Meanwhile, the inflationary price structure and the backward tax system have dug deeper into the pocketbooks of the average city dweller.

Nasser frequently boasts about his intentions to do away with the city slums and to construct mass-housing projects that would make Egypt the envy of all the Arab world. Cairo cites statistics to prove that progress has been made in that direction. The picture appears altogether in a different light when one examines the categories of progress in construction. First of all, there has been an extensive building program for military barracks. Recently, the Cairo Government built a stadium with a seating capacity of 100,000. Obviously such construction can hardly be used by the ordinary worker. Furthermore, much of the actual residential building has gone to house Nasser's swollen bureaucracy. Today, one will find in Cairo new luxury hotels and expensive Government buildings. But what about the availability of housing for the vast majority of city dwellers? Most of them continue to live in the same slums that were flourishing even before Nasser seized power. It is estimated that in the cities and towns alone close to 35,000 housing units a year are needed just to replace those which are falling apart. Another 40,000 units are necessary merely to keep up with the growing population. Nasser, of course, has proclaimed that his Government would embark on vast low-cost housing construction. Yet, these slums seem to grow all the time.

The failures in Nasser's economic programs have created unrest and disillusionment. The people of Syria are restless and their protests mount against arbitrary and imperialistic policies of the Cairo regime. It is obvious that Nasser's attitude toward Syria is not one of equality. It is the attitude of an exploiter. Syrians of all classes are finding it most difficult to pursue their work under the oppressive policies and regulations of the Egyptian regime. Of course, he has tried to mollify the Syrians with speeches but their protests continue and thousands of Syrians have been imprisoned because they dared to speak up. The crisis in Syria has now reached a point where Nasser hurriedly called upon his closest collaborator Field Marshal Amer to take over Syrian affairs. Amer is now dictator of Syria and all Syrian leaders who displayed even the slightest independent attitude have been sacked.

Thus, Nasser is confronted with an internal and external crisis which finds its roots in his militaristic policies. Nasser has desperately tried to conceal the facts by suddenly switching to an anti-Communist line and by professing his love for the West. This is a familiar tactic used by dictators in the past. Unfortunately, it appears that some State Department policymakers have been impressed by Nasser's conversion.

Precisely at this time when Nasser finds himself in a profound economic and political crisis, have reports begun to circulate concerning improved relations with Egypt. The Wall Street Journal's Middle Eastern reporter James N. Wallace (September 9, 1959) filed an enthusiastic report about the new Egypt under caption "Foreign Policy Success." To what does he attribute the improved relations between the Cairo regime and the United States? Our policymakers, Mr. Wallace writes, have learned to deal with Nasser in terms of patience, quiet diplomacy,

selective economic assistance, and limited goals. Thus, by refraining to antagonize Egypt and by sweetening relations behind the scenes, Nasser has finally come around. Nasser's attack against the Communist, Mr. Wallace informs his readers, is now regarded by our policymakers as "a great gain for American policy." Such reports make good copy so far as Cairo is concerned but they do not present a realistic picture. Indeed, they serve as a blind which can only result in further disappointments and defeats for the U.S. position in the Middle East.

Nasser is nobody's fool. He has turned to the West because he is in trouble and needs money—huge amounts to bail him out. Mr. Nasser admits that he needs at least $2 billion in the next 10 years for his grandiose schemes. It goes without saying that he is banking on the U.S. Treasury for help.

Reports from Cairo tell us that the Egyptians would prefer to deal with the West. On the other hand, if the necessary moneys are not forthcoming from the West, then the Nasser regime may have to turn to the Russians again. It does not take much to recognize the blackmail strategy in these officially inspired reports. Time and again Egyptian propaganda throws out this alternative to the West. A typical example can be found in a letter published in the New York Times September 8, 1959, by an Arab spokesman on the question of a World Bank loan to improve the Suez Canal. "Of course," he wrote, "financing for the project can be found, but the UAR would like to do business with the World Bank and the West. We all know the inconvenience which arises when the UAR is forced to seek funds elsewhere."

Nasser's blockade tactics at Suez is a concrete example of the way this blackmail works. On the one hand the Suez blockade threatens all maritime nations including the United States. On the other hand, Nasser demands a multimillion-dollar subsidy from the West, threatening to turn to the Russians if it is not forthcoming. This is the extent of Nasser's conversion and the so-called success story of our policies in Egypt.

The notion that Nasser is now our great shield against Soviet imperialist designs in the Middle East does not correspond to the facts. Nasser is as dedicated an enemy of the West including the United States as he was in those halcyon days when he joined toasts with Khrushchev in the Kremlin. Egyptian propaganda still defames the United States although the frequency has admittedly decreased for the time being while negotiations on loans are pending.

One month before Mr. Wallace's success story the Egyptian radio sneered at the United States condemning it as the supreme troublemaker in the Middle East. The Cairo radio heaped scorn on the U.S. Congress describing Israel as "an American imperialist toy." It cast aspersions at what it called the "alleged democracy" of the United States. The Cairo radio warned Congress not to interfere in the question of granting loans for improving the Suez Canal. It reminded Congress "to peruse carefully the story of the High Dam." Here again is the implicit threat to do business with the Soviets if the United States should question Nasser's right to arbitrarily use the Suez for political purposes.

It should also be noted that during the same month that Mr. Wallace hailed the success of U.S. policy in Egypt, the Cairo radio launched new attacks against the United States. The United States was accused of betraying not only its own principles but those of the U.N. Charter. This particular attack insulted former President Truman and used a terminology that was reminiscent of Goebbels'.

These flashes of anti-Western and anti-U.S. propaganda are a reminder that Mr. Nasser's awakening is purely a tactical maneuver. His leadership is thoroughly discredited, his economy in desperate straits. As of October 1959, for example, foreign exchange reserves were only $200 million, even below the end 1956 (London Financial Times, October 28, 1959). Why, then, should the United States rush to his rescue precisely at this moment? Is it in our national interest that the chief trouble maker in the Middle East be the recipient of multimillion-dollar handouts? When will we learn to distinguish between our friends and enemies in the Middle East—or, for that matter, in other parts of the world?

It seems to us that the time has come when we ought to fashion our policies on positive programs rather than on the very tattered banner of anticommunism. The record shows that the United States has been fully aware of the Communist challenge in the Middle East and in other parts of the world long before the appearance of Mr. Nasser and company. We certainly do not need his advice in this respect. We should not have to pay for the privilege of hearing him tell us how to oppose Communist penetration—for, as he extends one hand to the United States, the palm of the other is always ready to receive Moscow gold.

Resolution in Favor of the GI Cold War Bill Passed by the University of Miami Veterans' Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the cold war veterans' GI educational bill, which was passed by the Senate 57 to 31 last session and is now awaiting House action, is continuing to gain national support.

As an example of this, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a resolution adopted by the University of Miami Veterans' Association.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI,
Miami, Fla., December 23, 1959.

Hon. RALPH YARBOROUGH,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR YARBOROUGH: The Xi Gamma Iota fraternity (University of Miami Veterans' Association) in meeting duly assembled on December 16, 1959, passed unanimously the following resolution and requested that copies be made available to all who have interest in this matter:

"Whereas S. 1138 provides educational and other readjustment assistance to veterans serving in the Armed Forces after January 31, 1955, and before July 1, 1963, and provides for extension of veterans' benefits, the guarantee of home-loan provisions, and a mustering-out pay of $100 for certain honorably discharged veterans, the following resolution was adopted:

"*Resolved,* That Xi Gamma Iota believes that the continuation of benefits now being considered will greatly assist veterans in their adjustment to civilian life, serve to provide educational opportunities which will be of value to our country as well as to these citizens who have served in its Armed Forces, and will offer the same reasonable benefits as provided to previously discharged veterans.

"*Further resolved,* That all interested parties be given a copy of this resolution with the endorsement of this fraternity approving such legislation."

Very truly yours,

WILLIAM LOCHER,
President, XGI Chapter.

Certified correct.
Date: DECEMBER 25, 1959.

The Intellectual Returns

SPEECH
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the January 14 edition of the Des Plaines Valley News, a community newspaper in my district, is, I believe, a most thought-provoking commentary on a topic of interest to all of us:

THE INTELLECTUAL RETURNS

One of the greatest blows to intellectual standing within American life and attitudes was launched in the latter period of the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration by daily newspapers and radio commentators on the policy of hiring experts, usually professors in their field, as Government project workers at $1 per year.

Lampooning cartoons, humorous stories, and unfavorable comments on the governmental policy were of such nature that somehow the entire attitude of Americans toward the intellectual was switched from esteem of the person with a degree to contempt.

World War II years and the wide availability of employment at high premium pay, even for unschooled occupations, further deteriorated the attitude toward intellectual standing.

The emphasis of many schools on glorifying the football hero or the basketball star, in that period, pushed scholarship into the background in the newspaper headlines.

As a result, the genius or those intellectually gifted were regarded as queer and ignored by society.

The pressure of extra income due to the increasing inflation, plus the desire for flashy articles such as expensive homes, autos, and other luxury items to display lavishly contributed to many talented persons failing to develop their capacities and being content to follow the neighborhood pattern of working in a factory assembly line.

INTELLECTUAL REDISCOVERED

Since the advent of the Russian jump into space and their lead in planetary rocket research, the gifted or intellectually superior student has once more been rediscovered within our culture.

At this moment, many schools are awarding letters for intellectual standing in the same manner as awarding letters for outstanding football prowess. The honor roll is returning to its proper esteem.

Both business and industry have joined the project of improving the quality of learning by contributing scholarships, their talented personnel, and technical apparatus to schools.

IT IS NOW THE LAW

Public attention has turned to schools. Legislatures have felt the pressure of groups

to the extent of requiring schools to teach constitutional history to grades eight and nine, and the dangers of alcoholic drinks to grades four through nine.

Humane treatment of animals must be taught not less than one-half hour per day; safety for one class period. Recess became directed recreation periods, and all pupils are required to take music.

Best of all, people are beginning to place the intellectual person on the proper plane. It is no longer a social disease to be smart.

One may discount the achievements of the Russians, but their accomplishments have shown that American schools or American superiority is just as subject to criticism as other things.

Every American genius or talented scholar can thank the Russians for helping to return the esteem of learning to its proper place in American culture.

Application of State Antidiscrimination Law—The Issue of Federal-State Relationships

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. BARTLETT
OF ALASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, on several occasions in the 1st session of the 86th Congress I expressed concern that the Department of State was represented as having advised the New York State Commission Against Discrimination that a ruling by the commission applying the fair employment law of New York to the hiring policies of the Arabian American Oil Co. in New York State would adversely affect U.S. interests abroad. My concern was for the maintenance of appropriate Federal-State relationships and for the human rights aspects of the matter. Accordingly, I initiated correspondence with the Department of State. Thereafter, and expressly in the light of this correspondence, a New York judge decided that New York fair employment law should be applied, holding that the Department of State had taken no stand on the case. To complete the story, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that three letters not previously published in the RECORD, which are an intrinsic part of the correspondence to which I have referred, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JULY 3, 1959.

The Honorable E. L. BARTLETT,
U.S. Senate.

DEAR SENATOR BARTLETT: I have for reply your further letter of June 29 on the subject of the case of the *American Jewish Congress v. The Arabian American Oil Company* which has been under consideration before the New York State Commission Against Discrimination.

I appreciate the interest you have shown in discussing the Department's role in this matter during the course of our recent correspondence. As Mr. Josephson of your staff has undoubtedly informed you, he and representatives of the American Jewish Congress also examined the question in some detail in a meeting with Deputy Assistant Secretary Parker T. Hart on June 30.

It is my understanding that the matter will be heard before the Supreme Court of the State of New York on July 6. It is our feeling in the Department that it would not be appropriate for us to comment further on this case when a hearing of it before the New York courts is thus imminent. I am certain from your letter that you appreciate our position in this mater.

I assure you, however, that it is our desire to be appropriately helpful in resolving problems which arise out of actions by foreign governments which appear to discriminate against U.S. citizens. We shall, of course, be prepared to provide any further information on these problems which the commission or the court in New York may seek. I personally would also be prepared and pleased to discuss the Department's role in this case, as well as the general problem, directly with you at any time at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,
WILLIAM B. MACOMBER, Jr.,
Assistant Secretary.

JULY 20, 1959.

Mr. WILLIAM B. MACOMBER, Jr.,
Assistant Secretary of State, Department of State, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MACOMBER: Thank you for your letter of July 3, to which I have withheld my response pending a decision in the New York litigation. Now that the court has held Aramco's questioning of job applicants in the city of New York about their religious beliefs to be a violation of the State law, it would seem that a personal conference between us on this subject would be unnecessary. Perhaps, indeed, the question of the Department's role has been rendered moot.

The opinion by the New York Supreme Court demonstrated the distinction between an order forbidding religious questioning and an order requiring the employment of Jews in Saudi Arabia. This distinction, which I sought to make in my correspondence with you, is essential. An order of the latter type was not sought in the New York litigation. The order of the former type, which was sought and granted, presented no conceivable damage to U.S. interests in the Middle East.

If the Department had not been involved deeply in the New York litigation, by reason of correspondence to the New York commissioner, your statement in your letter of July 3 that comment by the Department on the case "would not be appropriate" would have been unassailable. But because of the Department's involvement, I was seeking disengagement by the Department from the position in which it had been cast. Although I recognized the fact that the Department has never expressed itself on the precise issues involved in the New York litigation, I was aware that the Department had appeared to some to have assumed a policy position in the matter.

Sincerely yours,
E. L. BARTLETT.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, July 29, 1959.

Hon. E. L. BARTLETT,
U.S. Senate.

DEAR MR. BARTLETT: I thank you for your letter of July 20 discussing the findings of the Supreme Court of the State of New York in the case brought by the American Jewish Congress against the Arabian American Oil Co. and the New York State Commission Against Discrimination. The Department has throughout the hearing of this case been appreciative of your comments and concern, particularly since we share your conviction that the proper policy of our Government must be to work for the elimination of any procedures adopted by foreign states which tend to discriminate against our citizens in any way, including discrimination on the basis of race or religion.

As stated in our earlier correspondence, this Department has consistently maintained the position that it would not be proper for it to comment on a case being heard in a State court. We did not do so in this case. Nor did we assume a policy position in the matter, our only connection having been to reply in a general sense, as we consider ourselves properly obliged to do, to a request for information received from the authorities of the State of New York.

Sincerely yours,
WILLIAM B. MACOMBER, Jr.,
Assistant Secretary.

Resolutions Praying That the Government of the United States Be Memorialized by the General Court of Massachusetts for Redress of Certain Historical Grievances

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the statement of John Beresford Hatch, of 15 Harbor Street, Salem, Mass., as the petitioner for house bill No. 91 filed in the Massachusetts Legislature for the adoption of resolutions memorializing the Government of the United States for redress of certain grievances by reason of the illegal arrest, jailing, and execution of persons suspected of witchcraft in the year 1692 and 1693. This bill is scheduled for a hearing today before the committee on constitutional law at the statehouse in Boston.

I wish also to include a copy of the house bill No. 91 with the knowledge that many of the Members of the Congress have had some interest in this subject matter.

BRIEF TO BE ATTACHED TO HOUSE BILL NO. 91, PETITION FILED BY REPRESENTATIVE BUCZKO OF SALEM IN BEHALF OF JOHN BERESFORD HATCH (COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTIONAL LAW)

Two hundred and sixty-eight years ago, according to our most eminent antiquaries and distinguished chroniclers of early New England times, Salem, Mass., between 1692 and 1693 suffered one of the worst witch hunts in the history of Anglo-American jurisprudence.

It was in the beginning a Salem affair but before its ending it had a far-reaching effect covering most of Massachusetts.

Before its climax more than 1,000 early residents here were imprisoned, charged with the crime of practicing witchcraft.

Nineteen innocent men and women were hanged at Salem. Two Salem matrons, both octogenarians died on the floor of their death cells at Salem jail. And one silvery haired Irishman, 80-year-old Salem farmer, Giles Corey, was tortured and pressed to death. He had bravely refused to plead and accepted its awful alternative, a form of

British barbarity known as "peine forte etdure."

Here at Salem, which was the storm center of the emotional hurricane, an entire community was stricken, and not by the terror of witches or witchcraft, but by a royal transgression and unprecedented assault against a settlement of English people, in an historic transgression which was a gross violation of every legal right these people had inherited by the Magna Carta of 1215 and the Bill of Rights of 1641.

On the crimson worksheet of the Crown's terrible day of infamy at Salem, the record of its Court of Oyer and Terminer stands out glaringly as one of the most lawless tribunals in the history of British jurisprudence.

Here was a court with not one acquittal to its credit, a court allowed none of the defendants to be represented by an attorney, a court wherein not one of the jurists was a lawyer. Here was a court that said: "If you wasn't guilty you wouldn't be here." It turned deaf ears to some of the most pathetic and tearful pleas for justice and mercy.

The above is only a brief outline of the Salem court functioning under the aegis of the British crown circa 1692. Its acts of brutish inquisitions, orders for false arrest, false imprisonment, unlawful seizure, embezzlement, manslaughter, and murder—still nags the conscience of civilized peoples all over the world.

But let us not go further into the details of the atrocious Salem witchcraft trials.

Here, today before the 1960 session of the General Court of Massachusetts, we are chiefly concerned with legal ways and means of restoring the honor and blood of an innocent people, and likewise we are concerned and greatly distressed by an inherited stigma that still clings to the great seal of this, one of the oldest States in the Union.

As a long time student of the Salem witchcraft trials and the fractured attempts to pardon the Salem "witches"—I find that since the year of 1703 and up through the years to as recent as 1957, there have been several abortive attempts made to reverse the Salem witchcraft attainders. All of them were either illegal or incomplete.

In the year of 1711 an act by the Province Bay General Court for a time was thought to have reversed witchcraft attainders on some of the victims, but I find that act turns out to be nothing less than a fraud. At most it offered nothing but a quietus of protection for the perpetrators of the crown's day of infamy at Salem.

A searching of the British archives reveals no official or royal exoneration of the Salem witches.

The only truly legal reversal of attainders in the New World was for the benefit of Jackob Liesler and his son-in-law and Geradus Beekman, all of whom were hanged for treason at New York 1691, on the very eve of the Salem atrocity, but in 1694 Liesler and associates were duly exonerated and a reversal of their attainders was properly achieved by an act of the British Parliament. That made sense, legal sense.

I cite the New York reversal as a case in point, and for the historic facts I am indebted to Dr. Lawrence Leder's thesis published in the 1952 Quarterly Review of the New York Historical Society. I am also greatly indebted to Prof. George H. Moore, LL.D., of New York, a rare legal antiquary whose important findings has gone unnoticed for almost three-quarters of a century.

Since the crime of witchcraft, as was charged against the Salem people, is a violation of canon or ecclesiastic law, rather than civil * * * in this case only the Queen of England is empowered to reverse witchcraft attainders. It is strictly a royal prerogative. Hasset's Precedents in this matter clearly defines the niceties and refinements of British parliamentary law.

Therefore, since the innocence of condemned and executed Salemites has long been established by signed and public confessions of the accusers, and by the repentent judges and jury of 1692 and 1693, and since none of the attained victims have been duly exonerated by the British crown, either before or since the establishment of the United States, it is requested that the General Court of Massachusetts petition the U.S. Congress, requesting that honorable body to take all necessary and proper steps to petition Elizabeth, II, the Queen of the British Commonwealth of Nations * * * requesting that all witchcraft attainders be legally reversed at once and for all time.

With a swift stroke of her pen Queen Elizabeth II, could write a historic finis to a long and fictionalized story of Salem witches, erase the blot on the honor and reputation of our New England ancestors, and at the same stroke vindicate Salem and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Salem as we all know has a remarkable history; its notable sons and daughters have contributed much indeed to the growth and expansion of the New World, and in many important fields of achievement, and yet over the years Salem's great accomplishments has been largely overshadowed by a fictionalized image of witches and wizards. Maritime Salem, industrious Salem, certainly after all these years is justified in asking for removal of its old witchcraft tie.

Respectfully submitted.

JOHN BERESFORD HATCH.

SALEM, MASS., 1960.

RESOLUTIONS PRAYING THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES BE MEMORIALIZED BY THE GENERAL COURT OF MASSACHUSETTS FOR REDRESS OF CERTAIN HISTORICAL GRIEVANCES

Whereas, in the years of our Lord 1692 and 1693, some 700 honest, respectable and law-abiding citizens and inhabitants of Salem and other Essex County communities were wantonly accused, publicly humiliated, and insultingly examined for allegedly committing hypothetical crimes of witchcraft and wizardry; and

Whereas wild accusations and hysterical prosecutions for these imaginary crimes were not uncommon to the country, the world, or the times, none-the-less, the incidents at Salem, Mass., were so foul and illegal as to nag the conscience of civilized people everywhere ever since; and

Whereas before arraignment and trial in a scandalously illegitimate Pontius Pilate court, the Salem victims were summarily stripped of good name and earthly estate; their good names being forfeit to the devil, their poor estates being confiscated by his political helpers in the service of crown and province; and

Whereas before arraignment and trial in puted without due legal process, and largely on the say-so of a diabolic and unconstitutional star chamber of political witch finders, and thereby denied the birthright that was the heritage of all Englishmen; and

Whereas following the most irregular and inhuman inquisitions the victims were damned at travesty trials, and barbarically imprisoned, or judiciously murdered, by duly accredited representatives of the British crown and the Massachusetts province government; and

Whereas, contrary to all civilized law, before or since, guilt was established by spectral, or make-believe, evidence, and on the hysterical testimony of confessed liars, some witty, some witless; and

Whereas the costs of arrest, confinement, trial, and execution of sentence were almost entirely assessed on the witches, or their estates, payable in advance, and in some instances, at the impoverishment of family, friends, or neighbors; and

Whereas the insult of imputed guilt was aggravated by the imposition of added injury to the witches in the form of unprecedented indignities, in the name of crown and province; and

Whereas court fees and costs were arbitrarily and excessively increased for the so-called witch trials, there is basis for belief that the purpose of the prosecution was to exploit the prisoners rather than weigh their guilt or innocence; and

Whereas the black attainder of witchcraft, illegally imposed on the witches, was, through a diabolical philosophy of guilt by association, imputed to their kith and kin, presumably forever; and

Whereas thus pronounced civiliter mortuus, or legally dead, the witches and their kith and kin were subject to loss of all civil, political, and property rights for the remainder of their natural lives, and placed at the untender mercies of avaricious adventurers; and

Whereas the crime of witchcraft was a heretical sin against canon law its prosecution was normally the province of the established church, rather than civil authorities; and

Whereas at that sad time, and in all British domain the prosecuting authority of the established church was vested personally and exclusively in the British Crown, not in royal governors, or colonial legislatures, or even the British Parliament; and

Whereas since the illegal witch courts at Salem and elsewhere were created by royal Governor Phips, on his own initiative, without consent of the legislature, or pursuant to the royal charter, or British civil or canon law, the trespass on royal prerogative is further accentuated; and

Whereas, in any event, neither the province governor nor the province legislature was empowered to establish special courts, unless specifically authorized by Crown or charter, condemnation or exoneration of the witches was clearly beyond the scope of delegated powers; and

Whereas only the crown could deal with such presumptive challenge or transgressions on royal prerogative, as witchcraft, neither the province governor nor the province legislature was competent to sit in judgment on cases which only the crown could properly adjudicate; and

Whereas there is considerable affirmative evidence, and none known contrary, that no proper accounting of confiscated witch estates was ever made to crown or province authorities; and

Whereas this lack of proper accounting to anyone by the witch persecutors would seem to compound their villainy, since it indicates that the forfeitures and seizures were political embezzlement, or worse; and

Whereas this knowing injustice done the witches in the name and under the aegis of the British crown and the Massachusetts province government is without legal sanction or legislative precedent in British or colonial jurisprudence, and the wrong has never been vindicated; and

Whereas the brutal treatment accorded prisoners in Massachusetts witch trials was contrary to all Anglo-Saxon law, custom, or tradition, and seemingly a callous crime; and

Whereas it is an ancient accepted maxim of universal law and equity that masters are accountable for flagrantly illegal acts done by servants in the normal course of employment; the more so when said unlawful acts are done with the masters' tacit knowledge and consent; and

Whereas neither the British nor succeeding American Government can avoid a por-

tion of the increasing degradation which results from suppressing, or permitting to be suppressed, the full story of the 264-year-old crime committed against the witches in Massachusetts; and

Whereas since justice is, or should be, the proper concern of all men on earth, and since knowledge implies consent, neither Britain nor the United States can escape shame for the unabsolved, unexpiated, therefore continuing, crime against common decency; and

Whereas the wanton and flagrant illegality of the infamous Massachusetts witch courts is conceded and abhorred by the peoples of Britain and the United States, but this concession and abhorring are not reflected in the government policies of either country; and

Whereas a great moral principle has gone begging in the political tumult and confusion, each government contending that the other has exclusive responsibility and jurisdiction to right the wrong done the witches, with the ironical result that nothing concrete is done by either; and

Whereas some sporadic attempts have been made by several Massachusetts legislatures since 1700 to exonerate certain selected witches, these efforts are so obviously inadequate and authorized as to suggest political facesaving, or worse; and

Whereas British lawmakers maintain that final responsibility has rested with the Massachusetts Commonwealth, or the U.S. Government, since 1783, if not earlier; and

Whereas Massachusetts legislators retort that only the British Crown could, or can, properly exonerate the witches, since illegality of the witch courts was a violation of British royal prerogative rather than colonial legislative authority; and

Whereas the illegal persecution of the witches in Massachusetts was primarily a trespass on royal prerogative, by virtue of religious implications, and only secondarily a transgression on civil authority, British or American; and

Whereas the doctrine of prior jurisdiction is almost universally accepted as good law, it follows that lesser courts cannot infringe on the jurisdiction of greater courts, and that the Massachusetts witch court findings could not be validated or annulled by any other tribunal than the British Crown itself; and

Whereas there was no validation or annulment of the witch court findings by the British crown up to establishment of the United States, or since, no corrective action enacted by any colonial or Commonwealth legislature could conceivably have any force or effect, or be absorbed legally into American jurisprudence; and

Whereas all previous attempts by Massachusetts legislators to undo, entirely or in part, the iniquitous injustice of the bestial witch courts, or elsewhere in Massachusetts, have foundered on these legal reefs; namely, conflicting claims of authority, or lack thereof; and

Whereas human nature is such that neither Britain nor the United States can be expected, unilaterally, to claim the shameful glory of having defiled and desecrated the torn and bleeding carcass of justice, through illegal persecution of the witches; and

Whereas unless decisive and appropriate action is taken here and now to loosen or slice the Gordian knot of continuing persecution of witches in Massachusetts, the aimless babble of legalistic gobbledygookians may prevail ad infinitum, and shame us forever; and

Whereas unless justice is done in our day, when a spirit of neighborly understanding encompasses the earth, the witches may have to wait on judgment day for liberation from their illegal limbo of the illegally damned; and

Whereas the moving spirit of British and American jurisprudence, and the inherent desire for fair play by both nations, require that speedy justice be done, to the end that right shall prevail; and

Whereas each additional instant of delay adds infinitely to the eternal shame of both countries, for justice delayed is justice denied, and where the law loses face, the people lose liberty; and

Whereas continued mutual blindness in high places to the cause of the murdered Massachusetts people tends to disperage and degrade both Britain and the United States; and

Whereas justice late is better than justice never, and since all the world, in these trying times of global disquiet and mistrust, needs sorely the stimulating tonic of international good example, it behooves us all now to translate noble thoughts to noble deeds; and

Whereas Britons and Americans are reasonable beings, and the soul of honor, this whole matter could, and should be deliberated intelligently and resolved fairly, possibly at the foreign minister level, or through United Nations auspices; and

Whereas justice is, or should be, one of man's greatest concerns on earth, the collaboration of her majesty's British Government and the Government of the United States to liberate the Massachusetts witches from the illegal limbo of unjust damnation would be a worthy project and saintly ambition; and be it further

Resolved, That the great and General Court of Massachusetts take official cognizance of the great injustice done the witches in 1692 and 1693; and be it further

Resolved, That all necessary and possible legislative steps be taken to liberate the State's "witch" dead from their illegal limbo; and be it further

Resolved, That, to this purpose, the assembled general court of Massachusetts memorialize the Government of the United States for such action, legal or diplomatic, as may be necessary to promote an international meeting of minds on this subject too long delayed; and be it further

Resolved, That the Government of the United States be memorialized by proper petition to the Congress of the United States; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of any resolution so enacted be forwarded by the secretary of the Commonwealth to the British consul at Boston; the British ambassador at Washington; the leaders of the British and American delegations to the United Nations organization; the Secretary General of the United Nations organization; and the Congress of the United States; and be it further

Resolved, That the blessings of the Almighty befall those who join me in this good fight, and inspire them to advocate the cause of the murdered Massachusetts "witches" in accents of irresistible eloquence and syllables of unassailable logic, to the end that sufficient justice be done to appease, in some measure, the nagging conscience of civilized peoples everywhere.

The Lone Star State Has a New Star: Bruce Alger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. NOAH M. MASON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, in January of 1959 an able young American from Dallas was appointed to the Republican membership of the important House Committee on Ways and Means. That American, the Honorable BRUCE ALGER, has since that time distinguished himself as a member of our committee by the hard work he has done to master the complicated subject matter with which our committee deals and by the integrity and very great ability he has brought to his new responsibilities. To BRUCE ALGER principle is more important than political expediency; to BRUCE ALGER the good of all our citizens and the national interest are more important than the demands of special privilege-seeking pressure groups.

A few years ago it was my privilege to address a group of outstanding citizens in Dallas and I became well acquainted with the high caliber of Americans who reside in that great area of our Nation. My friend and colleague, BRUCE ALGER, is in my judgment one of the finest of these fine Americans. I am pleased to notice in the current issue of Newsweek magazine that the able and perceptive political writer, Dr. Raymond Moley, has devoted a column to BRUCE ALGER entitled "Revolution in Dallas." I will, Mr. Speaker, as a part of my remarks, include Mr. Moley's column:

REVOLUTION IN DALLAS

(By Raymond Moley)

The U.S. House of Representatives is a large complex of committees and subcommittees whose labors, generally thorough and sincere, are shrouded from public sight and lost to public interest. Seniority is sovereign. Power is exercised by the hoary veterans of 30 years of Democratic control, broken only twice. Young members are admonished, in the crisp aphorism of that Nestor of them all, SAM RAYBURN, that the way to get along is to go along. The House is no forum for forensic prowess; minority reports are buried in thick books, and only in extensions in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD may the green shoots of statesmanship have a partial say.

But among these young members are many who will ultimately reach high office. This is especially true of young Republicans, who can only work and wait. They are the hope of a revived Republicanism.

Notable among them is BRUCE ALGER, of Dallas. He appeared in politics in 1954 as a candidate for a seat held for time immemorial by Democrats and distinguished for many years by Hatton Sumners, sagacious, learned statesman who found his inspiration in the word of God, in the Constitution, and, like St. Francis, in the language of birds during his early morning walks. Dallas has preferred such conservatives. But to break its allegiance to the Democratic Party required something most unusual.

UNREVISED REPUBLICAN

The Alger campaign offered just that unusual inducement. For it provided a very attractive candidate and a strong volunteer organization. ALGER never emasculated his Republicanism with such qualifying adjetives as modern or progressive or liberal. Dallas liked that. He was a successful businessman. Dallas is notable for its young self-made businessmen. ALGER had also made a name for himself in civic affairs unrelated to politics.

But his cause had to be brought to the attention of voters by an organization suited to the candidate and his principles. The germ of this organization had been created in the Eisenhower campaign in 1952. It was developed in behalf of ALGER in 1954. It was headed and directed by able young business executives who mobilized vigorous volunteer workers in considerable numbers. A

"Couples Canvass" was carried on by men and women volunteers from house to house. There was a "Yard Sign" drive to put the Alger name wherever the property owners permitted it. Then there was a "BRUCE ALGER Day," when 90 attractive and colorfully garbed young women invaded downtown Dallas attaching campaign tags to good-natured citizens. Now there is a full-time organization headquarters to keep interest in ALGER and his policies before the voters between elections.

TOIL, SWEAT, VOLUNTEERS

In 1954, despite a nationwide Democratic tide, ALGER won with 28,000 votes and a 3,000 margin. He repeated in 1956. In 1958, despite another Democratic trend, he doubled his 1954 vote and majority.

In Congress ALGER has supported economy, sound money, and freedom of enterprise. He has voted to keep government out of business activities which would best be left to private efforts. Even on measures which would provide Federal money for Dallas, he has braved the "let's-get-our-slice" people at home and has voted to protect the national interest.

There is a profoundly important lesson in the Dallas revolution for many other urban, suburban, and sub-suburban communities. There is where the destiny of the Republican Party must be determined. While the farm population is slipping away, the greatest growth in the population is in the newly opened areas in the suburbs and in the areas beyond the suburbs. There, living side by side, owning their homes, and running their common community affairs are junior executives, well-paid industrial workers, tradesmen, retired people, and others. These people have a vital community of interest in less wasteful government, better schools supported and controlled locally, and economic freedom. The political allegiances of these people are not yet ingrained. They will support candidates and a party which consider their interests. They hold the balance of national power. But they must be organized.

League of Women Voters Aids Public Understanding of Economic Aid Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, in the January 14, 1960, issue of the Astorian Budget, published daily in Astoria, Oreg., there appeared an excellent discussion of the objectives and operations of our economic-aid program.

The article—written by Mrs. Elizabeth A. Neikes, President of the Astoria League of Women Voters—outlines the goals which should be considered in any comprehensive effort to provide economic aid to underdeveloped nations. Her comments provide a valuable background for consideration of the mutual security appropriation bill which will be before the Congress in the next few months. I commend Mrs. Neikes' remarks to my colleagues.

Mr. President, the League of Women Voters has long been an active force in educating citizens, so that when they visit the polls they may cast their ballots more intelligently. In the field of foreign aid, the League has carried out a broad-based informational campaign to acquaint people with the aim of our economic-aid program. Recently, the League published a fine study, entitled "World Economic Development: Our Part in a Common Effort."

Foreign economic aid is frequently the subject of political attacks. It has no constituency of its own. Those who would reduce Federal expenditures view it as an ideal target. But as Mrs. Neikes, of Astona, Oreg., states so cogently, economic aid "is a first step in the creation and perpetuation of stable, effective, democratic societies."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Mrs. Neikes' article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WORLD ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

(The League of Women Voters is making the United States foreign aid the major subject of its studies this year. In the following guest editorial the president of the local chapter discusses the subject.)

(By Mrs. Elizabeth A. Neikes, president, Astoria League of Women Voters)

Many people think that the time has come to move forward into a long range, adequate, comprehensive program of development assistance. Is it in the interest of Americans to help the developing countries help themselves? In the interest of the American worker, whose livlihood depends upon the availability of jobs? Of the American industries who must have overseas markets as well as domestic markets in order to be prosperous? Of American consumers of imported foodstuffs such as coffee, and raw materials not available here?

Special interests, of course, do not add up to the total national interest of these United States, which has to be seen in terms of what it will contribute to the security, freedom, and economic well-being of all Americans. And the surest way to guarantee these for ourselves is to assure that other members of the world community are also free, secure, and prosperous.

What is economic development? This is a question whose answers must be sought by the developed rich countries in consultation with the newly developing poor countries cooperatively. There efforts should be based on objective standards for development established by disinterested experts in the field of economic theory.

Perhaps the key question is whether the nations that are able to provide assistance can succeed in demonstrating their genuine commitment to long-range goals. The developing countries want to know why we give aid: Is it primarily a weapon of the cold war? Is it charity? Is it given grudgingly? Or is it a sincere effort to join with all peoples as partners in progress?

The most important problems confronting the underdeveloped countries are low income, undernourishment, and overpopulation. Yet the function of economic development is something more than improving living conditions; it is a first step in the creation and perpetuation of stable, effective, democratic societies. The objective is not to redistribute income that is not to share the wealth of the industrialized with the underdeveloped; but to help the rest of the world into a stage of self-sustaining economic growth so that there will be an increase and expansion of wealth.

Of course the developing countries themselves must make an indispensable contribution toward their own development. The primary responsibility for their economic development rests with them.

They should be expected to adopt programs of maximum self-help, within which they commit their own resources—facilities, materials, manpower, government organization—to the fullest degree practicable. Economic aid, technical assistance, and investment from the industrial societies can be effective only if fitted into sound internal programs. Also, we must make certain that the asperations of the leaders of a developing country are consistent with the common good of the peoples of the country. With reference to "the revolution of rising expectations" among the people of the poverty stricken nations, Mr. Eugene Black, World Bank president, says, "Revolution upon revolution is still needed in people's habits and attitudes toward life before there can be an escape from poverty."

What are some of the criticisms of foreign aid today? The friends of foreign aid are concerned about the combining of military and economic aid in the same program and the relatively small amount provided for development assistance. They emphasize the lack of long-range planning and financing; they deplore undue preoccupation with cold-war motives. The foes of foreign aid concentrate upon the financial burden of the program and upon the alleged injury to American business, labor, and the United States economy generally. Are the criticisms based upon facts? Are they explicit? Are they documented? Or are they simply sweeping generalizations? What are the assumptions that underlie the criticisms? Are they based on a belief in economic self-sufficiency and isolation? Or do they accept interdependence among nations as a primary fact of the modern world?

The conclusions of recent studies seem to suggest that an adequate, total program should be:

1. Long range enough to provide continuity in planning within both the administering agency and the recipient country; permit recruitment, training, and retention of desirable personnel. This makes possible a sustained partnership between developed and developing countries.

2. Large enough in size to be comprehensive in meeting various needs through appropriate financial means.

3. Multilateral enough to spread the costs and responsibility among many developed countries, not just the United States. Create wide variety of trained personnel with knowledge and skills drawn from the world community.

4. Coordinated enough to provide consistent policy direction for the total program; decentralized and flexible enough to allow joint planning within the developing country.

5. Well enough administered to assure: economical use of funds; integrity of performance; steady pursuit of clearly defined goals; employment of qualified and dedicated personnel.

Can such a program evolve out of the present mutual security program? Or will we have to start from scratch? One thing seems indispensable to either course of action: a clearcut, coherent picture of what the ideal economic assistance program should be.

How Shall We Deal With Strikes?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the RECORD a very interesting

and thought-provoking address made a few days ago by Mr. Louis Waldman, the well-known labor attorney and former president of the Brooklyn Bar Association.

Mr. Waldman's address discusses the subject: "How Shall We Deal With Strikes Which Imperil National Health and Safety?" He has some very interesting views and proposals which, I believe, deserve serious consideration. It is for this reason that I bring it to the attention of my colleagues.

The address was delivered before the Brooklyn Bar Association on January 13, 1960, and reads as follows:

HOW SHALL WE DEAL WITH STRIKES WHICH IMPERIL NATIONAL HEALTH AND SAFETY?

(Address by Louis Waldman)

The answer to the question, "How shall we deal with strikes which imperil national health and safety?" is not an easy one. What we do know is that we must find a better way than what we now have to deal with this problem. In my opinion a sensible answer to the question calls for some steps to be taken by labor and management on a voluntary basis; while others require changes in the Taft-Hartley law.

The national emergency disputes provisions of the Taft-Hartley law have recently been severely tested in the long and costly steel strike and have been found wanting. Action by Congress to amend that portion of the Taft-Hartley law has been strongly urged by many thoughful people.

It is unwise to wait until an emergency is again actually upon us to ask for congressional action. Government by crisis is bad in principle and often disastrous in practice. For in times of crisis Congress usually thinks in terms of punitive legislation.

Some alarmists have taken the view that the steel strike has proved that the principle of collective bargaining itself was at the crossroads. And Adlai Stevenson, no enemy of labor, went so far as to say in an address on December 8, 1959: "The steel strike has dramatized the fact that we are at the end of an era. Everybody is agreed that this cannot happen again."

But how can we prevent it from ever happening again?

Commonsense tells us that collective bargaining as such is not in issue. Collective bargaining is now rooted in the life of our Nation. It is the best possible way we have thus far devised under a system of democracy and freedom of promoting industrial peace and stability with justice.

The simple facts are that since the enactment of the Taft-Hartley law in 1947 there have been only 15 national emergency strikes which called for Presidential action. In this period of 13 years some 700,000 collective bargaining agreements have been reached, the greatest number of which, perhaps more than 90 percent, were arrived at by the collective bargaining process and involved no strikes or lockouts at all. In some cases there were strikes or lockouts but they did not involve national emergencies. And the right to strike or to lockout must remain unimpaired so that collective bargaining can work. This is certain: Collective bargaining has not lost any of its power or usefulness.

As to the 15 national emergency strikes, the breakdown of these is interesting. Four involved the International Longshoremen's Association; one, the Bridges' International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; two involved the United Steelworkers of America; two, the National Maritime Union of America; two, the United Mineworkers of America; two, the United Gas Coke and Chemical Workers; one, the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers; and one the Goodyear Atomic Corp.

The steel strike does not dramatize the end of an era. It does dramatize the inadequacy of the national emergency provisions of the Taft-Hartley law. Many of us held that view in 1947 and said so. Adlai Stevenson himself, at Detroit in 1952, almost 7 years ago, in his address from which he quoted on December 8, 1958, pointed out the inadequacies of the emergency strike provisions of the Taft-Hartley law. At that time, in a letter dated December 2, 1952, I wrote to Governor Stevenson applauding his speech and endorsing his proposals. I wrote:

"Permit me to congratulate you on your Labor Day address delivered in Cadillac Square, Detroit. No intelligent labor man could fail to appreciate its good sense and forthrightness. I was happy you did not stoop to conquer.

"I am also happy that you are living up to the statement made by you in your acceptance speech that the function of a presidential campaign is not only to win the office but also to educate the American people on the cause one represents."

The deficiencies of the Taft-Hartley law must be corrected not because we are at the end of an era but because they were not sufficient in the first place. In my opinion if we had an intelligent program of action under the law, the President would have had to act, and the steel strike with the loss of billions of dollars could have been avoided.

Under the law as it now stands, when a strike occurs or is threatening in an entire industry, the President of the United States, upon a finding that the strike or its continuance would imperil the national health or safety, can take the following steps:

1. He may appoint a board of inquiry to "inquire into the issues involved in the dispute and to make a written report to him within such time as he shall prescribe" (sec. 206).

2. Upon the receipt of the report from the board of inquiry, the President may direct the Attorney General to apply to any district court of the United States having jurisdiction to enjoin the strike or lockout.

3. If the court finds that the actual or threatened strike or lockout affects an entire industry or a substantial part of it and that if permitted to occur or continue it will imperil the national health or safety; then it may enjoin such strike or lockout, or the continuing of it. The court may also "make such other orders as may be appropriate" (sec. 208).

4. The board of inquiry appointed by the President, under the law, cannot make "any recommendations."

5. The injunction is good for 80 days and at the expiration of the injunction the strike or lockout may be resumed.

6. At the end of 60 days of the injunction a vote is taken by the NLRB among the strikers on the employer's last offer of settlement.

This program has never prevented a national emergency strike, either before the 80-day injunction or after it expires. There is an awful lot of make believe and of meaningless mechanical motion in its operation. One example of this is the hearing before the board of inquiry preceding the President's direction to the Attorney General to apply for an injunction. No one takes those hearings seriously and they serve no legal purpose for the Government to make out a case for an injunction. Another bit of futile make believe is the NLRB election on the employer's last offer. In all the last-offer votes taken during the 13 years of the law's existence, the strikers have almost unanimously voted "no" on the employer's offer. The realities of the situation, including the existence of the injunction itself, make such result inevitable.

Nor is the 80-day injunction of much help in "cooling off" of the parties. More often it has "heated them up," and caused a settlement to be postponed until after the strike was resumed at the end of the 80 days.

In the last two cases, the steel and longshore injunctions, it was not the injunction that helped in the settlements. In steel, powerful political factors were primarily responsible; in longshore the strong will to settle on both sides and the reluctance to strike existed before the injunction. Those were the principle factors in the settlement made long before the 80 days expired.

On the basis of a careful study of the 15 national emergency strikes and injunctions, with some of which I have had personal knowledge and experience, I urge the following program in utilities and basic industries:

1. There should be created a national basic industries panel, appointed by the President and consisting of an equal number of top level labor representatives and top level employer representatives.

2. Legislation should provide that when it appears, 30 days before the end of a contract, that there is a stalemate in negotiations which may lead to a work stoppage in a utility or basic industry, the President should select a four-man board of an equal number of union and employer representatives. The four-man board should then promptly meet with both sides in such industry and seek to bring about a settlement as representatives of the public. If they cannot, then a fifth man should be selected, and the five-man board should ascertain the facts in the dispute and report back to the President, no later than 10 days before the end of the contract, the positions of the parties along with the board's recommendations.

3. The legislation should also give the President several choices of remedies rather than the one remedy of injunction provided for in Taft-Hartley. Thus the actual remedy used could be tailored to meet any situation. Some of the possible remedies would be:

(a) Seizure of the industry.

(b) An injunction.

(c) Voluntary arbitration of the issues in dispute.

In all cases, the retroactivity of money matters to the date of expiration of the old contract should be provided for.

4. By voluntary action of labor and industry, stimulated and encouraged by Government, there should be created, industry-by-industry, industrial labor councils on a national, regional, and local basis, on which labor and industry would be represented in equal numbers. Such councils would have a continuing life. They would be concerned with solutions to vexing industrial and social problems, such as, for example, the role of foreign markets and competition, automation, inflation, the geographical relocation of industry—matters which cannot be adequately dealt with in collective bargaining and in which labor and management have an interest.

This then is my suggested program. It is no panacea for the solution of all labor-management ills in basic industries and utilities. With fair, honest and courageous administration, however, it should go a long way toward correcting the futile and unworkable Taft-Hartley provisions.

True Conservation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK WESTLAND

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, at the 50th Western Forestry Conference in

Spokane, Wash., Virlis L. Fischer, a mountain climber, hiker, and wilderness traveler, spoke on "What Conservation Means to Me."

Mr. Fischer is a true conservationist, whose statement before the conference set out principles to which all persons really interested in conservation can adhere.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include Mr. Fischer's statement. I hope the Congress will follow his suggestion by waiting until the National Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission makes its report before acting on any wilderness legislation.

The statement follows:

WHAT CONSERVATION MEANS TO ME

(By Virlis L. Fischer, Las Vegas, Nev.)

Four years ago, as a representative of the Sierra Club, I had the distinction of appearing on a panel at one of your conventions, and I must say you are a courageous group to extend a second invitation. Since that time, however, the Sierra Club has soared into the stratosphere, and as an old first-baseman I like to keep one foot somewhere near the bag. For the last 8 years I have served on the conservation committee of the Mazamas, one of the few outdoor clubs which so far has not succumbed to infiltration from within and the barbs from without.

This committee is made up of some solid citizens who make it their business to be informed conservationists. We think the public agencies (i.e., the Park Service, Forest Service, Fish and Wildlife Service, et al.) are made up for the most part of sincere, dedicated professionals in their fields who are trying to do a first-rate job and have a pretty sound working knowledge of how to go about it. Therefore, instead of dancing to the tom-toms, we prefer to do our own looking, gather our own information, and draw our own conclusions. We like to sift the facts from the propaganda—and this isn't hard because some of it is quite crude. We have learned to make a distinction between conservationists, dividing them into two groups—the emancipated and the brainwashed. The emancipated might be defined as those who are willing to admit that even a lumberman might be right once in a while.

Dr. McArdle once told a group of the more avid who were attempting to apply the squeeze for their particular version of Three Sisters Wilderness Area boundaries, "The trouble is that some of you people are too greedy." It will be remembered that when bag limits were first suggested as a wildlife conservation measure, what a howl of protest went up from some of the hunters. These people were called game hogs. I wonder if this isn't somewhat analogous to the situation today where we have a relatively small, but organized, group seeking to expropriate a vast empire for a single use—to the exclusion of all other values including other forms of recreation? Greed, it seems, is not always of the pocketbook.

It is noteworthy to me that the other two members of this panel, Mr. McKee and Mr. Miles, are from British Columbia and California. Being keenly interested in the coming "war of the wilderness," it is significant that British Columbia has some huge reserves of wilderness in its provincial park system and that California is the home State of the largest pressure group seeking an expanded wilderness system. Since only 2 percent of British Columbia is arable land (the rest being mountain, glacier, forest, water and muskeg), and without implicating Mr. Miles in any way, this data had better be kept to ourselves lest British Columbia be added to the grandiose scheme for the abolishment of multiple use in northern Washington.

In any discussion of "What Conservation Means to Me," I should explain that I like both trees and foresters. A friend of mine made the statement that he has yet to see a forester who didn't have a keen appreciation of the out-of-doors. I agree with that appraisal. As a citizen, I am interested in, and have come to expect, a high standard of good land management practices on our public lands. I am also interested in the same high standard of management on private forest lands. This is not only sound business for the private forester, but helps preserve the intangible values so dear to the heart by reducing the pressure on the public lands.

I also endorse the principle of multiple-use. The many years of experience by the Forest Service in multiple-use land management have demonstrated the wisdom of this policy to such an extent as to be virtually self-evident. I am pleased to observe, too, that many private foresters, especially those operating on a sustained yield basis, are engaged in multiple-use land management, even contributing to public recreation. I appreciate the recreational opportunities that multiple-use makes possible, as well as the access it provides to the back country, which I and my fellow hikers have never been known to refuse. I regard multiple-use as applied by the trained professional land manager as wise use of our natural resources. I would say, further, that the multiple-use concept is the keynote of public land management, except where preservation of all values is paramount as in parks, wilderness areas, and certain other categories.

This brings me to the second phase—the preservation phase—of "What Conservation Means to Me." I am an enthusiastic defender, and supporter, and user of parks and wilderness areas. I consider their scenic and inspiration value as priceless. We may have some difference of opinion on boundary lines here and there, but few would want to see them abolished. As between the extremists who want to save everything and those who impishly suggest that all parks should be limited in size to 5 acres (both viewpoints being guaranteed to make the hackles rise), there is, I think, a middle ground in terms of the greatest public interest. This implies a studied balance between use and preservation. In addition, the public interest suggests another kind of balance—a balance between the various kinds of recreational opportunities—a balance, for instance, between wilderness and roadside recreation. We have had a recent illustration in the case of the proposed Glacier Peak Wilderness Area. The Forest Service made a very generous wilderness proposal, while at the same time making provision for the roadside recreationist by use of access corridors.

Last summer while in Montana for the purpose of claiming Granite Peak, I said to a filling station operator, "Well, how's everything in the land of the shining mountains?" And he replied, "Oh, we've changed that to the 'land of the shining beer cans.'" The crude and disgusting outdoor manners of the American people are often advanced as an argument against better access to the back country. It is said, "Why build a road into this beautiful spot for the benefit of those who don't place enough value on it to even keep it clean?" And while I am not making any briefs for such repulsive habits, I am forced to recognize, however, that this is only an alibi—the real aim being solitude.

By the very nature of our national parks, which present a backdrop of unspoiled natural beauty to the hordes of visitors, the wilderness lover is the recipient of a bountiful added gift. While the parks are necessarily managed for the benefit of all, he is the beneficiary of an extra dividend—the bonus of solitude in a setting of scenic splendor. To the extent that this has not been deliberately planned for his special benefit, he is getting a free ride.

By the very nature of the rugged terrain of our western national forests, again the wilderness lover is the recipient of a bountiful gift. In this case, it was deliberately planned for him and bestowed upon him, voluntarily, by far-sighted foresters who loved and wanted to preserve the best of the scenic beauty at their disposal. Again the wilderness lover is reaping the dividend.

Between the wilderness portions of the national parks and the wilderness system of the national forests, I would say that no other segment of the American public is receiving so much for so little. The biggest bargain in the Nation today is wilderness recreation. No other group has been treated so lavishly. And no other group is showing less gratitude.

Sometimes I marvel at the patience the Forest Service displays with those opposing recreational development in areas where it is obvious to almost any reasonable person to be in the public interest. Two such areas as Waldo Lake, Oreg., and the Kern Plateau in California. As Dean Vaux so ably points out, future preservation of the nearby wilderness areas could easily depend on safety valves such as this. While recreational development has been bitterly assailed in both cases, failure of the Forest Service, on the other hand, to proceed with its plans for development would sooner or later be used as fuel for the propaganda that the Forest Service is incapable of coping with the recreation problem.

Any discussion of "What conservation means to me" would hardly be complete without some mention of the wilderness bill. Two things, I think, contributed heavily to create the atmosphere for this piece of legislation. First, at the public hearing on the Three Sisters Wilderness Area, by far the most effective argument for the elimination of the controversial western part was presented by the Oregon State College School of Forestry. This served to focus attention on a weakness in the curriculum of most forestry schools which seem to place the emphasis on timber management and neglect the recreational instruction. This raised the question as to the future chances of wilderness preservation 20 years from now, if left entirely in the hands of timber management.

The second thing that happened was the victory won by the conservation forces in the Echo Park dam controversy. This was a great victory, an amazing victory over almost impossible odds, and served to lift these conservation organizations out of nowhere into national prominence. They found out that it is possible, not every day—but on occasion, to whip up enough public support to win. After basking in the glory of the big leagues, it is understandably hard to settle back into quiet oblivion. Besides, it's easy to raise money for worthy causes. Someone once chided these people about always being on the defense—all they were doing was waging a war of attrition, etc., and why didn't they take the offensive for a change? With the wilderness bill they have succeeded in doing just that, and now you are on the defensive.

The original version was unfurled in March 1956, at a wilderness conference in Portland, by Howard Zahniser of the Wilderness Society. He explained that wilderness was like motherhood—everybody was in favor of it. He didn't mention that he had in his possession an adverse report from the National Park Service, although it is only fair to note that this was later withdrawn. He told some of us that he thought it would

take four sessions of Congress to put the bill across. Since Mr. Zahniser is a particularly able and talented lobbyist who loves this type of work, it has been jokingly called "Zahniser's 8-year boondoggle."

Now it appears that Mr. Zahniser may work himself out of a job in half that time. A watered-down bill and complacency on your part may do the trick. Despite being a wilderness lover myself, I objected to the bill on the grounds that it was unnecessary legislation, too all-inclusive, and should await the research called for in the Dana report. Essentially, it is an attempt to perpetuate the status quo. I am always suspicious of status quo legislation, and therefore like to see what's under the woodpile. In spite of the present watered-down form of the bill which seems to have met the objections of many and led others to believe it harmless, there are two things in the woodpile worth considering before you allow its enactment by default.

The first of these is the Dana research which, to be of the value I am sure Dean Dana visualized, should shed some light on the place of wilderness area recreation in relation to the overall outdoor recreation picture; how much of this type do we have now; how much do we need; how much will we need in the future; how much will we be able to spare for this purpose; where should it be located; who uses it; how many; how many in the future; how can the desire for solitude be adjusted to the realities of geographical limitations; and how can wilderness areas be managed to serve many more people than at present? Shouldn't any wilderness legislation await this basic research? And do you honestly think the wilderness is going to disappear in the meantime under its present protection?

The second item in the woodpile consists of 41 primitive areas totaling 6 million acres awaiting study and reclassification as wilderness. These areas were set up many years ago under the old regulations, and are being studied now for the purpose of ascertaining the predominant wilderness values. The Forest Service has recommended an amendment to the bill giving them 15 years to complete the work. If the bill passes without the amendment, any eliminations (and there are bound to be some desirable ones) will be virtually impossible because no Congressman will want to stab his own mother. If the bill passes with the amendment giving the Forest Service authority over the final boundaries, you will see each and every elimination made into a political football regardless, and a new bill to nullify the amendment.

But this is child's play compared to the fantastic scheme for the wholesale dismemberment of the national forests. This plan involves a land transfer study aimed at taking away from the Forest Service all lands having a high recreational potential (and some not so high) and turning them over to the Park Service. The plan was instigated by the Sierra Club and approved unquestioningly by the Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs, with the exception of the Mazamas. It calls for a moratorium in the meantime on all management decisions affecting these lands. The slogan of the promotors of this scheme is, "What we save in the next 10 years is all that will ever be saved." As you might expect, the principle of multiple use is excluded from their definition of saving.

They started with a long list of specific areas, as examples, and are now clothing the bones with additional lists. The original list includes all limited areas in Oregon and Washington (some 13 of them), all 41 primitive areas previously mentioned, plus a list of other areas and features throughout the Western States and Alaska. It includes some of the wildest and most irresponsible suggestions and demands ever to come to the regional forester's attention, I am sure. It almost makes me wonder whether I'm in the conservation movement or the bughouse.

In conversation, an aura of respectability is sought by mentioning the Hoover Commission report on governmental reorganization. Not so subtle is the whispering campaign to the effect that the Forest Service doesn't know anything about recreation, its only concern being timber sales; therefore, it should all be turned over to the Park Service. This multiple-use concept being the foundation of national forest management, it is under attack. The attack features the use of pictures and captions to give a false and misleading impression of the work of the Forest Service. For instance, a close-up picture is printed of Mount Jefferson with scattered alpine trees in the foreground. The caption reads, "The chainsaws roar ever closer, in land they need never enter in order to supply man's need for timber and pulp. When the loggers have felled the trees and silence comes again to the places where the great trees were, there will never again be the miracle of unspoiled forest floor, wonder of the cool green world, that could build, renew and renew again—but not if men take the trees out." Not mentioned is the fact that this picture is in the Mount Jefferson wild area, fully and completely protected by the Forest Service, without the semblance of a threat of commercial invasion. Yet the impression is given that the chainsaws are imminent, and that the only way to prevent this catastrophe is to turn it over to the Park Service. This is not the work of babes-in-the-woods; it is being done deliberately by a tax-exempt organization with the full knowledge of its board of directors. A more unscrupulous method of operation to gain an end has never come to my attention in the conservation movement. The chairman of the Mazama conservation committee, in discussing this matter, said, "I will never knowingly be guilty of such a practice." That, ladies and gentlemen, is an ethical standard worth emulating.

I cite one other example of the breakdown in ethical standards of this empire-seeking group: A certain individual, whose identity is known, composed a letter containing 19 loaded questions and a request that the Forest Service consent to a Park Service study of the north Cascades. Congressman PELLY was persuaded to sign the letter on the theory that what harm can there be in simply asking for a study. The questions were designed to make a sucker of anyone answering them, but I doubt if Congressman PELLY realized the questions were loaded. Dr. McArdle did the only thing he could do—he answered the letter, but not the questions. His reply to what is now heralded as the Pelly letter is being circulated to prove the "arrogance" of the Forest Service. Unfortunately, these things always attract a certain following.

In conclusion, my discussion of "What Conservation Means To Me" has, because of unusual and disturbing circumstances, emphasized the national forests. Multiple-use and your national forests, both, are in danger and need your help. I do not want to witness the dismemberment of the national forest system, either piecemeal or wholesale to satisfy the greed of any one group. I think forestry is an honorable profession, and I deplore that its leaders, men of unquestioned integrity, are being subjected to this kind of abuse. I think unscrupulous methods are inconsistent with the lofty purposes of a nonprofit, tax-exempt, scientific, literary, and educational organization. I, therefore, hope for a return to the high ethical standards on which its previous reputation was earned, and, lastly, may there be a full exposure of this latest plot for just what it is—a colossal land grab for a single-use empire.

Views of the American Legion National Commander, Martin B. McKneally, on the National Defense Education Act Loyalty Oath

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, as the controversy surrounding the National Defense Education Act and its loyalty provision has intensified, I have received an increased amount of mail and statements, pro and con, about the merits of the loyalty provision of the act.

I have recently read the remarks of the American Legion national commander, Martin B. McKneally, on this subject and wish to commend the national commander for his forthright analysis of the implications of the loyalty oath. I find myself in agreement with the views expressed by Commander McKneally and believe that Members of the House will find them of interest. Therefore, under permission granted, I include them as part of my remarks, as follows:

A question of much moment before the American people is the one concerning what is called the loyalty oath.

The American Legion, by resolution of its 1959 convention, supports the loyalty oath provision of the National Defense Education Act. It does so on this theory: The National Defense Education Act is a part of the enactments of Congress providing for the security of the United States and as such those receiving benefits under it are special persons, they are singled out as special beneficiaries for a special reason and as such their loyalty to the United States and their freedom from the taint of disloyalty is properly an issue.

To read the debate on the Kennedy-Clark bill which sought, at the last session of Congress, to repeal the section of the act which required every student-beneficiary to sign an affidavit to the effect that he does not believe in and is not a member of and does not support any organization that believes in or teaches the overthrow of the United States Government by force or violence or by any illegal or unconstitutional means is to take an exercise, a lengthy exercise in evasion, begging the question and missing the point. One would think that loyalty to the sovereign State is the exaction of an onerous, burdensome thing to the average American. One would think that subversion was not the Communist business. One would think that freedom, in this desolate age, was not dying all over the world. One would have to conclude that the great states that have been overthrown, since 1945, were not helped to disaster by certain disloyal citizens within their boundaries. The fact of the matter is that loyalty is an issue and the United States must be protected against disloyalty.

The fact of the matter is that those of us who support this affidavit, and have ourselves taken such an oath gladly, find in it no reflection on our integrity and our loyalty. When we insist upon our position we are disdained as anti-intellectual and as descendants of those who called for a religious test in the Middle Ages. This is specious nonsense.

A man's traffic with his God is a personal affair and is answerable in a forum over

which we have no control. Treason to one's country is another story. A tightly organized society such as our own exists by virtue of certain understandings, certain compacts—man to man. We are all participants in it and every man is affected by the deeds of his fellows. This principle is, indeed, part of the tradition of the common law. For instance, I must so use my property that it does not do injury to my neighbor. I may speak freely, but I may not expect my freedom to extend to me the right to shout fire in a theater and thereby cause panic and injury to my fellows. Freedom, indeed, is a qualified thing. I cannot in any case commit injury to my fellow citizens without penalty. This is purely a social responsibility and its violation throws me out of step.

Treason or betrayal of the common good as constituted in a duly authorized way is an act which violates the responsibility of one citizen to another. The average American is unable to follow the tenuous reasoning which identifies a religious test in the Middle Ages with a loyalty affidavit of today, except insofar as it identifies the loyalty oath with something admittedly bad for the purpose of destroying it.

I have said to you that around the world in this age of brainwashing technique and indoctrination loyalty is in issue. "With every dawn," Camus tells us of our time, "masked assassins slip into some cell." "Murder is the question before us." This is the solemn keynote of our time. Shall we fail to heed it? According to the overanxious reasoning of certain college presidents? And in this connection it is worth noting that the hearings in the Senate catered to the opponents of the loyalty oath and entertained not a voice in support of it. It is interesting to further note that not one student voice was heard. After all, this bill provides for a relationship between Government and student, and those university boards and presidents who have withdrawn their institutions from it have deprived thousands of American youths of the personal benefits of this program and the benefits to the Nation, by summary action based upon unsubstantial reasoning, may charge us with anti-intellectualism (and I am not sure what that term really means), but I do know this: They inspire me with no great admiration for their position.

The battle against communism is a struggle for men's minds, and in this struggle we shall not win by the mounting confusion of words that surround great issues. It has been argued that if the loyalty oath is to be included in a security measure, then it should also be included in a farm-subsidy law. This is, in effect, to say that a farmer raising corn is in the same position as a man working in the field of molding men's minds. Let us recognize that teachers and intellectuals occupy an exalted place in our society. They are the ones to whom we look for leadership and for light in this complex world. In short, it may be said that they are the ones upon whom we ordinary people must ultimately depend. Are we asking more than they are willing to give in requiring this simple affirmation of loyalty to our country? Surely no one in his right mind interprets this as a slander or a reflection upon them as a practical proposition. Teachers operating under the New York school system have been taking such an oath for years. No one has thought less of them for taking it.

Now the subject of this discourse has been in defense of the loyalty affidavit and opposed to the reasoning used in an effort to defeat it. I would give the opponents of the loyalty oath a large measure of credit if they would base their case on the fact that the oath has little practical use in protecting the nation against subversion instead of trailing off into vaporish, thin skinned expressions of injured pride. Perhaps it is nothing more than a symbol of loyalty. Is symbolism bad? When a man tips his hat to a lady, he uses a symbol of respect; his head bowed in prayer is a symbol of his reverence. His use of the term His Excellency, to a Governor, is a symbol of his submission to the authority of the law. Are these bad? Do we think more of a man if he fails to observe them? The loyalty oath is probably nothing but an expression of devotion to one's country in this day of its darkest peril. But even if this is all that it is, who can deny that such an expression does some good? I have said to you that the battle of communism is one for the minds of men. It must be fought in the classroom.

But the battle against communism must also be fought on the level of faith, not only across the plains of economic and scientific achievements. Communism proposes that life is material and a man is a product of nature with no purpose, no will, and no soul. This is a harsh doctrine but because they have succeeded in dressing it up with appeals to ideals and equality, they have succeeded in winning in many instances, the battle for the heart and the minds of men. Ours is a society and a system based upon ideals. Our job as Legionnaires is to keep the eyes of all Americans focused on the ideals of our country and our job as Americans is constantly to translate the image of America abroad in terms of its ideals.

We as members of the American Legion must keep alive the spirit of patriotism, love of country. This is our challenge. To those who have grown listless in their appreciation of individual freedom and the great gift of citizenship in this country let us constantly recount their blessings. They are neatly summed up in a passage written by a refugee—one who came to these shores from Herr Hitler's concentration camps and eventually became a citizen of these United States. He wrote:

"'I am an American citizen * * * a member of the greatest fraternity on earth * * * The brotherhood of free men because a million American citizens have died and millions have suffered in the wars of our Republic. I have greater freedom than any other citizen of any other nation in any other period of mankind. I have greater freedom to work, to worship, to love, to learn and to play. Mine is the freedom to compete, to invent, to save, to invest, to create, to promote, to own. I have freedom to choose, to join, to vote, to speak, to travel, and to walk erect with head high. I am free to be my own self as an individual human soul. I am free to glorify God'."

An Eastern Big City Congressman Looks at Resource Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. SANTANGELO. Mr. Speaker, on January 19 I had the privilege of speaking before the Electric Consumers Information Committee at the Hotel Willard in Washington, D.C. I am thankful to Jack Curran, a member of the ECIC executive committee, who extended to me an invitation to participate in a luncheon session of a legislative workshop with people from all over the United States who are interested in the problem of power and our natural resources. Mr. John Edelman, legislative representative of the Textile Workers, was the chairman.

The subject of my talk was "An Eastern Big City Congressman Looks at Resource Development." In view of the erroneous impression that a conflict exists between the interests of the farm people and the city dwellers, I believe that my talk might eliminate some of the erroneous impressions held by many people.

I found the question and answer period after the speech very stimulating and the comments reaffirmed my deep-rooted feeling that whether we live on the farms or dwell in the cities that we are Americans all and that our natural resources have been granted to us for the benefit of all mankind, and not for the aggrandizement of power by a monolithic state or for the financial benefit of a select few.

The text of my speech follows:

SPEECH OF CONGRESSMAN ALFRED E. SANTANGELO BEFORE ELECTRIC CONSUMERS INFORMATION COMMITTEE, TUESDAY, JANUARY 19, 1960

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Ellis, Jack Curran, members of the Electric Consumers Information Committee, and ladies and gentlemen, I have been asked today to speak to you on the subject of how "An Eastern, Big City Congressman Looks at Resource Development." I am happy to participate in this workshop program.

When one talks about resource development, a person, whether he comes from the city, such as I, or from the farm belt, one immediately thinks of natural resources, farms, forests, fish and wildlife, minerals and sources of energy. Some city dwellers think of hunting, fishing and swimming. The thought that comes to me, and which is sometimes overlooked, is the world's greatest natural resource—its population. This is so whether it be where population is exploding or where it is controlled by natural or artificial means. When I talked of natural resources, I mean both groups—the animate and the inanimate and the relationship between them.

As a human being and as a Catholic, I believe in the dignity of the individual and in his inherent worth. Just as I believe governments are created for the protection of the individual and the development of a spiritual, economic and political being, so do I believe that our natural resources have been placed on earth for the benefit of all peoples, all human beings, and not for the aggrandizement of power of a state or the financial benefit of a select few.

I am not a hedonist who believes that pleasure is the primary objective of life or summum bonum, but sometimes when we attend congressional parties, labor luncheons, or house parties, one can validly draw the inference that the guests believe in the mammalian philosophy—live for today for there is no tomorrow.

As a member of the Appropriations Subcommittee on Agriculture, I have been compelled to think about the soil, the trees, our streams, electric power, and their use, their development and their preservation. I have been extremely interested in these resources because I know that they affect my life, my constituency, and my Nation.

We all know that no nation is any stronger than its resources permit it to be. Because America has been fortunate in the

blessings of nature bestowed upon it in the shape of all varieties of natural resources we have become strong. We have attained our preeminent position in the world today because we have had the energy, the ingenuity, and the purpose with which to convert natural resources in their many aspects to useful products. In the process, we have been shamefully prodigal as well as admirably efficient. Some nations have not been blessed with nature's bounty and consequently look to us with pitiful glances for help or with green eyes in envy.

Of all the natural resources needed to support even so complex an industrial structure and sophisticated a society as ours is today, there are only a very few which we do not possess in some quantity. Those few which we may need we have, of course, been able to secure elsewhere by exchange for others of which we have a surplus or for products made from them. And so we have our exports and imports and our trade agreements.

The first of the natural resources we come to is water. Certain elementary facts must be recognized. Water is vital to every form of life. We have a fixed or finite quantity of water in this world. Some have too much for their needs, such as Siam, Panama, and other countries in the Far East, which I have had the extreme pleasure of visiting within the past several months. Other areas have too little, such as Hong Kong, where running water is used only for several hours a day, or in parts of southern Italy, which suffers from the lack of water. Certain areas which have sufficient for their needs, do not have it at the time when they need it. So for them, it is a problem of storage and use in time of need. Then it becomes a matter of distribution. We have seen such conservation in the Tennessee Valley, in the far West at the Columbia River, or at the Wilson Dam.

I understand that Russia is developing the largest water dam in the world which will provide electric power and irrigation. This damsite is located at Bratsk north of Lake Baikal on the Angara River, and when completed will be more than 40 times as large as our largest reservoir at Hoover Dam. We almost had a war because the present administration withdrew its support to Egypt in the building of the Aswan Dam. I was pleased to see that Formosa with the help of our government is building the first multipurpose water resources development undertaken by the Republic of China as part of an overall program to make Chiang Kai-shek's country self-sufficient. Its purposes are irrigation power, flood control, and public water supply.

Some areas have sufficient for their needs, but people in the use of it pollute, contaminate, or waste it, so that others cannot use it sufficiently or profitably. Riding across the 14th Street Bridge in Washington over the Potomac River, you will see this river being contaminated by industrial usage and those who live downstream are denied a proper use.

Water serves mankind in many ways. It helps provide food from the soil or from gravel as I saw in the hydroponic systems in Japan. It turns the turbines which furnish hydroelectric power and provides cheap electricity, as in the hills of Puerto Rico where the Rural Electrification Administration has brought light to darkness and bearable living conditions to the denizens of the hills.

When I first came to Congress I did not know what the words "Rural Electrification Administration" meant, and I had no conception of the kind of work it was accomplishing or the scope of its activities. The first real understanding I had of the REA's accomplishments was during my visit to Puerto Rico where I met Clyde Ellis and participated in a week's seminar conducted by the Puerto Rican Water Resources Authority. I traveled into the hills and inspected the powerplants and saw with my own eyes the wires leading to the shacks and hovels which some of the Puerto Ricans call their homes. In some instances the cost of the installation of the electricity was greater than the value of these homes. More than 50,000 families enjoyed for the first time the use of electricity and the darkness of the hills was illuminated. Refrigeration, preservation of food, electrical appliances, and modern conveniences were theirs for the asking by reason of the inspiration of a far-sighted Governor, Muñoz-Marín. Without the REA loans at 2-percent interest, these people would have remained in darkness, relegated to misery. Their health and their way of life were greatly improved.

Today we see an administration seeking to raise the interest rates to be paid by the REA from 2 percent to the going rate of interest paid by Government bonds. This means that the rate of interest would reach 5 percent and higher. This means that backward areas could not avail themselves of the great opportunities afforded by a program initiated under Franklin Delano Roosevelt which has brought electricity to 98 percent of the farm families throughout the United States and telephones to 90 percent of the people on the farms.

I, for one, will oppose a program which will grant 3½ percent additional interest to financial institutions to the detriment of the people and the destruction of one of the greatest programs our country has ever adopted.

Water serves as drink for man or beast, either in its pure state as H_2O or in its mixed state as in hooch. It also has less utilitarian purposes, such as perhaps for sartorial perfection as in washing and bathing or as a locus near the sands, attracting either a sunburn or the opposite sex.

As dependent as we are upon water then, we must learn to keep our demands within the available gallonage which is not infinite. As we approach the absolute limits we must learn to utilize it in the most efficient manner possible.

Wherever possible it must be used over and over. The same water that generates hydroelectric power can be used again. None is lost in the process. Wherever possible arid lands lying waste and unproductive should be given an opportunity to produce food and other products of the land. This will become more and more necessary as our population continues to grow.

Since the finite limits of water are known, at least in approximation, it is up to someone to take the lead in seeing that the available supply is most efficiently utilized. That someone could very well be the Federal Government. By that I do not necessarily mean that every drop should be nationalized and every bucketfull be doled out by a more or less benevolent Federal Government upon sufficient justification by potential consumers or users. I do mean that it would probably be a good thing that the utmost protection be given to the Nation's watersheds, that soil erosion be eliminated insofar as possible, that water pollution be prevented, or corrected when it occurs unavoidably.

I mean that potential hydroelectric power sites should be determined and the right to develop them be in the hands of those who can do so at the least cost, most efficiently and for the benefit of the most people. If these potential power sites are located where no one can or wants to undertake the job the Federal Government might undertake them. Not, however, unless there is at least a potential need for them.

As we well know, it would be a wasteful practice to build large power dams just for power. It is also possible to upset the natural regime of a stream and disorganize the economies of communities downstream dependent upon the water about to be impounded for domestic and industrial use, and possibly irrigation. The modern-day multiple-purpose planning for a coordinated development for all purposes is infinitely more desirable.

Yesterday our President forwarded to the Congress his budget message. In it he recommended $1,938,000 to be spent in fiscal year 1961 for natural resources, more than has been spent for this purpose in any previous year.

We have before Congress, apart from his recommendations, a measure which would establish a Council of Natural Resources and Conservation Advisers. The purpose of this council is to study the current status of natural resource conservation and development and to develop, in terms of national policy for the President and the Congress, a program which will best meet the human, economic, and National defense requirements of the Nation and the enhancement of the National heritage for future generations.

A truly comprehensive program should encompass, each in its proper relationship to the other and to the whole program, all natural resources. These would include soil, water, timber, grazing land, fisheries, minerals, wildlife and, not to be neglected at all costs, recreational, scenic, and scientific values. The assistance and cooperation of all responsible parties should be enlisted. This I think should include industry, agriculture, government on all levels as well as individuals. Only thus could the interests of all citizens be given the proper consideration. That is the democratic way.

It would be well to have a central clearinghouse of information concerning the current status of our storehouse of nature's bounty. We should know of what plans there may be for its conservation, development, and utilization. If there are dangerous trends apparent, steps may be taken in time to arrest them. If there are forseen shortages developing, steps may be taken to head them off.

As a member of the Agriculture Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives, I am acutely aware of the accomplishments of the Rural Electrification Administration. I believe that some of my listeners may have some small interest in that program. That governmental undertaking is illustrative of the good that can be accomplished by the Government when others cannot or will not undertake the job.

Several other measures which protect our resources are such projects as the TVA, Bonneville Power Administration, marketing system, in the Pacific Northwest, other Federal power projects in various sections of the country and the rural electrification program. They have stimulated higher consumption of power at low wholesale rates. The results of this policy, which has its roots in the Reclamation Act amendments of 1906, have not only aided the ultimate power consumer in the regions affected, but have had an effect toward decreasing power rates in areas not in the watershed effected by the project even in large cities. (This is the F.D.R. yardstick of public power against which to measure rates of private utilities.) For example, the 1958 average annual domestic use of electricity in the TVA region was 7,800 kilowatt-hours, about double the national figure. The cost per kilowatt-hour of power among TVA distributors is about 60 percent of the average for the Nation. As a result the purchase of electrical appliances in

the home and on the farm in the TVA is the highest in the Nation.

Since 1945 citizens of this region have purchased $2.5 billion worth of appliances and the same is true in the Pacific Northwest although adequate statistics are not available. Rural electric cooperatives, more than 900 in number throughout the country, form a $1 billion annual market for 20-odd household electrical appliances. These data were obtained from a study conducted by the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association in 1959. It is obvious that low-cost power contributed to increasing usage which in turn contributed to purchase of more electrical appliances which help keep industries producing goods and workers employed.

From the standpoint of the national interest, I, as a big city Congressman, approve of the role that has been played during World War II, during the Korean crisis and by the TVA and Bonneville Power Administration in supplying power for defense during the present program of protecting the United States against aggression. Aluminum for the planes that helped to defeat the axis in World War II was produced by industries located in the TVA and on the Columbia. Only in those areas were there supplies of low-cost power available for the process of aluminum and other electfo-process industries important to the war effort. As of now, more than half of TVA total power production goes to service the Atomic Energy Commission's facilities in that area. A substantial proportion of power generated by the Columbia River Basin dams is used to service the AEC facilities at Hanford, Wash.

The success of the programs that have been here described have stimulated areas elsewhere to look at their resources situation, particularly in the eastern part of the country where I live, in relation to meeting the problems of water pollution abatement, water supply navigation, and other uses of rivers.

The League of Women Voters, which enjoys respectability in the East, and perhaps is in disfavor in Louisiana, has set up as its goal the conservation of natural resources and the elimination of pollution. Whatever success they might achieve, of one thing you can be sure—that with such support, we will find this topic kept alive and legislators informed of its need and its importance.

I, for one, have supported the rural electrification program with vigor because I see its benefits and I recognize that all in our country, whether it be on the farm or in the city, have common interests. I have supported with pleasure the expansion of the Tennessee Valley Authority's jurisdiction because I believe that the people of that area are entitled to cheap power and a right to receive the benefits which hydroelectric power provides for the residents in the area. If we in the city support programs which farmers feel are their private domain, we do so because we recognize their intimate relationship with us. We, on the other hand, have high hopes and confidence that the farmer be aware of and sympathetic to the problems which we cliffdwellers face in our urban centers. Newspaper reporters call this mutual assistance—"I scratch your back; you scratch my back theory of politics."

Our problems in the city are legion. We desperately need decent housing, and we would like to enjoy the fresh air which the farmers receive in their daily lives. We clamor for minimum wages because we feel that we should have the wherewithal to purchase the necessities of life and obtain those foods which we cannot abstract from the soil. If we recognize that we are our brothers' keepers and that there is no class warfare between the farmer and the city dweller, if we appreciate that education is the common concern of all, that decent housing, good health, are rights of mankind, then we have recognized the truth which has come down from all religions. When we recognize that truth, that Nature's bounty were planned for the benefit of mankind, then we can live as human beings and be proud of our way of life.

Tribute to George E. Clark, of Lawrence, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am pleased to include two letters which pay just tribute to Mr. George E. Clark on the occasion of his retirement from service as a bridge tender at the Duck Bridge in Lawrence, Mass.

The letters follows:

COUNTY COMMISSIONERS,
COUNTY OF ESSEX,
Salem, Mass., November 2, 1959.

To Whom it May Concern:

Mr. George C. Clark, 118 Brookfield Street, Lawrence, Mass., was employed by the County of Essex for a period of 35 years. During all those years he was found to be an honest, sincere, hardworking man. He served the county as a bridge tender at the Duck Bridge in Lawrence for the past 29 years.

During this period of time he has proven to be a very colorful figure and has shown himself to be an alert and on several occasions a very courageous man.

A tribute has been paid to him by the Honorable THOMAS J. LANE, and it appears in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 105, dated Tuesday, September 15, 1959.

The Lawrence Eagle-Tribune on September 12, 1959, printed a glowing account of his colorful record during his years as a bridge tender.

The city of Lawrence, the towns of Andover, North Andover, and Methuen have paid tribute to Mr. Clark for his many long years of service to the public.

The county of Essex accepted with regret his resignation of October 1, 1959.

Very truly yours,

EDWARD H. CAHILL,
C. F. NELSON PRATT,
County Commissioners.

LAWRENCE, MASS.

GEORGE E. CLARK,
Governor's Office,
State House, Boston:

As mayor of the city of Lawrence I join with its citizens in congratulating you upon the auspicious occasion of your audience with His Excellency Foster W. Furcolo, Governor of Massachusetts.

JOHN J. BUCKLEY,
Mayor of Lawrence, Mass.

THE COMMONWEALTH
OF MASSACHUSETTS,
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
State House, Boston, October 1, 1959.

Mr. GEORGE E. CLARK,
Lawrence, Mass.

DEAR MR. CLARK: It is an official honor and a personal pleasure to extend the greetings of all the people of Massachusetts together with my own salute to you tonight on the occasion of your retirement from public service after more than 35 years.

Not only the city of Lawrence, the county of Essex, and the State of Massachusetts, but the entire Nation record their grateful recognition of your heroic deeds well done.

Your loyalty, your devotion, and your daily work to aid your fellow man will always be remembered. Your 33 years as a bridge tender in Essex County are a living memorial to your heroism in saving many lives during emergencies.

Certainly, citizens of your caliber and dedication are the strength behind our Government and constitute the bedrock upon which our democracy has been built, improved, and expanded for the benefit of all the people.

I join with your multitude of friends and admirers in expressing the hope that during the years ahead you may find joy and satisfaction in all your activities.

Sincerely yours,

FOSTER FURCOLO,
Governor.

Senator Symington's Views on U.S. Preparedness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL B. BREWSTER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. Speaker, the safety and survival of the United States and its friends and allies in the non-Communist world surely overrides all other issues facing the 2d session of this 86th Congress.

I share the concern of many of our colleagues over the adequacy and wisdom of our present defense policies. We are all concerned over the extent of the lag in missile production and space technology. Certainly we must continue to work for an enforceable disarmament agreement, but in the interim—the United States must remain strong.

Senator STUART SYMINGTON, of Missouri, has dedicated much of his time to the study and evaluation of our defense posture. He is one of our country's outstanding experts in this field. Recently, on January 10, 1960, Senator SYMINGTON appeared on the "Meet the Press" program. Much of the program was devoted to exploration of the Senator's views on the state of U.S. preparedness. I am pleased to commend to our colleagues the transcript of that interview by a panel of veteran Washington correspondents.

Under permission to extend my remarks, I submit the transcript of the Sunday, January 10, 1960, "Meet the Press" television program. It is my hope that we will be able to approach this all-important issue without resort to partisan recrimination and with the emphasis on how best to keep America strong and free.

"MEET THE PRESS," SUNDAY, JANUARY 10, 1960

(Moderator, Ned Brooks; guest, Senator STUART SYMINGTON, Democrat, of Missouri; panel, Roscoe Drummond, New York Herald-Tribune; May Craig, Portland (Maine) Press Herald; Marquis Childs, St. Louis Post Dispatch; Lawrence E. Spivak, regular panel member.)

The ANNOUNCER. Ladies and gentlemen, we invite you to "Meet the Press," the unrehearsed program which has won every major award in its field.

Our guest today is Senator STUART SYMINGTON, of Missouri, chairman of the Special

Agriculture Investigating Subcommittee which begins hearings early this week.

In just a moment Senator SYMINGTON will meet the press.

Now "Meet the Press," produced by Lawrence E. Spivak.

Remember that the questions asked by the members of the panel do not necessarily reflect their point of view. It is their way of getting the story for you.

Now here is the moderator of "Meet the Press," Mr. Ned Brooks.

Mr. BROOKS. Welcome once again to "Meet the Press."

Our guest today is Senator STUART SYMINGTON, of Missouri. He is one of the five Democrats most frequently mentioned as possible nominees for President.

In the new session of Congress, Senator SYMINGTON will play an important role. He has earned a reputation as a critic of administration defense policies and he is now proposing a program for reorganizing the Defense Department.

He is the chairman of an investigating committee which on Tuesday will begin a far-reaching examination into the operations of the Government's farm program.

Senator SYMINGTON was appointed as the first Secretary of the Air Force when that position was created in 1947. He was first elected to the Senate in 1952. Senator SYMINGTON recently returned from an extensive trip which included Africa and the Middle East.

And now seated around the press table ready to interview Senator SYMINGTON are Marquis Childs of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, May Craig of the Portland (Maine) Press-Herald, Roscoe Drummond of the New York Herald Tribune, and Lawrence E. Spivak, our regular member of the "Meet the Press" panel.

Now, Senator, if you are ready, we will start the questions with Mr. Spivak.

Mr. SPIVAK. Senator, I would like to assume what everyone else in the political know takes for granted, and that is that you are being seriously advanced for the Democratic presidential nomination, and I would like to ask you some questions on some of the major issues that face us. First, the question of disarmament. While the rest of the world is talking about and hoping for disarmament, you keep hammering away on the question of armament.

Will you tell us where you stand on the question of disarmament?

Senator SYMINGTON. Mr. Spivak, in 1955 I introduced a resolution which was passed unanimously by the Senate, and the resolution was one of universal disarmament. Nobody can be more for disarmament than I am. On the other hand, I believe it would be wrong and not in the best interests of my country to disarm unilaterally in the face of growing Communist strength.

Mr. SPIVAK. Senator, do you think we can make any kind of disarmament agreement with the Soviet Union today that would be safe for the free world?

Senator SYMINGTON. Well, I would hope that we could, and I think that it is important that we continue to try. But on the other hand, I think that we have to do two things: First, work for general disarmament, and secondly, be careful that in our desire to obtain a real disarmament agreement we don't sign one that might leave us in a position where it could be violated without our knowing it.

Mr. SPIVAK. Senator, specifically on nuclear weapons testing we have carried on negotiations now for over a year and the Russians seem to be getting exactly what they want and that is a test ban without inspection.

How long would you continue these negotiations if they continue in this present vein?

Senator SYMINGTON. For 14 months we haven't been testing and for 14 months the Russians have not been testing. It worries me a great deal because as the months go by our experts say continuously that we cannot tell increased sized tests on their part if they want to cheat.

I am willing to leave this matter in the hands of the President who says that he has now abandoned the idea of just agreeing to an indefinite extension.

I would hope that we reach an agreement soon because the American people should realize that the longer it is that we have no agreement and yet do not test, the longer, provided the Russians are cheating, the longer we are giving up and therefore in effect disarming unilaterally.

Mr. SPIVAK. You think, then, if we don't get an agreement soon we ought to go back at least to underground testing?

Senator SYMINGTON. I do think we ought to go back to underground testing, yes; provided in the reasonably distant future we don't get an agreemeent that we consider the right agreement.

Mr. DRUMMOND. To touch on one more aspect of the test ban thing, in your judgment and in your knowledge, is there any method of verification that would be adequate to detecting underground testing?

Senator SYMINGTON. Mr. Drummond, the amount of blast that could not be detected has increased to my certain knowledge in the minds of the experts, 20 times in the last year. Now we are talking "underground," in addition to which there is a great new field of testing in which there is a growing apprehension that we would not be able to detect and that is the field of space. For example, something that was tested halfway to the moon.

Therefore, again I say that all of us are looking toward peace and believe that the best way to get peace is through some form of agreement in this field and all the fields of armament. On the other hand I do think that based on the record we have to proceed with care.

Mr. DRUMMOND. Speaking of space, former President Truman and Senator MANSFIELD this afternoon said that they thought that the Soviet use of the Pacific for rocket testing was an act of arrogance.

Now I'd like to ask whether you think the Pacific is a proper area for rocket launching and what do you believe is the purpose of the proposed Soviet rocket test?

Senator SYMINGTON. Without getting too much into possibly classified territory, I think it shows that fairly soon, based on the orbit they get in the place that they now plan to test, fairly soon they plan to put a man in space. Where they plan to throw these missiles, now, is about 1,100 miles from Pearl Harbor. They are getting closer in their relationships in the space field to our newest State. They are not, however, nearly as close, perhaps, as they are in some other places in the world where the governments appear to be leaning their way.

Mrs. CRAIG. Senator, the President gave us a rather optimistic picture of our defense in his state of the Union message. Does that agree with your knowledge of our own military position?

Senator SYMINGTON. No, Mrs. Craig. I think the President was misinformed in some of the things he told the American people with respect to our defenses.

Mrs. CRAIG. For instance he spoke of our Atlas situation. How much ready intercontinental missiles do we have, do you know?

Senator SYMINGTON. Yes; I do know, but I don't think I should say so on this program. I do think, however, that his statement as to what our position was was oversanguine.

Mrs. CRAIG. Could you give us some idea then perhaps in relation to what you know the Russians have?

Senator SYMINGTON. It has been acknowledged by this administration a year ago, after we corrected some of the statements that were made by some officials, it was acknowledged, admitted that the plan was to allow the Russians to get a lead of 3 to 1. That is what they said the lead would be. Personally I feel that the plans mean that their lead will be greater than 3 to 1. Inasmuch as we have not deviated from our announced plans by the Secretary of Defense at that time, it should be clear to all Americans that we are further behind than we were a year ago in the defense missile field.

Mrs. CRAIG. The President was rather optimistic about the Polaris nuclear subs. How many of them do we have ready?

Senator SYMINGTON. Again I wouldn't want to give the exact figures but I do agree with you that he was misinformed with respect to the statements he made about that weapon also.

Mrs. CRAIG. Well, if he isn't informed, who misinformed him?

Senator SYMINGTON. If I was in his position I would be interested in finding out.

Mrs. CRAIG. Well, Senator, that is an extraordinary statement to say the President the Commander in Chief, is misinformed and doesn't know what he is talking about.

Senator SYMINGTON. I didn't say the latter; you did. I did say that I was sure he had been misinformed in some of the statements that he had made in his talk.

Mrs. CRAIG. Does it not follow if he is misinformed, that he doesn't know what he is talking about?

Senator SYMINGTON. You made that statement, not I.

Mr. BROOKS. Senator, could you cite a specific example of where he was misinformed?

Senator SYMINGTON. Well, Mrs. Craig brought up two. One was in what he said about the missiles and the other was what he said about the Polaris submarines

Mr. CHILDS. Well, just to push that a moment further, Senator, how long can the American public take this screen of security—I know you referred to classified information. Shouldn't the public know if the President is misinformed and isn't it your duty to tell us?

Senator SYMINGTON. Well, Mr. Childs, in our form of government, one in a position like mine—a Senator from Missouri—has to be very careful about releasing classified information.

However, I want to say this: The American people now know from this administration that we are well behind in the missile field, even further behind in the space field, and that our plans are to remain that way and get worse.

Now I am amazed that the President in his statement points out that we are going to have the most prosperous year in our history next year, that we are going to have a $4½ billion surplus and at the same time these plans to let the Russians continue their relative growing strength against ours continue. And I'd like to just also say that I don't argue about the fact that under our form of government they have the right to consider the balancing of the budget more important than national security, but I do think that it is unfortunate that the people are not given the facts as to the nature of their actions to that end and the degree that we are falling behind.

Mr. CHILDS. I would like to ask you about that surplus, too, Senator. I gather you would not use that to reduce the national debt, that $4.2 billion, if such a surplus does materialize, is that right?

Senator SYMINGTON. I don't think there is anything more important in the world today than this country, the last great bastion against communism, keeping equal in strength with the Russians. Physically, economically, technologically, psychologically—of course spiritually where we already have a great advantage. Therefore unless they want to reorganize the Department of Defense, to wring out the waste over there that everybody knows is there, and get a new setup, which I am introducing a bill on as soon as I can get the floor, you might say, and unless they want to correct some of the other places in government where we are not having good administration and get the money that way, I most certainly would take that excess the President talks of, that surplus that he talks of, and put it into increasing our defenses.

Mr. CHILDS. Don't you then lay yourself open to the charge of being a spender and willing to unbalance the budget and contributing to our inflation?

Senator SYMINGTON. I don't think that whether we balance the budget, or many of our other plans, will mean much in this world unless we maintain our guard. Nobody wants peace in the world more than I do. Nobody wants peace more than any citizen with common sense. Your only problem is as we move to the summit next May, for example, with the great psychological, technological and physical accomplishments recently of the Soviet, do you have a better chance to negotiate that just and lasting peace we hope for at the summit for example, if you negotiate from a position of relative weakness or one of relative strength. To me that is the most important avenue to peace that we have in the world today.

Mr. SPIVAK. Senator, you have said there is a great deal of waste in the Defense Department. Am I to understand, then, that if you were President of the United States you wouldn't spend more for defense, that you really would spend less for defense?

Senator SYMINGTON. I would spend more for defense right now. But on the other hand, I would have a single war plan. I'd try to eliminate the constant bickering and arguing and differences between the services by having a single Chief of Staff. I'd have a single war plan, I'd change the service secretaries to under secretaries under the Secretary of Defense so as to build up the latter's authority and I would have a personnel transfer in grade. In other words, I would run the situation on the basis of good business practice instead of letting it drift the way it is today, in tradition.

Mr. SPIVAK. Senator, when you speak of waste in the Defense Department, is that just a generalized charge or do you know pretty specifically that there is sizable waste and that something could be done about it?

Senator SYMINGTON. Well, Mr. Spivak, you know that. You could name item after item, that because of the disagreements, has been canceled or held back, started and stopped. Things like the Bomarc, things like the Seamaster, the Navaho—here we are today canceling hundreds and hundreds of millions of dollars of development and research items because each service is being allowed to try to fight the next war by itself.

Mr. SPIVAK. Well, Senator, in fact isn't the whole Defense Department a wasteful Defense Department as long as it keeps this in peace—isn't there constant obsolescence? I mean don't you have to research and maybe waste money in research?

Senator SYMINGTON. That is true, that is true, of course. On the other hand, there is no reason why the organizational setup shouldn't be on a basis where the taxpayer gets the most return for his dollar. And in answer to the way you asked the question in the beginning, I would immediately start spending more, for example, in the space field. The degree that we are behind in thrust is almost incredible and yet last year we cut by tens of millions of dollars the one big thrust program we had, the Saturn. I would spend money quick there and I would accelerate these important programs and I'd modernize SAC.

On the other hand, I also would attempt to streamline that Department so that as soon as possible you are beginning to get true defense for your dollar.

Mr. SPIVAK. Senator, you have spent a great many years studying defense. Do you have any idea how much you could save and how much you would spend if you were the President?

Senator SYMINGTON. Well, I think you could save—and I am on the record as having said I thought you could save 30 percent of the budget. That was when I was pretty close to the Department. If that was only half right today you would save $100 million a week.

Mr. DRUMMOND. Senator, on this program last Sunday, Senator KENNEDY said that if any Democratic leader was unwilling to submit his candidacy to the test of a representative primary, that that Democratic leader would not deserve well of the next national convention.

I'd like to ask whether you share that view.

Senator SYMINGTON. Mr. Drummond, some time back when some of my friends in New Hampshire asked me if I would go into that primary, I had to make a decision: namely, would I go into primaries or would I not.

Now I know something about primaries. When I first ran for the Senate I was in a primary for 7 months, I believe, and I was in it 7 days a week. My State doesn't have presidential primaries. Only about a third of the States do have these presidential primaries, and less than 10 percent of the States have presidential primaries that are binding.

Anybody can have their own ideas as to the importance of primaries. I have decided not to go into any primaries, at least at this time. And as to whether they should be abolished or not, I wouldn't want to criticize anything that another State had set up. In my State we don't happen to have it and in two-thirds of the States they don't happen to have primaries.

Mrs. CRAIG. Senator, Cuba is only 90 miles from Florida. Do you think that the present Government of Cuba is under Communist influence, dangerous to us?

Senator SYMINGTON. Mrs. Craig, I have it on good authority that Communist influence in Cuba is growing steadily and I know that those people in our Government who should be worrying about it are very worried indeed. As you say it is 90 miles from the United States and that is getting pretty close. It also has one of the world's greatest naval bases at Guantanamo and of course anything that they are doing there could be supplied by submarines anyway.

Mrs. CRAIG. Yes. I wanted to ask you about that. Do you believe that there are submarines hiding on the Cuban coast now?

Senator SYMINGTON. I have heard that but I haven't heard it from such source that I could answer your question formally.

Mrs. CRAIG. Do you think there are missile bases there?

Senator SYMINGTON. I would rather not comment on that question, frankly.

Mr. CHILDS. Senator, getting back to this matter of politics, I checked up a few figures and found you traveled in the fall 32,000 miles and spoke in 22 States. I wonder if it would be fair to call you an active but unavowed candidate. Could that be?

Senator SYMINGTON. First let me answer this way, if I might. In 1958 I had another decision to make also and that was did I speak out of my State or did I not, and I decided not to go out of Missouri, and I didn't during the entire year.

Many of my colleagues and many other good Democrats came in to help me. Therefore when I am asked to go around and help the Democratic Party at fund raising dinners and others, why I do.

Now specifically answering your question, I am not actively seeking delegates at this time. I am interested in the general subject.

Mr. CHILDS. I would like to ask you about another unavowed candidate, if I may use that phrase. When we had Governor Brown on this program, he was asked about Senator LYNDON JOHNSON. He said he thought he would have a handicap in the North because of oil and gas and the integration issue.

I wonder if you would agree with that?

Senator SYMINGTON. I think that a man can only speak for his own State. In my State where Senator JOHNSON talked recently and met with the leaders, he had a great deal of support.

Mr. CHILDS. You believe he could carry Missouri?

Senator SYMINGTON. Well, he can certainly carry Missouri over any Republican.

Mr. CHILDS. Does this mean, Senator, that you don't think the North-South division in your party is important and you could nominate a southerner to run for President of the United States?

Senator SYMINGTON. I don't think there is a North-South division in my party. Only once has the South left the party since I have been reasonably active in politics. In that case President Truman still won the nomination and the election and I would hope that geography woudn't play too prominent a part or be a decisive matter in the choosing of a President. I would hope the way the world is today that the United States as a country will stay together and that we will pick the best man for the job regardless of where he lives. I think never more true was this statement of Benjamin Franklin's as we watch this situation, as I have noticed it over the world in recent weeks: "If we don't all hang together now we are going to hang separately."

Mr. CHILDS. Wasn't that Patrick Henry?

Senator SYMINGTON. I think it was Benjamin Franklin.

Mr. SPIVAK. You have said you are not a candidate for the Presidential nomination. Would you tell us whether you would like to be President in 1960?

Senator SYMINGTON. I certainly would like to be President in 1960. I think anybody in politics would like to be President in 1960. It is going to be a rough job but the way things are going now I would hope we could put a brake and turn this country on the right keel from the standpoint of making us strong so that we can stay free.

Let me emphasize by strength I don't mean just physical strength, I mean all the other strengths.

I believe the one way that we can assure peace in the world is for the United States and its allies to get together and remain strong.

Mr. SPIVAK. Senator, I would like to ask you another question, which I hope you won't consider a too personal question, but your critics are saying that you are all things to all men and are able therefore to get equally strong support in groups in sharp controversy with each other: the segregationists and the anti-segregationists; labor and capital; conservatives and liberals. How do you answer that charge that has been made against you, and it has been made as a charge against you?

Senator SYMINGTON. First, Mr. Spivak, they don't say it to me and secondly, I know of no issue that I haven't voted on and

taken a position on and I think the charge is totally unwarranted. My voting record I believe proves it and I naturally am sorry that people say it. There is no justification, no proof of any kind for it. I regret that some people have said it.

Mr. SPIVAK. Well, Senator, do you think that it is necessarily bad for you to be endorsed by the ADA and to be a favorite of the Chamber of Commerce, for example? This is for example from Harpers: "He is at home with the ADA and is far from unwelcome at the same table at the luncheon of the Chamber of Commerce."

Another one from the New York Post: "He can also apparently persuade liberals that he is a chip off the New Deal block and conservatives that he is as solid as a Hoover dollar."

Senator SYMINGTON. One of the last things my father-in-law said to me before he died, and he was a great American as well as a great Senator, was that politics was not a science, it was an art. It was the art of getting along with people. I do my best to get along with as many people as I can. Never once has that changed my convictions on an issue.

Mr. DRUMMOND. Senator, recently two political people, Governor Rockefeller and Senaotr Kennedy, have made it clear that they simply wouldn't consider, have anything to do with the Vice Presidential nomination. I am not going to ask whether you would accept the Vice Presidential nomination because I think nearly everybody could know the answer.

What I want to ask you is, do you think that either party ought to nominate a Vice Presidential candidate who is not qualified to be the Presidential nominee?

Senator SYMINGTON. I do not.

Mr. DRUMMOND. Do you think that there is much prospect that either party will do that?

Senator SYMINGTON. I would not, Mr. Drummond. Naturally as you know, the Vice Presidential decision is one that is generally made, you might say "at the last minute."

On the other hand I would hope that the Vice President of the United States next time is a man who is fully capable, the way the world is, of being a good President.

Mr. BROOKS. I think with that future in mind, Senator, I will have to call a halt to the proceedings. I am sorry to interrupt but I see that our time is up.

Thank you very much, Senator Symington, for being with us. We will be back with Meet the Press in just a moment. First this message.

The ANNOUNCER. Meet the Press brings you leading world figures at a time when what they say or do is important in the news.

Next week only, meet the press will be seen over many of these stations at one p.m. Eastern Standard Time because of the pro ball game. Consult your local TV listings for exact time in your area. Our guest will be the Secretary of Agriculture, Ezra Taft Benson, the most controversial member of the Eisenhower cabinet.

If you have enjoyed today's program, you may wish to receive a printed copy of the questions and answers. In just one minute, we will tell you how you may get your transcript.

For a printed copy of today's discussion send ten cents in coin and a stamped, self-addressed envelope to Merkle Press, 801 Rhode Island Avenue, Northeast, Washington 18, D.C.

And now goodby for Senator STUART SYMINGTON and Meet the Press.

Meet the Press was produced by Lawrence E. Spivak; directed by Frank Slingland; associate producer, Betty Cole; technical director, Leon Chromak; production supervisor, Doris Corwith.

This is Lee Dayton speaking.

Nineteen Hundred and Fifty-nine: A Year of Progress in the 11th District of Illinois

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the 11th Congressional District on Chicago's Northwest Side has undergone great changes during the past decade and has every reason to look forward to even more progress during the 1960's.

In order to have a better understanding of the 11th District, which I have the honor of representing in Congress, it gives me great pleasure today to call the attention of my colleagues to a most interesting resume of the last 10 years—with special emphasis on 1959—prepared by Miss Sally Swanson and published by the Northwest Side Press. I believe that Mr. Mort Steinman, publisher of the Northwest Side Press, and his very able reporter, Miss Swanson, have made a significant contribution to the people of my district by preparing this comprehensive report on the last 10 years and how they have affected our community.

Because most Americans are so busy earning a living and following other pursuits, we frequently have a tendency to minimize or fail to appreciate the significant changes that occur within our immediate environment.

Miss Swanson is to be congratulated for digesting into relatively few words a most interesting decade. She has shown a unique ability to blend into one article the industrial growth of my district; the educational growth; the spiritual development. And to this impressive resume, she has very succinctly added the great contributions of our civic and social organizations, which play such an important part in the progress of any community.

In this very well written article, we see a panorama of the 11th Congressional District on Chicago's Northwest Side. I am most happy to have been able to play a significant part in this progress, both as a private citizen and, during the last year, as the representative in Congress of the 11th District.

Miss Swanson's article follows:

[From the Northwest Side Press, Dec. 30, 1959]

1950's WERE YEARS OF PROGRESS HERE—NORTHWEST SIDE PROSPERS, GROWS DURING MID-CENTURY DECADE—REVIEW HIGHLIGHTS OF 1959

(By Sally Swanson)

Early Friday the mid-century decade becomes history.

It was a vibrant 10 years, interesting, fast-paced, and frightening.

This passing decade saw man's first tottering steps into outer space, development of great labor-saving power, the conquering of polio.

At also brought weapons capable of annihilating all life on earth.

During the fifties the world teetered from prospects of peace to threats of a catastrophic war. Deep currents of hate, fear, and hope undergirded the Nation's struggle against communism.

Eras of turbulent emotion emerged and passed, leaving their trails in new phraseology. "Korean-type war," "brainwash," "McCarthyism," "sputnik," newcomers to national vernacular, chronicle the history of the decade.

In spite of national and international tension, locally the 1950's were years of growth and prosperity and achievement.

As the decade began, Northwest Siders faced one crucial problem: providing facilities for an increased and increasing population.

New streets were needed. Children attended classes in crowded schools; in some areas double shifts were necessary. Church, hospital, and recreational facilities were inadequate.

Thus the fifties were busy years for Northwest Siders; and by the end of the decade, streets were improved, the area was largely lighted by modern street lamps, a new hospital had been built and expanded, there were more public and parochial schools, new play areas, and millions of dollars had been invested in church buildings.

As the 1960's approached, so did the time when the area's O'Hare International airport would be the largest in the world. Powerful jetliners began using the field, and work was stepped-up on an expressway that would soon link O'Hare field and the Northwest Side with Chicago's loop.

In annual reviews of each year in the 1950's, the Press reported growth, progress, and bright hopes for the future.

Nineteen hundred and fifty-nine is no different.

Look back with us and see.

NORTHWEST EXPRESSWAY STRIP OPENS

The year began with the optimistic announcement by Governor Stratton that projects costing $24,212,000 were programed for the Northwest Expressway in 1959.

And the last month of the year brought the opening of the first major section of the expressway. High ranking county, State, and city officials attended ribbon cutting ceremonies December 15, marking the opening of the six-lane strip from Foster near Central Avenue to the State toll road system West or East River Road.

Completion date anticipated for the 21-mile expressway from the loop to O'Hare Field is late 1960, also the target date for the tri-level project in Jefferson Park, considered the most complicated construction job on the expressway.

EDENS HIGHWAY EXTENDED

Congestion of traffic leaving Edens Highway at Cicero and Catalpa Avenues was relieved in the fall when a 3½-mile, $2,800,000 exclusion of Edens to Kostner Avenue near Berteau was opened.

And the Lawrence Avenue bridge over Edens was cited in November as one of the country's most beautiful steel bridges in competition sponsored by the American Institute of Steel Construction, Inc. It was built by the Cook County government.

Area streets were better lighted due to thousands of dollars worth of mercury vapor lamps which were installed and placed in service.

BUSINESS CHANGES

Appearance of business sections changed through the year.

Gronau Pharmacy moved from 4959 Milwaukee to 4913 Milwaukee in January. The move was necessitated by Northwest Expressway work.

More parking facilities were made for shoppers in Jefferson Park last March when Wolke & Kotler Department store enlarged its lot by razing a house at 4826 Lipps.

A Jefferson Park dairy products plant was nearly destroyed by an explosion May 23,

The blast of gas used to aerate whipped cream in Brook Hill Farms Dairy, 5230 Milwaukee, showered a wide area and smashed windows in the surrounding block. Several persons were hurt.

A new Kroger supermart opened at 6200 West Higgins in August.

More radical changes are in the offing.

Brykowski Drugstore and two apparel shops in the building at the northeast corner of Ainslee and Milwaukee Avenues closed during the fall, giving way to Walgreen Drug Co., which signed a long-term lease for approximately 15,000 square feet in the building.

Following extensive remodeling, Walgreen plans to occupy the store next year; the present Walgreen's store at Milwaukee and Lawrence Avenues will close.

A DEMOCRATIC YEAR

Democratic candidates were elected by all three Northwest Side wards in February aldermanic voting.

Harry Bell emerged victorious in a field of seven candidates who sought the 41st ward council post. Bell's strongest threat came from GOP-endorsed Aloysius Mazewski.

Philip A. Shapiro, the 39th ward's Democratic committeeman, unseated the ward's incumbent alderman, George L. Buckley, who shared Republican endorsement with four other candidates.

Democrat William Cullerton was elected alderman of the 38th ward, where three ran for office.

Timothy P. Sheehan, 41st ward GOP committeeman and former Congressman from the 11th District, was the Republican nominee for mayor. As was expected, Sheehan was overwhelmed by Democratic Mayor Daley, but he carried his own 41st ward by over 5,000 votes.

Judge Joseph P. Immel, former 41st ward alderman, lost his superior court judgeship in the November judicial election. Immel resigned his council seat in November 1958, and was appointed to fill the court vacancy the following month.

In response to fierce debates in Congress on proposed labor-management reform legislation, Congressman PUCINSKI last summer returned from Washington to interview about 2,000 of his constituents at local shopping centers. He reported that a vast majority of Northwest Siders favored some form of legislative curb to abuses in labor and management fields. PUCINSKI voted for the reform bill subsequently passed by Congress.

NEWCOMERS

There were administrative changes in key spots throughout the community.

The Jefferson Park police district, 5430 Gale, was under the command of three captains during 1959.

Capt. Russell Corcoran, who had been at Jefferson Park since October 1955, was transferred on January 31. His successor, Capt. William Szarat, a former park district police captain, remained at the local station until May.

Lt. Ellsworth Erickson was acting captain for a few weeks until Capt. Patrick Deeley, acting chief of detectives, was transferred to Jefferson Park.

The Jefferson Park branch post office, 5401 Lawrence, got a new superintendent on July 31, when on the retirement of Leroy Zoerner, John Bach, 57, was promoted from assistant superintendent to fill the position.

The death of Bjarne Dahl, president of Jefferson State Bank, 5301 Lawrence, on September 8, resulted in the election later that month of Bernard Feinberg as president. Feinberg, 34, also chairman of the bank's board of directors, became the youngest bank president as well as bank board chairman in Chicago.

THREE TIMES THREE

Although we have no statistics on the subject, we believe a record number of triplets were born to Northwest Side families during 1959.

On May 10, appropriately Mother's Day, Mr. and Mrs. Louis Coconate, 5554 West Leland, became the parents of three.

Another set of triplets was born on June 2 to Mr. and Mrs. Robert Kramer, 5031 Northwest Highway.

And Mr. and Mrs. Ronald Maloney, 6034 North Odell, had triplets just in time for Christmas.

Odds against an expectant mother having triplets are about 9,129 to 1.

DEATHS

Among the Northwest Side's prominent citizens who passed away during the year were:

Stanley R. Koskinski, 70, of 5544 Leland, State representative from the area, 1938 to 1956, who died in March.

Frank T. Rounds, 5016 North Lowell, a Mayfair civic leader for 40 years, who died in June.

Frank Kalteux, 75, of 5409 North New England, former Republican committeeman of the 38th ward, who passed away in July.

Robert E. Welling, 67, of 5347 North Melvina, a retired police captain, who once commanded the Jefferson Park district; he died in November.

CAFE OWNER MURDERED

Peter Houvouras, 67, of 5005 West Sunnyside, was found dead, apparently murdered, on the lawn in front of his home early one April morning. He owned restaurants at 5117 Milwaukee and at 6221 Milwaukee.

POLICEMAN SLAIN

Tragedy struck a Jefferson Park family in April. Policeman Mitchell Stone, 38, of 5239 North Malvina, was shot and killed while stalking a fugitive in a lot at 1241 South Michigan. Ironically, his widow, Ethel, 30, gave birth to a 7-pound son the day her husband was buried.

CLUB ACTIVITIES

Area clubs continued their work for general welfare of the community.

In an effort to reduce the high accident rate on local streets, the Greater Northwest Citizens Traffic Safety Council conducted a safe and courteous driving contest. Valuable prizes and recognition were given to weekly winners of the competition.

Due to a possibility of a polio epidemic, the Jefferson Park Lions Club last summer sponsored a Salk vaccine program at two local park fieldhouses. Free inoculations were administered by doctors and nurses from the board of health.

A Jefferson Park lawyer was elected commander of the Illinois Amvets organization. Attorney Edwin P. Fifielski, 43, of 5662 Higgins, assumed the State commander's post in June.

FIRE DESTROYS SCHOOL

The 170 pupils of St. Paul's Lutheran school, 5680 North Canfield, attended classes in Norwegian Lutheran Children's Home, 6000 Canfield, throughout 1959. Their school was destroyed by fire early one January morning. A new building has been constructed and will be ready for occupancy next month.

More public school facilities were added for the rapidly growing residential area in the far west section of the community.

Dedication ceremonies were held in May for Daniel Carter Beard School, 6445 West Strong, which had been used since December 1958, and construction began for a Garvy Branch Elementary school, 6918 Strong. At yearend, the $240,000 Garvy branch, which will accommodate 240 pupils, is 25 percent complete.

NEW RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

Olympic swimming and diving pools were built at Portage Park, 4100 North Long, in time for the 1959 pan-American games. All aquatic events of the games were held here.

A new outdoor pool also was constructed at Norwood Park, 5801 North Natoma. The $327,000 pool is 50 by 150 feet, and has 30-foot-wide sundecks on all sides.

The board of education last summer ordered construction of new playgrounds at three local schoolyards: Prussing, 4650 North Menard; Onahan, 6600 Raven, and Mayfair, 4626 North Knox.

CHURCH EXPANSION

Thousands of dollars were invested in beautiful new church buildings throughout the Northwest Side.

Dedication of a $75,000 Gladstone Park Lutheran Church edifice at 6200 West Foster, climaxed a 22-year-old dream for the 200-member congregation, who had suffered through several unsuccessful attempts to build.

On March 15, Elston Avenue Methodists worshiped for the first time in their new church, 5850 Elston; consecration ceremonies for the building were conducted in June.

Dedication services for the new Faith Lutheran Church, 6201 West Peterson, were held in April.

A new sanctuary and Sunday school area for Forest Glen Baptist Church, 4920 Foster, were consecrated in October.

Jefferson Park Lutherans dedicated a $125,000 addition to their church at Northwest Highway and Long, and a $200,000 addition to St. Andrew Presbyterian Church, Berwyn and Oleander, was dedicated in November.

Ground was broken in September for a $125,000 sanctuary for Norwood Park Lutheran Church, 5917 North Nina.

U.S. Policy in the Middle East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, I was one of 65 Members of the House of Representatives who joined in sending a telegram on December 21, 1959, to the president of the World Bank and to Under Secretary of State Douglas Dillon urging that the loan of $56 million to the United Arab Republic be deferred until a commitment is obtained from the UAR guaranteeing the freedom of transit for the shipping of all nations through the Suez Canal, including Israeli shipping.

Several days earlier I had written a personal letter to the president of the World Bank stressing that many of us in Congress are strongly opposed to the loan, unless definite assurances are obtained from UAR President Nasser that he will discontinue his illegal blockade against Israel in the Suez Canal.

Despite these protests, our State Department supported the granting of the loan and the World Bank approved it. Only a few days ago we learned that Nasser has been negotiating with the

Russians whereby the Soviet Union will finance the second stage of the Aswan Dam, just as it is now doing on the first stage. Thus, Mr. Nasser is working both sides of the street, getting financial aid from us and from the Communists.

Those in the State Department who have new hopes of winning over Mr. Nasser through appeasement will eventually discover that they have been sadly mistaken. Such policy is nothing more than wishful thinking, but it may do untold harm to our interests in the Middle East and to the cause of world peace.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the RECORD a statement by the board of directors of the Society for the Prevention of World War II on the subject of U.S. policy in the Middle East. The statement concludes with a request for a thorough examination of our policy in the Middle East, and I strongly support such request as most timely and urgent in the light of the World Bank loan to Nasser and the State Department's attitude in the matter. The statement is as follows:

A POLICY OF WISHFUL THINKING

(Statement by the board of directors of the Society for the Prevention of World War III, Inc., on U.S. policy in the Middle East)

Despite the opposition of wide sections of the American people and their representatives in Congress, the State Department approved a $56 million World Bank loan to President Nasser for improving the Suez Canal. Americans recognized that Nasser's illegal blockade of Israel shipping at Suez was a threat to all maritime countries including the United States of America. Nevertheless, the State Department overrode public opinion and, in effect, gave a green light to Nasser's piratical policies. This astonishing reversal of America's traditional position on the freedom of the seas and of all international waterways raises fundamental questions in the minds of all security-minded Americans.

(a) Does the World Bank loan to Nasser, which could not have been granted without the decisive consent of the U.S. Government, further the national interests of our country and enhance the prestige of the United States?

(b) Does the World Bank loan enhance the authority and prestige of the U.N.?

(c) Does the World Bank loan contribute to stability and peace in the Middle East?

An evaluation of Nasser's basic policy toward the United States and our Western allies will answer the first question. From the very beginning of Nasser's rule in Egypt, the United States and our Western allies have been the prime target of a concerted smear and hate campaign. Its main objective has been to discredit the United States in the eyes of the Arab masses and to undermine the general Western position in the Middle East and throughout Africa.

Cairo's collaboration with the Soviet Union has been a major weapon in Nasser's strategy. It has enabled him to inject blackmail in his dealings with the West. While proclaiming anti-Communist sentiments to Western audiences, Nasser, more than any other Arab leader, has made it possible for Moscow to obtain a solid foothold in the Middle East. He has welcomed Soviet arms and military personnel. He has permitted the Egyptian economy to fall under Soviet influence. Together with Moscow, Nasser, has worked ceaselessly to destroy Western security arrangements in the Middle East. Cairo is the headquarters of anti-Western and anti-American elements. Moreover, it is from Cairo that all sorts of plots are hatched to discredit and/or to destroy Arabs who seek sincere friendship and cooperation with the West.

A sampling of Cairo's controlled propaganda, beamed to the Arab world over the past 2 years, reveals the fanatical hatred upon the United States. Parenthetically, it should be noted that German Nazis, led by Johannes Von Leers, play a key role in Egypt's propaganda operations directed against the West. Johannes Von Leers was a right-hand man for Hitler's propaganda minister Goebbels and still signs his private letters with "Heil Hitler."

1. "America has now become the enemy of peace, the enemy of security and the enemy of the peoples who are fighting for world peace and for the peace of America itself" (Egyptian newspaper Al-Ahram, January 20, 1958).

2. "It appears that America will never keep still. Imperialism is still seeking to tamper with the structure and independence of small countries. America either tries to dominate their economies and markets after having been expelled from the markets of countries which freed themselves from imperialist domination and exploitation, or it attempts to snatch air and naval bases from these countries in order to be able to shift the battlefield from is own territory to the small countries and use the people of these countries—to spill their blood and that of their children instead of the blood of people of the imperialistic countries. Often America seeks to tie these countries to imperialist military alliances and control their military and economic resources so that in the event of a third war, the people of these countries would be forced into the holocaust. Events which attest to these facts take place every day" (Egyptian newspaper Ash-Shab, March 13, 1958).

3. On March 22, 1958, Ash-Shab turned its attack on the Arab collaborators of "Western imperialism." These people, the paper declared, "march behind Britain and America. Their interests are the same and they have a mutual aim, that is, to subjugate the Arab people, exploit them, and drain their resources."

4. On May 6, 1958, American aid was blasted by Nasser's radio setup in Damascus: "The aim of U.S. aid is to obstruct progress in various fields in other countries and to keep them always dependent on aid, and consequently subject to American influence."

5. On May 20, 1958, Radio Damascus told its listeners, "The United States wishes to dominate various parts of the world. It considers as enemies those nations which refuse to pursue policies identical to American policy and carry out its orders. The United States favors division of the world into two groups, continuation of crises arising from the cold war, and perpetuation of the threat of atomic war."

6. The Wall Street Journal, August 14, 1958, quoted the Egyptian radio commentator Mohammad Sahaf: "Since the end of World War II, the policy of the American Government turned against all liberation movements in all parts of the world, fighting against the free leaders of oppressed nations and killing those who showed a tendency of being a headache to the plans of American imperialism."

7. Another Cairo commentator, Mohammad Abdel Kader, described the United States as being "made of the refuse of all nations of the world molded together into a solid mass of crime, and graft, and corruption." He described U.S. Middle Eastern policy as "the policy of political prostitution and vagrancy of those gathered in America from the scum of the earth" (Wall Street Journal, August 14, 1958).

8. "If we review the steps taken by Washington—namely, enabling CARE to offer meals to Egyptian students and resuming participation in the program to improve rural services—and also review the steps which we are supposed to take in return, we realize that these ridiculous moves should not be cited as a means of rectifying the many wrongs committed by the United States which has caused aggression, war, bloodshed, and world tension." (Radio Cairo, December 11, 1958.)

9. On March 29, 1959, one of Nasser's propagandists told his radio listeners, "There is no difference between dollar and ruble slavery."

10. On August 8, 1959, the Cairo Radio sneered at American democratic institutions. The democracy of the U.S. Congress "is false and flimsy and means serving and looking after certain interests and buying and selling one's conscience." The same broadcast spoke of Israel as "an American imperialist toy."

11. On September 10, 1959, the Cairo Radio accused the United States of betraying the U.N. Charter. This particular attack insulted former President Truman and employed a terminology reminscent of Goebbels.

12. On December 17, 1959, the Communist Chinese radio gleefully quoted the Cairo newspaper Al Massa which cast aspersions on Eisenhower's peace mission to India. Al Massa accused the President of "supplying weapons to France and his other imperialist allies to kill the Algerian and other African peoples."

The many voices of Cairo are not confined to the Middle East. Nasser has built up a huge propaganda apparatus which has paid particular attention to the peoples of Africa. As in the Middle East, the United States has become a special target in Africa for Nasser's hate-inciting propaganda. His aim is clear, i.e., to destroy the good will and friendship enjoyed by the United States among the peoples of Africa.

1. On March 25, 1958, the Cairo newspaper Ash-Shab lashed out against the United States on the Algerian question. It accused the United States of being the ringleader of the conspiracy to subjugate the Algerian peoples and to bring them under the yoke of Western colonialism: "We see imperialist forces grouping under the leadership of America and mobilizing reactionary elements, traitors, conspirators, and collaborators in North Africa to end the liberation struggle in Algeria in order to maintain North Africa and the African Continent under imperialist domination."

2. "The European imperialist states have found that there is no way to repay their wealthy colleague, America, but to lower their poverty-stricken buckets down the African wells of riches and plenty. America is a real Jew in matters of lending and extorting usurious interest, and as the debt owed it by European states mounts daily and repayment prospects are slender, it has become necessary to make room for America in those parts of Africa dominated by European states which are indebted to America, so that Americans can take a hand in the companies' and governments' plans aimed at squeezing the wealth from Africa at the price of poverty to us Africans" (Radio Cairo, February 2, 1958).

3. In a broadcast in Arabic to the Middle East (December 1, 1958), Cairo propaganda contrasted the roles of the Soviet Union and Red China and that of the United States in Africa: "The events in the Congo should be an eye opener to other imperialists dominating the African countries. The outcome is known to these imperialist dogs who are always blaming communism to conceal their own domination.

"Peoples of Africa, open your eyes, wake up, be united, make a joint step forward,

wage war on the imperialists and wage war on the dogs who are sucking your blood and squeezing your wealth. Do not give in before the aggression of the white dog."

4. In another broadcast December 8, 1958, the United States was denounced as the spearhead of imperialism. Discussing the African liberation movement, this broadcast said: "American imperialism has in fact begun to make serious attempts to dominate this ancient continent. For this purpose it has established war bases in many African countries and concluded agreements with its imperialist allies through which it will exploit the abundant oil wealth in the Algerian desert."

5. "Regardless of the consequences and of what the imperialist dog may do, the time has come when the African natives should wage war against the savage imperialism of the white dogs of the European countries" (Voice of Free Africa, from Egypt, October 21, 1959).

The aim and activities of Nasser have aroused concern among African leaders. The Premier of Western Nigeria, Obafemi Awolowo, declared: "President Nasser's undisguised totalitarianism and territorial ambitions in Africa and the Muslim world made effective cooperation with him in any sphere unfeasible" (London Times, September 14, 1959). Mr. Awolowo's observations confirm the fact that Cairo's defamatory campaign against the United States in Africa is but a coverup for Nasser's own imperialist designs.

From time to time, Cairo propagandists dwell on alleged exploitation in South America at the hands of the "Yankee imperialists." When Vice President NIXON was stoned by mobs during his South American tour, the Cairo propagandists could hardly conceal their joy. When disturbances broke out in Bolivia recently, the Cairo newspaper Ash-Shab (March 5, 1959) said: "The people of Bolivia revolt in order to get rid of slavery, domination and American exploitation. In fact, the revolution of the Bolivian people is a part of the comprehensive revolution of all the states of Latin America, aimed at ridding themselves of the domination and exploitation of the United States. The Bolivian people will undoubtedly attain their aim. Neither America's military base nor its monopolizing domination will be of use to it."

Perhaps one of the most sinister aspects of Nasser's recent activities in South America relates to the Panama Canal. During the period when mobs were demonstrating at the Panama Canal, Nasser's embassy was most active. The U.S. News & World Report, December 14, 1959, reported: "Agents of Egypt's Nasser have been in Panama advising the politicians of that country on the moves to make to get eventual control over the Panama Canal away from the United States. Nasser is able to pose as an expert, having taken the Suez Canal from its owners."

Besides the subversive operations of Nasser's agents in Panama, the Cairo Radio was whipping up hatred among Panamanians toward the United States: "Two broadcasts are beamed nightly from Cario to Panama, dedicated almost wholly to the alleged unfair treatment the nation is receiving from the United States in respect to the canal. Cairo's motives for this activity are obscure" (New York Times, December 2, 1959).

Thus, at the very time when U.S. officials were hurriedly rushing to conclusion the World Bank negotiations on the loan to Nasser (presumably to avoid congressional examination), the agents of the Cairo dictator were inciting anti-American elements at the Panama Canal.

Can there be a more definitive answer to the crucial question as to whether the World Bank loan is in the national interest?

Nasser's propaganda apparatus has developed tactical flexibility. It can be turned on the West with a venom reminiscent of Hitler's propaganda ministry—or it can muffle anti-westernism and talk about "mutual understanding," "peace," etc. One must, therefore, beware of confusing the "lulls" in Nasser's anti-Western drive with his long-range aims. In this connection it would be well to heed the voice of a prominent Arab journal, the Tunisian Government Party newspaper El-Amal (December 26, 1959): "Colonel Nasser's 'words of peace' can by no means be reconciled with the arrogance, incitement and plotting published daily over Cairo radio and the UAR press. Nasser's words of peace have one aim and one aim alone: to get more dollars from the United States."

As regards the future of the United Nations, let us recall some recent history. Twenty-five years ago, Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia ascended the rostrum of the League of Nations Assembly to warn the world that the League's very existence stood in grave jeopardy. Selassie made this perceptive observation while pleading the cause of his country—a victim of a coldly calculated, brutal attack by the Fascist legions of Mussolini. Selassie's words fell on deaf ears.

In retrospect, it is clear that Selassie was the true defender of the League, while the diplomats at Geneva, who resorted to double dealing and delaying tacts, helped to bury it (and world peace).

Like the ill-fated League, the United Nations is now faced with an immediate issue involving Egyptian interference in the shipment of Israel cargo through the Suez Canal. President Nasser's illegal blockade is more than a threat to Israel. It is a challenge to the United Nations. As early as September 1, 1951, the U.N. Security Council ordered Egypt "to terminate the restrictions on the passage of international shipping and goods through the Suez Canal wherever bound." In October 1956, the U.N. Security Council adopted six principles which opposed any kind of discrimination of shipping through the canal and emphasized "that operation of the canal should be insulated from the politics of any country." Through the Egyptian Government committed itself to these U.N. principles, it continues to violate them as well as the Constantinople Convention of 1888 regulating passage through the Sucz. If the United Nations resolutions can be flouted with impunity by Nasser's warlike provocations at Suez, then what becomes of the principles which are the foundations of the United Nations?

There can be no double standard in applying United Nations principles—one for Soviet brutalities in Hungary and the other for Nasser's aggressive actions at Suez. The United Nations, to paraphrase Lincoln's immortal phrase, cannot stand against itself. It cannot remain silent in the Middle East and expect its authority to be respected elsewhere. Since the World Bank is a specialized agency of the United Nations, the loan to Egypt is all the more damaging to the world organization.

It is worth noting that in July 1959 Nasser gave assurances to the Secretary General of the U.N. that he would permit disputed cargoes through the canal if they were under foreign ownership when they reached the Suez. Nasser did not keep faith with his own declared policy when he seized a Greek ship with a cargo of Israeli cement on December 17, 1959. Obviously, one can hardly rely on the Egyptian Government's word. Nasser's arbitrary and high-handed tactics are sufficient proof that, like the Fascist dictators of another era, Nasser regards previous commitments as mere scraps of paper. Egypt's brazen violation of the U.N. Charter was summed up by one of Nasser's closest collaborators, Aly Sabri, Minister of State, who announced that the blockade would continue regardless of "any actions taken by the United Nations." Thus, the Danish ship *Inge Toft*, which was detained at Suez in May 1959, continues to be held captive by the Cairo regime. In this connection it should be noted that such examples of piracy and gross violation of international law were condemned by the spokesmen of 28 nations at the recent session of the U.N. General Assembly.

On September 17, 1959, Secretary of State Herter said, "The United States continues to support the principle of freedom of passage, as endorsed by the United Nations." However, is it not clear that by granting the loan, the World Bank is undermining the prestige and authority of the United Nations? Must we repeat the tragedy of the League of Nations? Must the United Nations' influence for peace be chipped away until naked aggression confronts us?

From the foregoing it follows that the World Bank loan cannot contribute to stability and peace in the Middle East. On the contrary, it gives aid and comfort to Nasser's predatory policies, thus heightening tensions and creating grave dangers to the security of neighboring states. These countries are fully aware of Nasser's ambitions, for his propagandists do not conceal them: "The U.A.R. was born as a great liberated Arab State of the Arab East in order to be the axis around which all the Arab countries will join in a great unified Arab State from the ocean to the Persian Gulf" (Damascus Radio, Oct. 28, 1959).

The very core of Nasser's dream of empire is the Suez Canal itself. The strangle hold which he now exercises over this international waterway has now been further strengthened by the World Bank loan. In effect, Nasser has been told, "Go ahead, use the Suez Canal as you see fit; if you wish to employ it as an instrument of blackmail or as a weapon in your drive for empire, that is entirely your own affair. In any event, the World Bank will back you up." Seen in the light of the great political and strategic stakes involved, how can Secretary Herter support the World Bank loan on the grounds that it had no significant bearing on political factors? Even Nasser himself has boasted that the canal will be regulated solely according to the best interests of his regime.

Obviously, there can be no peace or stability in the Middle East while a power hungry dictator is appeased. The view that the Egyptian leadership which has shown such deep-rooted enmity toward the United States since it seized power, will change its basic feelings through dollar handouts, is plain wishful thinking.

It is, therefore, the considered judgment of the Society for the Prevention of World War III that the fundamental questions raised by the World Bank loan, fall within the purview of Congress. We therefore call upon the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to take up the State Department's attitude and the World Bank loan as a point of departure for a thorough examination of the present course of our Middle East policy.

Chiang Kai-shek, an Ally of Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. SANTANGELO. Mr. Speaker, last November I had the opportunity of

visiting the Far East, including Taiwan, popularly known as Formosa. With two of my colleagues, Congressman SILVIO CONTE, of Massachusetts, and Congressman BOB MICHEL, of Illinois, I had the privilege of a 1½-hour interview with the President of the Republic of China, Chiang Kai-shek. The Generalissimo was enthusiastic in his report to us of the development of the island of Formosa and the aspirations and hopes of himself and his people to return to the mainland. The Generalissimo was particularly proud of the land reform program which he had initiated on the island, which permitted farmers to operate their own little farms and he contrasted the effectiveness of his program with the collectivization of farms of Communist China and the destruction of individual and personal rights. The Generalissimo reaffirmed his appreciation for what the United States has done and is doing to preserve the independence of the island of Formosa in the face of overwhelming odds and numbers of Communist Chinese and pledged his continued loyalty and devotion to democratic principles in the Far East.

I was pleased to read an article by the newspaper columnist, John O'Donnell, of the Daily News of January 20, 1960, which sets forth the conditions in Formosa and his reaction to the political situation in Taiwan. I believe it is an informative and detailed statement clarifying what exists in the Far East and would prove informative and interesting reading. The article follows:

CAPITOL STUFF

(By John O'Donnell)

WASHINGTON, January 19.—In all the hoopla over the defense pact the United States signed with Japan today, we shouldn't lose sight of the fact that our strongest ally in tre Far East—bar none—is still the Nationalist China of Chiang Kai-shek.

We're not just referring to the fact that Chiang has some 600,000 crack troops under arms, compared to a mere 200,000 or so for Japan. We're also thinking of the unpublicized but fantastic industrial development which has made Formosa the greatest model of progress-through-freedom in the whole of Asia.

The accomplishments of the Nationalists have been literally smothered under the myths and phony "facts" which Chiang's enemies have been spreading for years. Plenty has been written about the industrial gains in Communist China—so much so that there have been fears that the propaganda might lure some weak-sister Asian neutrals into the Red orbit. But nothing—or practically nothing—has been said about the much more spectacular economic and industrial feats of the Nationalists.

The actual fact is that Nationalist China is the fastest developing nation in the Far East. Although Japan is a bigger industrial power, Nationalist industry has been growing 16 times more rapidly in the last 8 years. Its agricultural efficiency also matches Japan's, which is considered a world model.

Communist China has used the full force of regimentation and brutal repression in its frantic drive to lift its economy into the 20th century. But U.S. experts said Formosa will make the grade first; its individual productivity is already running 30 to 40 percent ahead of the mainland's.

And the striking as well as significant thing about the Nationalist progress is that it has been achieved mostly through private enterprise rather than government action. In Red China, India, and the other underdeveloped countries of Asia, the great push toward industrialization has been through government planning and action.

THE FARMER'S LOT HAS IMPROVED

Another generally unrecognized fact is that Nationalist China has carried out the most effective land reform program in Asia. Some 80 percent of the farmers now own their land and the other 20 percent are charged only moderate rents. And their income has jumped more than 100 percent.

Nearly all of the farms now have bicycles, sewing machines, radio sets and other modern conveniences. Many of the girls are sporting beauty aids like lipstick and powder. And before long, every farm will have access to electrical service. Countries such as India can't claim anything like this.

The United States has, of course, poured millions of aid into Formosa. This has certainly given its economy a boost, but the money has gone mainly toward shouldering some of the burden of the 600,000 troops. And American aid experts said that the Nationalist record of self-help is better than any other Asian country's, except perhaps Japan. In fact, it is now exporting more goods to other nations than it is importing.

It may not be surprising that Formosa is the the second largest sugar supplier in the free world. But it may be an eyebrow-lifter to most people to realize that it ships aviation gasoline all the way to Australia, that it runs the largest oil refineries in Asia and has built two 35,000-ton supertankers, and sells machinery and other metal products all over the Far East.

ITS GOODS FLOW INTO WORLD

It makes first-rate sewing machines, electric fans that rotate a full 360 degrees, fluorescent tubes, cement, textiles, plastic goods, metal lathes, toys, and, under American guidance, jeeps. These goods are flowing into international trade, especially to Japan and southeast Asia, and they are more than holding their own with their competitors. Always a dominantly agricultural economy, Formosa is rapidly becoming widely diversified. And this is having a stimulating and healthy effect on the nation.

In terms of cold war politics, this economic phenomenon in Formosa is immensely significant, even though the facts have been largely ignored or distorted. And if the West did a better job of telling the story in India and the other free but neutral nations of south Asia, there might be fewer illusions about the accomplishments of Red China.

For reasons buried deep in China's recent tragic past, Chiang Kai-shek has never been popular among the so-called free nations of Asia. Even though he never resorted to the mass brutality of the Communists, he was accused of failing to give the Chinese people a fair deal.

THEY'LL SIT UP AND TAKE NOTICE

What has happened in Formosa is a ringing rebuttal to his critics. Under him, the island has shown incredible economic progress through great energy, private enterprise, little government interference, massive land reform, and a vigorous attack against disease.

More than enything else, underdeveloped countries are impressed by the economic progress shown by their neighbors. American authorities feel that as Formosa's accomplishments become better known, as more and more of its industrial products move into south and southeast Asia, these countries will sit up and take notice. Some of the old anti-Chiang prejudice will be reduced—and the achievements of a free economy recognized.

Helping this trend, of course, will be Communist China's own muscle flexing. The more it shows its real colors to its neighbors the more readily will they accept the example and the lesson of Nationalist China.

Teenagers Can Be Safe Drivers—Part II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, one of the great problems confronting America today is the growing number of teenage automobile drivers and their general conduct behind the wheel. Many people feel that greater controls should be placed on teenage drivers, while others feel that the situation among youthful drivers is not quite as bad as it might appear.

It gives me great pleasure today to include in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an essay written by one of my constituents, Donald Kusterer, of 6615 North Ottawa, which was awarded second place in a contest about teenage drivers, sponsored by the Edison Park Community Council of Chicago.

I believe Donald Kusterer has made a very significant contribution toward a better understanding of this entire problem, and I am particularly impressed with the depth of his own understanding of this problem involving teenage drivers.

Both Mr. Kusterer and his parents deserve the highest commendation for their worthwhile contribution to this subject.

Mr. Kusterer's essay follows:

TEENAGERS CAN BE SAFE DRIVERS

(By Donald Kusterer)

There has been, for some years now, a generally unfavorable attitude of adults toward teenage drivers. The accidents teenagers have had has caused this feeling, which in turn has led to insurance increases. There is also a lot of criticism on teenage driving habits.

Because of the few irresponsible drivers in the teenage group, today's adult feels a sense of resentment toward the teenage driver. As the old saying goes, "One bad apple can spoil the barrell." This one outcast, so to speak, is usually the boy who dominates and overrules his parents. His father and mother sign for his first car and what happens. He goes out every night and gets his buddies to go for a ride. These rides may result in disaster. Who is to blame? The teenager, of course, for the accident, but more so his parents for giving him the ownership of the car.

It is the dream of every boy to one day have, for his own, a car. A car of his own is more than a means of transportation, it gives him prestige. Word gets around that so-and-so has a car, and immediately he is a very popular young man. Everyone wants to ride with him. He takes a few fellows and a few girls out for a drive some evening, and gets into an accident. The next morning "splash" all over the front page of the newspapers, "Teenage Hoodlums Wild Midnight Ride, One Killed, Three Injured."

This is the main reason for the feeling of resentment on the part of adults. The one "Cool Guy" spoils it for the rest of the fellows. The majority of teenagers do feel a sense of responsibility when they are behind the wheel of a car.

If we could straighten out the few irresponsible teenage drivers we might be able to change the unfavorable feeling toward us. If the fellows who drive cars would quit

"showing off" there might be an entirely different feeling toward us all.

We, as teenagers, should not try to show the other fellow who has the better car and who is the better "jockey." I sincerely believe that if all teenage drivers, fellows and girls alike, would drive safely, the whole outlook would change and look better for everyone.

The teenager can be a safe driver if he obeys all traffic rules and uses commonsense. Stop trying to be a "big deal," and above all remember God's commandment, "Thou shalt not kill."

On the Religious Proscription of Catholics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following item which appeared in the American Jewish Archives, October 1959 issue. It is most apropos to today's political scene:

ON THE RELIGIOUS PROSCRIPTION OF CATHOLICS

(By Philip Phillips)

By 1855 the American Party, an anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant political organization, had achieved considerable power in this country. In less than a decade the party, which had begun as a secret patriotic order, was so successful that it confidently hoped to capture the Presidency in 1856.

It was at this moment, when the followers of this party, popularly known as Know-Nothings, were blatant in their attacks on Catholics and immigrants, that Philip Phillips (1807–84) raised his voice against them in a letter to the Mobile Register.

Phillips, a Charleston Jew, had been a Congressman from Alabama during the years 1853 to 1855, and had remained in Washington to practice law, primarily before the U.S. Supreme Court. He was one of the greatest lawyers of his time. In 1876, during a period when the Supreme Court was not in session, Phillips wrote an autobiography which has been published in part in Jacob R. Marcus' Memoirs of American Jews, 1775–1865, III, 135–60. Although once secretary of the short-lived Reformed Society of Israelites, a liberal religious group in Charleston, Phillips had little, if any, interest in Jewish life.

John Forsyth, editor of the Mobile Register, to whom Phillips addressed himself, was the son of that John Forsyth who, as Secretary of State, had intervened with the Sultan of Turkey, in 1840, on behalf of oppressed Damascus Jewry.

The following article is reprinted from a brochure found in the Phillips Collection in the Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress.

WASHINGTON, *July 4, 1855.*

MY DEAR SIR: I readily comply with your request to give you my impressions of the last development of political events. Nothing appears to me more interesting to the country than the recent demonstrations of the "Know-Nothings," at Philadelphia and Montgomery, against the Catholics. In their national platform they (the Know-Nothings) declare that "Christianity, by the constitutions of nearly all the States, by the decisions of the most eminent judicial authorities, and by the consent of the people of America, is considered an element of our political system." The application of this is not very apparent. But if it was intended to assert, as I presume it was, that in the Federal Constitution, which forms the bond of our Union and constitutes the political system of the United States, there is any such element incorporated, either by expression or necessary implication, then I deny the truth of the proposition. There is nothing clearer than that in the formation of the Constitution it was intended emphatically to exclude all connection with any religious faith whatever.

Separation of church and state, eternal divorce between civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, were cardinal principles with the sages and patriots to whom not only we, but all mankind, are indebted for this model of a republican government. No, my friend; they possessed too much wisdom and practical good sense to be content with a mere feeble imitation of the existing order of things. They distinctly saw the evil fruits which the conjunction of political and religious power had everywhere produced, and in the discharge of the high duty entrusted to them—the highest that man could be charged with—they determined to profit by the example, and inaugurate a political system whose dominion should be exclusively confined to the political relations of its constituents, acknowledging in the eyes of the law the perfect equality of all sects and faiths, and leaving the whole subject of religion, and its requirements, to the dominion of that Higher Tribunal which alone can search the hearts and judge the motives of men.

The Constitution itself gives evidence of the solicitude felt upon this subject, and the debates which led to its adoption show the high tone of feeling that existed in the convention. When Mr. [Charles C.] Pinckney reported to that body his proviso, "that no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the authority of the United States," the only opposition he met with was from Mr. [Roger] Sherman, who declared it as "unnecessary, the prevailing liberality being a sufficient guarantee against such test." But notwithstanding the adoption of this emphatic declaration, so jealous were the people at that time of any governmental interference or connection with religion, that the first amendment to the Constitution proposed and adopted was the additional guarantee that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

In those countries where Christianity avowedly forms a part of their political system, there also the laws define the particular form of faith to which the Government attaches itself, and denounce the penalties for nonconformity. Let us once admit that it forms "an element of our political system," and we should soon be called upon to submit our consciences to congressional dictation. The argument would then be not too remote that the Christianity intended was that professed by the great majority of the people at the formation and adoption of the Constitution, and that this was not only a Christian but an anti-Catholic government.

It is in your remembrance that many years ago a large and respectable body of citizens petitioned against Sunday mails.[1] They evidently proceeded upon the idea that this was a Christian government, and that the violation of the Christian Sabbath was a sacrilege the government was bound to put an end to. Congress rejected the petition, and their action was approved by the country. Now, this approval could only rest upon the denial of the proposition that "Christianity was an element of our political system." But, my dear sir, whether right or wrong on this head, it must be evident that the assertion of this principle in a political platform, preluded by a solemn "acknowledgment of that Almighty Being who rules over the universe, and presides over the councils of nations," was a mere self-sanctification, intended to appeal to the religious feelings of the country, that they might the more easily be drawn into the vortex of political strife, and combined for what is declared to be one of the great objects of the movement—"resistance to the aggressive policy and corrupting tendencies of the Roman Catholic Church in our country by the advancement to all political stations—executive, legislative, judicial, or diplomatic—of those only who do not hold civil allegiance, directly or indirectly, to any foreign power, whether civil or ecclesiastical, and who are Americans by birth, education, and training."[2]

Having first asserted that Christianity was "an element of our political system," do you not preceive how smoothly the inference is drawn that a pure Christianity requires the exclusion of Catholics from the rights of citizenship? I know that upon a mere quibble, it may be denied that this inference is justified; but the quotation means this or nothing. The circumstances which surround this declaration have written upon it its true scope and character. No great change in government was ever accomplished by the full development of its principles in the inception of the movement. Our own Revolution rested for a period upon a redress of grievances, accompanied with an earnest protestation of continued loyalty to the British Crown.

The change now aimed at for excluding Catholics from their share in the government of the country, like all radical and revolutionary movements, must be effected, if effected, at all, by gradual stages of progress, which inure us to the journey, and accustom us to the road. Let those who may be unwilling to admit that my inference is just read attentively the events which are transpiring around us. The sentiment of the Philadelphia convention [June, 1855] is repeated at every assembly of the party. Its echo at Montgomery, in our State, proclaims "opposition to the election to office of every man who recognizes the right of any religious denomination to political power, or the authority of any higher law than the Constitution of the United States." The country is flooded with a spurious literature,[3] in which the imagination of its authors has been stimulated into activity to portray the fancied horrors of cloister and cell, and describe the Catholic priesthood as clothed in the garments of every crime. In many parts of the country the pulpit is fulminating doctrinary essays to prove the Catholic Church corrupt, and its adherents unfit depositaries of the rights of citizenship. If a Catholic citizen, however capable and honest, be appointed to political position, a howl is heard throughout the land, and denunciation follows the appointment.

---

[1] For the agitation for the suppression of Sunday mails, see American State Papers and Related Documents on Freedom in Religion, 4th edition, Washington, D.C., 1949, pp. 205 ff.

[2] This phrase is taken from the political platform adopted by the American Party in Philadelphia in June 1855 (Gustavus Myers, History of Bigotry in the United States, New York, 1943, p. 202).

[3] For the anti-Catholic literature of this period, see Myers, op. cit., pp. 148 ff.; R. A. Billington, "The Protestant Crusade, 1800–1860," pp. 193 ff., 345 ff., 445 ff.

What is the meaning of all this? I cannot be deceived by any "set phrase of speech." I tear off the flimsy disguise of words, and I behold the naked and hideous truth: religious intolerance. Party assemblies have met ere this; declarations of political principles have been common in our practice; new parties have been formed; old ones have been modified; but when before in our history has it been considered necessary to anathematize "the aggressive policy and corrupting tendencies of the Roman Catholic Church"? When before has it been found proper to introduce religion into our political organizations? When before was the fitness for political office tested not by the honesty or capability of the candidate, but by the religious faith he professed? Times have, indeed, changed, and we have changed with them. When the venerable Carroll [4] took up the pen to affix his name to the immortal "Declaration," no man cried, "Hold! you are a Catholic."

If a new necessity has sprung up justifying a new law, then, I ask, where does it exist, and in what form does it appear? Surely Protestantism has not become so weak as to require protection from the arm of a political party. Having entertained no fears of the Pope of Rome when [he was] in power, does it fear his dominion in this country now that he is dependent on foreign bayonets to preserve his dominion in Rome itself? [5] It would be unjust to construe these resolutions as vague generalities, having no application to any existing evil—the remedy for which was to be found in this new party organization. What, then, is their application? Do "the aggressive policy and corrupting tendencies of the Roman Catholic Church" point to a condition of things existing among us? Do there exist among us, in the language of the Montgomery resolutions, a body of men "who recognize the right of a religious denomination to political power, or the authority of any higher law than the Constitution of the United States"? Against whom is the new law to be enforced? It is vain to attempt disguise or prevarication. The alleged evil is declared to exist here, and the new rule is to find its justification in the religious faith of our Catholic citizens—citizens secured in their faith not only by the written stipulations of our Federal and State constitutions, but, as with us, by a solemn treaty stipulation "that the inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States; and in the meantime shall be maintained, and protected, in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and the religion they profess." [6]

Let these questions be answered, not by mere speculation, much less in the spirit of captiousness, but by the solemn acts and declarations of the most authoritative assembly. When before the grand council or convention at Philadelphia the delegation from Louisiana presented their party credentials—a delegation composed of men whose respectability was not questioned, whose good faith was not suspected—they were spurned from the council, as unfit for the political brotherhood, because the lodge they represented held political communion with Catholics. It was in vain that the odious doctrine was denounced by them [as being] of an allegiance superior to the Constitution, or inconsistent with the highest discharge of political duties. It was in vain that the fact was recognized that the delegation contained but one Catholic (Gayarré, the distinguished historian). [7] There was no virtue, no party affinity, that could redeem their error, or "wash out the damned spot." In the judgment of this tribunal, no one could be a "true American" and a Catholic. Here, then, we have the new "American doctrine," explained by the "true Americans" themselves, and a practical application and development of their ambiguous resolves.

Odious as all this appears, it must not be supposed that this party has originated any new element of power; religious intolerance is as old as the history of man. In this country, where freedom and equality, under the shadow of the law, walk hand in hand throughout the land, intolerance lies dormant in the breast, or, when excited into action, shrinks from the public eye. It is, however, fully entitled to the "bad eminence" of being the first in the history of our country which has dared openly to stimulate this feeling for political objects: thus, in the name of Christianity itself, laying the train to light the torch of religious persecution.

If the leaders in this crusade were religious fanatics, we might respect their sincerity, though we denounced their action. But who are they? The Whig and Democratic Parties are said to have become corrupt. But this new party, as you see, is very much controlled by the scum which the agitation of the old ones has thrown off. Look around, my dear sir, and inquire how many of those leaders have been noted for their piety, or characterized by devotional feeling, who now flaunt their religious robes in the face of every passerby. How appropriately may they be described—

"With smooth dissimulation skilled to grace,
A devil's purpose, with an angel's face."

I do not doubt the sincerity of the great mass of those who have been deluded into these lodges. I believe the mass of all parties to be honest; but I also believe that the great majority of their leaders are impelled by the hope of obtaining from a new organization the political promotion which they despaired of receiving from the old ones. What faith can we have in the sincerity of the men, now so zealous in their anti-Catholic professions, who but a few months ago made the air redolent with their cries against our present worthy executive [President Pierce], because the constitution of New Hampshire excluded Catholics from office? [8]

You perceive, I have treated the movement of the "Know-Nothings" as a direct attack upon the Constitution itself, because I really regard the plea which acknowledges that the Catholics are to be excluded by voluntary associations bound by oaths, but denies that any "legislative enactment" is to be resorted to for that purpose, as beneath criticism. Why, my dear sir, if the exclusion be justifiable and necessary, should it not be engrafted upon our Constitution? If the people of these States should ever receive this bastard "Americanism" as true republicanism, what should prevent that opinion from being organized into law? Is law in this country anything else but organized public opinion? It is a weak and miserable design which seeks by indirection to effect the disfranchisement of a portion of our citizens, while it cowardly admits that the law which denounces this disfranchisement should be preserved unaltered.

I confess to you, my friend, that a few months ago I looked with feelings almost of despair upon the downward course of our political affairs. My confidence, however, is restored; the South, always conservative, always jealous of power, and comparatively free from those sudden excitements to which the denser populations of the North are subject, will vindicate the character which she has nobly earned. Virginia, the oldest of the sisters, has led the way to triumph; [9] and Alabama, one of the youngest and fairest, will come out of her impending struggle radiant in victory, and with garments undefiled.

Let, however, the result be what it may, if the present brings no thanks to you and others, who have stood by the principle of religious equality and freedom, the future, the not distant future, will be yours.

Yours, most truly,

P. PHILLIPS.

JNO. FORSYTH, Esq.,
Editor of Register, Mobile, Ala.

---

[4] Charles Carroll of Carrollton (1737–1832), a signer of the Declaration of Independence from Maryland, was the most distinguished American Catholic of his day.

[5] At this period, Pope Pius IX was in power in Rome largely by the armed forces of Napoleon III.

[6] This provision is from the French Cession of Louisiana to the United States, April 30, 1803, art. III (H.S. Commager, "Documents of American History," 4th ed., New York, 1948, p. 191).

[7] Charles Étiene Arthur Gayarré (1805–95) wrote several books on the history of Louisiana. He was Louisiana's outstanding littérateur in the days before and after the Civil War.

[8] Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, was attacked by his political enemies because the constitution of New Hampshire excluded Catholics from office. Pierce, however, had denounced this clause in the State constitution (Myers, op. cit., p. 189).

[9] In the Virginia election of May 1855, the Know-Nothings were defeated (J. F. Rhodes, "History of the United States, etc.," II, 88–89).

The High Cost of Crazy Quilts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, I have today reintroduced by bill, H.R. 7692, which would have ended the farm subsidy insanity as of January 1, 1960, in an updated form so that, if enacted, such termination date would be January 1, 1961. Of course, I am not optimistic enough to suppose that my proposal has any chance of enactment, or even of consideration at this time, but I do think it important that those million of Americans, from farm as well as city, who believe we have traveled far enough down this endless and aimless road should have some legislative proposal to rally around. As some further evidence of the growing support for my suggestion, I include the following editorial from the Wall Street Journal of January 20, 1960:

THE HIGH COST OF CRAZY QUILTS

In his 1961 budget, President Eisenhower estimates spending for agricultural programs at close to $6 billion, of which the biggest category is price-support operations. It could run higher, depending on weather and other circumstances; the President ruefully remarked that under present laws, "price support expenditures cannot be controlled through regular budgetary processes."

Now some $6 billion a year for agriculture is fantastic enough. But even that is not the whole of the cost. Lamar Fleming, Jr., head of the cotton firm of Anderson, Clayton & Co., figures that Americans are actually paying around $10 billion a year more than would be necessary if farm prices were not artificially supported. To the $6 billion taken directly out of the taxpayers' pockets must be added at least $4 billion in the higher prices caused by the props.

There are still other hidden costs. For example, Mr. Fleming says the Government controls 70 percent of the buying and selling in the cotton market. This hampers market operations—the cotton "is tangled up in redtape which delays its availability for use"—and is drying up the cotton futures trade. Bureaucracy indeed never comes cheap.

Farm programs designed to restore normal market forces would certainly justify reasonable expenditures for a time. Instead we are spending these staggering billions, year after year, on programs to make the problems worse. No possible excuse can be found in politics or sanity for Congress' continued refusal to unravel this costly crazy quilt.

Re H.R. 9378, Requiring a Fair Return on Veterans' Insurance Trust Funds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I recently introduced H.R. 9378, which seeks to provide for the investment of the national service life insurance trust fund and the U.S. Government life insurance trust fund in obligations bearing current rates of interest. The rates presently are set at 3 percent for the national service life insurance fund and 3½ percent for the U.S. Government life insurance trust fund, even though there is no statutory requirement that such rates cannot be higher or the going market rate.

Hearings are to be held on this subject by the full Committee on Veterans' Affairs on February 2, 1960. I recently had an interesting discussion with the Under Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Julian B. Baird, and Mr. William T. Heffelfinger, Fiscal Assistant Secretary. At that time I was furnished with the minutes of the meeting of the Treasury Department Committee on Investment Policy held January 13, 1960, as well as a memorandum concerning interest rates on investment of the OASI trust fund. I believe both of these documents will be helpful to the consideration and understanding of this question and, under permission granted, include them as part of my remarks:

MINUTES OF MEETING OF THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT COMMITTEE ON INVESTMENT POLICY—JANUARY 13, 1960

The Treasury Department Committee on Investment Policy for Trust Funds met in the office of the Under Secretary for Monetary Affairs January 13, 1960. The Under Secretary, Mr. Baird, presided as chairman of the meeting and Mr. William T. Heffelfinger, Fiscal Assistant Secretary, acted as secretary. Mr. Robert P. Mayo, Assistant to the Secretary, was invited to sit with the committee.

Mr. Baird stated that, in line with the committee's practice of reviewing the investment policies governing the trust funds administered by the Treasury, the purpose of the meeting was to consider the veterans' insurance funds. Mr. Baird pointed out that the Treasury should follow insofar as possible a consistent investment policy with respect to all of its trust-fund operations.

Mr. Baird called attention to the fact that the committee, in its meeting of June 29, 1959, decided to recommend to the Secretary that steps be taken with the objective of lengthening the maturities of special issues in the Federal Old-Age and Survivors Insurance Trust Fund, and the Federal Disability Insurance Trust Fund by rearranging investments of the special issues with equal maturities ranging over a period of from 1 to 15 years. This action was taken in anticipation of the approval by Congress of the recommendation by the Board of Trustees (the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Secretary of Labor) that the present statutory formula for fixing interest rates on special obligations issued to these funds be changed to a formula based upon current market yields rather than coupon rates, as recommended by the Advisory Council on Social Security Financing. A bill to give effect to this recommendation is currently pending before the House Committee on Ways and Means.

The Independent Offices Appropriation Bill for 1959 contains a provision requiring the Civil Service Commission and the Bureau of the Budget to submit recommendations to the Legislative and Appropriation Committees of the House and Senate for keeping the Civil Service Retirement Fund current and for providing on a sound basis for the future liabilities of the Government to the beneficiaries of that fund. The report submitted by the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission and the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, pursuant to this requirement, contains a recommendation that the interest rate on special Treasury obligations issued to this fund be based upon a formula similar to that recommended for the Federal Old-Age and Survivors Insurance Trust Fund, namely, that the rate be equal to the average market yields on outstanding issues not due or callable until after the expiration of 3 years from the date of issue of such special obligations. In anticipation of congressional approval of this recommendation, the special obligations held by the Civil Service Retirement Fund were recently replaced with special issues having equal maturities ranging over a period of from 1 to 15 years.

Mr. Baird stated he had also discussed a few months ago with the members of the Railroad Retirement Board the question of increasing the interest rate now payable pursuant to law on the special obligations issued by the Treasury to the railroad retirement account. The Commissioners pointed out that the present 3-percent statutory rate has been substantially lower than market yields on Treasury obligations for sometime and they thought some change should be made to bring their earnings more in line with the present market rates. As a result of these discussions the Treasury has notified the Director of the Bureau of the Budget that it would have no objection to a change in the law to base the interest rate on special obligations issued to the railroad retirement account on a formula similar to that proposed for the Federal old-age account and the civil service retirement fund. The Commissioners were also advised of the Treasury's position in the matter.

Mr. Baird stated that the principal remaining long-term trust funds, similar to the foregoing, which require attention are the two veterans' insurance funds—the Government life insurance fund and the national service life insurance fund.

The Government life insurance fund was established in connection with life insurance policies issued to veterans during World War I. Prior to 1944, the Government life insurance fund was invested in marketable Treasury obligations and 4½ percent special adjusted service bonds. At that time the average interest rate on all securities in the Government life insurance fund was 3.61 percent and the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs was concerned with the impact on the fund which the reinvestments of $500 million of the 4½-percent bonds maturing in 1946 at the prevailing 2½-percent rate would have on interest earnings. At that time the President approved a recommendation of the Secretary of the Treasury that the special obligations issued to this fund bear interest at the rate of 3½ percent. The World War Veterans' Act specifies that the basis of calculation of the reserves and all other values under the Government life insurance policies issued to veterans of World War I shall be the American Experience Table of Mortality and interest at 3½ percent. This provision of law was used as a guide for fixing a 3½-percent interest rate on the special obligations.

The special obligations issued to the Government life insurance fund have been in the form of 1-year certificates of indebtedness. This fund does not hold any marketable Treasury obligations and the total holdings of special 3½-percent certificates, as of December 31, 1959, amount to $1,100,235,000. This fund will continue at somewhat near its present level for many years in the future before it is substantially reduced as its insurance obligations are eventually extinguished.

The national service life insurance fund was established in 1941 in connection with the insurance policies issued to military personnel during World War II. For many years prior thereto outstanding bonds and notes of the United States were selling in the market at substantial premiums and in February 1941 were yielding investors from one-eighth percent to a maximum of approximately 2¼ percent, depending upon maturity. In view of the fact that the National Service Life Insurance Act provides that the premium rates for insurance shall be the net rates based upon the American Experience Table of Mortality and interest at the rate of 3 percent per annum, the Secretary of the Treasury, with the approval of the President, on February 11, 1941, determined to have the investments of this fund made in special series of Treasury obligations and bear interest at the rate of 3 percent. In fixing a 3-percent interest rate, the Secretary of the Treasury stated:

"It is therefore proposed to make investments on account of the national service life insurance fund in special series of 3 percent certificates of indebtedness and Treasury notes until such time as, in the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury, investments for the fund can be made more advantageously in the interest of the Government by the purchase of obligations in the market or on direct subscription to new issues of public debt obligations."

The national service life insurance fund is entirely invested in 5-year special 3-percent Treasury notes. At December 31, 1959, the fund held these notes maturing annually from 1960 to 1964 and in an aggregate amount of $5,691,548,000. This fund will also continue for many years in the future.

Mr. Baird stated that although yields on marketable obligations have been in excess of 3 percent in recent years, it would not have been in the interest of the Government to invest all its trust funds in marketable obligations. However, to the extent possible, there have been substantial market purchases for certain accounts.

It was the consensus of the committee that no one can determine how long the present market yields on Government securities will continue or at what level market yields may ultimately adjust to during the foreseeable future.

In view of the fact that the laws governing these two veterans' insurance funds place full responsibility for the investment of such funds in the Secretary of the Treasury, the committee agreed to recommend the adoption of a formula for fixing interest rates on the special obligations issued to these funds based upon current market yields rather than coupon rates and that the transition to the new rate follow the pattern adopted in connection with the Federal old-age and survivors insurance trust fund and the civil service retirement fund.

Under the formula recommended, the special obligations would bear interest at a rate of one-half of 1 percent lower than a rate equal to the average market yield computed as of the end of the calendar month next preceding the date of issue, borne by all marketable interest-bearing obligations of the United States then forming a part of the public debt that are not due or callable until after the expiration of 3 years from the end of such calendar month, except that where such average market yield is not a multiple of one-eighth of 1 per centum, the rate shall be the multiple of one-eighth of 1 per centum nearest such average, provided, that special obligations issued to the Government life insurance fund shall be at rates not less than 3½ percent and that obligations issued to the national service life insurance fund shall be at rates not less than 3 percent. However, unless the Congress removes the 4¼ percent interest ceiling on Treasury bonds, it will not be possible to use rates in excess of 4¼ percent on the special obligations having maturities beyond 5 years.

The committee recommends, in view of the historic basis used for establishing rates of interest of 3½ percent and 3 percent on special obligations issued to these two funds, which takes into consideration the rates established by the Congress for fixing premiums and for use in other calculations in connection with such insurance, that these present rates be considered as a floor for the rates on such special obligations, to protect the funds against any subsequent drop in market yields below these rates. In consideration of this guarantee against such contingency the rates based upon current market yields would be reduced by one-half of 1 percent. This formula will provide a substantial improvement in rates for current investments in these two funds. If current market rates continue at levels in excess of 3 percent or 3½ percent, the earnings of the funds will increase from year to year during a long future period.

The committee recommends that the transition to the new formula should be made gradually, and that before the new formula becomes effective the present maturity distribution of the special obligations held in the funds be rearranged in accordance with the needs of the funds and the principles of sound and equitable trust fund management. This objective can be accomplished by rearranging investments of the special issues presently held with securities having equal maturities, ranging over a period of from 1 to 15 years. This will result in an average maturity of about 7½ years for investments in these funds, compared to an average maturity of about 20 years for bond investments held by American life insurance companies.

It is also recommended that at the end of each year beginning with the fiscal year 1960, the amount of special issues maturing will be refunded with new special issues so arranged as to maintain approximate equal maturities of the funds from 1 to 15 years. The new securities would carry rates of interest based upon the new formula, subject to a maximum of 4¼ percent so long as the present interest rate ceiling is in effect. It is proposed that current receipts not needed for current payments be invested in special issues maturing on June 30 of each year. Whenever it is necessary to redeem securities to cover current benefit or other payments from the funds, this will be accomplished by redeeming obligations maturing within the year beginning with those bearing the lowest rate of interest.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

W. T. HEFFELFINGER,
Secretary of the Committee.
JULIAN B. BAIRD,
Chairman.
LAURENCE B. ROBBINS,
DAVID A. LINDSAY.

Approved:

ROBERT B. ANDERSON,
Secretary of the Treasury.

MEMORANDUM CONCERNING INTEREST RATES ON INVESTMENTS OF FEDERAL OLD-AGE AND SURVIVORS INSURANCE TRUST FUND

Under the law it is the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury, as managing trustee of the Federal old-age and survivors insurance trust fund, to invest that portion of the trust fund not needed for current benefit payments and administrative expenses in U.S. securities or in securities guaranteed as to principal and interest by the United States. Because for many years only a very small amount of guaranteed securities have been issued, the fund's invetsments consist entirely of direct public debt obligations.

Obligations may be acquired on original issue or by purchase in the market. Also, the law authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to issue special public debt obligations to the fund. The law, as amended in 1956, provides that the special issues shall have maturities fixed with due regard for the needs of the fund and shall bear interest at a rate equal to the average rate of interest, rounded to the nearest one-eighth of 1 percent, computed as of the end of the month preceding the date of issue, on all outstanding marketable interest-bearing public debt obligations that are not due or callable until after the expiration of 5 years from date of original issue.

Marketable issues acquired by the fund may be sold at any time at their market price. Special issues held by the fund may be redeemed at par plus accrued interest.

The greater part of the investments of the old-age trust fund, as well as for other Government trust funds and investment accounts, are made in special public debt obligations. There are important advantages in following this practice rather than investing the trust funds entirely through open market purchases of Government obligations, as follows: (1) The Government securities market is not disturbed periodically by purchases and sales of large blocks of securities; (2) the trust funds are provided with a ready avenue of investment and no attention need be given to short-term fluctuations in market prices, and (3) savings can be effected because of the smaller number of securities to administer, and commissions to brokers on purchases and sales are eliminated.

On December 31, 1959, the old-age trust fund held $19,158 million of public debt securities, consisting of $15,863 million of special issues and $3,295 million of public issues. The interest rate on current special issue investments is 2⅝ percent, based on the formula provided in the law. The public issues held by the fund bear interest at rates ranging from 2¼ to 5 percent, with maturities from near term out to 1995.

The 1956 amendments to the Social Security Act provided for an Advisory Council on Social Security Financing to be appointed by the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. This Council, composed of the Commissioner of Social Security and twelve members not connected with the Government, representing labor organizations, insurance companies, and the public, in its report transmitted to the Congress last January, endorsed the policy in present law which relates the interest rate on special obligations to the interest rate on long-term marketable obligations.. The Council, however, recommended two changes in the law so that the rate of return on special issues acquired by the Old-Age Trust Fund and the Disability Insurance Trust Fund be as nearly as possible equal to the rate being realized by investors who purchase long-term Government securities in the open market. These recommendations were as follows:

1. The rate on each special obligation should be made equal to the average market yield on long-term marketable Federal obligations outstanding when the special obligation is issued, rather than to the average coupon rate of such marketable obligations.

2. The interest rate fixed for a special obligation should be based on the average rate of return on all outstanding marketable Federal obligations that will mature more than, say, five years after the date of the special issue, rather than on all bonds that are not due or callable until after five years from the date when they were originally issued.

The Advisory Council felt that in adjusting to the proposed new statutory formula a gradual and orderly transition over a period of several years would be desirable. They recommended, therefore, that before the new formula becomes effective the present maturity distribution of the special obligations be reviewed and, if need be, adjusted to carry out this broad objective.

Prior to the time the Advisory Council on social security financing was appointed the Treasury had been working on a plan to ultimately spread maturities of old-age trust fund special issues over a period of 20 years. In considering how best to carry this out information was obtained on investment practices of life insurance companies. It was found that the larger companies' investment holdings averaged around 20 years to maturity. The trustees then decided we shouldn't extend maturities as far as insurance company holdings and it was determined that a spread covering a period of 1 to 15 years (an average of about 8 years) would be reasonable. By action of the managing trustee, with concurrence of the other trustees, maturities have been rearranged on that basis.

The Advisory Council's recommendation as to a change in the interest rate formula for special issues was given consideration. The Council had suggested two rates, a long-term rate to apply to the major part of the funds and a short-term rate to apply to a minor portion to meet current and short-range needs. The trustees[1] agreed that the short-term needs of the fund should be recognized, but for reasons of simplicity, ease of administration and elimination of the necessity for arbitrary judgment, they recommended that there should be one interest rate reflecting the short-term as well as the long-term requirements of the fund. Recommendations were made in the last annual report of the Board of Trustees and a draft of bill was sent to the Congress to carry out the recommendation. This bill is now

---

[1] The Board of Trustees consists of the Secretary of the Treasury, as managing trustee, and the Secretaries of Health, Education and Welfare and Labor.

pending before the House Ways and Means Committee for consideration.

The proposed bill provides that special obligations issued for purchase by the old-age and disability insurance trust funds shall bear interest at a rate equal to the average market yield rounded to the nearest one-eighth of 1 percent, computed as of the end of the calendar month next preceding date of issue, on all marketable interest-bearing public debt obligations which are not due or callable until after the expiration of 3 years from the end of such calendar month. If this formula were now in effect, current special issue investments of the funds would carry an interest rate of 4⅞ percent, based on average of market yields as of December 31, 1959.

Who's Really To Blame for the New Labor Law?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER NORBLAD
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. NORBLAD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include a very interesting editorial which was published in the October 23 edition of the Oregon Labor Press.

It is entitled "Who's Really To Blame for the New Labor Law?" and I urge every Member to read it.

The article follows:

WHO'S REALLY TO BLAME FOR THE NEW LABOR LAW?

A new game called who's to blame for the new labor law? is sweeping the country.

Any number can play, and almost everyone seems to be playing. A lot of good people are getting chopped up in the process.

In recent weeks we've heard the blame placed variously on George Meany, on AFL-CIO lobbyists in Washington, on Senator John Kennedy, of Massachusetts, on Senator Hubert Humphrey, of Minnesota, on Congresswoman Edith Green, of Oregon, and on all of the other liberals in Congress who voted for the bill.

A total of 95 Senators and 355 Congressmen voted for the labor law. Whether or not you approve of their vote, you cannot say that all of them are enemies of labor. Many of these Congressmen and Senators have proved, by their voting records over the years, that they are sincere liberals and friends of the labor movement.

We want to ask a question:

Why is it that only liberal legislators and decent union leaders are getting flayed and divided in the who's to blame game?

Why doesn't someone have enough sense to place the blame where it really belongs—on Dave Beck, James Hoffa, Frank Brewster and Bert Brennan of the Teamsters; on Eugene C. (Jimmy) James of the Laundry Workers; on James G. Cross of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers?

These men and other apostles of the evil doctrine of "business unionism" are really to blame for the labor law. It was these men and their ilk who sold out the labor movement.

The McClellan hearings gave the anti-unionists the opening they wanted, and they took it. But the McClellan hearings would have been a flop if these few men had not supplied plenty of sickening grist for their mill.

Why are the corrupt union officials and business unionists forgotten when the who's to blame game is played?

The Teamsters' national magazine is having a field day, blaming the new labor law on George Meany, on AFL–CIO lobbyists, on Senator KENNEDY and other Members of Congress. Why don't the Teamster editors look inside their own marble palace in Washington to find the persons who are basically responsible for the new law?

We hear chuckles from the "business unionists" and from the anti-union lobbyists and legislators while the rest of us flay each other's hides, playing the who's to blame game.

The Twisted Cross

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, last week I introduced a resolution expressing the profound indignation of the Members of Congress at the epidemic of acts of desecration of our houses of worship. Many of my colleagues have spoken out against these vile acts. We all realize these deplorable demonstrations must be stopped in the interest of freedom guaranteed us by the Constitution.

One of the best means of fighting this menace to our society is to bring these un-American acts to the attention of all our citizens so that they can exert their energies to stop these shameful acts of desecration.

In this connection, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues a very fine TV editorial broadcast which was presented by Mr. John L. McClay, the general manager of WJZ–TV in Baltimore. This editorial was presented as part of the company's policy of contributing to the public betterment by keeping Marylanders informed on issues which vitally concern all of us.

The editorial entitled "The Twisted Cross" follows:

Fifteen years ago, American soldiers were dying in Europe because of an evil ideology that threatened to engulf the Western World. No one who lived through that era can forget Adolf Hitler and his Nazis. Nor can we forget their sign, the dreaded swastika. It has come to symbolize everything that is rotten in the human race.

But the swastikas you are looking at are not those that were displayed in Germany during the Nazi era. Unbelievable as it may seem, they were painted on Jewish institutions in Baltimore only 3 days ago. Fifteen years after it was crushed in Europe, the swastika has returned to haunt our own city.

I would think that no Jew could look upon this defacement without a twinge of anger or bitterness. I hope that anyone who is not a Jew looks upon it with a feeling of shame and guilt. For the real danger of prejudice is that to some extent it exists in all of us. Every one of us instinctively feels close to his own kind, and is sometimes suspicious of those of another race, religion, or nationality.

For reasons that none of us can explain, there is always a small minority of people whose suspicions and hates are uncontrollable. For their own twisted reasons these people fan the smoldering sparks of hate and cruelty. If they are allowed to carry their mischief too far, they attract followers. The ultimate result can be—as it was in Germany under the Nazis—a reign of terror. Decent people are afraid to speak out, or sometimes they just don't bother to speak out.

We are not comparing Baltimore with Germany under Hitler. The anti-Jewish incidents here are thus far not widespread. But let's not you and I salve our consciences with the thought that this was the work of young pranksters.

This much is certain: A decent community just does not permit such things to be repeated. If any of us heard of a plan to set fire to a church or synagogue, we would instantly summon the police. We would not tolerate such outrages because we are decent citizens. We should be just as aroused over these swastika smearings. The people who did this are just as dangerous as those who set fires, and we should treat these incidents in the same manner. It is the duty of everyone who knows anything about these desecrations of the past few days to call the police. It is that simple. To tolerate this in our city would be a mockery of every ideal that we, as Americans, profess to believe in.

What a great thing it would be if the world looked to Baltimore as the city where the fires of anti-Semitism were stamped out without a moment's hesitation because Baltimoreans just wouldn't let it happen.

Anti-Semitism Outbreaks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, all of us have been concerned with the outbreak of anti-Semitic incidents throughout the world. Numerous explanations have been forthcoming in order to trace the origin of these incidents.

The Chicago Daily Calumet, a community newspaper in my district, on January 14 wrote a most interesting and enlightening editorial on the subject, and I am including it in the RECORD for the consideration of the Members of the House:

[From the Chicago Daily Calumet, Jan. 14, 1960]

ANTI-SEMITISM OUTBREAKS

The unfortunate and damnable incidents of anti-Semitism that have sprung up in West Germany, England, United States, and other parts of the world are being hailed by some of our leftwing press and liberals as a spontaneous worldwide rise in Nazism or Fascism.

Don't be fooled.

This is the work of world communism. Who else has a worldwide network to set in simultaneous motion incidents of anti-semitism in such widely separated areas as Finland, Australia, United States, and West Germany? Only the Communists. Certainly not West Germany.

The Communists would have you believe that fascism is behind these incidents in order to hide their own attempts to sow suspicion on West Germany and to isolate

Chancellor Adenauer and separate him from his allies on the eve of the the East-West meeting.

True, there are undoubtedly undercurrents of Hitler's fascism in Germany. But the Communists overplayed their hand when they set in motion an international wave of anti-Semitism with the appearance of the swastikas and anti-Jewish slogans in countries all around the world.

Any thinking man will quickly realize that worldwide orders do not today originate in West Germany. The fast reaction to the incidents by Adenauer and his government indicates their concern. They realize the damage that has been done to the new democratic Germany that is rising.

Too often we are prone to forget that it was Russia that collaborated with Hitler during the awful pogroms of the thirties and forties and also we forget that within Communist Russia there is and always has been a constant campaign of vilification and persecution of Jews.

It is gratifying to see how Americans are alarmed over the possible rise of a new Hitler and fascism.

We only wish that the same Americans would show the same concern over the ever-present Communists in our midst and the increasing rise of power of world communism.

Big Man With a Big Heart

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an editorial about Officer Philip Spelman of the Chelsea police force, which appeared in the Chelsea Record on December 3, 1959.

The editorial follows:

BIG MAN WITH A BIG HEART

Officer Philip Spelman, the huskiest man on the police force, probably has the biggest heart when it comes to helping others, especially those in trouble and youngsters.

The sparkplug of the current Espinola Fund, to which has been contributed nearly $32,000, Officer Spelman was one of the first on the scene following the tragedy that snuffed out the lives of a father and his five children.

His routine work on the case completed, he devoted all of his own time for days and days and days, organizing, collecting, soliciting, arranging for money-raising events to help the surviving widow and her only surviving child.

Those who had occasion to watch his zeal in behalf of this cause attribute to his efforts the very great success that the fund attained.

A World War II marine, he has used his training on numerous occasions to save lives. He was commended by the city several times for saving the life of children by breathing into their little mouths as they were being rushed to the hospital.

A devoted father and husband he has found time to do a great deal of work in behalf of the Little League and was rewarded a month ago by election as its president. His wife served as secretary.

With Officer Ralph Briggs, Spelman captured two youths who had broken into a score of homes in the Bellingham area, and passed it off as routine police work.

Unassuming and modest, he is a fearless police officer, an efficient and popular member of the department and credit to it and to the city.

The Record joins with hundreds of others throughout the city in a salute to Officer Philip Spelman for his fine police work and exemplary civic interest.

The Loyal Oath Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, all Members of this body are well aware of the concern with which the administrators of our leading educational institutions have viewed the loyalty oath and disclaimer affadavit requirements which the Senate inserted in the National Defense Education Act.

This is a question which may be presented to us for further consideration later this year. It is a complex question, involving opposing philosophical approaches. Without attempting to take sides, at this time, but in order to give my colleagues the benefit of two excellent summaries of the opposing positions, I herewith include a resolution recently received by me from the president of Harpur College, at Endicott, N.Y., in behalf of his faculty, and a letter to the editor of the Binghamton (N.Y.) Press of December 29, 1959, by Mr. Ford M. Sperry, of Binghamton:

JANUARY 7, 1960.

RESOLUTION 1

Resolved, That the faculty of Harpur College, State University of New York, hereby records its strong opposition to the disclaimer affidavit requirement of the National Defense Education Act (title X, sec. 1001(f)(1)). This provision of the act requires that any individual, including a student obtaining a loan, who benefits under the National Defense Education Act, shall be denied payment unless he has executed and filed with the Commissioner (of Education) an affidavit that he does not believe in, and is not a member of, and does not support any organization that believes in or teaches, the overthrow of the U.S. Government by force or violence or by any illegal or unconstitutional methods." We oppose this affidavit for the following reasons:

(1) It undermines freedom of belief and conscience, specifically denying funds on the basis of belief.

(2) It suggests that the loyalty of needy students is questionable, and that we can no longer assume that an individual is loyal unless he takes an oath to that effect.

(3) It sets a dangerous precedent for requiring similar affidavits of farmers, dependent persons, or in fact any recipients of Federal funds.

(4) It represents Government intervention in the affairs of colleges and universities, such affidavits not ordinarily being required in the granting of student loans.

(5) It will not achieve its apparent objective, for the disloyal or subversive individual would not likely feel bound by such an affidavit.

As a part of this resolution, the faculty urges the president of State University of New York to use all appropriate means to secure the elimination of the disclaimer affidavit now required by the National Defense Education Act. Furthermore, the faculty directs its representative in the faculty senate of State University of New York to place this matter on the agenda of that body as soon as possible, that other units of State University of New York may have an opportunity to join the Harpur faculty in this protest. Finally, the faculty directs that the text of this resolution be sent to the members of the New York State congressional delegation.

RESOLUTION 2

Resolved, That the faculty of Harpur College, State University of New York, also questions the necessity or wisdom of requiring the oath of allegiance under the National Defense Education Act (title X, section 1001(f)(2)). The form of this oath is as follows: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of America and will support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States of America against all its enemies, foreign and domestic." This is in effect the customary oath of office taken by officers and employees of the Federal Government. If it is desirable that this oath be taken by persons receiving aid or subsidy from the Government, then the requirement should be applied to all such persons. Certainly needy students should not be required to testify to their allegiance any more than other recipients of Federal assistance. However, we believe it would be more in keeping with the spirit of this country for the Government to assume the loyalty and allegiance of its citizens in such matters. The widespread taking of such an oath dilutes the significance of the oath of allegiance on occasions where it is clearly warranted.

This resolution is to be directed to the president of State University of New York, the faculty senate, and the members of the New York State congressional delegation.

FACULTY LOYALTY—OATH VIEW HIT

(By Ford M. Sperry)

BINGHAMTON.—The attitudes of the presidents and faculty members, followed by the me-too attitudes of some of their students in a few of our colleges and universities, regarding students signing an affidavit stating that they are not members of any subversive group or organization in order to receive Federal loans is very interesting; as is also the statement reported to have been made by the faculty of the Albany College of Education that "It exposes those signing the affidavit to the possibility of perjury prosecutions, resting on vague allegations or improper and intimidating inquiries about their conduct and beliefs."

How could they be prosecuted for perjury if they had told the truth when they signed the affidavit? Who told them that the non-Communist affidavit singles out persons in education as objects of suspicion?

Since when has it been an act to be afraid to commit or to be ashamed of instead of an act to be proud of for a U.S. citizen of any age to declare he has no association with any group affiliated with the Communist conspiracy, if he is telling the truth; and if he is not telling the truth, by what right does he expect to be granted a loan?

It causes one to wonder whether they (presidents and faculty members included) should be pitied and sent back to the grade schools to learn something about our American traditions and freedoms and the advantage of being a citizen of this glorious Republic; or censored because they, taking their attitudes at face value, apparently feel

that they are superior to or are on some plane of citizenship different from the hundreds of thousands who are members of our Armed Forces—the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines—and the more than 2,700,000 members of the American Legion, all of whom offered their lives and their many thousands of buddies who gave their lives, to insure that there would continue to be colleges and universities for those faculty members to teach in. And that the students would continue to have the God-given freedom and right of choice (as guaranteed by our Bill of Rights) to decide, each for himself, which college or university he will attend.

Khrushchev's Visit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, we must not be misled by these Russian Communists who visit the United States. The best way to prevent some of our people being fooled by their superb salesmanship is not to invite them here. We should never have invited Khrushchev, Mikoyan, and Koslov to the United States. These bloody gangsters have greatly helped by visits, the cause of communism here and throughout the free world. The following news story should awaken all of us.

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 17, 1960]

HOOVER SEES GREATER U.S. RED PERIL

(By William J. Theis)

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover said yesterday the Communist Party in America, aided by the recent visit of Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev, is now "more powerful, more unified, and even more of a menace to our Republic."

He gave his views in a written statement to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. In it he appraised the December 10–13 Communist convention in New York.

Hoover said the "most significant achievement" of that convention was "the welding of the Communist Party, U.S.A., into a solidly unified, aggressive force behind the militant, devious, and ruthless leadership of Gus Hall, ex-convict and avowed archenemy of the American way of life."

Hall was elected general secretary. Hoover said he is the "No. 1 man in the party." He recalled that the late Josef Stalin served as general secretary of the Russian Communist Party before becoming dictator.

Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND (Democrat of Mississippi), chairman of the subcommittee which printed Hoover's statement as a public document, said the FBI chief has "put America on notice."

"By revealing Communist aims," EASTLAND said, "Mr. Hoover has partially disarmed the conspiracy, but only partially."

Hoover said the Communists' optimism about the future in this country springs from the fact that "the recent visit of Khrushchev has done much to create an atmosphere favorable to communism among Americans."

He said that to Communist Party leaders, "Khrushchev's presence has eased the way for party activities." He added that two important conclusions can be drawn from the Communist's leadership decisions:

1. The party will remain in the future—as it has been in the past—an obedient slave of Moscow.

2. The elimination of factionalism, making the party a more unified and more compact organization.

The 17th national convention of the Communists was held in a Harlem hotel and Hoover said, "adjourned in a state of jubilance."

Anti-Semitic Vandalism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, the wave of anti-Semitism which has swept over Germany in recent weeks is most deplorable. Perhaps the most unfortunate thing is its spread to various lands in Europe, the Americas and elsewhere, where irresponsible young people and lunatic fringe followers are defacing synagogues, churches, institutions and private homes with swastikas and other symbols of hatred.

These anti-Jewish and antireligious demonstrations have occurred in various places and communities in this country and abroad where this form of social virulence has never before been a serious factor. I have no way of knowing whether these demonstrations have been organized by certain rightist or leftist elements for political or other purposes. I have no way of knowing whether they are being financed by certain elements in Communist or Arab countries, or by Nazi remnants still operating abroad, as is being suspected by many people.

One thing I do know, and that is: The free world, America included, has been dealt a heavy blow in the eyes of upright, liberty-loving and peace-loving people everywhere. In the midst of a great ideological struggle, when the nations of the free world are actually fighting for freedom and survival, our attention is diverted to acts of prejudice and intolerance which only tend to divide our forces and to sap our strength. The smearing of swastikas on houses of worship is not the path to survival in the struggle against communism, as some blind fanatics and cranks may believe, but is the road to ruin and destruction of our civilization, our common heritage and our very freedom.

Attacks on houses of worship are direct attacks upon freedom itself. Those who hate one religion, hate all religions. They also hate everyone whose beliefs may differ from theirs, whose national origin may be different, whose color of skin is different, whose political or social views are different. They prefer totalitarianism of one kind or another, based on hatred against all those who disagree with them. We fought World War II to eradicate this dangerous concept which brought so much misery upon humanity and resulted in the death of millions of innocent people.

Now, we are witnessing a resurgence of these evil forces. If left to pursue their evil deeds, we shall sooner or later be faced with a new world tragedy. This is a warning which should not be ignored. There is no room in American life for these demented fanatics who let themselves become tools of others who seek to destroy us. Similarly, there should be no room for them in Germany if the German people and their leaders are earnestly interested in casting their lot with the free world.

We should make it clear to the German people that we expect them to adopt the strongest measures to eradicate these fanatics. We should also make it clear to them that if there is a revival or resurgence of nazism there, they should understand that the free world, America included, will be forced to renounce its alliance and support of a German state which tolerates or encourages neonazism in any form. At the same time, let us give the German people every assurance of support if they show a genuine desire and effort to uproot anti-Semitism and those preaching bigotry and intolerance.

Federal Water Pollution Control Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, 4 years ago the Congress began consideration of legislative proposals which culminated in the passage of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act of 1956. At about the same time the League of Women Voters of the United States began a study of our national water management problems. The league, with members in all 50 States, have made invaluable contributions to our knowledge of water resources.

One aspect of the water resource problem which has been given especially close study by the league is water pollution control. I was especially interested, therefore, in the league's position on H.R. 3610 which will increase Federal grants for sewage treatment plant construction. Today I received a letter from Mrs. Robert J. Phillips, president of the League of Women Voters, which under unanimous consent I am having reprinted below:

DEAR MR. BLATNIK: The League of Women Voters hase announced its strong support of the water pollution control bill, H.R. 3610, now about to go to conference between the House and Senate. League members in all 50 States have been studying our national water management problems for the last 4 years. They have concluded that the incentive Federal payment principle embodied in the proposed water pollution control bill is sound, that the program as operated during the past few years has been successful in speeding up construction of sewage-treatment plants and that an expanded program is greatly needed.

The following telegram was sent to the President of the United States today urging his support of this measure:

"The League of Women Voters strongly endorses the continuance and expansion of the Federal incentive payment program to encourage construction of sewage-treatment plans as proposed in H.R. 3610, now in conference between the House and Senate. The principle of stimulating local expenditures through incentive payments by the Federal Government is sound. Pollution-control funds, as administered by the States, have been responsible for needed expansion of sewage-treatment plant construction but much more is necessary to guard the public health and insure industrial growth. Stream pollution is increasing at an alarming rate, creating health hazards, and reducing the amount of usable water. We believe the National Government should assume a larger role than it has up to the present time in expediting pollution control."

We hope that the conference will resolve the differences between the Senate and House versions of the bill in the best possible way to encourage States and local communities to make greater efforts toward controlling stream pollution.

Sincerely,

RUTH S. PHILLIPS,
Mrs. Robert J. Phillips,
President.

Is There a Fuel Crisis?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN H. DENT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, recently there appeared in the Wall Street Journal, last December 16, an article headed "Is There a Fuel Crisis?"

This is a very serious subject and in answer to this article in the Wall Street Journal, Joseph E. Moody, president of the National Coal Policy Conference, expressed the viewpoints of the coal industry.

One of the major developments in this country in recent years wherein the coal industry — producer-consumer-laborer, including management and labor have joined hands to work out the problems affecting that industry has been the creation of the National Coal Policy Conference. I believe that it is a matter of great importance, and urgency that every Member of this Congress become acquainted with the discussions from both coal and other fuels as to whether or not there is a fuel crisis.

Believing this to be a question of the moment, I herewith submit both the article from the Journal and the reply from Mr. Moody to be made part of the RECORD of Congress.

[From the Wall Street Journal, Dec. 16, 1959]

IS THERE A FUEL CRISIS?

The coal people say there is. And they suggest that Uncle Sam step in. Historically, our fuel industries have grown the freely competitive way. Yet here we have one of them turning its back on that way. If only because the implications reach into all business, a few questions should be raised. What, exactly, are the facts?

Question. What are our fuel problems as the coal industry sees them?

Answer. According to the coal people, we are in danger of running out of fuel. Any lack of energy, they point out, would threaten our economic development. Always near the surface, of course, is the fact that coal's share of the fuel market has shrunk.

Question. What does the coal industry want the Government to do about it?

Answer. Coal asks for a single, overall national fuels policy. In the words of Joseph Moody, president of the National Coal Policy Conference, this would "insure an adequate energy supply for our Nation while at the same time promoting the healthy and balanced development of the American economy."

Question. Precisely what would coal's policy call for?

Answer. The Senate resolution coal's spokesmen introduced in August would have the Government consider "the optimal allocation of the various fuel and energy resources to their most productive economic uses, including such consideration as the geographic distribution of these resources and the development of balanced and interrelated regional fuel economies."

Question. Why wouldn't such a policy be helpful?

Answer. In the first place, the kind of crisis coal talks about simply does not exist. We are in no present danger of running out of oil, natural gas or coal. And the competition among fuels has actually promoted the kind of healthy development coal refers to.

Question. Do the coal interests really want to see their industry controlled?

Answer. Coal denies the policy would mean controls. But the word "allocation" in that Senate resolution is enough to frighten any businessman. In our opinion, it would probably lead to end-use controls on fuels.

Question. Are any of the other fuel industries for coal's program?

Answer. Let them speak for themselves. According to Frank Porter, president of the American Petroleum Institute, "We will fight hard to protect our industry and its customers from unjust restrictions." And John Ferguson, executive director of the Independent Natural Gas Association, says the policy "has as a principal purpose the curtailment and prohibition of the use of natural gas."

Question. What of the consumer? Might he not gain from such a program?

Answer. Fred Seaton, Secretary of the Interior offers an answer: "I cannot believe that it would be appropriate or just for the Government to distort the picture by preventing the function of normal economic forces. I do believe the consumption of fuels should continue to be determined by such forces as relative costs at specific locations, efficiency of use, dependability of supply, cleanliness, convenience and ease of control."

Question. Are you saying coal would be the only beneficiary of the policy?

Answer. Yes. And at the expense of oil, natural gas, and the consumer. At the expense, in short, of our economy as a whole. Coal has failed to show a truly national justification for its policy. If there is a fuel crisis here, it is the one coal's policy would bring on.

Question. But if there is no policy, what of coal's future then?

Answer. It's true that coal's share of the total fuel market has shrunk from 70 percent in 1926 to less than 30 percent in 1959. But coal has a future. Secretary Seaton cites these figures. The United States will use 5 billion barrels of oil in 1975 compared to 2.7 billion in 1955, 19 trillion cubic feet of gas to 9.1 trillion. And we will use 775 million tons of coal to less than 450 million.

Question. Isn't coal essential to our national security?

Answer. Of course it is. But no more so than oil and gas. It's worth remembering the oil industry has been cooperating with the Government since World War I. A good recent example is the commendation the oil industry earned from our Government for cooperating in the 1956–57 Suez crisis to stave off a European oil shortage.

Question. Hasn't a National Energy Board recently been proposed in Canada?

Answer. Yes. But Canada is concerned mainly with export and import of natural gas and oil. This demands some international negotiation at the official level. The board could suggest a domestic policy for all fuels. But the validity for such a program north of our border does not automatically extend south of it.

Question. Elsewhere in the world, what is the trend in fuel coordination?

Answer. The British attitude is fairly typical. Although Britain faces a glut in coal from state-owned mines, Fuel and Power Minister Richard Wood told the miners in November he "could not encourage any hope of measures to restrict the use of oil or to force fuel-consuming industries to use coal."

NATIONAL COAL POLICY
CONFERENCE, INC.,
Washington, D.C., January 4, 1960.

Mr. WILLIAM K. WHITEFORD,
President, Gulf Oil Corp.,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

DEAR MR. WHITEFORD: Your Gulf Oil Corp. advertisement in the Wall Street Journal of December 16, 1959, says in bold headlines: "Is There a Fuel Crisis? The Coal People Say There Is." This statement is simply untrue. In previous emergencies such as the world wars, foreign oil largely disappeared from the sea but the railroads and the coal industry were able to step in and carry the tremendous load of furnishing energy to the industrial part of our country. We believe that the railroads and the coal mines and the people that work in these industries should be able to carry that burden of national defense again if called upon, thus the coal industry does not say there is a fuel crisis—it merely suggests that reasonable safeguards be taken to prevent a fuel crisis.

In the next paragraph your advertisement reads: "According to the coal people we are in danger of running out of fuel." I am sorry that I must point out to you again that this is completely untrue. What the coal industry does say is that while the domestic reserves of oil and gas are limited, they are increasing quantitatively each year and we have coal reserves for thousands of years. All of us boast about the great fuel reserves in this country, but because we happen to be fortunate enough to have large reserves of all of the fuels, certainly we should use them wisely.

Your advertisement, in which you appear to speak for the entire oil and gas industries rather than just your own company, appears to imply that the coal industry is seeking some special advantage to the detriment of other fuels. What we really seek is the adoption of a national fuels policy for the good of the entire country and in the interests of national security if an impartial congressional committee of high standing feels such a policy is desirable.

I might point out that you are not quarreling with the bituminous coal industry alone when you say such a policy is not needed, but you are quarreling also with many distinguished and impartial authorities who have studied the question. These groups include the Energy Resources Subcommittee of the National Resources Committee in 1939, the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee in 1951 under the chairmanship of Senator JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY, the President's Material Policy

Commission (The Paley Commission in 1952) and the Presidential Advisory Committee on Energy Supplies and Resources Policy in 1954. Only a few months ago, the Honorable William R. Connole, Vice Chairman of the Federal Power Commission said: "The need for a national energy policy seems so patently obvious that I am simply unable to understand how thoughtful people concerned with this business can overlook it."

In the first place, coal has absolutely no argument with the domestic oil industry. We believe as it does, that at times when there is a world surplus of oil, there should be some restrictions from dumping both crude and residual oil on our shores, but only to the extent that such restrictions permit the most economic and intelligent development of our own domestic fuel sources—gas, oil or coal. President Eisenhower's Cabinet Committee in 1954 agreed with this premise and said that "If the imports of crude and residual oil should exceed significantly the respective proportions that these imports of oil bore to the imports of crude oil in 1954, the domestic fuel situation could be so impaired as to endanger the orderly industrial growth which insures the military and civilian supplies and reserves that are necessary to the national defense."

The Gulf Oil Corp. advertisement implies that the coal industry would interfere with the national development of the gas industry. Whether or not you can speak for the entire natural gas industry, I do not know, but I do know that it is wrong for you to infer that we would restrict the growth of this fast growing fuel. The consumer in many parts of the country has chosen gas because it is the fuel he likes best for home heating as opposed to oil and coal. This is the consumer's choice.

There is a small fraction of natural gas distribution, which we believe is improper. I refer to the amount of natural gas which is dumped under boilers in coal's natural markets at prices less than cost and prices sometimes as low as one-third the price you and others pay for the same gas to heat your homes. However, this is merely our opinion and we are perfectly willing to let an impartial congressional committee determine whether or not such below-cost sales are in the public interest. The Cabinet Committee on Energy of 1954 concluded that such sales below cost are unfair and "are inimical to a sound fuel economy."

We believe, as you must, that the coal industry and the coal-carrying railroads must be ready to take up a great part of the load of furnishing the industrial East with its energy if foreign oil is shut off again. To do this, we cannot maintain both these industries on a standby basis but must have them operating at a healthy rate. The thousands of our citizens who normally work in the mines and on the railroads who are idle today demand the attention of our entire country. Their welfare and their availability in an emergency seem to me to be vastly more important than permitting a few large oil companies with foreign production to dump their surpluses along our eastern coast in more than normal amounts.

The coal industry wants the fullest and most economic development of all three of our fuels—natural gas, domestic oil and coal. We believe that all of these three fuels have their proper place in the market. We believe that as far as possible, the consumer should have a free choice in the use of alternate energy sources and there should be free and fair competition among all suppliers of domestic fuels. On the other hand, we believe our own national economy and the welfare and livelihood of so many of our own citizens are more important than our being a dumping ground for a world surplus of oil. This seems just as wrong from a national viewpoint as dumping valuable natural gas under boilers at less than cost.

The fact that we believe in these principles doesn't make them right, therefore, we would like an impartial highstanding congressional committee to make the final judgment. If such a committee advocates a sensible national fuels policy, it is not by any means advocating end use control of fuels. We do not want that any more than you do. Bear in mind that the coal industry is complaining about a small percentage of natural gas production and only the quantity of foreign residual oil imported which is dumped on the east coast and exceeds the importations of a base year such as 1954 or 1957.

In closing, I would repeat—the coal industry does not seek to impose an end use control on the Gulf Oil Corp. or its industry. We are intelligent enough to realize that such an imposition is beyond our economic or political powers. We merely ask that the U.S. Congress conduct a study to determine impartially whether a national fuels policy is necessary in the interests of national security. We believe that such a study would be impartial and we are prepared to take our chances as to what the study would reveal. From your advertisement and other statements by your spokesmen, you, apparently, are not.

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH E. MOODY,
President.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

REPRESENTATIVES WITH RESIDENCES IN WASHINGTON

OFFICE ADDRESS: House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

[Streets northwest unless otherwise stated]

Speaker, Sam Rayburn

Abbitt, Watkins M., *Va.*
Abernethy, Thomas G., *Miss.* 6278 29th St.
Adair, E. Ross, *Ind.* 4000 Mass. Ave.
Addonizio, Hugh J., *N. J.*
Albert, Carl, *Okla.* 5115 Allen Terrace
Alexander, Hugh Q., *N. C.*
Alford, Dale, *Ark.*
Alger, Bruce, *Tex.*
Allen, Leo E., *Ill.* University Club
Andersen, H. Carl, *Minn.* 4000 Mass. Ave.
Anderson, LeRoy H., *Mont.* 911 Beverly Dr., Alexandria, Va.
Andrews, George W., *Ala.* 3108 Cathedral Ave.
Anfuso, Victor L., *N. Y.*
Arends, Leslie C., *Ill.* 4815 Dexter St.
Ashley, Thomas L., *Ohio*
Ashmore, Robert T., *S. C.*
Aspinall, Wayne N., *Colo.* Arlington Towers, Arlington, Va.
Auchincloss, James C., *N. J.* 113 S. Lee St., Alexandria, Va.
Avery, William H., *Kans.*
Ayres, William H., *Ohio*
Bailey, Cleveland M., *W. Va.*
Baker, Howard H., *Tenn.*
Baldwin, John F., Jr., *Calif.*
Barden, Graham A., *N. C.* 2601 Woodley Pl.
Baring, Walter S., *Nev.*
Barr, Joseph W., *Ind.* Tulip Lane and Glen Mill Rd., Rockville Md.
Barrett, William A., *Pa.*
Barry, Robert R., *N. Y.* 3019 Normanstone Drive
Bass, Perkins, *N. H.*
Bass, Ross, *Tenn.*
Bates, William H., *Mass.*
Baumhart, A. D., Jr., *Ohio*
Becker, Frank J., *N. Y.*
Beckworth, Lindley, *Tex.*
Belcher, Page, *Okla.*
Bennett, Charles E., *Fla.* 1530 38th St. SE.
Bennett, John B., *Mich.* 3718 Cardiff Rd., Chevy Chase, Md.
Bentley, Alvin M., *Mich.*
Berry, E. Y., *S. Dak.* 118 Schotts Court NE.
Betts, Jackson E., *Ohio*
Blatnik, John A., *Minn.*
Blitch, Iris Faircloth, (Mrs.), *Ga.*
Boggs, Hale, *La.*
Boland, Edward P., *Mass.*
Bolling, Richard, *Mo.* 3409 Lowell St.
Bolton, Frances P. (Mrs.), *Ohio.* 2301 Wyo. Ave.
Bonner, Herbert C., *N. C.* Calvert-Woodley
Bosch, Albert H., *N. Y.*
Bow, Frank T., *Ohio.* 4301 Mass. Ave.
Bowles, Chester, *Conn.*
Boykin, Frank W., *Ala.* The Washington
Brademas, John, *Ind.*
Bray, William G., *Ind.*
Breeding, J. Floyd, *Kans.*
Brewster, Daniel B., *Md.*
Brock, Lawrence, *Nebr.*
Brooks, Jack, *Tex.*
Brooks, Overton, *La.* 4413 46th St.
Broomfield, William S., *Mich.*
Brown, Charles H., *Mo.* 3723 N. Oakland St., Arlington, Va.
Brown, Clarence J., *Ohio.* Alban Towers
Brown, Paul, *Ga.* Boston House
Broyhill, Joel T., *Va.*
Buckley, Charles A., *N. Y.*
Budge, Hamer H., *Idaho*
Burdick, Quentin, *N. Dak.*
Burke, Frank W., *Ky.*
Burke, James A., *Mass.*
Burleson, Omar, *Tex.* 2737 Devonshire Pl.
Byrne, James A., *Pa.*
Byrnes, John W., *Wis.* 1215 25th St. So., Arlington, Va.
Cahill, William T., *N. J.*
Canfield, Gordon, *N. J.*
Cannon, Clarence, *Mo.*
Carnahan, A. S. J., *Mo.*
Casey, Bob, *Tex.*
Cederberg, Elford A., *Mich.*
Celler, Emanuel, *N. Y.* The Mayflower
Chamberlain, Charles E., *Mich.*
Chelf, Frank, *Ky.*
Chenoweth, J. Edgar, *Colo.*
Chiperfield, Robert B., *Ill.* 1713 House Office Building
Church, Marguerite Stitt (Mrs.), *Ill.* 2122 Mass. Ave.
Clark, Frank M., *Pa.* 3735 Gunston Rd., Alexandria, Va.
Coad, Merwin, *Iowa.*
Coffin, Frank M., *Maine*
Cohelan, Jeffery, *Calif.* 5708 Nevada Ave.
Collier, Harold R., *Ill.*
Colmer, William M., *Miss.*
Conte, Silvio O., *Mass.*
Cook, Robert E., *Ohio*
Cooley, Harold D., *N. C.* 2480 16th St.
Corbett, Robert J., *Pa.*
Cramer, William C., *Fla.* 6714 Joallen Dr., Falls Church, Va.
Cunningham, Glenn, *Nebr.* 4920 Yorktown Blvd., Arlington Va.
Curtin, Willard S., *Pa.*
Curtis, Laurence, *Mass.* 3314 O St.
Curtis, Thomas B., *Mo.*
Daddario, Emilio Q., *Conn.*
Dague, Paul B., *Pa.*
Daniels, Dominick V., *N. J.*
Davis, Clifford, *Tenn.* 4611 Butterworth Pl.
Davis, James C., *Ga.*
Dawson, William L., *Ill.*
Delaney, James J., *N. Y.*
Dent, John H., *Pa.*
Denton, Winfield K., *Ind.*
Derounian, Steven B., *N. Y.*
Derwinski, Edward J., *Ill.*
Devine, Samuel L., *Ohio*
Diggs, Charles C., Jr., *Mich.*
Dingell, John D., *Mich.*
Dixon, Henry Aldous, *Utah.* 1817 N. Quinn St., Arlington, Va.
Donohue, Harold D., *Mass.*
Dooley, Edwin B., *N. Y.*
Dorn, Francis E., *N. Y.*
Dorn, W. J. Bryan, *S. C.*
Dowdy, John, *Tex.*
Downing, Thomas N., *Va.*
Doyle, Clyde, *Calif.* 3877 30th St. N., Arlington, Va.
Dulski, Thaddeus J., *N. Y.*
Durham, Carl T., *N. C.* The Lee House
Dwyer, Florence P. (Mrs.), *N. J.*
Edmondson, Ed, *Okla.*
Elliott, Carl, *Ala.*
Everett, Robert A., *Tenn.*
Evins, Joe L., *Tenn.* 5044 Klingle St.
Fallon, George H., *Md.*
Farbstein, Leonard, *N. Y.*
Fascell, Dante B., *Fla.*
Feighan, Michael A., *Ohio*
Fenton, Ivor D., *Pa.* 3725 Macomb St.
Fino, Paul A., *N. Y.*
Fisher, O. C., *Tex.* Calvert-Woodley
Flood, Daniel J., *Pa.* The Congressional
Flynn, Gerald T., *Wis.*
Flynt, John J., Jr., *Ga.*
Fogarty, John E., *R. I.* 1133 House Office Building
Foley, John R., *Md.*
Forand, Aime J., *R. I.* 4108 Dresden St., Kensington, Md.
Ford, Gerald R., Jr., *Mich.* 514 Crown View Dr., Alexandria, Va.
Forrester, E. L., *Ga.*
Fountain, L. H., *N. C.* The Westchester
Frazier, James B., Jr., *Tenn.* Fairfax Hotel
Frelinghuysen, Peter, Jr., *N. J.* 3014 N St.
Friedel, Samuel N., *Md.*
Fulton, James G., *Pa.*
Gallagher, Cornelius E., *N. J.*
Garmatz, Edward A., *Md.*
Gary, J. Vaughan, *Va.*
Gathings, E. C., *Ark.* 6377 31st Pl.
Gavin, Leon H., *Pa.*
George, Newell A., *Kans.*
Giaimo, Robert N., *Conn.*
Glenn, Milton W., *N. J.* Arlington Towers, Arlington, Va.
Goodell, Charles E., *N. Y.* 3842 Macomb St.
Granahan, Kathryn E. (Mrs.), *Pa.*
Grant, George M., *Ala.* 4801 Conn. Ave.
Gray, Kenneth J., *Ill.*
Green, Edith (Mrs.), *Oreg.*
Green, William J., Jr., *Pa.*
Griffin, Robert P., *Mich.*
Griffiths, Martha W. (Mrs.), *Mich.*
Gross, H. R., *Iowa.*
Gubser, Charles S., *Calif.*
Hagen, Harlan, *Calif.*
Haley, James A., *Fla.*
Hall, David M., *N. C.*
Halleck, Charles A., *Ind.* 4926 Upton St.
Halpern, Seymour, *N. Y.*
Hardy, Porter, Jr., *Va.*
Hargis, Denver D., *Kans.*
Harmon, Randall S., *Ind.*
Harris, Oren, *Ark.* 1627 Myrtle St.
Harrison, Burr P., *Va.*
Hays, Wayne L., *Ohio.* 1323 Barger Drive, Falls Church, Va.
Healey, James C., *N. Y.*
Hébert, F. Edward, *La.* 26 Cockrell St., Alexandria, Va.
Hechler, Ken, *W. Va.*
Hemphill, Robert W., *S. C.*
Henderson, John E., *Ohio*
Herlong, A. S., Jr., *Fla.*
Hess, William E., *Ohio*
Hiestand, Edgar W., *Calif.*
Hoeven, Charles B., *Iowa.* 100 Maryland Ave. NE.
Hoffman, Clare E., *Mich.* 100 Maryland Ave. NE.
Hoffman, Elmer J., *Ill.*
Hogan, Earl, *Ind.* 5211 Flanders Ave., Garrett Pk., Kensington, Md.
Holifield, Chet, *Calif.*
Holland, Elmer J., *Pa.*
Holt, Joe, *Calif.*
Holtzman, Lester, *N. Y.*
Horan, Walt, *Wash.*
Hosmer, Craig, *Calif.*
Huddleston, George, Jr., *Ala.*
Hull, W. R., Jr., *Mo.*
Ikard, Frank, *Tex.*
Inouye, Daniel K., *Hawaii*
Irwin, Donald J., *Conn.* The Coronet
Jackson, Donald L., *Calif.*
Jarman, John, *Okla.*
Jennings, W. Pat, *Va.*
Jensen, Ben F., *Iowa.* 2120 16th St.
Johansen, August E., *Mich.*
Johnson, Byron L., *Colo.*
Johnson, Harold T., *Calif.*
Johnson, Lester R., *Wis.*
Johnson, Thomas F., *Md.*
Jonas, Charles Raper, *N. C.*
Jones, Paul C., *Mo.* 1111 Army Navy Dr., Arlington, Va.
Jones, Robert E., *Ala.*
Judd, Walter H., *Minn.* 3083 Ordway St.
Karsten, Frank M., *Mo.*
Karth, Joseph E., *Minn.*
Kasem, George A., *Calif.*
Kastenmeier, Robert W., *Wis.*
Kearns, Carroll D., *Pa.*
Kee, Elizabeth (Mrs.), *W. Va.* Albemarle House, 4501 Conn. Ave.
Keith, Hastings, *Mass.*
Kelly, Edna F. (Mrs.), *N. Y.*
Keogh, Eugene J., *N. Y.* The Mayflower
Kilburn, Clarence E., *N. Y.*
Kilday, Paul J., *Tex.* 3507 Albemarle St.
Kilgore, Joe M., *Tex.* 4848 Upton St.
King, Cecil R., *Calif.*
King, David S., *Utah*
Kirwan, Michael J., *Ohio*
Kitchin, A. Paul, *N. C.*
Kluczynski, John C., *Ill.*
Knox, Victor A., *Mich.*
Kowalski, Frank, *Conn.*
Kyl, John, *Iowa.*
Lafore, John A., Jr., *Pa.*
Laird, Melvin R., *Wis.*
Landrum, Phil M., *Ga.*

Appendix

The Year in Which We Choose

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. GEORGE P. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to be the guest at a banquet of the American Federation of Government Employees at the Willard Hotel last Saturday evening, January 16, celebrating the 77th anniversary of the Federal civil service system.

The Honorable LYNDON JOHNSON, majority leader of the Senate, was the principal speaker. He delivered a forthright address in which he expressed appreciation for the intelligent, efficient and loyal work of the Government's career employees.

Senator JOHNSON demonstrated an intimate knowledge of our merit system and an appreciation of its good points as well as its shortcomings.

Federal employees and all concerned with preserving and increasing the efficiency of the civil service merit system will be interested in the majority leader's speech which follows:

THE YEAR IN WHICH WE CHOOSE

(Address by Senator LYNDON B. JOHNSON, American Federation of Government Employees, 77th anniversary of civil service, Washington, D.C., January 16, 1960)

It is always pleasant after a busy week to spend Saturday night with good friends. Then you can say the things you have been wanting to say.

I am happy to have this opportunity to visit with you tonight. I am especially happy because this is an appropriate occasion to take stock and to review some of the fundamentals of our Government in the light of the problems of 1960.

We are here to commemorate the anniversary of civil service. For 77 years—nearly half the life of our Republic—it has been the expressed will of our people that their Government should not be operated in the service of partisans. This is the bedrock on which the basic integrity of the National Government has stood and must continue to stand.

And this is the bedrock on which we, as a nation, need to plant our feet firmly in this year of 1960.

TIME FOR PARTISANSHIP

We live in a land in which we have tried to place things in proper categories. We recognize that there is a place for partisanship and a place in which partisanship is not appropriate.

Our political system is based upon partisan divisions—because our people must have a choice in determining the basic policies of our Government. But partisanship running rampant through the operation of our Government would soon lead to the collapse of the Nation itself.

There was a time when our country could afford the spoils system of parceling out Government jobs. Those were simpler times—an age in which the actual operation of Government was largely a matter of routine.

The victors of partisan strife looked upon the Government and its jobs as the proper reward of success. And they also though of the Government as an institution which could be used to perpetuate the power of the victors.

TIME FOR CONTINUITY

The Pendleton Act put an end to that era. It dedicated our country to the proposition that our governmental machinery should be in the hands of public servants who held their jobs because they had demonstrated merit and capacity.

The act also brought into our Government the concept of continuity—that the inauguration of a new administration did not mean the complete dismissal of all of those who possessed the necessary knowledge to keep the day-to-day wheels running smoothly.

No one pretends that civil service has worked perfectly. It has its faults—as does any system devised by the mind of man.

But over the decades, it has built up a core of hard-working, able, competent people without whom this Nation could not stand in the 20th century.

A HIGH STANDARD

It is fashionable in many quarters to deride the civil servant who works for our Government. It is a popular form of public amusement to consider the civil servant a parasite who is living off the hard-won money of the taxpayer and drawing down lush salaries, for little or no work.

I have been connected with the Federal Government in either the legislative or the executive branch for 30 years. In such a vast and complicated establishment, I have, of course, found loafers and incompetents.

But I have found far more dedicated people; hard-working people; far more selfless people. And I think that the standard of performance required by the civil service is fully as great as that required in any field of human endeavor.

It seems to me that those in the Government who are the legitimate subject of partisan activity owe certain obligations to those who are in the civil service.

UPON THE MERITS

A civil servant has relinquished some of the protections which are enjoyed by those who are engaged in private endeavor. The civil servant has tenure; but he does not have—and cannot have—the right to use collective economic force to set the terms and conditions of his employment. For this reason, those who do have the right and authority to set those terms and conditions have an obligation to lean over backward to be fair. Wages, hours, and working conditions cannot be settled at the table of collective bargaining. They can only be settled on the basis of considering legitimate requests upon their merits.

This I believe Congress will do. I think that regardless of the outcome, you will be given a fair shake of the dice.

But I am not here tonight to talk to you about the problems of civil service. There are more appropriate times and places in which, through your able leadership, you can discuss your specific affairs with the Members of Congress who are expert in this field. I do want to talk to you tonight about problems that affect you all as Americans.

YEAR OF DECISION

This year is a year of election in America. There are choices to make and decisions to take.

But what we choose, we do not choose for ourselves alone. With us, on the way that we go—whatever that way may be—will go the hope and faith of free men everywhere and the prospects of generations still unborn.

The responsibility that rests upon America in this young year is awesome. There should be more of us getting down on our knees right now and fewer of us standing on our right to hold the floor.

The office we are to fill in 1960 is the Presidency of the United States. The man we will elect is not going to be god of the universe or a ruler of the world—but he is going to lead our country for 4 years.

The decision we are going to make will be determined along partisan lines. It is right and proper that we should do so.

But it will not be right and not be proper if we permit ourselves to be so divided by partisanship that 1960 will come to an end with our Nation weaker than it was when the year began.

LEGITIMATE ISSUES

There are many legitimate issues to be submitted to—and discussed fully before—the American people. We are entitled to a frank and searching debate upon our national goals.

We must choose between an America that looks with confidence to an ever-expanding future or an America that shrinks into a bygone past.

We must choose between an America that is preeminent or an America that is second best.

We must choose between an America that can lead the world boldly into the age of space or an America that is content to tag along behind another power.

We must choose between an America that has the initiative in world affairs or an America that merely reacts to the moves of others on the international chess board.

We must choose between an America that seeks ever higher standards for its people or an America that believes the best that can be done is to hold that which we already have.

CHOICES WE DO NOT HAVE

In the months that lie ahead it is essential that such issues be fully debated. But it is equally essential that we realize that there are certain choices which we do not have to make.

We do not have to choose between treason and patriotism.

We do not have to choose between bad character and good character.

We do not have to choose between men of ill will and men of good will.

The differences between us are honorable differences of men who disagree over the course that should be followed. They are not the differences between men, some of whom seek to advance and others to subvert our country.

There is ample room for partisanship in discussing the issues of our day. There is no room for partisanship based upon

bigotry—bigotry of race, religion, or section. Against this, we must all be united.

TEST OF MATURITY

And we must also realize that the problems of maintaining our strength and our prosperity will not wait upon the November elections. We cannot ignore the gathering storm while we wait for the verdict from the polls. We are in this year to face with our first real test of the Nation's political maturity in the modern world.

The world—both friend and foe—is watching America this year, looking on it not as spectators, but as judges of the processes by which we set the course to which the hopes of so many others are tied.

If ever there was a need for us to show ourselves responsible in the conduct and in the spirit of our democracy, that time is now, as the world is watching us.

We need more than a great mass of statements. We need more than gimmicks that make headlines. We need more than contrived eloquence.

We need the type of responsibility which can resolve our disagreements without tearing the Nation apart in the course of that resolution.

To this end, the civil service is a hard core of the strength of America. It is the continuous demonstration that our Nation can operate effectively even while we are going through the processes that settle our differences.

This is an anniversary of great significance. And I think that we can draw from it tonight a lesson that our Government is a continuing government which will survive the storm and strife and prove forever that reasonable men can govern themselves.

Address by Hon. Frank Carlson, of Kansas, to National Convention, Association of Wheat Growers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MILTON R. YOUNG

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, one of the most knowledgeable Members of the U.S. Senate in the field of agriculture and agricultural problems, and one of the best friends of the farmers, is the distinguished junior Senator from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON]. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of an excellent address which he delivered on December 10, 1959, before the National Convention of the Association of Wheat Growers, at Wichita, Kans.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE WHEAT PROBLEM IN PERSPECTIVE

(By Senator FRANK CARLSON, National Convention of the National Association of Wheat Growers, Wichita, Kans., December 10, 1959)

It is indeed a pleasure to meet with the National Association of Wheat Growers at their 10th annual convention.

I want to tell you, personally, some of the things I told your officers and the Members of the Senate last February when I introduced Senate bill 1484, authorizing your comprehensive wheat stabilization proposals.

At that time I told your officers that, in my judgment, the wheat stabilization program, which they had developed and which was authorized in Senate bill 1484, was by far the most comprehensive and the most equitable proposal for wheat that had been developed in recent years. It was indeed an honor and a pleasure to introduce and support your wheat stabilization program in the 1st session of the 86th Congress.

I also told the Members of the Senate, at that time, that wheat producers for the past 5 years have recommended giving up the present outmoded program for wheat. I told my fellow Senators that there would be no wheat crisis today if we had had the vision and the wisdom to adopt a domestic parity program for wheat several years ago.

Last year's recordbreaking wheat crop was grown on an acreage 30 percent smaller than in 1949. Wheat yields have moved up from about 14 bushels per harvested acre in the pre-World War II period to 27 bushels in 1958, and 21 bushels in 1959. This is a record achieved by few groups in America. The wheat producers of America are entitled to high honors for this outstanding performance.

The wheat producers of America also are entitled to high honors for the vigorous market development programs which they have under way.

I have been following very closely the work of the Great Plains Wheat Market Development Association under the direction of my longtime friend, Clifford Hope, and I am indeed proud of the progress that has been made in the short time it has been operating.

Surely no one can say that the wheat growers of America are sitting on their hands waiting for the Government to solve their economic and marketing problems.

I am not one of those who considers the current wheat situation our No. 1 farm problem. I rejoice in the great productive capacity of our wheat producers. I consider it a national asset that we can produce more wheat than is needed for domestic food and for export.

All that is really required at this time is a wheat stabilization plan similar to the provisions of Senate bill 1484 which recognizes the high productive capacity of wheat growers in relation to market outlets available and deals with it in a way which is fair and equitable to wheat producers, to domestic consumers, to feed-grain and livestock producers, and to producers in other exporting countries.

THE BROADER SETTING OF THE WHEAT PROBLEM

I could spend all my allotted time relating our experiences in trying to get fair and equitable wheat legislation passed in the 1st session of the 86th Congress. However, I want to take this opportuuity to discuss with you some of the more general problems of agriculture which vitally affect wheat producers. And I want to make a few observations a little later regarding the statesmanship I believe is required on the part of wheat producers and all farm leaders if economic disaster on the farm is to be avoided.

OVERRAPID TECHNICAL ADVANCE

The first broad problem which I want to mention is the overrapid technical advance now going on in agriculture. Farm technological advances are cost-reducing and are largely irreversible. They have made possible our great strides in increased efficiency on the farm. Throughout the last 2 decades output per hour of farm labor has increased at a rate equal to two to three times that of the nonfarm worker.

Largely because of great technical advances in agriculture, food costs have been dropped rapidly in relation to nonfarm workers' earnings. A weekly market basket of food for a family of three, which cost 25 percent of the workers' average weekly earnings in 1958, would have cost 35 percent of their weekly earnings 10 years earlier and 41 precent of their earnings 20 years earlier.

And here is a related item that all too often is overlooked by nonfarm people—although Government costs of farm price support programs are higher than they should be, they equal only 5 percent of the money spent for food at retail. If farm program costs had been added to the cost of food in recent years, workers would have spent only 1 percent more of their weekly earnings for food.

The cost of the weekly market basket of food, plus the current record high farm program costs, take a smaller percentage of the average worker's weekly earnings today than would have been required for the food alone 5 or 10 years ago. These are important facts which must be brought to the attention of nonfarm people over and over again.

But the hard, brutal economic facts for farmers of overrapid technical advance may be summed up in this way:

Where unrestrained competition prevails the rate of increase in farm production is dependent primarily on the year-to-year increase in the use of nonfarm inputs and on the adoption of associated new technologies. These in turn depend on the backlog of cost-reducing nonfarm inputs and technologies available for more general adoption, and the educational, advertising, promotional and credit programs devoted to obtaining their adoption.

Competent agricultural economists tell me that the backlog of cost-reducing technologies, which also are production increasing, are so great at the present time that in the absence of policies for balancing supplies with market outlets available the production of all major farm commodities will continue to expand faster than market outlets for a number of years.

In the absence of Government programs of orderly production and marketing, prices will fall faster that costs can be reduced on both the large and the smaller farms. This too-rapid rate of expanding farm production, in the absence of a realistic general farm program, may well continue, I am told, even though the number of farm-operator families in agriculture drops by one-half or more. There is no assurance that the corrective forces for overrapid technical advance will come into play until much of the agricultural industry has suffered severe financial reverses.

In this connection I call your attention to the often-overlooked importance of the Government farm program in maintaining farm income in recent years. Each year for the past 7 years, $1.5 to $2.5 billion of farm products have been removed from commercial markets by Government loan, storage, and surplus removal operations.

If the supplies diverted to Government storage and disposal, plus the potential supplies held in check by acreage allotments and the soil bank, had been channeled through commercial markets, prices would have been sharply lower than they were. A recent press report indicates that Iowa State University economists conclude that net farm income would have been one-third less for the years 1952–58 in the absence of Government support programs. Another estimate indicates that farm income would have been $4 billion or more lower in most of these years in the absence of existing farm programs.

UNEMPLOYMENT IN AGRICULTURE

Another general problem which I want to talk with you about briefly is the disproportionate burden of unemployment and underemployment which agriculture is forced to carry.

W. E. Hendrix, of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, has been conducting studies of

the low-income farm problem for a number of years. His studies indicate that although the number of low-income farm people has declined in the last decade, on a relative basis, incomes for those remaining in agriculture are lower than 10 years ago.

He finds that monopoly elements in the market structure for manufactured products and for nonfarm labor prevent many, who would like to work at the prevailing wage levels, from obtaining jobs. Only in brief periods of rapid economic growth can all those seeking nonfarm employment find jobs. Since agriculture is a highly competitive industry in a larger world where less than fully competitive markets are widespread, agriculture becomes the escape valve for the bulk of the Nation's underemployment.

In the face of this market structure it is a mistake to put it mildly, to believe that a solution to the current farm problem of overrapid technical advance can be found by withdrawing production controls and lowering price supports in the expectation that sufficient farm people will shift to nonfarm jobs to equalize farm and nonfarm incomes.

CONFLICTS IN BELIEFS AND VALUES

Another general problem facing farmers and farm leaders today is the conflicts in beliefs and value judgments which have come to the fore as farm leaders attempt to formulate realistic policies for an overly dynamic agriculture in our largely industrialized society.

The cultural beliefs and values which we hold today in the rural communities have been transmitted to us from earlier less-industrialized societies The technological revolution sweeping rural America is uprooting these older personal beliefs and values just as ruthlessly as it is uprooting long-established production and marketing practices.

However, personal value judgments and beliefs play a greater role in slowing social and economic change in the rural community than in the urban community, for in the urban community the key decisions are usually taken by a few officers and the corporations. In the rural communities each farm family has an equal voice.

Technical advance poses a dilemma for the conscience of farm people by placing in opposition their desire for equity or economic justice which may involve collective action to achieve orderly production and marketing, and their love of proprietary freedom.

Not all of our premachine age values and judgments must be junked. But our older creeds must be subjected to careful and searching inquiries. To what kind of a life do we aspire in the rural communities in this machine age? To what extent are our older creeds applicable in modern life?

The sharpest value conflicts generated by our highly productive farms and limited markets is a clash between the deep-seated desire for economic justice, and the equally deep-seated desire for proprietary freedom. All of us would prefer more—rather than less—individual freedom in our farming operations. All of us would prefer to do away with price support and production controls if farm prices and farm income would not fall to disastrously low levels.

I am confident that if we will re-examine our premachine cultural and value judgments in the light of the economic facts of the machine age, we can arrive at wider visions as to their essential meanings and we can eliminate many of the conflicts which now prevent community cooperation on a realistic farm program.

THE WHEAT VERSUS THE FEED-GRAIN PROBLEM

With this very brief explanation of some of the more general and deep-seated problems faced by all farmers, I want to turn once again to your primary interest, wheat.

As I said earlier, I do not look upon the wheat problem as the number one farm problem. Wheat has been made a political football—the whipping boy for those who do not know the nature of the farm problem. I recognize, however, that the present wheat program is not adapted to present day conditions. Increases in Government surplus stocks are still continuing and Government costs are far higher than they should be.

I am in favor of moving as rapidly as we can to replace this outmoded program with a comprehensive wheat stabilization plan. But I want to call your attention to the feed-grain problem which makes the wheat problem seem insignificant by comparison.

On September 30, 1959, the Commodity Credit Corporation had 1,200,116,000 bushels of wheat under loan and in inventory. This is a large quantity of wheat. But the Commodity Credit Corporation at that time also had under loan and in inventory 1,921,763,000 bushels of feed grains.

I ask, why have Government stocks of wheat been singled out as the number one farm problem when feed-grain stocks are 50 percent greater than the wheat stocks? I simply cannot understand why wheat has been made the whipping boy when the feed-grain surplus situation, as of today, is far more serious.

A possible explanation might be that improvement is expected in the feed-grain situation in the year ahead. Actually, however, the technical staff in the Department of Agriculture estimates that the carryover stocks of wheat at the end of this season will be increased by 2 to 3 million tons as a result of the 1959 crop being larger than available market outlets, while the carryover stocks of feed grains will be increased by 12 to 13 million tons as a result of the 1959 record feed-grain crops.

Unless there is a change in feed-grain legislation in the next session of Congress there is no doubt in my mind that the 1960 crop of feed grains will again add substantially to Government surplus stocks. As compared with the feed-grain situation, wheat simply is not the problem it is made out to be.

I personally believe that we should pass legislation in the next session of Congress which will deal realistically with both feed grains and wheat. And I believe wheat producers will have to join with the feed-grain producers in the development of a comprehensive program covering both wheat and feed grains if impending economic disaster for both groups is to be avoided.

However, I see little merit in engaging in acrimonious debate in an attempt to modernize the wheat program while ignoring the more serious feed-grain problem.

A MEANS OF IMPROVING FUTURE FARM PROGRAMS

I would like to turn now to a matter which has been on my mind a good deal lately.

In recent months I often have been appalled by the great divergence of opinion among farm leaders regarding the accomplishments of past programs, the nature of the current economic problems facing farmers and the probable economic effects of alternative Government programs. This need not continue. We have a fine, competent technical staff in the Department of Agriculture. We now have the largest staffs on record in the land-grant colleges.

There is no good reason why a larger part of this talent should not be devoted to providing the basic facts needed for a better understanding of farm programs and their accomplishments. In my opinion, if we could more nearly agree on the relevant economic facts we could rather quickly agree on desirable changes in farm price-support legislation.

It has been suggested that perhaps in future general legislation substantial administrative discretion and flexibility should be permitted for meeting the changing problems in a complex industry. The administrative discretion might be subject to periodic review, however, by providing for an annual accounting of the administrator to the farm groups and to Congress. This annual accounting might take the form of a report to farm and trade organizations covering:

1. The price and income goals for the year just closed.
2. The extent to which the goals were achieved and the contribution of the Government programs to the achievements recorded.
3. The cost to the Government of the operating programs.
4. The proposed price and income goals for the year ahead.
5. Proposed changes (within limits of existing legislation) in the operating programs to more fully achieve the goals.

The Federal Extension Service, for the past 34 years, has been holding highly useful annual economic outlook conferences which are attended by agricultural economists from the land-grant colleges and from the allied industries.

Perhaps what we need, to achieve a better understanding and a better administration of farm programs, is a rather formal annual review of farm program accomplishments at a set of meetings comparable with the national economic outlook meetings.

I am told that the British have a formal annual review of their price-support programs each February. This review is preceded by several weeks of meetings and consultations between the technical staffs of the various Government agencies dealing with food and agriculture and the national farm organizations. These meetings and consultations at the technical staff level result in general agreement as to the relevant facts regarding the price-support programs.

This British procedure seems to me to be wholly desirable and a practice which we could well emulate. The occasion of a formal annual review might also be an appropriate time for the Department of Agriculture to receive suggestions from the farm organizations and the trade groups for improvements in the program in the year ahead. The Secretary of Agriculture, of course, would be free to accept or reject such suggestions.

As I see it, however, an annual review procedure along these lines would go a long way toward providing an agreed set of facts, thus eliminating much of the needless controversy which exists today.

It would force the Secretary of Agriculture and his staff to make a realistic appraisal of both his administrative activities and his recommendations for changes.

Finally, I believe it would provide Congress with the necessary facts to more fully evaluate proposals for changes in farm programs.

In closing let me remind you that it was Senator Capper who secured the passage of the Capper-Volstead Cooperative Marketing Act in the early 1920's as a first attack on the problem of orderly marketing of farm products. The first national legislation, having as its objective the stabilization of farm prices, was passed in 1929 with the active support of President Hoover. President Hoover's first Chairman of the Federal Farm Board's Alexander Legge, the former president of the International Harvester Co., conducted a wide-ranging educational program on the need for production controls for the basic commodities, which was an important factor in the later success of the agricultural adjustment programs of the 1930's.

And I am now looking forward hopefully to the not-far-distant future when we can again reach a wide agreement on the facts relating to agriculture. When we do reach such an agreement on the facts, we can again

build an effective program which will prevent further sharp declines in farm income, reverse the current buildup in Government surplus stocks, and reduce Government farm program costs.

Retirement of Hon. Gordon Canfield

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, there are many satisfactions and pleasures to be derived from service in this great body. There are times, however, when we are deeply saddened. Some of these occasions arise when a friend departs from this earthly life. There are other sad occasions when a Member with whom we have been closely associated announces his voluntary retirement.

One of these moments of deep regret occurred recently when I was informed that my good friend, the Honorable GORDON CANFIELD of New Jersey, announced that he would retire at the conclusion of his present term, after a distinguished service of 20 years as a Member of the House.

GORDON CANFIELD entered the House well equipped by experience for the outstanding services he has performed. He had been secretary for 17 years previously to the Honorable George Seger of New Jersey, whom he succeeded in Congress. It was with keen satisfaction that I watched his progress. There has never been a more diligent, more conscientious Member of this body. He was completely dedicated and devoted to the service of his district, the State of New Jersey and the Nation. He worked so arduously and with such disregard of his own welfare that his health suffered. He could stay on and take it easier, but it is not in his character to accept a lighter burden. His sense of responsibility is so deeply rooted within him, he would feel obliged to give his job all the energy he possesses, and this might further endanger his health.

As a member of the Committee on Appropriations, he has rendered outstanding service to the Nation and to the House. To me personally, he has been a very close associate and a most loyal friend. His departure from our ranks will be a great loss to the country, to his constituents and to the House. We will all miss him and none more than I.

That his retirement is genuinely regretted by all is evident from the following editorial published this week by the American Post, the only Jewish news weekly in northern New Jersey:

A GOOD MAN RETIRES

The decision of Congressman GORDON CANFIELD to retire from his official duties was greeted by all his friends with a deep feeling of regret. We can truly understand the sincere motives which prompted him to take the step. Nobody, but one in similar circumstances, can fully realize the strain which comes to a man in public life who is imbued with the noblest sense of civic responsibility, who takes to heart all the problems, either of the myriad of individuals who come to him for help, advice, and guidance, as well as the weighty domestic issues of the Nation, and its relationship vis-a-vis the whole world. There is a valid reason why GORDON CANFIELD is loved by all citizens, regardless of race, color, or creed, or even political persuasion. Because he was prompted not by political or partisan prejudices, but because he represented the true statesman and public servant. Every candidate for office makes a promise to serve the people. But GORDON did not have to make such promises. He showed by deed that he was a genuine humanitarian, and that he could serve his party best by being good to all. He exemplified in creed and deed the highest conception of all faiths, expressed in the Biblical doctrine: "Love thy neighbor as thyself."

We salute GORDON CANFIELD for his unselfish service to his people, and trust ever to cherish his warm friendship. We feel confident that his retirement does not mean complete isolation from the affairs of mankind. While he has earned his Sabbath after 37 years of devoted labors, we feel that his benigh influence will still be felt in service to his fellow man, unhampered by the tedium of official duties. We extend our blessings to him and his beloved family for years of contentment, happiness, and good health.

Freedom of Information

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR.
OF MISSOURI
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. HENNINGS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Joplin (Mo.) Globe published January 12 of this year. The editorial deals with freedom of information and the right of the public to know what its Government is doing.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SUPPORT FREEDOM OF INFORMATION

America's newspapers have made much of late of freedom of information. This subject should be particularly near and dear to Missourians, since a national freedom of information center has been established at our own University of Missouri College of Journalism.

But what does this issue mean to you? Is this a plot to further their own interests, fostered by and for newspapers with profit in mind?

The pressures of modern economic trends have greatly increased costs but few have lost sight of the real reason for their existence—to keep their readers informed.

The people's right to know is the real theme behind freedom of information. It is not profitable in dollars to a newspaper to seek out with every means available all of the information that can be obtained. As a matter of fact, it is often quite expensive. But it stems from a dedication to the purpose of supplying the people with all of the facts, to enable them to make fair and accurate decisions.

Modern bureaucrats in Government feel that their personal rights transcend those of all others. Too many elected officials today yield to the desires of the few—not the majority. During war, rights were yielded for the overall good of the Nation. Censorship, restriction, and preferential treatment were permitted. There are those today who feel these are inalienable rights, but there are no allowances for these in our priceless Bill of Rights.

An informed public is an intelligent public. In all of today's media, none can more completely and intelligently inform the public than the daily newspapers. When your newspapers are denied access to information relative to individuals and departments supported by your taxes, you are denied this information.

You may be a bank president or a ditch digger, but you are "boss" of those who work for public pay. They collect your money. You are stockholder, director, and executive. It is your right to know.

Newspapers are as human as those who man them, and make human mistakes, often. When they err, correct them. As subscribers you have this right. But never let personal differences cloud the issues involved in this great Nation's guaranteed freedom of information.

The Real America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NEWELL A. GEORGE
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, a very interesting editorial appeared on Thursday evening, January 14, in the Lawrence Daily Journal-World. This newspaper is published in Lawrence, Kans., which is also the site of the University of Kansas and the Haskell Institute.

Mr. Dolph Simons, and more recently his son, Dolph, Jr., who is his associate publisher, over the years have supported higher education and contributed materially to the outstanding character of educational institutions in Kansas.

The editorial, Mr. Speaker, which I ask be printed with the extension of my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD shows how very human even newspaper editors can be, and I believe every Member of Congress should have an opportunity to read this splendid article.

AMERICA AT ITS BEST

Where do you go to find the real America?

Actually there is no one place to look because America includes the factories, the farms, skyscrapers, Miami, Fifth Avenue, the desert, and all the other places, large and small, which are components in the greatness and goodness of our country.

But there is a place where America seems near its best; where the genuineness and goodness of people are strikingly apparent, and where men and women appear as average Americans—not as poor or rich, not in obvious racial groups, nor as any special class or group—just normal people.

And where does this picture exist? Strangely, in the church in the small town when neighbors and friends gather for funeral services for a longtime neighbor and friend. Surely there is no place where average people give a better picture of America at its best.

The day started early at the church when members of the women's society and the

building caretaker arrived after quick breakfasts to get the pretty old white church ready for the gathering. The caretaker soon had a hot wood fire going in the pipeless furnace and the ladies divided their attention between dusting the auditorium, and getting the cookstove started in the basement.

The cooking stove is an important part of small town church funerals because a noontime luncheon for the family and visiting relatives is an essential part of the day. Really it isn't a lunch, but instead a sumptuous dinner with both roast beef and baked ham, along with mashed sweet potatoes topped with marshmallows, home processed sweet corn, an old fashioned tart salad in gelatin, homemade hot rolls and delicious cherry pie.

The noonday meal was almost a homecoming; not a gay party, but a welcome reunion of friends who had not seen each other for a long time, in some cases many years.

After the meal the family and all the relatives visited while the church ladies pitched in to wash dishes and get everything in orderly shape before the services began at 1:30.

The church is small with rows of individual theater-type seats facing from two side directions. Everyone sitting in one section can almost look into the faces of those seated on the other side. And what clean and handsome faces. Everyone had on Sunday clothes, although this was only midweek, and there wasn't a soiled spot or a smudgy face in the assembly which filled the little church.

More than half the people were from farms. Wholesomeness was in every face. Tears were not common but each face was serious with reverence and compassion. No one fidgeted and most of the time nearly all the eyes were focused on the minister, a kindly white-haired gentleman, perhaps in his early seventies, who spoke with all the earnestness and sympathy he could offer.

When eyes did wander they saw the wall plaque which said 62 had attended Sunday school and church last Sunday, and 43 were here "This Sunday." The drop in attendance in one week was contrary to the trend in collections; $6.43 last week, and $9.05 this week.

An electric organ, halfway concealed by flowers, gave the services a modern touch and music provided by the kindly appearing lady was suitable for any church—every surging hymn was one you had heard dozens of times before. The young male soloist seemed at a disadvantage by being so close to his audience but he sang with much feeling and not as a professional soloist. At least one of the listeners had the urge to applaud his efforts which were so sincere, if lacking in skill and tone.

The flowers seemed to speak for themselves, somehow saying "We are here as a genuine expression of friendship and sympathy, not simply because sending flowers is the thing to do." And getting pretty floral displays to a funeral in a small town where there is no florist is not the easy thing to do that it is for the city dweller.

The funeral lasted nearly an hour, largely due to the lengthliness of the remarks of the devout and gentle minister. But it didn't seem so long because the man was trying so hard to express his love of God and appreciation of Christian teachings. Calm and gentle and faithful.

Everyone went to the cemetery a mile from town. Graveside services were brief and then came a round of warm handshaking. The family and a few close friends were invited to "stop by" at one of the neighbors before starting the drive back to the city. The neighbor lady had hot coffee, homemade cookies, and sugared rolls, which tasted good after the chill of the wind at the cemetery. She was a friend, a true friend.

Driving away from the little town most anyone would agree that people of small communities perhaps are more average Americans than city groups, and that attendance at a small town funeral where an old respected citizen is given final tribute is a place to come close to finding the real thing in American life.

Lyndon and the Liberals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM PROXMIRE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, Robert Novak, of the Wall Street Journal, is one of the most perceptive and shrewd reporters in the Capital. In this morning's Wall Street Journal appears an analysis by Mr. Novak of the recent policy and conference discussions among Democratic Senators. Without agreeing with everything Mr. Novak reports, I offer this analysis to my colleagues as an unusually discerning evaluation.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this article by Mr. Novak be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, as follows:

LYNDON AND LIBERALS—SENATOR JOHNSON'S VICTORY OVER INSURGENT DEMOCRATS MAY ACTUALLY BOOST THEIR POWER

(By Robert D. Novak)

WASHINGTON.—The fires of liberal rebellion against Senate Democratic Leader JOHNSON seems to have subsided, apparently extinguished by the tactician from Texas. Mr. JOHNSON survived the insurrection of the outnumbered liberals simply by agreeing to hold a series of caucuses, where he can find the votes to beat them any time he wants to.

But is Mr. JOHNSON so firmly in command as it might seem?

Actually, the tiny band of uncompromising liberals—so accustomed to defeat in behind-the-scenes power fights—may be winning this time. For their goal is not anything as dramatic as the ouster of Mr. JOHNSON or any kind of open victory over him. Instead, they are trying to mobilize the Senate's big Democratic majority behind New Deal programs. And since they don't want this mobilization tempered by a Johnsonian tendency to meet the Eisenhower administration halfway, most of the liberals are convinced that Mr. JOHNSON's wings must be clipped.

The core of the liberal's problem in the Senate, however, is not Mr. JOHNSON but something much more basic: Their lack of numbers. They come from the populous Midwestern and Eastern States which control the nomination at national conventions but are outvoted by the West and South in the Senate, where each State has two votes and only two votes no matter how populous it mey be. Then there is the matter of Senate seniority. It has placed southern conservatives, hostile to liberal programs, in command of Senate committees handling key domestic legislation—finance, banking, judiciary.

These basic weaknesses of the Senate liberals have been all the more troublesome for the past 7 years because of the absence of a liberal Democratic President who could crack the whip of party discipline on Capitol Hill. Certainly, the New Dealing Advisory Council of the National Democratic Committee has been an inadequate stand-in for a National party leader. That's where Mr. JOHNSON comes in, rushing to fill the power gap. And as far as most liberals are concerned, he has practiced too much moderation and not enough militancy in exercising full suzerainty over the Senate.

GUERRILLA TACTICS

Obviously, the minority status of the Senate rebels bars direct action in the style of the purge of Southern conservative committee chairmen by Democratic progressives during the first Wilson administration almost 50 years ago. That's why their revolt more resembles a legalistic guerrilla war than open parliamentary combat. And in their drive to push Mr. JOHNSON to the left and curb his freedom of action at the same time, their most effective weapon promises to be the long-neglected Democratic caucus.

A caucus yesterday on Federal aid to education showed that the liberal strategy seemed to be working. Not only was there no talk of watering down a Federal school construction bill, but the caucus generated support for adding aid for teachers' salaries. What's more, Mr. JOHNSON appeared on the verge of backing the broadening of the measure.

Senate veterans scoff at the idea that a caucus of quarreling Democrats ever could displace the mysterious operations of the inner circle headed by Mr. JOHNSON—operations that probably are half fact, half myth—in determining the way of the Senate. But to appreciate the importance of Mr. JOHNSON's agreement for caucuses, take a look at last year's fight over housing legislation—as it was without caucuses, as it might have been with them.

As it was, Mr. JOHNSON kept whittling away at the scope of the housing bill in an effort to reach some compromise with the administration. Moreover, he hurried through the Senate an administration-sought increase in the maximum interest rate on veterans housing as a separate bill; liberals had wanted to keep this proposal in a catchall housing bill as a bargaining point to try to stave off a veto. If the liberals had been able to press their demands in caucus, Mr. JOHNSON might have been less free to urge compromise. If strategy had been hashed over in caucus, he could not have surprised the liberals by suddenly bringing up the veterans housing measure—at least, not without being vulnerable to charges of bad faith.

But since Mr. JOHNSON still commands the loyalty of a vast majority of Senate Democrats and can overwhelm the liberals in just about any clear-cut voting test in caucus, why should the prospect of caucuses make the liberals smack their lips in anticipation? The answers lie within Senator JOHNSON himself, his personality, and his ambitions.

For a shrewd parliamentary manipulator who has spent most of his adult life in politics, Mr. JOHNSON is extraordinarily sensitive to criticism—particularly criticism from his colleagues. This sensitivity has been all the more acute since Mr. JOHNSON last year set his sights on the presidential nomination. Consequently, he will think twice before going to the mat in caucus with outvoted but vocal liberals.

Furthermore, the liberals believe that Mr. JOHNSON's aid, however grudgingly given, is all that is needed to transfer Senate Democrats into a more militant band. For the Senate insurgents do not face the seemingly insurmountable obstacles that are plaguing a newly organized band of House Democratic liberals. Southern conservative influence and the effectiveness of the GOP-Dixiecrat coalition are far more pronounced in the

House than in the Senate, and the Senate has no counterpart of the House Rules Committee to block all manner of liberal bills.

And despite all their talk of militancy, the Senate liberals are not aiming at any brave new world. For example, the list of subjects to be aired in caucus will not include the civil rights question, a bitterly divisive one for the Democratic Party. The liberals will be quite content if the Senate builds a record on issues that have been kicking around for some time—enactment of Federal aid to education, broader coverage for the minimum wage, defeat of the administration's effort to lift the interest ceiling from Government bonds. They realize that a broader, more exciting program would need the help of a Democratic President. Anyway, many admit privately that the Democratic Party just isn't coming up with new and startling ideas.

IMPERSONAL ISSUES

To achieve their limited goals, liberal ringleaders believe they must confine their rebellion to impersonal issues and avoid personal challenges to Mr. JOHNSON. That's why they view as a tactical error the effort by Tennessee's Senator GORE to strip from the Senate leader the power to appoint members of the Senate Democratic policy committee, a group of minimal influence in any event. The Gore resolution produced in caucus what amounted to a victory for Mr. JOHNSON. The result: Mr. JOHNSON won by a 51 to 12 vote.

Accordingly, the liberals are reticent, even in private, to concede the anti-Johnson nature of their campaign; they claim publicly they are motivated by a desire for better Democratic procedures, not dissatisfaction with Mr. JOHNSON. But one liberal candidly describes the insurgent aim this way: "We want to put irresistible pressure on LYNDON in caucus, to make it so uncomfortable for him that he has to go our way."

Moreover, something of their true feelings about the Johnson regime slipped out during the heat of Senate floor debate when Senator GORE declared: "As a result of the constant compromise with principle, we ended the session (last year) in virtual rout on economic issues." Mr. GORE quickly recovered, however, to praise Mr. JOHNSON as the "ablest Democratic leader that has served in the Senate in my lifetime."

Ironically, Mr. JOHNSON appeared ready this year to assume a more militantly liberal stand on his own initiative. For one thing, his advisors contend that such a leftward drift is needed to build his Presidential backing in the North.

CHOPPING AWAY

But even if the liberals were convinced that Mr. JOHNSON would move to the left without being pushed, they would rather push him there—and diminish his power in the process. Liberal Senators don't like the prospect of a liberal Democratic President—if one is elected—dealing with Mr. JOHNSON next year on something like equal terms. Thus, they would like to establish a precedent of caucus rule that could be used to implement the recommendations of a Democratic President.

Although the liberals probably didn't plan it that way, the immediate political impact of their revolt has been to chop away at Mr. JOHNSON'S stature as a possible Democratic Presidential darkhorse choice. Mr. JOHNSON'S drumbeaters have been arguing that he is no Dixiecrat, that he has closer ties to the New Deal than any other Democratic hopeful. Furthermore, they have pointed to his skill in leading the prima donnas of the Senate without serious rebellion. The image of Mr. JOHNSON tussling with liberal leaders damages even if it doesn't destroy both these argumepts, no matter how many times he may win by 51 to 12 votes.

Mr. JOHNSON'S Presidential rivals in the Senate have been discreet enough to stay away from the heart of the battle. True, Minnesota's Senator HUMPHREY has associated himself with the insurgents but has kept at arm's length from the center of the fight; Senators SYMINGTON of Missouri and KENNEDY of Massachusetts have ignored it.

But if any of them consider Mr. JOHNSON a serious potential rival, they couldn't really be blamed if they are grinning about the current course of events in the Senate.

The Late Honorable Albert Joseph Engel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, one of the very stimulating experiences of my congressional years was my contact with Albert Engel who represented Michigan's Ninth District for many years. His energy always seemed inexhaustible, and no matter how great the frustrations he had to meet, he was never disheartened. Leaving Ohio where he was born, he served Michigan in her senate with a deep loyalty. Here in the House he spent himself overgenerously in an effort to gather the truth and use it to reduce extravagance and waste. One could not but respect and admire Albert Engel for what he stood for and for what he was.

[From the New York Times, Dec. 4, 1959]

ALBERT J. ENGEL, LEGISLATOR, DIES—FORMER U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM MICHIGAN INVESTIGATED EXCESSIVE EXPENDITURES

GRAND RAPIDS, MICH., December 3.—Former Representative Albert Joseph Engel, Republican of Michigan, died today at Butterworth Hospital of complications to injuries he suffered September 30 in a traffic accident. He was 71 years old.

Surviving are his widow, Bertha; a son, Albert, Jr.; two daughters, Mrs. Robert Cavanagh of Dayton, Ohio, and Mrs. James Strahle of South Bend, Ind.; a sister, Mrs. Harold Aylor of Bay Village, Ohio, and eight grandchildren.

FOE OF BIG SPENDING

Representative Engel made a reputation throughout his legislative career as a dynamic, one-man investigating force of excessive Government expenditures. He was never at a loss for such scandals to expose.

His most famous exploit was his lone tour of 48 war plants in 44 days in January and February of 1943. He drove his own car throughout the Midwest staying overnight in cheap tourist homes and descending unannounced on war plants during the day.

Afterward, Mr. Engel reported to Congress his shock at corporations earning 1,700 percent of their investment, stockholders gaining up to 5,300 percent, unskilled workers earning more than two-star generals, and dishwashers getting $250 a month plus maintenance.

The remedies he demanded were: better recapture by the Government of excess profits on war work and lower ceilings on wages.

During that tour Mr. Engel had a serious accident when a railroad train hit his car near Akron, Ohio. The Representative had 22 stitches taken in his head, but resumed his tour in a rented car in 3½ hours.

Earlier, during his 10 years as chairman of the military expenditures subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, Mr. Engel made a tour alone of new Army camps in the East in 1940 and 1941. He charged that of $800 million to build these camps, $250 million had been wasted.

MADE PENTAGON CHARGE

In 1944, Mr. Engel charged that the War Department had spent $86 million to build the Pentagon, whereas Congress had set a limit of $35 million upon that building.

He was interested not only in saving money but also in spending it efficiently. Thus, in 1939, during the defense buildup for World War II, Representative Engel was responsible for lowering the cost of producing the Springfield .03 rifle, of adopting the Garand rifle as the new basic weapon, of scrapping the 75-millimeter field cannon for the more powerful 105-millimeter.

Mr. Engel was born in New Washington, Ohio, on January 1, 1888. His parents were Alsatians who emigrated to Ohio during the Franco-Prussian War. From his father, a schoolteacher and musician, the youth learned French and German, as well as the piano.

Despite this cultural background, he left school after the eighth grade for work in the logging camps of Michigan. While working in Chicago as a youth, he completed high school at night; then he went through Northwestern University Law School in 3 years.

From 1910 to 1916, Mr. Engel practiced law in Michigan. He was selected prosecutor of Missaukee County in 1916, his first public office.

ON PERSHING'S STAFF

His term was interrupted, however, by service in World War I. He served as a linguist on General of the Armies John J. Pershing's staff in France and Germany, leaving after the armistice as a captain.

During his first term in the Michigan State Senate, beginning in 1921, Mr. Engel exposed financial scandals in State prison administration. He was twice defeated for Congress before winning election in 1934.

Although a Republican, Representative Engel often showed independence from his party. In 1936 he defeated an effort by Republicans to blame the Democratic administration for failure to evacuate hurricane victims from the Florida keys.

Always economy minded, Mr. Engel opposed the Townsend old-age pension plan in 1936. He fought against big arms appropriations after World War II. He was no stooge for big capital, however, and led the successful fight against the Republican 20-percent tax cut in 1947. He charged the measure was a "rich man's bill" and unfair to small wage earners.

After eight terms, Mr. Engel left Congress to seek the Republican nomination for Governor of Michigan. Never an organization stalwart, he ran a poor third in the primary of 1950.

Mr. Engel was a short, stout man, 5 feet 7 inches and 235 pounds, and had prodigious energy. While on the road during his many long tours of investigation, he was able to drive and work long days with little sleep, eating sandwiches in his car. At home, he lived modestly.

[From the Washington Evening Star, Dec. 3, 1959]

ALBERT J. ENGEL DIES, SERVED EIGHT HOUSE TERMS

Former Representative Albert J. Engel, Republican, of Michigan, who vigorously fought waste in Government spending, died today in Grand Rapids, Mich., at the age of 73.

For 10 years he was a member and later chairman of the House Armed Services Appropriation Subcommittee. He achieved a

reputation as a vigilant watchdog over military expenditures.

He made a one-man tour of military bases during World War II, seeking to locate waste and extravagance. But he also fought needless expenditures in all branches of Government.

In 1935, Mr. Engel was elected a Representative from Michigan's Ninth District. He served eight terms, retiring in 1950 to seek the Republican nomination for Governor of Michigan. But he was defeated in the nomination race by former Gov. Harry Kelly.

In recent years, Mr. Engel had devoted his attention to operating a 1,400-acre tree plantation near his Lake City home in western Michigan.

NATIVE OF OHIO

A native of Ohio, Mr. Engel was elected to his first public office in Michigan as Missaukee County prosecutor in 1916. He was elected in 1921 to the State senate and served three other terms, beginning in 1927.

In 1950, Mr. Engel revolted against the actions of Representative CANNON, chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, who rushed through $27,266 million in administration spending plans after 152 minutes of consideration. Mr. Engel claimed this was spending $3 million per second.

During World War II Mr. Engel contended that workers in war plants in some instances received pay about equaling that of the highest officers of the Army.

HIT HIGH WAGES

In 1940 Mr. Engel blamed the Davis-Bacon Act and the Labor Department's rulings under it for "outrageous wages" received by structural steel workers who erected temporary supports for the age-weakened roofs over the Senate and House Chambers. He also fought District or Federal Government employees holding jobs on outside work when on annual leave or during their off hours.

For a time, he was a member of the District Subcommittee on Appropriations of the House and took a deep interest in District affairs. He felt this job took time away from his constituents, yet he was an active proponent of an equitable Federal payment toward running the Capital.

He knew the value of a dollar, for he had been a roustabout in a Michigan logging camp, and once in Chicago had no job and only $1.50, of which 50 cents was in each of three pockets so he could not lose it all at once. Even when a Representative, on his one-man investigations, he could do with a 25-cent breakfast, drove his own car, and carried a notebook and a 28-year-old camera, gathering facts about waste.

Mr. Engel's efforts caused a shakeup in the Army's contract-award system and personnel and enforced remedial measures.

Farm Writer French Retires After 34 Years on Journal Staff

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, all of us recognize the power of the press for informing and influencing public thinking.

Particularly, in a free country, the press, as well as other forms of mass media, has a great responsibility for providing information to maintain a well-informed citizenry, upon which depends the future of freedom.

In the newspaper, as in other fields, the history of progress is really the story of the contribution of talented, dedicated individuals to their vocation; of unstinting devotion to high principles; of pursual of their ideals; of relentless efforts to do a good job.

Today, I would like to pay tribute to one such individual, Lewis C. French, of the staff of the Milwaukee Journal, one of the great newspapers in the country.

For 34 years, Lew French has covered thousands of stories in a wide variety of fields. From readers of the Journal—and particularly from representatives of these fields—Lew has received the kind of respect that goes with a job well done.

Especially in agriculture, the analytical insight and outstanding reporting of the pen of Lew French has made a real contribution.

Now, Lew is retiring from the staff of the Journal. With him go the warm feelings of affection, high regard, and best wishes, not only of his associates on the Journal staff but also of the thousands of readers who have benefited from his writings over the years.

Exemplary of the splendid contribution which one individual has made to the newspaper profession—a fundamental institution in American life—I ask unanimous consent to have an article entitled "Farm Writer French Retires After 34 Years on Journal Staff" printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FARM WRITER FRENCH RETIRES AFTER 34 YEARS ON JOURNAL STAFF—COVERED BIG STORIES, BUT LIKES TO RECALL ARTICLES THAT HAD A HUMAN TOUCH

Lewis C. French of the Journal staff, a farm boy who became one of the Nation's outstanding writers on agriculture and conservation, retired Saturday.

In 34 years of reporting for the Journal, French covered thousands of stories ranging from vice investigations to the campaign to rid Wisconsin rivers of pollution. He was honpred a dozen times by organizations, including the University of Wisconsin regents and the American Association for State and Local History.

He had his own formula for reporting in competition: "Figure out how a cub would go after the story, then don't do it, and the chances are you'll come up with something the competition wouldn't find."

A REAL FRIEND

The success of this formula—plus French's bulldog tenacity in pursuit of a story and reputation for utter integrity,—was reflected in the tributes paid him.

"We recognize him as a real friend, although he doesn't agree with us always and stands his ground," the Farm Bureau said in 1954 when it awarded him a plaque for service to agriculture. "His reporting is always honest, accurate, fresh, and colorful."

French, now 66, came to the Journal on New Year's Day in 1926 as a member of the business news desk and became financial editor before switching to general reporting with emphasis on farm news in 1934. He served 1 year at the Journal's New York bureau.

PLAYED FOOTBALL

Before coming to Milwaukee he had been a football star at Janesville High School, a top sergeant in the artillery in World War I, a supervisor in the parts and service department of General Motors Corp. at Janesville, and a reporter for the Janesville Gazette and the Duluth (Minn.) News Tribune.

French covered some of the most important stories of his time—the stock market crash of 1929, the bank holiday of 1933, the end of prohibition, the development of the soil bank and the postwar crop surpluses—but it is indicative of his character that these are not the stories he recalls most fondly.

In a reminiscing mood he prefers to talk about the time the people of Prentice turned out to honor their doctor. "You should have seen the expression on those faces." Or the pastor at Fort Atkinson who never lost his faith and never stopped preaching although he knew he had an incurable disease. "I rewrote that story three times to get some of the tears out."

He likes also to talk about the men, many of them from the University of Wisconsin, who have waged unselfish battles to improve the life of people in rural areas and to conserve the natural resources and beauty of Wisconsin.

"I like agriculture—it's so clean," French said, "and these men are the greatest in the world."

French was born February 11, 1893, on the family farm between Napersville and Warrenville in Illinois. His father later moved to a farm at Belvidere, Ill., and finally went into the livery stable business at Janesville.

Of his high school football days at Janesville, Fullback French recalls proudly that his team beat Beloit and that he was priviledged to play with Hercules Edler, who became a UW gridiron star.

BOY, WAS HE FAST

"I was supposed to block for Hercules," French said with a smile, "but my main job was keeping out of his way. Boy, was he fast."

In connection with his athletic activity, French started writing about high school sports for the Janesville Gazette and this was the start of his career in journalism. After graduation he went to work on the Gazette sports staff.

Attracted by the boom town atmosphere of the Minnesota iron ranges, he went to work for the Duluth News Tribune shortly before the United States entered World War I. He served as a correspondent at Virginia and Hibbing.

ENLISTED IN ARTILLERY

When the United States did enter the war, French enlisted in the artillery. He was trained in the San Francisco area and rose to the rank of sergeant before being shipped overseas to France. In the fighting in France he became first sergeant in charge of his artillery unit, and he lost part of his hearing.

After the war he returned to Janesville, where his widowed mother was living. Largely because he was partly deaf, he left newspaper work to find employment with General Motors.

Operations restored his hearing and he headed back to journalism with an idea. He sold Harry H. Bliss, owner of the Gazette, on making agriculture a regular newspaper beat. French believed that in the Janesville area, and everywhere else for that mat-

ter, the farmer was being neglected as a source of news and features.

BANKERS WERE REPAID

He believed that a newspaper could do much to help farming by carrying articles on what individuals, farm experts, and organizations were doing to improve agriculture.

French became one of the first farm editors, putting out a weekly farm page that he believes was the first regularly scheduled page of its kind to appear in a newspaper.

Carrying out his philosophy of aiding the farmer, he borrowed money from banks to take 18 carloads of Rock County cattle on a tour of show rings. The promotion idea worked—Rock County gained a national reputation for livestock and the prizes that they won enabled French to pay back the bankers.

"They got back every cent," he said, "and were they ever surprised."

SPECIAL ATTENTION TO YOUTH

When his mother died, in 1925, French left Janesville and went to work for the Milwaukee Journal. On the Journal he received his greatest recognition for articles on agriculture and conservation.

In these articles he carried out the Journal's long-standing policy of opposing practices that were damaging natural resources and of encouraging campaigns such as those to rid cattle of disease, to clean up rivers, to reforest the cutover areas, to improve conditions on farms.

JUST ONE THING TO DO

And through it all he paid special attention to rural youth projects, assisting 4–H members and Future Farmers of America.

"They are the farmers of tomorrow," he would remind anyone who challenged the importance of youth activities.

In 1937, French's story about the national corn-husking contest was reprinted in a journalism textbook as an example of outstanding feature writing. The dean of the University of Iowa journalism school asked French to comment on how he had handled the story.

"As with other news and feature stories, there was just one thing to do about it," French replied, "just write what you saw and heard."

The first annual award of the Epsilon Sigma Phi, a fraternity for agricultural extension workers, was given to French in 1947 for outstanding contributions to Wisconsin agriculture.

In 1950 French was given an honorary Wisconsin farmer degree at the State convention of the Future Farmers of America, and in 1952 the Racine chapter made him an honorary member for his interesting and informative articles.

RECEIVED AWARD OF MERIT

The American Association for State and Local History lauded the Journal in 1953 for important contributions to the agricultural history of the State represented in the reporting of Lewis French over many years.

The award of merit of the National Association of Conservation Education and Publicity was given to French in 1953.

Flood Control

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. LEVERING
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. LEVERING. Mr. Speaker, 1 year ago today the district which it is my honor to serve in Congress, the 17th of Ohio, was hit by one of the biggest, if not the biggest, floods in its history. I made a hurried flight from Washington to render whatever aid I could to the thousands of men, women, and children literally driven from their homes into the bitter cold by waters on a rampage from the swollen streams. Other parts of Ohio and adjoining States also experienced untold human suffering and material damage from this catastrophe. The American Red Cross reported that a total of $2,424,485.95 in disaster relief alone was spent in the area during the January–February period. Of course, this was only a drop in the bucket compared to the grand total representing lost furniture, fixtures, machinery and equipment, grain, livestock, water systems, roads, dikes, and, in some instances entire homes.

This was indeed a sad story but the greatest tragedy of all lies in the fact that it could have been averted by sensible flood prevention measures.

We are all aware, of course, Mr. Speaker, that flood control is expensive but we also know that floods are infinitely more costly.

I have been charged, on occasion, by those who oppose progress as a spender because of my efforts on behalf of programs for the preservation of the things we hold dear in this Nation. I want to make it clear, Mr. Speaker, that although I am by nature tight with the dollar I have no hesitancy in fighting for programs that insure the future of our people, even if it means I will be labeled a spender for doing so. Of course, no one should tolerate waste or extravagance in any program, even a good one. It seems to me that the real question is how and for what we spend our money that really counts. If the balance sheet of our Government indicates that what we appropriate for builds up the asset side of the ledger in the way of greater security for our people in the form of manageable rivers and streams and in other things we are trying to do, then I think we are on sound ground. It is when our liabilities are allowed to exceed our assets on the books that we find ourselves in trouble.

This is why, Mr. Speaker, I have been working tirelessly since taking office a year ago to procure for my district flood control assistance from our Government wherever needed. I am delighted to report that we have had the utmost supports of the U.S. Corps of Army Engineers and the Department of Defense at all times.

Upon our request, the engineers promptly rebuilt the dike at Mount Vernon, Ohio, which had given way to the raging waters of the Kokosing River a year ago. Swift action here prevented on February 10, 1959, a repetition of what happened only a few days earlier on January 21. The corps also responded to the call for help on Dry Creek. Then, too, Federal assistance in the way of funds was extended to Mount Vernon, Newark, and other areas to relieve the costs of rebuilding public facilities on the long road back.

BLACK FORK CHANNEL IMPROVEMENT PROJECT

I am glad to report that at long last the Congress last session approved funds for the completion of the Black Fork channel improvement project below Charles Mill Dam in Richland and Ashland Counties. This achievement in my mind is a real tribute to the hundreds of people who assisted me in many ways with evidence of need as we appeared before the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. Speaker, I, and the good people I represent in the 17th Ohio District, are indeed grateful to the House Committee on Public Works which last year approved my request for flood control studies by the Army Engineers on the Licking River system in Licking County, Ohio; on the Clear Fork and Rocky Fork Creek, in Richland County, Ohio; on the extended study of the Kokosing River Basin, Knox County, Ohio; and on Killbuck Creek, in Holmes County, Ohio.

I trust that I will have the continued assistance of all those back home who have heretofore held up my hands in my efforts for flood-control projects and that I can depend on the same sympathetic understanding and support which I have received from my colleagues in the Congress.

Objectionable Practices of Chicago Board of Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MILTON R. YOUNG
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, I have been deeply concerned over the practices carried on by the Chicago Board of Trade. Their policies have usually been selfish and shortsighted, especially under their present leadership.

The August 1, 1959, edition of the Prairie Farmer, one of the more reputable farm publications, contains an excellent article on this subject. It gets right to the heart of the practices carried on by the Chicago Board of Trade.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Prairie Farmer, Aug. 1, 1959]

SAYS FARMERS SHOULD SIT ON BOARD OF TRADE DIRECTORATE

A prominent grain trader has sharply reprimanded the Chicago Board of Trade and has asked that farmers be put on its board of directors.

Daniel F. Rice & Co., a member of the Chicago Board of Trade, charged that the board is dominated by warehousemen and is no longer properly performing its duties to the farmers and the public. The whole of the exchange, Rice charged, is run in the short-term self-interest of the deliverers of adulterated grain.

REVAMP CONSTITUTION

He urged that an investigation be made of Chicago Board of Trade practices and that its constitution be revamped to require representation for town members and farmers.

Rice & Co. said the Chicago Board of Trade is a public institution. It should be run in the interest of the public. It is engaged in the business of marketing farmers' grain. It should be run in the interest of farmers.

Existing contract terms and freight rates are hammering the price of grain down, costing farmers hundreds of millions of dollars every year.

Until the advent of the Government's support program, many of the grain warehouses were in dire straits. In the past 20 years, sustained and nourished by the dole of Government grain warehousing income, the warehouses now present themselves in arrogance as the powers of the marketplace.

There is a place and function for warehousemen in the grain trade, and certainly in the Chicago market, but it would be well for them to remember, and for the market to note it, that they are only part of the total marketing scheme, not the entire marketplace.

Not so the contracts that are sold on the Chicago Board of Trade. They are totally unrealistic. The contracts traded on this exchange are loaded so that delivery cannot be taken, the grain ordered out cannot be sold at a price equal to the current delivery price. Warehouse grain taken on delivery and sold on the spot market just across the room from the pit sells at fantastic discounts under No. 2 cash grain being sold on spot.

To prove our point, even at considerable expense to ourselves and knowing full well the beating that we would take, we took delivery on some soybeans and wheat, and offered a car of each for sale on the spot market.

The soybeans were No. 2 Yellow, 56½ pound, 12.5 moisture, origin Indiana, with 20½-cents freight paid in. They were loaded out of an off-water house. Three major buyers would not bid. A fourth bid July price delivered at its elevator. The cost of taking the soybeans across town was 4.8 cents per bushel, the loading out charge 2¼ cents, and inspection ⅛ cent. To arrive bids were four over July for I.P. billing. The discount on the delivery soybeans was thus 11¼ cents.

The wheat was No. 2 Red, 59.3 pound, 13.5 moisture. Four major buyers were not interested. A fifth bid 2 over even rate billing delivered to their elevator. Crosstown switch was 4.8 cents, loading out 2¼ cents, and inspection ⅛ cent. Bids on the floor were 2 to 4 over with no switch charge. The discount on the wheat was thus 5¼ cents. This is at the peak of harvest.

Now why is this? There are three ways that these contracts are loaded to give an unreasonable advantage to warehouses.

First, the admixture and adulteration of grain is permitted and encouraged. Warehousemen are encouraged to sort over their grain and deliver the worst possible combination that will skin through and make grade. The discounts on the delivery of noncontract quality are set so small that all of the trash can be cleaned out of elevators.

BAD LOCATION

Second, the rules of the exchange delivery in unmerchantable locations. Delivery in off-water houses is permitted. At one time it was agreed that as much regular space as possible was needed. With all of the new space there is in Chicago, this argument no longer has one iota of validity. The rule says that grain delivered in off-water houses has to be moved to water if an export sale against the delivery can be proved. This is a ridiculous and unreasonable rule to impose on speculators or merchandisers. Also, anyone taking delivery in an off-water house will have high insurance, high tariff, and high interest to pay.

Third, the cost of getting grain out of a delivery elevator and switching it across town is ridiculously and outrageously high. We have spoken of this subject repeatedly. There is no surer way to kill the Chicago market than to allow this rate to persist.

Acceptance Speech by George Romney, President of American Motors and Vermilye Medalist of the Franklin Institute

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following acceptance address by Mr. George Romney, president of American Motors, which was made when he received the distinguished Vermilye Medal award from the Franklin Institute on November 18, 1959:

Thank you very much. I am humbly grateful for this distinguished award. Few men are so honored without protesting their lack of adequate merit. But protests themselves can be immodest—if we believe, as I do, that this kind of generous recognition is intended to go beyond individuals, reaching through them to honor high principles. So, with my sincere appreciation, permit me to join you tonight in honoring the great purposes of this institution.

I hope you will consider it consistent with these purposes for me to speak earnestly on a truth that I believe has a profound bearing on the future of this Nation and of the world.

Someone is usually heard proclaiming impending disaster. This is not my intent. On the contrary, I am caught in a sense of excitement over what our achievements so far promise for tomorrow, and how near we may be to the breakthrough in human affairs for which I believe this Nation was divinely created.

But first, we have some impediments that need clearing away. Our central target today, in my view, should be the excessive power that is growing like great clots in the Nation's arteries.

For our heritage, we are strangely blase about excessive power.

When our Constitution was being drafted here, the framers seemed as sensitive to freedom, and its antithesis—power—as if each had just made an escape from bondage. You cannot read the accounts of that momentous spring and summer here without feeling that the air was charged with the ardor of liberty. And you cannot consider liberty without considering power.

No matter where you place your finger on the debates—whether the relative power of the States versus the Federal Government; the large States versus the small States; southern slavery or northern commerce; suffrage for freeholders only; the Senate's power versus the House's power; the Executive's power, the Supreme Court's power; aristocracy versus democracy, no matter where you listen in on the arguments (with Dr. Franklin striving throughout, counseling and seeking unanimity), the balancing and dispersion of power are at the core.

In his fascinating new book, "Advise and Consent," Allen Drury, the author, has Bob Munson, the Senate leader, say this:

"The whole story of the operation of the American Government is the story of the deliberate diffusion of power; the whole story of the life of the American Government is the story between the deliberate diffusion of power, which in and of itself is perhaps the most brilliant device for the protection of liberty ever conceived by freemen, and the deliberate concentration of power which freemen have often deemed necessary to preserve liberty. If either diffusion or concentration were to win the battle once and for all, then I think freedom would finally be gone, and the great dream of liberty within discipline which is America would be gone forever."

We face the early prospect of concentration winning once and for all, and seem little concerned.

How is it that our forbears were so sensitive to power, and we have grown so forgetful?

Here are some of the reasons:

1. The material abundance produced by freedom has caused us to confuse bigness and power. Bigness and its benefits are cited as justification of what has become excess power.

2. There is the theory of countervailing power, one big power group offsetting another. This balance of power theory has always failed, and the balancing of excess industry power with excess union power is now threatening us with permanent concentration of excess Government power.

3. The complexity and magnitude of our present problems create individual confusion, uncertainty, and irresponsibility. Because all progress starts with the capacity of individuals, this must be corrected through citizens informing themselxves and exercising their responsibilities, or concentration will win by default.

4. Indifference and apathy resulting from our extraordinary abundance and superficial security. Most civilizations have expired on the bed of luxury. America has the opportunity to create a great new age by resisting this historical temptation.

Is anything plainer in history than the fact that concentrated power, whether it is countervailing or not, always finds its final expression in domination?

We are face to face with the dangers of such domination.

Excessive power of industry required reforms that reduced that power and opened the door to greater power for unions. Our laws became two-faced, banning monopoly power in the marketplace, but inducing it in collective bargaining. The steel strike is a forceful illustration of the result. The powerful unions banded together. The steel industry massed itself. And there they stood, two massive antagonists, both far greater in their strength than some foes whose struggles changed the course of civilization.

A point and a question are clear today.

First, the question: Must we wait for a whole series of national emergencies such as the steel strike to throttle us before acting—isn't it far wiser to tackle the causes of the national steel emergency before others arise?

The discouraging thing is that no one of consequence in national political leadership is discussing how we prevent such national emergencies, but only what do we do when one occurs?

The point: Power begets power. If it breeds excessively in one place, it encourages

it—even demands it—in another. Labor and industry strive to outdo each other in their strength, and their impasse can only result in the necessity for still greater power power in a third quarter—in government.

Let me discuss these three power areas separately.

Powerful economic interests have always undertaken to dominate the country.

The tendency was resisted by our strong Presidents.

The first big antitrust crusade of Presidents Theodore Roosevelt, Taft and Wilson was followed by the passage of the Clayton Act, prohibiting specific monopoly practices. This act, however, excluded labor organizations from the antitrust laws, which was the genesis of immunity for labor in the exercise of monopolistic powers and abuses. It is this exclusion that provides the major point of conflict in the Nation's economic policy. That policy regulates industrial activity on the basis of competition and promotes collective bargaining on the basis of monopoly.

Not until the Government began promoting the expansion of union power as an offset to business power did collective-bargaining exemption from the competitive principle become an economic weapon of blockbuster proportions.

After passage of the Wagner Act in 1935, union power was substituted for business and agricultural power as the most important single political influence in our country. Today, we are faced with inherent dangers of excessive union power as well as excessive industry power.

The one sound and adequate solution is the elimination of the conflict in our national economic policy and adequate division of collective-bargaining power. This country cannot progress economically half competitive and half monopolistic. Such economic conflict is as destructive of economic progress as our earlier division over slavery and freedom was to our social progress.

Are there alternatives to a change in national collective-bargaining policy? Some people say all we need or should first attain is impartial enforcement of present local, State and Federal laws and sound judicial interpretation of present laws. Certainly there are flagrant instances of failure impartially to enforce local ordinances and laws. However, I do not see how impartial enforcement or sound judicial interpretation of present laws can importantly affect the basic problem.

Others apparently believe that right-to-work laws might have some bearing where organization has not occurred, but they have no particular bearing where excessive employer or union power already exists.

While it is certainly desirable, the Landrum-Griffin bill, recently passed as a result of exposure of corruption, racketeering and a host of unethical union practices, will be relatively meaningless in reducing the legalized excessive concentration of collective-bargaining power.

Proposals for prohibiting union compulsion and coercion deal with important aspects of union power over the individual worker. Legislative action in this area is certainly necessary but will not substitute for that necessary to deal with the basic problem resulting from our trying to ride the competitive price horse and the monopoly wage horse at the same time. We are faced with a choice we cannot escape. The wage monopoly is destroying price competition. Competition is our means of keeping economic power divided and placing ultimate economic power in the hands of the people as consumers. Economic freedom in America depends upon the preservation of competition. The monopoly power of unions and employers for collective-bargaining purposes must be divided on the basis of competition or it will destroy our economic strength and make us an easy prey for our enemies.

Then what must we do?

The answer is not the application of the antitrust laws to unions. Here are some specific proposals for amending our laws on collective bargaining that may not be the final answer but at least I think they recognize the basic problem.

1. The combining of national unions for the establishment of common bargaining demands or use of economic power should be prohibited. The same prohibition should apply to national employer organizations.

2. Unions representing more than about 10,000 employees of a single employer should be prohibited from combining to establish collective bargaining demands or exercising joint economic power against more than one enterprise. Unions should be free to combine in bargaining with employers having less than about 10,000 employees, but only within prescribed geographical limits. The same prohibition and political limitation should apply to employers and employer organizations.

3. In our basic industries, affiliated unions of a national union representing employees of a single large company, regardless of size, should be permitted to combine in their collective bargaining demands and joint use of bargaining power.

4. The law should not prohibit union cooperation aside from the above limitations.

Whatever remedy Congress may ultimately fashion to solve the problem of excessive concentration of collective bargaining power by employers and unions, I believe it must conform to these principles:

First, the full benefits of genuine collective bargaining must be retained, including the right to strike.

Second, we must avoid creating some new form of bargaining inequality.

Third, the legislation must be tailored to fit the divergent forms of trade unionism. Craft unions will require treatment different from industrial unions.

Fourth, employees working for business units having a relatively small number of employees, or for concerns operating only on a local or regional basis, must not be squeezed into a mold designed for unions representing employees of big business.

Fifth, responsibility for collective bargaining with an enterprise in a basic industry having more than about 10,000 employees should be in the hands of a union and an employer representing solely those employees.

The ultimate objective is to prevent combinations of employers or combinations of unions from destroying the competitive system by creating national emergencies. The only forms of economic discipline are competition, or some form of absolute authority. If we take the absolute authority approach of more Government control, then we are on the road to statism. To prevent the replacement of competition by absolute authority it is necessary to prohibit joint bargaining on the part of large employers in our basic industries, as well as joint bargaining on the part of unions representing the employees of large concerns. We must also prohibit national bargaining by both unions and employers.

Now, let's turn to the concentration of industrial power. One of the factors that prevents needed action is the public misconception as to the advantages of colossal size in industry. Actually, there is some basis for union and public opinion that colossal industrial power justified colossal union power. I believe our antitrust laws, which were enacted in our early stage of industrial development, need to be modernized and strengthened to cope with new problems created by excess industrial power.

When we fail to keep our fundamental policy laws up to date, inequities arise that create pressures for special interest legislation and regulatory laws applying detailed control.

What we need is not more laws but more modern laws.

This need is pointed up by Federal subsidization to create and maintain adequate competition. During and after World War II, the Government finally broke the monopolistic position of the Aluminum Co. of America by using indirect Government subsidization to establish four additional aluminum companies. In the case of the automobile industry, the President of the United States, a few years ago, directed the use of Defense Department procurement powers to indirectly subsidize the continuation of one of the five remaining passenger car companies.

The competitive principle enables consumers to reward companies that successfully meet their preferences and to reject companies that fail to do so. Elimination, or economic death, is and should be the penalty of economic failure in a competitive society. It keeps our economy healthy and responsive to consumer desire and need. However, in many of our basic industries, the competitive discipline of the market place has now reduced the number of companies to a mere handful. In the case of the automobile industry, in my opinion, the five passenger car companies left constitute barely the minimum number necessary for adequate consumer choice, confidence, and discipline.

I believe preservation of the competitive principle in America is dependent upon its complete development by provision for economic birth as well as economic death in our major basic industries. I made some specific recommendations for economic birth based on the degree of market domination in such industries.

Briefly, this was what I proposed—when a company engaged in only one basic industry is doing more than 35 percent of the business, or when a company engaged in more than one basic industry is doing more than 25 percent of the business, such companies should be required to submit to a specified public agency their own programs for reducing their percentage of the particular business involved. An obvious way for them to do this would be through the creation of more than one company from the old company. In other words, by the process of division or economic birth. Adherence to such percentage figures only guarantees the future existence of four to five companies in each basic industry.

This proposal would reward, not penalize, companies for being successful. It would not prevent bigness or maximum technological efficiency, it would insure a minimum number of competitors as a basis for public reliance on competition rather than Government control.

When a company acquires a large share of control over a basic industry it begins to fear the shadow of adverse Government action. It must necessarily begin to restrain itself, to hobble its skill. We need all of the competitive skill we can get. We must seek to increase it, not restrain it.

My proposal for economic birth has as its objective the further development of competition and voluntary cooperation in this country. It is important to emphasize that the problem is not one of size or bigness. Bigness per se is not bad. Indeed, bigness is essential in a modern industrial economy. Under my proposal a company would be as large as the nature of the industry required for efficient, competitive operation and no arbitrary fixed limit is suggested. The problem is the degree of economic control or power permissible in a competitive economy.

Adoption of a birth policy in industry would, I believe, again unleash some of the principal factors of industrial growth without enactment of new laws but simply the modernization of the old.

Now I would like to touch on one aspect of concentrated political power.

Big societies, especially those in competition with other big societies, certainly need strong—even big—governments and strong—even big—unions and corporations. But their power can and must be dispersed. The ultimate control can and must be in the hands of the people as citizens and as consumers. That is the only way to build the greatest strength and soundest growth.

But we cannot achieve this goal unless we recognize that it is morally, socially, and economically wrong for unions as unions, or corporations as corporations, to get into politics, directly or indirectly.

It is wrong, as far as I am concerned, for the simple reason that it is wrong for any American to transfer his personal rights of citizenship to an institution—and it is wrong for an institution to act in any way to encourage the relinquishing of such rights.

Little difference in principle exists between the present excessive political influence of unions and the earlier excessive political influence of business denounced by both Roosevelts. One excess is as wrong as the other. Both are obstacles to political freedom, economic justice and individual development.

The question is whether in a democracy based on political freedom and the rights of the individual, economic organizations should be permitted to participate directly or indirectly in political affairs.

I am not referring to individual union leaders or members, or individual business leaders or white-collar workers participating in political activity. Unions or businesses certainly should not be permitted to present economic facts to political bodies or to private citizens' groups, but what I am decrying is direct or indirect political activity on the part of economic organizations, whether they are unon organizations, business organizations or other organized economic groups.

Before church and State were separated, church participation in politics and Government unquestionably exerted a direct influence on the political attitudes of church members. Similarly, political activity by a company is likely to cause an executive to feel that his economic opportunity in the enterprise is affected by his political support of company political thinking.

The same holds true of unions. How could union members or union officers fail to feel that their treatment by the union would be affected by conformity or opposition to union political programs?

I believe corporate officials and union officials should participate personally, as individual citizens, in political affars. But I think they should take every possible step to assure members and employees that this right is a personal right not to be abridged in any manner—and to encourage them to use it on that basis.

Our political parties today, unfortunately, have given victory at the polls such engulfing preeminence that neither party will take a position that might offend any sizable segment of voters. As a result, we have a close similarity between stated party objectives, with very little choice left to the voter. Attention is focused more on personalities, money and organization than on issues, citizen participation and spontaneous support for basic principles.

Both parties have allowed themselves, to an alarming extent, to become the captives of dominant economic groups. In Michigan, for example, one party is largely under the control of big labor, while the other is largely in the hands of big business. The dominance of these power groups, expressed through organizations rather than individual citizens, resulted in a 7-month deadlock which was broken by an increase in the sales tax, but recently declared unconstitutional—and now the stalemate is with us again, resulting in continued thwarting of progress in the State.

To combat this impossible situation, we are developing a nonpartisan citizens' program identified as Citizens For Michigan. Its members are individuals acting for themselves as citizens, not as representatives of any organization of any type.

We hope through this effort to establish a means by which an influence greater than the minority economic groups now dominating our two political parties can be created. We hope to acquaint enough citizens with the facts on the State's problems and the means for their solution to secure essential political and governmental action. Finally, we hope to restore citizen belief in the effectiveness of individual political participation.

The success of the Citizens For Michigan program can provide the basis for releasing the political parties from their captivity and restoring to the people these necessary instruments of self-government.

If we are going to encourage an increase in political participation, we must have two political parties with programs that provide the people a clear and basic choice. At least one party should be more dedicated to the principles of human liberty and justice than to political victory at any cost through colossal campaign expenditures, economic power, subsidy, and special advantage.

To stop the drift toward increasingly massive centralized governments, we need to do three important things.

First, we must make certain, by modernized law, that power outside government is dispersed and kept dispersed.

Second, we must improve the character of State governments and modernize the smaller governmental units—the parish, the county, the township—that were set up on the basis of travel and population distribution in a frontier country.

Third, we must revive the political participation of the people in control of the government.

The most effective means of putting hope and zest back into political participation would be for the political parties to reject economic power group participation, reach out for citizenship participation, put less emphasis on dollars and more emphasis on people and principles.

We need to bring our political parties and the people together, if our democratic system is to continue to be truly representative. When the people have little choice, they are powerless to act, and control is defaulted to willful power groups that can be arrogantly unaccountable to a listless electorate.

As I have indicated, I don't believe the mechanical answers to excessive industry, union, and government power are hard to find.

But we will not find these answers or put them into effect until we build a new fire under our aspirations as a people.

Dr. Charles Malik has said:

"You have in your own traditions certain invaluable beliefs about man and society and history and human destiny and the nature of God—beliefs that you should not be ashamed of, that you should feel free to export and to teach others. But first you must rediscover them yourselves and believe in them profoundly yourselves. Many of you have taken life too much for granted. Therefore, the great deposit of belief and conviction and interpretation of life which has come to you, you simply don't honor enough."

In considering historical fact, we have an odd propensity for believing that years must pass before the meaning of events comes into clear focus.

But listen to these lines written by Washington in 1788, during the period our new Constitution was in the process of ratification:

"The plot thickens fast. A few short weeks will determine the political fate of America for the present generation and probably produce no small influence on the happiness of society through a long succession of ages to come. Should everything proceed with harmony and consent according to our actual wishes and expectations; I will confess to you sincerely, my dear Marquis; it will be so much beyond anything we had a right to imagine or expect 18 months ago, that it will demonstrate as visibly the finger of providence, as any possible event in the course of human affairs can ever designate it."

And, a short time later:

"You will permit me to say, that a greater drama is now acting on this theater than has heretofore been brought on the American stage, or any other in the world."

Can we recapture this focus? If we can, I believe it will reveal that we are much nearer than we think to a major breakthrough in human affairs.

The question in my mind is: Can we awaken and reaim ourselves in time? Will we continue to divide excess power, or let it divide us?

We are facing two things:

Abroad, we are facing a great perversion of the ideal of human liberty, and the stain is spreading with speed.

At home, we are stalled at a crossroad—confused about our direction and split into opposing power camps. In other words, by not dividing power, we are being divided by it.

And while we are thus stalled in our continuing American Revolution, the stain spreads.

To get moving without delay, we should modernize our basic antitrust and collective bargaining laws. But we are not likely to see this change until at least one of the political parties is willing to risk putting the national interest ahead of the desire to win the next election.

The people desperately need the political leadership necessary to give them a chance to make the basic choice.

I think such an approach should and could be provided. I'm convinced it would capture the imagination and support of the American people.

While I do not anticipate that the step will be taken tomorrow, I believe it will and must be taken.

We have a certain knowledge of what has happened to others.

Defending Christianity against the charge that it had brought down the anger of the pagan gods and caused the sack of Rome, St. Augustine said: "depraved by good fortune, and not chastened by adversity, what you desire in the restoration of a peaceful and secure state is not the tranquillity of the commonwealth, but the impunity of your own vicious luxury." He reminded the Romans that even the threat of the barbarian invasion had not diverted them from their pleasures.

With this historic characteristic of peoples in mind, Somerset Maugham once wrote, "A nation that wants anything more than freedom will lose its freedom, and the irony of it is, if it is comfort and security it wants, it will lose them, too."

America's destiny is threatened but not lost. We can win by searching and risking and by sacrificing to the laws of God, our Nation and our fellow man.

Helen Keller gave a magnificent summary when she said: "Not until we can refuse to

take without giving can we create a society in which the chief activity of man is the common welfare."

With freedom, we can still achieve this goal. I believe we are still capable of building a new great age for ourselves and others, and thus drown out the voices of gross materialism, power and compulsion at home and abroad that would destroy us.

Narcotics Use Among Juveniles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR.
OF MISSOURI
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. HENNINGS. Mr. President, tomorrow the Senate Subcommittee To Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, of which I am chairman, will begin the Washington phase of its investigation into the problem of narcotics use among teenagers at 10:30 a.m. in the Old Supreme Court Chamber. Witnesses at tomorrow's hearing will be three officials from the Department of Treasury, including Assistant Secretary of Treasury A. Gilmore Flues, who directs both the Narcotics and Customs Bureaus, along with Commissioners Harry J. Anslinger, Bureau of Narcotics; and Ralph Kelly, Bureau of Customs.

Our main reason for calling these witnesses is to try and clarify the role assigned Federal agencies in the narcotics enforcement field. Certainly control of narcotics is—or should be—primarily a job for the Federal Government, since international borders and ports of entry, interstate movement of contraband and addicts are deeply ingrained in the whole heinous business.

During 2 weeks of public hearings on the narcotics problem in California last November, we learned that the smuggling of narcotics at the U.S.-Mexican border is the biggest problem for the Collector of Customs in that part of the country. According to Customs agent Frank Thornton, who heads the San Diego office, 75 percent of the Federal trial cases there are for narcotics violations.

The great preponderance of witnesses—public officials and law-enforcement officers—named the U.S.-Mexican border as the primary point of entry for narcotics into the southwestern part of the United States, and the Republic of Mexico as the primary source of supply. Abundant testimony was also given to demonstrate that much of this contraband brought across the border and into our seaports finds its way into every city in the land.

Mr. President, much editorial comment has been made on the illicit narcotics traffic and its inherent evils in different parts of the country, testifying to the local awareness and concern felt by our citizens. I ask unanimous consent that two of these editorials—one from the Bakersfield (Calif.) Californian, entitled "Narcotics as Juvenile Trouble Cause," and one from the Tucson (Ariz.) Citizen, entitled "Mexican Border Problem Is Not Tucson's Alone"—be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Bakersfield Californian, Sept. 25, 1959]

NARCOTICS AS JUVENILE TROUBLE CAUSE

Testifying before a Senate committee on the problem of combating juvenile delinquency, Mayor Robert F. Wagner, of New York, called upon the Federal Government to join with State and local authorities in a nationwide crackdown on the narcotics trade. Mayor Wagner has a valid point, indeed, as anyone knows who has interested himself in this problem.

Mayor Wagner's own city has had grievous difficulties in recent years with juvenile gangs and in the past 9 months has recorded 11 gang killings. Much has been written about these troubles, with perhaps the best account being the series by Harrison Salisbury in the New York Times. Mr. Salisbury notes in many places in his narrative the frequency with which narcotics are used by the young people who are members of these organized teenage packs.

Other cities have similar troubles, and investigators are consistent in their findings regarding the connection between juvenile crime and the use of narcotics. The dope problem in California was brilliantly told in a series of articles appearing in the Los Angeles Times and written by Gene Sherman, a careful researcher and excellent reporter.

Mayor Wagner told the committee that a concerted effort to cut down on the supply of narcotics now reaching our youngsters would do much toward aiding in the reduction of juvenile crime. This view will no doubt find agreement among law-enforcement authorities and social workers in other cities who know the extent of narcotics usage among juveniles and the evil it causes.

Mr. Salisbury remarks upon the use of narcotics by the teenagers who make up the gangs and implies that there is little difficulty involved in the acquisition of these drugs by the youngsters, in spite of the efforts locally to prevent it.

The same conditions prevail in other cities, according to some accounts, and the Federal, State, and local laws are sufficiently complex to make enforcement of them a difficult matter.

But Mayor Wagner has a point, and we hope something can be done to accomplish what he describes, because the juxtaposition of narcotics and juvenile delinquency is too constant to allow argument on the matter, and law-enforcement agencies will welcome all the help they can get to make effective war on the dope traffic.

[From the Tucson (Ariz.) Citizen, Nov. 19, 1959]

MEXICAN BORDER PROBLEM IS NOT TUCSON'S ALONE

There was a little unfavorable reaction mingled with a lot of public and parental concern when the Citizen recently carried stories about Mexican border problems and a so-called "marriage mill" for teenagers being operated illicitly in nearby Nogales, Sonora.

The scope and depth of the border problem have been expanded and further illuminated this week in wire dispatches from San Diego, Calif., which is up in arms over the Mexican border attractions and hazards for teenagers, centering particularly in the town of Tijuana south of San Diego.

The U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency has been probing into the situation relating to border problems and Senator THOMAS C. HENNINGS, Democrat, of Missouri, declared yesterday that legislation to close the entire Mexico border to unescorted juveniles was a possibility.

Such Federal legislation, if enacted, undoubtedly would apply to the Arizona-Mexico border as well. This approach has been considered here as an answer to teenage escapades in Nogales.

It was pointed out clearly in the Citizen's reports about easy marriages for underage couples in Nogales, Sonora, that shady operators and not Mexican officials were involved. Mexico's laws are as strict against underage marriages as are Arizona's, and Sonora officials are conscientious about them.

Some question was raised in Tucson about the danger of disturbing friendly relations with our Mexican neighbors as a result of pointing up the teenage problem. On the contrary, it can be assumed that Mexico's officials are as concerned as we are about misconduct of teenagers visiting their country.

District Attorney Don Keller of San Diego told the Senate investigators that he hears reports that Mexican officials do not want unescorted U.S. juveniles in their country. This seems a reasonable attitude.

No problem is eliminated or resolved by pretending it doesn't exist. The Mexican border is a notorious source of narcotics entry into this country, as well as a temptation for trouble-bent juveniles. Mexican-American relations actually will be furthered if such matters are dealt with cooperatively by officials on both sides of the line.

When the juvenile border problem reaches the senatorial and ambassadorial levels it is no phony issue. The findings in the San Diego and California investigation may lead either to joint action by Mexican and American officials or to legislation. Either or both could help Arizona's parallel problems.

A Bill To Establish a Program of Federal Assistance for the Collegiate Training of Nursing Students

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH GREEN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, last session I had the pleasure of introducing in this House a bill (H.R. 1251) to establish a program of Federal assistance for the collegiate training of nursing students. After introducing that bill, I had the very satisfying experience of receiving, not a flood of identical pressure letters, as are so often inspired by even the best legislative proposals, but rather a series of highly informative, and very specific accounts, from nursing educators and leaders in most of the States of the Union, of precisely what the needs of their States were, and precisely how the funds authorized by my bill would be utilized. Although our distinguished Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce has been unable to schedule hearings on this bill, because of the crush of business upon that committee, these letters will constitute, when those hearings are held, a very useful file

of facts on the background of this legislation.

The American Journal of Nursing, the respected publication of the American Nurses' Association, has compiled some of the materials contained in those letters, and has, in an article in the December 1959 issue of that magazine, set forth a sampling of these letters. Under permission to revise and extend my remarks, I ask that that article be reprinted in the Appendix of the RECORD, as an indication of the interest which the nursing profession has shown in this legislation.

IF FUNDS WERE AVAILABLE—NURSING EDUCATORS CITE NEEDS FOR PUBLIC SUPPORT IN COLLEGIATE SCHOOLS

Nursing's Federal legislative efforts will focus on securing financial aid for collegiate nursing education when Congress reconvenes in January. Expansion of such programs is one of the primary needs for public support outlined by the American Nurses' Association.

In spearheading this effort, the ANA will seek passage of H.R. 1251, a bill introduced last January by Representative EDITH S. GREEN, Democrat, Oregon, and its companion, S. 1118, introduced by Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY, Democrat, Minnesota.

These bills propose a 5-year, $100 million program of grants to schools for the construction of teaching facilities; a 5-year $50 million program of grants to assist with costs of instruction, and a 5-year, $50 million program of scholarship aid for nursing students in preservice baccalaureate programs and to graduate nurses in supplemental programs leading to a baccalaureate degree.

This effort is one of three priorities of need for public support outlined by the ANA Committee on Legislation in accordance with the ANA platform approved by the house of delegates in 1958. The other two priorities are traineeships or scholarships for nurses in advanced programs preparing for teaching, administration, and supervision in nursing, and research and research fellowships.

Focus on securing financial aid for supplemental and basic programs in nursing leading to a baccalaureate degree is possible now because of the 5-year extension of the Federal traineeship program. Through this program, administered by the Division of Nursing Resources, U.S. Public Health Service, nurses are able to secure funds to prepare for positions in administration, supervision, and teaching. During the past year, ANA devoted much of its legislative effort to the extension of this program.

As demands for more as well as better prepared nurses continue, ANA believes the public must provide financial support for nursing education as it does for education in other health professions.

WHY COLLEGIATE SCHOOLS?

The need for such aid has received support from nurses and nursing educators throughout the country. Many have urged action on this legislation. This is what they say:

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN ILLINOIS,
Carbondale, Ill.

Teachers for schools of nursing are prepared only in institutions of higher learning. If the cost of higher education is prohibitive, the students may be forced into other fields, thus increasing the already distressing shortage of qualified personnel. Without financial assistance in some form, teachers who are no better qualified than the students they teach must be utilized.

VIRGINIA H. HARRISON,
Chairman, Department of Nursing.

VISITING NURSE ASSOCIATION OF BROOKLYN, INC.,
Brooklyn, N.Y.

This bill (H.R. 1251) is an important step in meeting the critical need for qualified personnel in all areas of nursing, including public health.

DORIS ELDREDGE,
President.

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY,
Newark, N.J.

Most everyone knows that there is a shortage of nurses, but not all are aware that the shortage extends to quality as well as to numbers. The truth of the matter is, of course, that nursing education has not kept pace with changes in our social order that affect the health needs of our people. We are today, 50 years after the establishment of the first college program in nursing, preparing 82 percent of our people in hospital programs of nursing much as we were at the turn of the century. In other words, we are today preparing yesterday's nurses to meet today's need for nursing care.

ELLA V. STONSBY,
Dean, College of Nursing.

THE MARY FLETCHER HOSPITAL,
Burlington, Vt.

It is our policy to help direct young people into the type of nursing program for which they seem best fitted. Many tell us they would like to go to the University of Vermont's nursing program, but they cannot afford it. We need students of nursing in hospital schools and in the new type of associate degree program, but our greatest need is to somehow direct more into a college nursing program. With additional preparation and experience, these nurses can more quickly fill the greatest gap we have—the lack of qualified teachers, supervisors, and administrators of nursing.

GRACE M. BUTTOLPH,
Director, School of Nursing.

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY,
Chicago, Ill.

There is indeed an acute and urgent need for financial aid in this area of education for essential health services. A school of nursing is ordinarily one of the most expensive educational units in the university because the number of students each faculty member has must be limited when teaching clinical nursing in hospitals and public health agencies.

GLADYS KINIERY,
Dean, School of Nursing.

PROGRAMS FOR R.N.'S LIMITED

UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT,
Storrs, Conn.

This university conducts no program for registered nurses since we do not have adequate faculty for the purpose. The constant increase in enrollment in our basic program has meant that all available funds must go for faculty in that program, and, even so, we do not have enough. Yet there is urgent need for a baccalaureate program for registered nurses at this university and for scholarships for such nurses.

CAROLYN L. WIDMER,
Dean, School of Nursing.

UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS,
Amherst, Mass.

There is a growing demand for a supplementary program at the University of Massachusetts. Hospital administrators, directors of schools of nursing and of nursing service, and, indeed, graduates of diploma schools of nursing themselves, are increasingly urging such a program, not only because of the accessibility of the university and the modest tuition rate, but also because married faculty members find it difficult, if not impossible, to be far away from their children and family. The university administration is most sensitive to this education need. However, the problem of financing an educationally sound program is ever before us. The provision of H.R. 1251 for grants to assist in the costs of instruction in baccalaureate programs is a necessity if educationally sound collegiate nursing education is to survive.

MARY A. MAHER,
Dean, School of Nursing.

BASIC PROGRAMS SUFFER

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY,
St. Louis, Mo.

Washington University plans to offer the basic baccalaureate program in nursing, but funds are not yet available to meet the anticipated deficit for the first 4 years of operation. The registrar's office at the university estimates that about 50 applications were accepted from young women who did not enter the university in the fall semester when they discovered no program in nursing was available.

LOUISE KNAPP,
Director, School of Nursing.

UNIVERSITY OF MAINE,
Orono, Maine.

There are five diploma schools of nursing in Maine of which only one has received full accreditation by the National League for Nursing. One of the handicaps to full accreditation is the lack of prepared faculty. Another lack in the State is that of prepared public health nurses. A major reason for these lacks is that there is no baccalaureate program for nurses in the State. We plan to establish one as soon as we are able, but such a program will require additional faculty.

JEAN MACLEAN,
Director, School of Nursing.

SCHOLARSHIPS SADLY LACKING

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND,
Baltimore, Md.

The University of Maryland graduates a class of 50 to 60 students each year in the baccalaureate program. We have a huge medical center and could accommodate classes of at least 200 students if the applicants had scholarship aid. Then, too, we have many out-of-State requests from applicants who are unable to pay the fees and maintenance. Roughly, more than 50 percent of our applicants request financial assistance.

FLORENCE M. GIPE,
Dean, School of Nursing.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Many high school graduates and graduates of hospital schools of nursing who are eager to take advantage of the opportunities offered in baccalaureate programs at the School of Nursing of the University of Pennsylvania are unable to do so because of financial need. For example, 30 qualified high school graduates who live within commuting distance and who were interested in attending this university could not apply for admission to the basic baccalaureate program because of financial need. Because of lack of dormitory space at the present time, enrollment in this program is limited almost exclusively to students who can commute. In 1960, when the new women's dormitories are available, it will be possible to admit a much larger number of students and the need for scholarships will increase proportionately.

In the general nursing program (for graduates of diploma schools of nursing) 114 full-time students and 541 part-time students were enrolled in the fall term, 1958. Sixty-nine of the full-time students could not have attended without some financial assistance. Approximately 150 of the part-time students could have attended full time if scholarships had been available.

THERESA I. LYNCH,
Dean, School of Nursing.

CHICO STATE COLLEGE,
Chico, Calif.

If finances were available, Chico State College could prepare twice the number of students that we now have because of our excellent clinical program and the contract we have with the medical center in San Francisco for the use of clinical facilities.

AGNES A. DIX,
Coordinator, Department of Nursing.

UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA,
Omaha, Nebr.

Frequent requests come from students interested in the University of Nebraska program for scholarship aid. Very little such aid is available and, as a result, good degree candidates are frequently lost.

IRMA M. KYLE,
Director of Nursing, School of Nursing.

NORTHWESTERN STATE COLLEGE,
Natchitoches, La.

The majority of students desiring admission to our school come from rural areas and need to have financial assistance available to them in order to attend college.

HILDA C. BURNHAM,
Dean, School of Nursing.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
Berkeley, Calif.

During 1958, the University of California accepted 65 students for admission to its basic baccalaureate program. Of this number, 15 asked that their names be withdrawn prior to admission because of inability to finance the program. In a recent survey of financial needs of the group of 50 who entered in September 1958, only 20 percent indicated they were having no financial difficulties.

HELEN NAHM,
Dean, School of Nursing.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS,
Chicago, Ill.

There is a basic difference in the education for nursing which I believe makes financial assistance of more importance for students in this field than in many others. This is the nature of the clinical practice required. Even in the collegiate school, where the hours of clinical practice are limited to those required for educational purposes, the number of clock hours per week exceeds those of the students enrolled, for example, in the liberal arts and sciences. This factor makes it more difficult for the student in nursing to contribute significantly to the cost of her education.

EMILY C. CARDEW,
Dean, College of Nursing.

OUTGROWING FACILITIES

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

The College of Nursing and Health is one of two colleges on the university campus without a building of its own. It is estimated that a building of the size which would accommodate the college would cost at least $800,000. It has been necessary to use classrooms, laboratories, and offices belonging to other colleges in the university. With the present and anticipated increase in enrollment in all colleges in the university, those now sharing facilities with the College of Nursing and Health are finding it increasingly difficult to continue to provide for nursing.

LAURA E. ROSNAGLE,
Dean, College of Nursing and Health.

MEHARRY MEDICAL COLLEGE,
Nashville, Tenn.

Since 1957, it has been necessary to use some double decker beds in rooms designed to accommodate a single student. The recreational rooms, classrooms, and office space for instructors are also inadequate.

LAURIE M. GUNTER,
Dean, School of Nursing.

UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO,
Boulder, Colo.

The University of Colorado has made great effort since 1941, but even now the medical center constructed through private donation in 1924 is sadly outgrown and money for adequate construction seems hard to come by. My own office is the unused motion picture booth behind the medical amphitheater. It will just hold my desk and four chairs. Classroom space is bitterly fought for with the nurse-teachers often the losers. Forty years of growth in the medical and nursing schools has to be provided for in some way.

HENRIETTA ADAMS LOUGHRAN,
Dean, School of Nursing.

BOSTON UNIVERSITY,
Boston, Mass.

To care for expanding enrollments we need additional teaching facilities which include a nursing laboratory, science laboratories, nutrition laboratories; offices for additional faculty, secretaries and a general counselor; 4 additional conference rooms, 3 additional classrooms accommodating 60 students, 2 accommodating 150, and other adjunct rooms.

Boston University, like many other universities which have undertaken responsibility for nursing education, has already outgrown the limited physical plant with which it started. We have also estimated that 26 additional teachers would be needed for this kind of expansion.

MARIE FARRELL,
Dean, School of Nursing.

QUALIFIED FACULTY SHORT

RUSSELL SAGE COLLEGE,
Troy, N.Y.

Our problems in relation to instructors for our nursing programs are twofold. There are far too few adequately prepared instructors to meet our minimal needs, and the number of instructors needed for clinical instruction is much higher in the collegiate school of nursing than in other departments of the college. A large number of students may be present in the classroom with one instructor, but in the clinical area of the hospital or in public health the instructor is not only responsible for the teaching and supervision of the student learning to give nursing care, but also for the maintenance of good quality of patient care and the safety of patients.

DOROTHY MCMULLAN,
Director, School of Nursing.

MEDICAL COLLEGE OF GEORGIA,
Atlanta, Ga.

Our approved budget does not permit the employment of an adequate number of faculty. Many of our present faculty are heavily burdened with an overload and will wear out long before they should. Financial assistance in this area would be of inestimable help. It would improve the program for those students currently enrolled, would improve faculty opportunities for study and research, and would make it possible to offer short courses, conferences, and make available other educational opportunities which, as a State institution, is our responsibility.

E. LOUISE GRANT,
Dean, School of Nursing.

INDIANA UNIVERSITY,
Indianapolis, Ind.

Our enrollment has increased more than four times since the collegiate program was first initiated in 1950. We have currently a considerably larger number of students interested in admission to the school than we had last year. Of this number, many of the more able students have indicated need for scholarship aid to enroll this coming fall. Even with such scholarship aid, it is impossible to accept the number who are in process of meeting the requirements for entrance without a decided increase in faculty and in instructional facilities. Without financal assistance the number of qualified faculty needed cannot be secured.

EMILY HOLMQUIST,
Dean, School of Nursing.

UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI,
Jackson, Miss.

The University of Mississippi School of Nursing has been in existence only 10 years and is the only collegiate nursing program in the State. To date the enrollment has been low but is increasing each year. However, without additional teaching and instructional facilities it will not be possible to expand the school enough to meet the needs of the State.

H.R. 1251 could be used in Mississippi to increase enrollment from approximately 50 to 150 students if the following 5-year grants were made: Construction, $300,000; instruction, $195,000; and scholarships, $50,000.

CHRISTINE OLGEVEE,
Dean, School of Nursing.

Will the Oversighters Overlook the Real Fix?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, on January 17, 1960, the Spartanburg (S.C.) Herald-Journal printed an excellent news column by one of its outstanding staff members, Mr. Bob Craig, entitled "Will the Oversighters Overlook the Real Fix?" Mr. Craig has pointed up in this column several of the many barbs which have been tossed at the people of the South by the television and movie industries. I take pleasure in calling this column to the attention of the Senate and the readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that these slurs on the people of the South—some of them being of a subtle nature and some being quite obvious even to those from other sections of our country—might be recognized for what they are. Mr. Craig refers to the whole scheme as "the race fix," and I feel that his descriptive term is very appropriate.

I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WILL THE OVERSIGHTERS OVERLOOK THE REAL FIX?

(By Bob Craig)

The House Legislative Oversight Committee will meet February 8 to hear evidence about TV-radio fixes.

Possibly due to oversight, the Oversight Committee will neglect the biggest fix in the industry: the race fix.

For the entire entertainment industry has been subtly slipping the race fix noose over the public's head for some time.

Here's how:

Hollywood turns out one monotonous movie after the other which chants the integration theme in the background.

Sayonara: The story of a poor little ol' Japanese girl and her GI lover boy who were persecuted by a nasty old officer with a distinctly southern accent. Somehow, when Hollywood does it, a Jap can be in the minority even in Japan.

Giant: Another movie where the Mexican wetback gets a pat on the back from Hollywood. So far, the Civil Rights Commission has shown little interest in wetbacks, Japanese, or southerners.

Raintree County got down to the "big" issue, southern Negroes.

Then that thing that Ingrid Bergman did about China. The problem there revolved around a Dutch-Chinese lover boy who left Holland because he didn't want to be a "second-class citizen."

But this is show buiz. All the villians are white. The black, green, purple, and other off-whites, are always heroes.

Now there was a time, 20 years ago, when Hollywood made a movie about a Mexican wetback, played by Paul Muni.

In the end, the movie went on to prove that integration was a bad thing indeed. Muni left white lover girl Bette Davis and returned to his own nationality group.

Then there was that Jean Harlow movie on TV recently in which the Negro maid says, "Why, if he was the right color, I'd go after him myself."

Keep in mind these movies were made in the 1930's.

Louis Armstrong recorded Basin Street "where the dark and the light folks meet" in the forties, then switched the words to "rich and poor folks" when he did the song in hi-fi in the fifties.

You can't play Steven Foster's stuff on TV networks any more. It differentiates between blacks and white.

A big detective magazine was quite interested in doing a story on the famous Rocky Rothschild murder confession but only if none of the principals were Negro.

Television obviously will not use a story in which a Negro is portrayed in a bad light; in other words, he's either the hero or we don't want it.

To borrow a phrase from the KKK, you have to be a white, Protestant, red-blooded American (preferably southern) in order to be a villain on television or in the movies.

Comedian Joey Bishop just last week claimed he turned down a movie part because it was that of a bad fellow with an Italian name. Presumably he would have taken it if the villain were renamed O'Hara, or Legare, or perhaps Byrnes.

There is the big fix in the entertainment industry. With an efficient methodical purpose, the boys distorting American life as it has never been distorted before.

They are attempting to paint this Nation as one where all Negroes are true and pure and many whites are rather nice, too, especially northern whites.

Let us hope that someday, Hollywood and their video counterparts will decide that southerners are members of a minority group (we are, you know). Then perhaps they will slant their business our way.

Meanwhile, we'll just have to feel a little left out.

Memorial Service Honoring the Late Clinton Amos Clauson, Late Governor of Maine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLIFFORD G. McINTIRE

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. McINTIRE. Mr. Speaker, I submit to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a copy of the memorial service conducted by the Daniel E. Geagan Post, American Legion of Brewer, Maine, honoring the late Gov. Clinton A. Clauson of Maine. I also submit the Fifth District announcement on memorial honors.

MEMORIAL SERVICE HONORING THE LATE CLINTON AMOS CLAUSON, LATE GOVERNOR OF MAINE, CONDUCTED BY THE DANIEL E. GEAGAN POST NO. 98, AMERICAN LEGION AND AUXILIARY, HELD AT THE LEGION HALL IN THE BREWER AUDITORIUM ON MONDAY, JANUARY 11, 1960

MEMORIAL PROGRAM

Calling to order of the joint session: Charles C. Campbell, commander Daniel E. Geagan Post, American Legion; Mrs. Kathryn Mildred Campbell, unit president, Geagan Unit, American Legion Auxiliary.

Advancement of colors: Post color guards.

Invocation by Ernest Byther, post chaplain.

"Let us pray—Almighty God. Father of all mankind and Judge over nations, we pray Thee to bless this memorial service and to look down with favor and understanding upon the hearts of all who have gathered here to pay tribute to our late comrade, Gov. Clinton A. Clauson, who has joined the Post Everlasting. His life and the lives of all our comrades who have gone before are a daily reminder and inspiration for all us to remain faithful to the cause of freedom, justice, and democracy. In God we trust, and may the faith of our fathers guide, protect, and sustain our Nation. Amen."

Memorial tribute by Carl Estabrook, post sergeant at arms

"My comrades and fellow Americans, tonight the Brewer American Legion and auxiliary groups pause to honor the memory of the late beloved chief executive of Maine, the honorable Clinton Amos Clauson. On Wednesday morning, December 30, 1959, Governor Clauson passed away at the Blaine Mansion in Augusta at the age of 64. It is enough to say that Governor Clauson was beloved by all men and women of good will in the Pine Tree State.

To us especially in the American Legion and auxiliary, Governor Clauson held a warm personal spot. He was an active participant in the affairs of the American Legion on a State, local and national level.

Governor Clauson served as a post commander of the Waterville Post No. 5, the American Legion and was a life member of his Post. He served on the national levels of the Legion scene as a member of the Countersubversive Activities Commission for 6 years, the National Distinguished Guests Commission for 4 years and the National Law and Order Committee for 3 years. He served one term as housing chairman for the department of Maine, American Legion and at the time of his death was a member of the department finance committee.

He was a warmhearted and sincere Legionnaire and a friend of the veterans of all wars. We shall miss his kindly comradeship and devotion to the work of the American Legion. May his soul rest in peace.

Formal tribute by Daniel E. Lambert, commander, Fifth District, Department of Maine, American Legion.

"My Flag and I"

"Two of us this vigil keep,
Mid summer rains and winters snow,
Month by month and year by year,
As seasons come and seasons go.
Remember as you pass my grave,
I am not dead. I cannot die,
So long as Legionnaires keep the faith,
We live—my flag and I.
Pity, no: nay envy me
My place against the morning sky,
So long as you will guard us well
We live—my flag and I."

At this point and by direction of the special memorial tribute honors of the fifth district organization of the Maine Department of the American Legion, the Post Charter was draped for a period of 30 days in memory of the late governor.

Benediction by J. William Rogers, Chaplain, Penobscot County Councils, Department of Maine, American Legion.

"Let us pray: This day is sacred with the almost visible presence of our departed comrade and all those who have gone before us. We honor the memory of those who gave their lives in the service of community, State and Nation and who have now dropped their burdens by the wayside of life and are gone to the post everlasting. May the ceremonies of this hour deepen our reverence for our dead. Let us renew our pledge of loyalty to our country and its flag. Let us resolve by word and deed to emphasize the privilege and duty of patriotism. Amen."

Taps were sounded by the fifth district organization.

A minute of silent tribute was observed with Commander Charles C. Campbell and unit president, Mrs. Kathryn Mildred Campbell, presiding at the stations.

End of service.

FIFTH DISTRICT AMERICAN LEGION

To All Post, County, and District Officers in Penobscot, Hancock, and Piscataquis County Areas of the Fifth District, Department of Maine, American Legion:

Memorial honors: In that Almighty God in His mercy has called our good friend and comrade, the late Governor Clinton A. Clauson to the post everlasting, and due to the great service rendered to the American Legion by our late comrade, Clinton A. Clauson, I, Daniel E. Lambert, commander of the fifth district, department of Maine of the American Legion, do request that all posts in the fifth district observe the following memorial honors as a tribute to our late Governor, Clinton A. Clauson, of Maine:

(a) That all post charters be draped for a period of 30 days in honor of our late comrade.

(b) That each post, county and district organization observe a fitting memorial program and period of silence for our departed comrade.

(c) That we recall to mind our many pleasant associations with our departed comrade and continue to honor that memory by a pledge of continued services to community, State and Nation.

(d) That the memorial honors contained within this district announcement, be read at all post, county and district meetings

and be posted upon the bulletin boards of all groups within the district.

Four chaplains memorial Sunday: All post and auxiliary organizations within the fifth district are urged to pause on Sunday, February 7, 1960, to honor the fond memory of the four chaplains who perished on the U.S.S. *Dorchester* in the North Atlantic during World War II. We urge all legion and auxiliary groups to hold appropriate programs during the observance and to stimulate the churches and religious groups in our community to join in the special observance. The sacrifice of the four heroic chaplains of all faiths in war is the strongest answer we in peacetime America can give to the godless Communist and those who seek to create religious tensions at home.

District legislative committee: In order that our area of the State might have a voice and be representative properly before the State legislature, it is announced that the district legislative committee headed by the district commander will coordinate all legislative programing and represents the district in the State legislature at Augusta.

DAN LAMBERT,
District Commander,
the American Legion.

SOUTH BREWER, MAINE, *January 6, 1960.*

Article in Tribute to Christopher Columbus, of Genoa, Italy, Discoverer of the New World, and One of the Immortal Navigators of History

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, Congress rarely is in session as late in the year as October 12. Thus, seldom do the Members of Congress have an opportunity while Congress is in session to appropriately pay tribute to the immortal discoverer of the New World—Christopher Columbus, who made landfall at Long Bay, on San Salvador Island, on October 12, 1492. This date will live forever in the history of the human race, for on that day the middle ages gave way to the modern era.

Columbus was one of the greatest of all men. He had knowledge, wisdom, and a vision. He was not shackled to the suspicion and the idolatry of his time. He refused to believe that the planet was flat, because the sun and the wind and the stars told him differently. He staked his career and, indeed, his life on the faith that he was right; and he discovered a vast New World which lay beyond the horizons of ignorance which formerly had hemmed man in.

Columbus was born in Genoa in 1451. This meant he was only 41 years old on that day of all days, when he stood with his navigators and looked on the shores of destiny. We hear now that the age of 40 or 45 is too youthful for one who is to be our President. Let us remember that America was discovered by a young man, who had sufficient courage and knowledge to tell the seers of his age that they were wrong in their concept of our terrestrial home.

In the Saturday Evening Post of last October 3, 1959, a most impressive and wonderful article, entitled "Greatest Voyage Ever Made," was written by Prof. Samuel Eliot Morison, a distinguished historian, and winner of the Pulitzer Prize. I ask unanimous consent that excerpts from the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD as a lasting tribute to its subject, the great Admiral of the Ocean Sea, Christopher Columbus, of Genoa, Italy, the discoverer of the New World.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Saturday Evening Post, Oct. 3, 1959]

GREATEST VOYAGE EVER MADE

(By Samuel Eliot Morison)

Christopher Columbus did more to chart the course of history than any other individual since the Emperor Augustus. He was the sign and symbol of a new age of hope and glory; he closed the book of the Middle Ages and wrote the first page of the modern era. The Americans are legatees of his faith and wisdom. The voyage of discovery that took him to "The Indies" and home was no blind chance, but his own creation, long studied, carefully planned, carried through by virtue of his courage, sea knowledge and indomitable will. No later voyage could ever have such spectacular results, and Columbus' fame would have been secure had he retired from the sea in 1493.

Yet there is a strange paradox in his career. He never accomplished what he was trying to do; he never did find a new, short sea route from Europe to Eastern Asia. What he achieved was accidental, although of a magnitude that he never even imagined. On his third voyage in 1498, after he had touched the American continent at Venezuela and observed the vast volume of fresh water flowing from the Orinoco, he did indeed write, "This is an Other World." But he died believing that this New or Other World of his discovery lay in about the same relations to the Asiatic continent that Indonesia actually does to Malaya. For him, Japan and China were always just around the next headland, and it remained for Magellan to find out how really remote they were.

He was born in Genoa in 1451 to a family of respectable wool weavers. His parents had the inspiration to name him Christopher after the patron saint of all travelers by land or water, and now by air.

Christopher learned seamanship the hard way. At the age of 20 or 21, he began making short voyages in the Mediterranean as a foremast hand; and in 1476, when he was 25, he was cast up on the shores of Portugal through the sinking of the Genoese ship in which he sailed. This lucky landing was the turning point in his careeer. Genoa was interested in the Mediterranean and Middle East, but Lisbon looked out on the illimitable waters of the ocean, which men still regarded as one indivisible ocean, surrounding Europe, Asia, and Africa. Portuguese mariners, then the world's best, were making new discoveries along the West Coast of Africa almost every year. They had cracked the crust of the narrow "habitable earth" known to Europeans of the Middle Ages, and they were eager to move further.

In Lisbon, the most enterprising and ambitious of European cities, Christopher joined his brother, Bartholomew, in the business of making and selling charts. But often he left his brother in sole charge to go to sea. One winter when the Arctic was unusually open, he sailed in a Portuguese ship to a point north of Iceland, calling at Galway en route. Later, a Genoese firm sent him to Madeira to buy sugar. After executing this mission he marked a Portuguese lady of noble family, daughter of an eminent navigator. Obviously, this young man was coming up in the world. We next hear of him as officer, possibly captain, of one of the king's ships, making voyages to the fortified trading post of El Mina, whose ruins may still be seen on the coast of Ghana.

At the age of 32 or 33, the future of this transplanted Genoese was secure. With family connections to help him obtain profitable commands, he could have retired in a few years with a small fortune.

But Columbus was not a man of ordinary ambition. Somehow, somewhere, he had come by a great idea—that it would be possible to sail due west to the Orient, and establish a western trade route to Asia. He did not, of course, expect to land anywhere in Japan or China and take over the country. His plan was to set up a trading post on some island like Okinawa where the products of Europe and the Orient could be profitably exchanged. That sort of thing had been done by the Portuguese in Africa, so why not in Asia? And that trading post would be an entering wedge for Christianity. Actually the foundation of Manila, in 1571, was the fulfillment of that part of Columbus' dream.

Every educated person in Columbus' day accepted the sphericity of the earth; the round globe was the basis of geography as taught in schools and universities. The story that Columbus alone thought the world was round, and that people opposed his voyage because they believed in a flat earth and that ships would fall off the edge if they sailed too far is pure myth. People like the Russians, who lived on broad plains, may have believed the earth to be flat, but no sailor could have done so, after observing the sails of ships whose hulls were invisible below the horizon. Nor could dwellers on mountainous coasts, like those of Genoa, Spain, and Portugal, have believed in a flat earth, because they had only to climb a hill to see the horizon recede and islands appear that were invisible from sea level.

Columbus' trouble in getting people to support him was not the shape of the earth, but its size. By a series of miscalculations, making out the globe to be about one-fourth smaller and the length of Eurasia about 50 percent greater than they really are, he figured that a voyage of 2,400 nautical miles from the Canary Islands would take him to Japan, and a voyage of 3,550 miles to the coast of China. The actual airline distances are 10,600 and 11,766 miles respectively. The eggheads of 1490 did not know that, but they did know that Columbus' calculations were very, very wrong. He expected to find Japan about where Florida actually is, and the coast of China at about the mouth of the Mississippi, in relation to Spain. That is why he had to appeal to the intuition of a great lady—Queen Isabella—before he could win support.

For 5 or 6 years, the Queen kept Columbus dangling, as it were, with a tiny pension. It was in April 1492 that the appeared before the sovereigns in the audience chamber of the Moorish Palace at Granada, and was told that his proposals were accepted.

The scene now shifts to Palos. This little town in Andalusia was chosen as the port of departure because three proment shipowning families, there—Pinzón, Niño, and Quintero—were sold on Columbus and could be counted on to recruit men. The fitting out

of the three vessels cost only about $15,000 in gold. Most of this was borrowed by the Crown from a fund that had been collected to support the police of Castile. The payroll, which amounted to about $1,750 a month, was assumed by the Crown.

These vessels were well built, rigged, and properly equipped for a long voyage. Columbus himself described them in his sea journal as "well suited for such an enterprise." His only complaint, and that against *Santa Maria*, was her slow speed compared with the two lively caravels. But the really surprising thing about these vessels to a modern sailor is their speed. On the outward passage in 1492, the fleet averaged 8 knots for 5 days' running, and on 1 day of the homeward passage *Niña* and *Pinta* covered nearly 200 nautical miles, hitting 11 knots in the gusts. Racing yachts can better that today, but few, if any, commercial sailing vessels of their size 50 years ago could have surpassed their speed.

Columbus' plan for the voyage was simple and practical. Having observed that the Portuguese navigators who went exploring west of the Azores never got anywhere, owing to the prevailing westerlies of the North Atlantic, he decided to drop down to the Canary Islands and sail thence due west before the northeast trade wind which could be counted on in the winter months, as he had observed on his African voyages. Japan, on the best map available to him, compiled according to his geographical ideas, lay due west of the Canaries, with the fabled Island of Antilia en route.

By Thursday, August 2, 1492, everything was ready for the great adventure. That night every man and boy of the fleet made his confession and communion at the Church of St. George, Palos. At a quarter to five the next morning, when the ebb tide began, the captain general—as Columbus ranked on this voyage—gave the signal to get under way.

By 8 a.m., two glasses in the forenoon watch—Columbus set his watches at 3, 7, and 11 o'clock—the ships were across the bar and a course was shaped for the Canaries. On the sixth day the Grand Canary could be seen above the southern horizon, but an accident to *Pinta's* rudder delayed the fleet, repairs had to be made at Las Palmas, and it was not until September 2 that they anchored in the roadstead of San Sebastian, Gomera, westernmost inhabited island of the Canaries. Doña Beatriz de Peraza, the young and beautiful widow of the captain of Gomera, was there to receive Columbus. According to a gossipy shipmate, he fell in love with her, but he was too intent on his great project even to tarry a few days for the full moon. He took on a last load of provisions, and on September 6, weighed anchor for the last time in the Old World.

Due west was the course set by the captain general. That night they cleared the land, and by the afternoon of the 9th the high peak of Tenerife had sunk below the horizon and the three ships had an uncharted ocean to themselves.

Of course, they had to hit something if they sailed due west, and for most of the way the fleet enjoyed perfect weather. It was an easy and delightful voyage, especially during the first 10 days beyond sight of land. The wind blew fair and fresh on the starboard quarter, every sail bellied out and pulled its best, the fleet made 1,163 nautical miles' westing. As they were near the northern limit of the trades, the sea was smooth, "as calm as the River of Seville," noted Columbus; and "the weather was like April in Andalusia."

A week of dull sailing, September 19–26, when the wind turned soft and variable, followed the first 10 days. The men went in swimming, and the caravels were frequently rowed alongside the flagship so that the captains could consult, while the sailors shouted jokes and insults from ship to ship. In one of these conferences, toward sundown, Martin Alonzo Pinzón and Columbus were discussing a chart on which Antilia and other mythical islands were plotted, and Pinzón had just sent it back to the flagship on a line, when he rushed up on *Pinta's* poop and shouted, "Land! Land! I claim the reward!"

There was a general scramble up the rigging and almost everyone thought he saw land on the southwestern horizon. Course was altered accordingly and all night the lookouts were on the alert. But at dawn no land was visible. It had been a cloud. To mistake a cloud on the horizon for land is a very common phenomenon at sea. It deceives sailors even nowadays, when the entire globe is charted; in those days anything was possible.

Columbus was not disturbed by this false landfall, since he reckoned that the fleet was barely two-thirds of the way to Japan. On October 7, when multitudes of birds were seen flying in a southwesterly direction, he changed course to west-southwest, for he knew that the Portuguese had discovered islands by taking their direction from the birds. That was wise, for the fleet was actually crossing the birds' route from North America to the West Indies, and their fall migration had started.

So far, this had been an unusually prosperous voyage. No squalls or gales, no gear lost, no leaks sprung, no men overboard, winds mostly fair. But it was a thrust into the unknown, uncharted ocean, where anything might happen, toward the fabulous Japan which no European had ever seen. The sailors were now becoming discontented and mutinous, fearful they would never return. These fellows had never been more than a week's sail from land. How can we ever get back, said they, if we sail on and on and on? This Genoese is crazy; we're not sailing to the Indies, but to slow death by starvation.

The 9th and 10th days of October, when the fleet was only 200 or 300 miles from the Bahamas, were the most critical of the entire voyage. "Here the people could stand it no longer," noted Columbus in his journal, "complained of the long voyage," but (says Las Casas) "the admiral cheered them as best he could, holding out good hope of the profit they might gain, and, he added, it was useless to complain, since he had come to see to go to the Indies, and so would continue until he found them, with the help of our Lord."

That little speech was the most characteristic of Columbus ever recorded. It embodies all his stubbornness, sincerity, and absolute faith in his mission.

The two captains, Pinzon, as eager to make the Indies as their captain general, were also having trouble with their crews. Evidence of what happened is conflicting, but I, for one, follow the early historian Oviedo, who spoke with many of the officers and sailors, and had far more evidence than has come down to us. He says that Columbus, by tactful and cheery words, "awakened the courage of the weakened minds of those who were about to resort to something shameful. * * * and they agreed to do what he commanded and sail on 3 days and no more." This pact was made on October 10.

With only 3 days' grace, Columbus cracked on all the sail the ships could bear. The fleet averaged seven knots to sunset of the 11th, when the wind increased and the sea rose. Signs of land were now abundant, and the seamen no longer complained. All night twittering birds flew overhead right on the fleet's course; by day, objects were seen that proved land to be near—a green branch with a little pink flower on it, a carved stick, a land plant. When the sun dipped under a clear horizon, every man on deck was watching for a silhouette of land against the sunset; but none was there.

On this last night, October 11–12, as it turned out to be, of the outward passage—a night big with destiny for the human race—the ships sailed as they had never sailed before, rolling and pitching in a high following sea, logging up to 9 knots.

Under these circumstances, with everyone's nerves taut as the topsail sheets, there was almost certain to be a false alarm of land. At 10 p.m., an hour before moonrise, it came. Pedro Yzquierdo, Rodrigo Sánchez and Columbus himself thought they saw a light like a little wax candle rising and falling, but they didn't see it long, and no light was or could have been there, 35 to 40 miles offshore on a rough night. It was all in the skipper's eye. Almost every sailor watching eagerly for an uncertain landfall at night has seen imaginary lights; and often a few shipmates will see them, too, before the illusion disappears.

Now let us get a picture of this great moment in history. It was 2 a.m. October 12, 1492, in the midwatch. Rodrigo de Triana, on the lookout in *Pinta*, sees something like a white sand bar gleaming in the moonlight ahead, then another, and he sings out, "Tierra! Tierra!" Land! Land!

And this time, land it is. What they saw were the white sand cliffs on the eastern coast of the Bahamian Island which the Indians called Guanahani, which Columbus named San Salvador, and the English renamed Watling's and then San Salvador again.

As soon as day broke they squared away past the southwest point of the island. There they found that the coast trended north, giving good protection from the wind and sea; so, with sails trimmed close on the starboard tack, they sailed slowly northward in the lee of the land, looking for an opening in the coral reef. After logging about 4 miles an opening appeared, north of what is now called Gardiner Reef. All three vessels then entered the bay now called Long, and came to anchor off a white sand beach. Not until the Christmas of 1956 was a monument erected there to mark the spot.

It was now the middle of the forenoon watch. Naked natives could be seen assembling on shore. The Spaniards were seething with excitement—the Indies at last. For nobody had the slightest doubt, having come so far—33 days from the Canaries—that this was an outlying island of China or Japan. The officers of the caravels boarded the flagship to congratulate Columbus, hailed him as Admiral of the Ocean Sea and Viceroy of the Indies, begged his pardon for ever doubting him, and swore fealty and allegiance for the future.

Next, a landing party is organized. The boats, each rowed by 8 or 10 sailors, carry ashore Columbus and the three captains, Rodrigo Sánchez, the royal comptroller, Luis de Torres, the interpreter, and Rodrigo de Escobedo, the flag secretary. While the six gay banners, their staffs planted in the sand, wave in the breeze, all hands fall on their knees and thank God for His immeasurable mercy at having brought them to this land. Columbus, rising, draws his sword, names the island San Salvador—the Holy Saviour—and, summoning all hands to witness, takes formal possession of it in the name of Ferdinand and Isabella, while scribe Rodrigo de Escobedo—provided with inkhorn and quill pen—writes down the record.

The Indians, as Columbus promptly insisted these natives were, must have been dumfounded. They had never seen such people as these "men from the sky," as they called them, nor any boat larger than a dugout canoe. But they were a trading people and seemed to know instinctively what sailors want after a long voyage, since they kept the young girls away from the beach. Columbus had brought with him an assortment of the trading truck that the Portuguese used on the Gold Coast—red caps,

glass beads, hawk's bells, tambourine jingles, and the like. These proved to be just what the Indians wanted.

In turn, they had gold ornaments, parrots and skeins of cotton, which they gladly exchanged for any sort of trinket, even pieces of broken crockery and lace points, so that Columbus had to set up a price scale to prevent his sailors from robbing them. He reported that the natives were straight-limbed, well built, and handsome; not black like the Africans, "but the color of the Canary Islanders. Their nudity, lack of private property and ignorance of money and of iron suggested to him that they were primitive communists, a holdover from the fabled Golden Age when the world was young and innocent. But their completely defenseless state, far from arousing his compassion, suggested that they could easily be enslaved; while their apparent absence of religion marked them as a fertile field for missionaries. The first desire, alas, prevailed over the second. Every sailor came home with the conviction that God created the Indians to work for Spaniards; and before a single missionary reached Guanahani, that island, named after the Saviour of mankind, had been depopulated by Spanish slave raiders.

Not only the day we celebrate as Columbus Day, October 12, but the next two as well, were spent in exploring San Salvador.

The 3 days spent in San Salvador, which Columbus imagined to be as near Japan as Okinawa is, were perhaps the most delightful and wonderful that any sailors have ever had, anywhere. There have been discoveries more spectacular than that of this island outpost to the American continent, but it was there on the 12th of October 1492, that the oceanic barrier which bound Europeans to near horizons and coastal voyages was broken at last, and Spain acquired the key to a new world. San Salvador, for the Spaniards, was a clean break with the past. The people were completely strange in appearance and spoke a tongue that no man could understand. Every tree, shrub, and flower was new; the pottery, the ornaments, the houses, and canoes were completely unlike anything that the most traveled sailors had seen in Africa; and as none of them had ever visited China or Japan it was easy to conclude that this island lay off the Asiatic mainland—but what part of the mainland, and where was Japan? These poor naked people, it is true, were nothing like the gorgeously clad orientals described by Marco Polo, but hadn't one always suspected that Marco Polo was a big liar? Some such thoughts must have been passing through the minds of Columbus and the Pinzóns and Niños when they hopefully set sail from San Salvador for—as they hoped—Hangchow or Yeddo.

However that may be, the 12th day of October 1942 not only marks a new era in history; it was the day on which those lucky sailors of the Columbus fleet had the most unusual experience enjoyed by explorers in the modern world.

NATO, the Communist Bloc, and the Uncommitted Nations of the World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE L. HAYS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a most interesting article on NATO and the Atlantic Congress by Dr. Howard White of the Department of Government, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio. The Congress met for a week in London last June and was participated in by 650 citizens from the NATO countries. There were 130 delegates from the United States. It was my privilege to be one of them.

NATO, THE COMMUNIST BLOC, AND THE UNCOMMITTED NATIONS OF THE WORLD

(By Howard White)

Has President Eisenhower's tour of the principal NATO capitals and his exchange of visits with Premier Khrushchev lessened tensions so that we can look forward to peaceful coexistence with the Communist bloc and to the gradual development of effective world government through the U.N.? Or, must we become reconciled to a divided world with conflicting economic policies, propaganda, and a continuing heavy burden of armament? To a divided world in which we can never be sure that some Russian or Chinese dictator may not decide that he commands sufficient military power to seize world dominion and thus precipitates mutual destruction instead of making the world safe for communism?

Even if Marxist theory that war is inherent in the nature of capitalist society has been revised, as one recent visitor to Russia has reported, so that "Soviet philosophers see no ideological or historical obstacles in the way of accommodation with the capitalist West," the same reporter notes that "the confrontation of the United States and the U.S.S.R. continues—largely because of the anarchy in the international field, producing an old-fashioned balance-of-power struggle." (Norman Cousins, Saturday Review, Aug. 29, 1959, p. 20.)

It seems to me that the foreseeable future will be much like the past decade, except that the struggle for control of the still uncommitted and neutral peoples will be intensified. A third world war may not be imminent so long as military power is substantially equal, but frequent incidents such as those which have led to fighting within the borders of India and Laos will test the readiness of free nations forcibly to resist Communist aggression.

Consequently, the survival of the free nations and the maintenance of their influence in underdeveloped areas of the world depend upon effective organization both for defense and for achieving better living conditions for all peoples not in Communist bondage. Can an existing organization serve these purposes? Not the U.N., because there the Communist nations can block action. The reasons for their membership in such agencies as they have seen fit to join seem to be to produce deadlocks and to provide a forum for their propaganda.

To some extent, the Organization of American States may be utilized to check the spread of Communist influence; but many, if not all, Latin American states need capital and technical assistance to raise their own living standards. The principal reliance must be upon expanding functions of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, NATO, which, as a military alliance, "has, in its first 10 years, preserved the peace of Europe, although the threat of aggression is still present." Indicative of a growing realization of the need to expand NATO's functions is a declaration adopted by the Atlantic Congress which met in London, June 5–10, 1959, that "The time is ripe for these nations" (members of NATO) "to build an Atlantic community with responsibilities extending to military, political, economic, social and scientific fields."

I was privileged to serve as a delegate to that Congress. Its recommendations can become realities only with popular support. They deserve consideration by citizens of every country which is a member of the alliance. What I have to tell you about the Congress and its deliberations may help you to realize how essential for counteracting the designs of the Communist bloc is a unified center of power in the Atlantic community.

The phrase, Atlantic community, is a misnomer. Italy, Greece, and Turkey are members of NATO. Even this extension did not satisfy those who prepared the program for the Congress. Its studies were to be "outward-looking in terms of geography, forward-looking in terms of time." The Congress fulfilled these requirements. Much attention was given as to how to counteract Communist influence in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Military obligations of signatories of the North Atlantic Treaty do not extend to these parts of the world. As discussion proceeded in subcommittees, in committees, and in plenary sessions of the Congress it became evident that members felt the need to build an organization whose geographical and functional scope was not limited to the military defense of nations bordering the North Atlantic and the northern and eastern shores of the Mediterranean.

The Congress opened on the morning of June 5 with addresses by Queen Elizabeth and Prime Minister Macmillan. For this session, we met in the Great Hall of the Palace of Westminister The delegates were in their seats by 9:55. During the next half-hour, and before the Queen's arrival, there entered at the north door of the Hall and proceeded to their appointed places, the State Trumpeters (who sounded a fanfare for the Queen and Prince Philip as they took their places on the stage), the Guards of the Honourable Corps of the Gentlemen-at-Arms and Her Majesty's Bodyguard of the Yeomen of the Guard. Their medieval costumes, bright red predominating, enlivened the scene at the same time that they and the Great Hall, originally built almost 900 years ago, exemplified the antiquity and the continuity of the pomp and pageantry which surround British political institutions.

In spite of the participation by the highest officials of the British Government and the presence among the delegates of members of legislatures of NATO nations, the Atlantic Congress was not an official body. Its delegates had not been chosen by the governments but by national committees of citizens supporting NATO. The Association of NATO Parliamentarians initiated the calling of the Congress to signalize the tenth anniversary of the North Atlantic Treaty and to study "the whole complex of both problems and prospects facing the NATO countries . . ."

The United States was allotted the largest number of delegates, 130. (Among those appointed but unable to attend were Senators Hubert Humphrey and John Sherman Cooper and President Grayson Kirk of Columbia University.) France, Germany, Italy and the United Kingdom were each assigned 70 delegates; the other NATO countries proportionately to their smaller populations, had fewer delegates. The delegates were chosen to be representative of politics, industry, commerce, finance, labor, agriculture, education and mass media in their respective countries. It was thought that they would, more freely than officially-appointed delegates, discuss and make recommendations on "those subjects on which governments would hesitate to act without a display of influential public support."

Such was the composition of the Congress which heard the Queen say: "These old walls have witnessed innumerable stirring events in our national history." (She did not mention the trial which resulted in the beheading of Charles I.) "Today they are sheltering a meeting which has significance far beyond the boundaries of any one State.

* * * The Atlantic community is the first real effort to give practical form to a growing desire of the people of this part of the world to work more closely together. * * *"

How strong was the desire to work more closely together? The more than 600 delegates came from only 14 of the 15 nations which have adhered to the North Atlantic Treaty of 1949. Iceland was not represented because of its unsettled dispute with Great Britain over fishing rights within 12 miles of its shores. NATO, being almost exclusively a military alliance, had no machinery to settle this dispute or such earlier differences as that between Great Britain, Greece and Turkey over Cyprus, and the even more serious conflict between the United States and Great Britian and France when the latter two nations sought to wrest control of the Suez Canal from Egypt.

These evidences of deficient authority in NATO may have been considered in one of the other four committees into which the delegates were divided. These evidences were not mentioned in Committee E, Relations with the Communist Bloc, or in its Subcommittee 3, Soviet and Western Propaganda Techniques, to which I was assigned. Nothing was said about these instances of NATO's inadequacy in any of the regular plenary sessions of the Congress. In the extraordinary session on Tuesday evening, addressed by Prime Minister Macmillan, NATO Secretary-General Paul-Henri Spaak, and other prominent men, the Prime Minister of Norway commented regretfully on the absence of Icelandic delegates. Perhaps it is more diplomatic not to refer to specific instances of failure, but how can stronger institutions be built if malfunctioning is ignored?

Obviously, disputes among member states weaken the structure of the alliance. If there is to be a genuine union to oppose Communist aggression, some supranational authority must be created, as it has been in the six-nation Coal and Steel Authority and in the same six-member European Economic Community, better known as the Common Market. Such authority is needed, not only to command a unified military force but also to settle disputes among members. To create such an authority over NATO members was a proposal distasteful to most delegates. The Congress adopted the previously quoted declaration that the time is ripe for these nations to build an Atlantic community with responsibilities extending to military, political, economic, social and scientific fields. But the building of an Atlantic community was left to the national governments which should convene a special conference of leading citizens to examine exhaustively means of attaining greater unity.

If the 15 NATO signatory states act on this recommendation, the special conference may face the issue of supranational authority and agree upon what sovereign powers the national governments shall give up. The Atlantic Congress requested that it be convened not later than the spring of 1960, and that it be composed of not more than a hundred leading representative citizens, directed to convene for as long as necessary in order to examine exhaustively, and to recommend as expeditiously as possible, the means by which greater cooperation and unity may best be developed within the Atlantic community.

Even if the national governments do set up this special conference, there are at least two reasons for being pessimistic about results. First, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to get a larger proportion of leading representative citizens to serve in the special conference than there was among the delegates to the Atlantic Congress. The special conference would be much smaller and would have more time to resolve, or dissolve, differences. Such an outcome would tend to be negated by the second handicap: the fact that the members are to be shown by the respective national governments. If an unofficial congress of leading citizens can not agree upon definite limits on national sovereignty, a conference of official representatives of the national governments is not likely to accomplish more.

It seemed to me that when the British and some other delegates opposed giving supranational authority to NATO they were really saying: "We do not want the United States to tell us what to do." To them supranational authority meant the authority of the United States. It may have been on account of this feeling that some delegates from the United States were as insistent as were those of any other country that no supranational authority be vested in NATO. Possibly these delegates did not want those from economically and militarily weaker states to feel that the United States was becoming an imperial power. On the other hand, the reluctance of the U.S. Senate to let our Government be subject without its consent to the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice indicates that the Daughters of the American Revolution are not the only citizens fearful of surrending our national sovereignty. The delegates of the Atlantic Congress were unanimous in urging that national governments should not take major decisions affecting NATO without previous consultation. (Every one of the major powers has done just that on more than one occasion, and will probably do so again as long as there is no superior authority to restrain them. Moreover, pursuant to this resolution, national governments, having consulted with the other signatories, will then be free to act as each thinks best. That illustrates the anarchy of national sovereignty.) The Congress also recommended that meetings of the heads of NATO governments, similar to the one held in December 1957 should take place annually. So what? Does this solve the problem of conflicting national sovereignties?

The problem of the relation of member states to NATO, as dealt with by the Atlantic Congress, can be interpreted more favorably. To do so, however, we must start with the assumption that there is not yet an Atlantic Community. Several expressions in the reports of committees, as well as statements of speakers in plenary sessions, called for building an Atlantic Community.

The Report of Committee B, Political, is explicit on this point. It said:

"[T]he problem before us is whether the alliance as it operates today gives effective expression to this desire of our peoples, whether we have yet reached a sufficient degree of unity, whether existing measures are adequate to meet the dangers—in a word, whether its policy is adequate to meet requirements.

"This then is the crux of the matter. The pooling of our national resources in the traditional form of international cooperation seems today hopelessly inadequate and out of date compared with the new danger that is threatening us all in equal measure. Of course, one solution would be to bring about some form of political federation of all of our states. The idea of such a federation at this time should not be ruled out, but we must face up to the possibility that it may be psychologically premature. In any event we must proceed beyond the stage of an alliance. In other words what we must do is create a genuine Community.

"This will not be an easy task. * * * At all events, there is a fundamental principle which we must acknowledge as the cornerstone of this Community; namely, that the traditional concept of the sovereignty of our countries must not be regarded as something unalterable, like Holy Writ. It must also be realized that in our democratic society the rights of the individual, though they remain the general rules of that society, are limited by law in order to preserve the freedom of other individuals, or to insure social progress in accordance with technical progress. Hence the need for us to accept limitations of the sovereignty of our states; limitations which are urgently called for by the overriding needs of our defense, our well-being and our unity."

By adopting this report, the Congress showed an awareness of the need for building a genuine Atlantic community, a realization that it does not yet exist. For a Congress of over 600 delegates from 14 nations to accept such pronouncements of the inadequacy of existing institutions may be ground for some consolation; but until practical steps are taken to create a supranational authority over the 15 states in NATO, we should not feel safe from aggressive acts by the monolithic power of the Communist bloc.

As I indicated in the beginning, the Atlantic Congress was not solely concerned with a more effective political union of the 15 nations. It wanted this, without being sure how to attain it. It also wanted its original defensive posture to be strengthened. Beyond these objectives was the realization, as expressed by the Secretary-General of NATO, Paul-Henri Spaak, that "in the coming years it is probably to the economic and social aspects that we shall have to pay the greatest attention; and the less economically developed countries of Asia and Africa will probably be the scene of the clash between the Communist and the free world."

Herein lies the main difference between the first and the second decades of NATO's existence. Necessarily, the first decade required concentration upon consolidating defensive military power and upon rebuilding the shattered economies of Western Europe. Russia was engaged in similar tasks in its own territories. The second decade is to witness a worldwide contest between Communist and NATO powers to influence the economic development of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and possibly of Latin America as well. Various powers of western Europe controlled such development as took place in their respective colonies; but the colonizing era has ended. Peoples of Asia and Africa are asserting their political independence and striving to improve their living standards. Selected leaders from these awakening lands are indoctrinated with Communist ideology. Russia's phenomenal industrial progress is exhibited, and financial and technical assistance is promised with no strings attached.

The Russian program is designed to counter the point IV program of the United States. The general chairman of the U.S. delegation to the Atlantic Congress, Eric Johnston, who has had experience with technical assistance programs in the Near East, told the Congress that "if Africa and Asia go Communist, the Atlantic alliance will be thoroughly outflanked. * * * [H]ere is the central battleground we face; here is the engagement we have with communism * * * In this economic arena, victory is clearly attainable—if we give it half the attention, half the funds and initiative we now give our military defense. * * * Thus far, much of our aid has been given piecemeal and at random, without the essential continuity through which these nations can make long-range plans."

Eric Johnston proposed "to approach the problem of economic growth through the internationalization of econom aid." Speaking as a citizen of the United States, he declared that we "cannot go it alone. There is for us the need for a coordinated pattern of aid in which other advanced economies will take their proper part. Beginning now and in our Western World, we should con-

sider the establishment of a lending consortium, a coordinated long-term fund capable of rooting stable economies in Asia and Africa. The nations of the Atlantic Community, together with such advanced economies as Switzerland and Japan, would be lending partners in the consortium."

In line with Eric Johnston's idea, but somewhat less specifically, the Congress declared "That the Atlantic countries should undertake a massive and sustained effort to help the peoples of the less developed countries to achieve a rising standard of living together with individual freedom, human dignity, and democratic institutions; in this effort we must act not as outside patrons but as equal partners with them in a joint enterprise of freedom."

Committee E, Relations With the Communist Bloc, was also concerned with "the politically uncommitted nations of the world, and particularly with those among them that are still classified in the stage of relatively low industrial development, living standards and economic growth rates." These, it declared, "will be a primary target for Communist penetration in the years ahead * * *." To counteract these efforts, the committee recommended, and the Congress approved, that "an international unofficial organization be set up as a separate institution, for the purpose of diffusing throughout the world basic information which will help people to assess and understand more clearly the ideological aggression of totalitarian communism and to appreciate the true value of liberty."

Perhaps nothing more could be accomplished by over 600 delegates from 14 countries in 6 days and nights crowded with subcommittee, committee, and plenary sessions, receptions, dinners, and a special midnight performance of "My Fair Lady." The reports and recommendations showed an awareness of the insufficiency of reliance upon national sovereignties; a realization that the nations of the free world need to act in a unified manner, not only in maintaining their military shield, but also by concerted assistance to the less developed peoples of the world. The North Atlantic community can only endure if it develops a global character. To do this, unified economic and technical assistance programs and also a centralized propaganda agency will be required effectively to check the designs of Moscow and Peiping.

There's Magic in the Mississippi but Stream Also Creates a Practical Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT A. EVERETT

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, after Congress adjourned last fall an article appeared in the State Gazette, of Dyersburg, Tenn., which is in our district, relative to the Mississippi River Commission, which I think should be brought to the attention of the Members of the Congress.

Under the able leadership of Maj. Gen. W. A. Carter this commission is doing a wonderful job for the people of the Mississippi Valley.

This article from the State Gazette follows:

THERE'S MAGIC IN THE MIGHTY MISSISSIPPI, BUT STREAM ALSO CREATES A PRACTICAL PROBLEM

Since time began, rivers have captured the imagination of man. They have been an inspiration for poets, magic for the ordinary, and a boon, as well as a problem, for the practical. There are the sweet, gently flowing Afton, the mysterious Nile, the blue Danube, and the mighty Mississippi.

It is interesting to discover the personality of a river. In this the Mississippi presents no problem, for it is indeed, a mighty river, a "devil in the ditch," an "angel in disguise." Shifting, winding, eroding, its tons and tons of water flow ceaselessly to the Gulf of Mexica. At Cairo, Ill., 534 river miles north of Vicksburg, Miss., headquarters of the Mississippi River Commission, the Ohio and the Upper Mississippi Rivers join to form the lower Mississippi. Taming the lower portion of this "devil in the ditch" and keeping him securely in his shackles is the responsibility of a body of seven men. These men, appointed by the President of the United States and confirmed by the Senate, form the 80-year-old Mississippi River Commission, a U.S. Army Corps of Engineers agency. The general duties of the Commission as an executive body include the recommendation of policy and work programs, the study of and reporting upon the necessity for modifications or additions to the flood control and navigation project, recommendation on matters authorized by law, making inspection trips and holding public hearings. The Commission is scheduled to begin its annual low-water inspection trip on October 5, starting just above Cairo at Cape Girardeau, Mo.

CREATED IN 1879

Charged with harnessing and improving the lower Mississippi to make its valley safe from floods and the river a strong navigation artery, the Mississippi River Commission was created in 1879 by act of Congress. It made its first inspection trip that year, with General Benjamin Harrison (who was later to become President of the United States) and James B. Eads, noted engineer, as two of its members. Each year since that time, the commission has made semiannual inspection trips during the high water season in the spring and the low water season in the fall. The present members of the Mississippi River Commission, who might well be called the managers of the lower Mississippi River, are Maj. Gen. W. A. Carter, U.S. Army, president, Vicksburg, Miss.; Mr. DeWitt L. Pyburn, civil engineer, Baton Rouge, La.; Mr. E. F. Salisbury, civil engineer, Kansas City, Mo.; Rear Adm. H. Arnold Karo, Director, U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, Washington, D.C.; Mr. Harry L. Bolen, Cairo, Ill.; Brig. Gen. William W. Lapsley, U.S. Army division engineer, U.S. Army Engineer Division, Ohio River, Cincinnati, Ohio; Maj. Gen. Keith R. Barney, U.S. Army division engineer, U.S. Army Engineer Division, Missouri River, Omaha, Nebr.

On their inspections, the commissioners make a thousand-mile trip downriver on the steamer *Mississippi*, one of only a few remaining paddlewheel steamers on the river. The deep-throated, three-toned whistle of the steamer, blown by the pilot with a virtuoso's touch, heralds the steamer's approach to each landing where stops are scheduled. There local officials, levee board and drainage district officials, barge line interests, businessmen, farmers, and others come aboard to greet the commissioners and find seats in the improvised meeting hall in the main cabin of the boat where public hearings are held. Questions of importance to be put before the commissioners concern maintenance of flood-control works, higher levees, new revetment, deeper channels, improved drainage, and the like.

A PARTNERSHIP

A grassroots event, these public hearings, where the river is a common denominator in a partnership between the local interests and the river commission, are a springboard of ideas where questions of mutual concern for a common problem and a common hope are discussed. The partnership of local interests and the Corps of Engineers has paid big dividends in bringing successful flood control to a valley often ravaged by the unbridled river. In fact, as the Chief of Engineers recently testified before the Congress, the dividends have already been $6 for every $1 invested.

With the flood control work has also come great benefits from a navigation artery which, with its many arms, is the greatest in the world. From the Alleghenies and the Rockies from forests and plains, from streams small and large, come the waters that form the lower Mississippi River. A thousand miles from Cairo, Ill., to the gulf, a thousand winding miles to the sea. The Mississippi, greatest of all American rivers, is often peaceful, silent, lazy. But not always. Sometimes it's wild and wild rivers must wear a harness to work for mankind. It is to this end, the harnessing of the turbulent Mississippi for the good of mankind, that the Mississippi River Commission is dedicated.

CONTROL A REALITY

Since the present project was authorized by act of Congress in 1928, the most spectacular accomplishment has been making flood control a reality. A 1,600-mile system of giant earth levees, cutoffs which have straightened Mark Twain's meandering river and lowered flood stages, overbank floodways which in time of great flood will divert from the Mississippi an amount of water equal to the floodflow of the Missouri and Tennessee Rivers combined with that of the Yazoo River thrown in for good measure, concrete revetment of the riverbanks to prevent the Mississippi's wandering, and other features such as reservoirs on the tributaries, floodwalls, dikes, and pumping stations are combined to give the lower Mississippi Valley successful flood protection.

But navigation was the commission's earliest concern. Today, with deep-draft tows pushing strings of barges often a fifth of a mile long, maintenance of a navigable channel is of even greater importance. Revetment is helping to accomplish this, and dredges carve channels through shallow sand crossings to keep the river open. It will be 255 years next year since the first international cargo floated down the Mississippi—a load of 15,000 bear and deer hides bound for France. The river has come a long way since then, and cargoes have changed. But the Mississippi is still the Nation's central artery, now the main stem of America's 28,600-mile inland waterways system.

CARGO DIFFERS

Navigation statistics no longer show deer and bear hides as cargo. It's oil and grain, coal, stone, sulfur and steel, bulk commodities suitable for transportation in the huge barges pushed by sleek modern towboats traveling a deep and safe waterway. The Mississippi carries mass transportation on a gigantic scale. But this is as it should be, for the Mississippi River is of gigantic proportions and accomplishments.

Draining 41 percent of the Nation, all or parts of 31 States and 2 Canadian Provinces, the Mississippi gathers waters from as far east as New York State and as far west as Montana. The drainage system roughly resembles a huge funnel with its spout at the Gulf of Mexico. Enough rain falls on this area in a normal year to fill a cubical tank 8 miles on each side, and during a flood year, a million million tons of water pass down the Mississippi.

Supporting commerce from the entire country, the Mississippi is truly a national river. But it is international as well. In the great river ports of New Orleans and Baton Rouge, ships of all nations gather—Iranian oil tankers; spice-laden vessels from India; ships from the "have not" areas of the world receiving grain from the Midwest to feed their hungry populations; and South American traders taking on shiny new automobiles from Detroit for the streets of Lima and Rio.

Industry is moving to the lower Mississippi, too, in a steady march with a Dixieland beat. Attracted in part by an awakened, progressive South that is "on the move" but more attracted by the abundance of water and bulk transportation afforded by the river, hundreds of new industries have moved into the area in the past few years. Aluminum plants, oil refineries, huge chemical plants, furniture and textile mills—a diversified industrial complex is rising in what was once "cotton" country.

TO CHECK WORK

Of particular interest to the Commissioners while making the low-water inspection will be a progress check of work at the Old River control site, just below Natchez, Miss., where a plan of improvement is under construction to prevent the Mississippi from behaving in an especially devilish way. It has been trying to change its course and flow to the Gulf of Mexico through Old and Atchafalaya Rivers. This diversion, which offers the waters of the Mississippi a shorter route to the Gulf, would also isolate Baton Rouge and New Orleans from their present advantageous position on its banks.

These and other matters are the concern of the Mississippi River Commission as the Mississippi becomes more and more important to the future of America. It's paradoxical—this steamboat trip along the silent Mississippi in the jet and missile and Moon-rocket age. But it makes a lot of sense. Witness the lesson taught by the river itself—a great rushing, plunging flood brings only destruction, while the steady, orderly flow made possible by manmade improvements brings benefit for all. This has been proved by test.

Republican Club of the First Ward of East Orange, N.J.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, on December 9, 1959, at an executive committee meeting of the Republican Club of the First Ward of East Orange, N.J., Mr. Joseph H. Bissell, historian of the club delivered the talk appended.

It is a fitting tribute to an organization now 50 years of age that has contributed greatly to the political life of our country and New Jersey.

It is interesting to note that the abilities of many members have been recognized by election to high office. Two members, Albert L. Vreeland and Frank Sundstrom were both elected to the House of Representatives and served with distinction.

I have asked permission to insert the remarks of Mr. Bissell as they convey the high purpose of this organized political group that may well be the oldest Republican club in New Jersey and possibly the oldest of its kind in the Nation. Mr. Bissell's talk follows:

In the early days of the 20th century this great country of ours was, with the rest of the world, actually catapulted into a new experience in living. At that time people little comprehended what that new experience was to be. Certainly only the most astute men of wisdom and philosophy at that time could not have predicted with any accuracy the swift arrival, within a few decades, of the automobile, the airplane, the radio, the television, the atomic age, the vast economic changes, the awakening of men's minds to a great parade of ideas (some good and some not so good), the waning of some older world powers, and the growth of some new world powers. Living today we see those events and many, many of far-reaching import on history.

Now in 1960 we find ourselves on the threshold of things to come more so than ever before. We earth people are on the move and we will go forward to great new heights of living as the kaleidoscope of new advancements unfold. If the quickly occurring procession of events of the past 60 years is any barometer, these new penetrations into the present unknown must come. As we now have had the experience of these past few generations, we must see the necessity of girding ourselves to meet anything with equanimity and stable wisdom so that they do not destroy us. Particularly is this true of government; always has it been true of government. For, if people are to live in organized society under stable government—and there seems to be no other way to achieve continuity of society—they must be ever ready to probe into the future for new advancements and adapt themselves in thinking to accept those new progressions in order to continue to survive, progress and be ready to meet and defeat those men who would selfishly misuse those new progressions to establish themselves as the sole power. This is the responsibility of free men if they wish to remain free.

A good many years ago—slightly more than 100—a group of people in our United States of America, in wisdom organized themselves to galvanize into action the true concept of the American dream. They seemed to find that the governing ideas and practices of those first several decades of our new Nation were a medley of attempts to identify this new dream of government and they particularly found the freedom idea was conspicuously misused. Thus they set forth to found a new approach for our American dream. They simply said men must be free. Upon this declaration they founded a new political party. To lead this movement they chose, either in their wisdom or by the wisdom of God, the first great leader of the movement who was elected the first Republican President of the United States. This great leader—Abraham Lincoln—came to epitomize the spirit of the whole American dream when he recorded for all time these immortal words: "* * * government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

Not so many years ago—just 50 years to be exact—this Republican Club of the first ward of East Orange, N.J., came into formal existence. In this area of East Orange there were men actuated by the spirit of true Republicanism for on September 29, 1910, 58 of them gathered into a group, organized our club, and incorporated as such. As one would expect because of the limitations of the voting franchise of that day all members of the club at the outset were men. Today in 1960 the membership includes both men and women as all voters are eligible to join in the club's activities.

Preceding the official organization of the club in 1910, about 15 men had met together rather informally each year shortly before election day to place their combined thinking and influence behind the candidates of the Grand Old Party. The first meeting of these men in 1904 was held at the home of Bloomfield Littell, 46 East Park Street. Here the avowed purpose was stated to further in every way possible the candidacy of Theodore Roosevelt for President and his running mate, Charles W. Fairbanks, for Vice President. These earlier informal meetings were undoubtedly the real beginnings of our present club.

To be sure from these earlier years we can note many interesting facts about the history of the first ward. Perhaps mentioning a few will suffice to illustrate. For instance there were only two election districts. Then, according to voting statistics, the voters in the area were Republican, 10 to 1. Finally Mr. Littell was an attorney practicing in New York. This last is of special interest because commutation to and from the city must have been a real problem in those days.

The club has always adhered to the true principles of Republicanism—the rights of free men in a free republic for the benefit and welfare of all. It has consistently abhorred the cant and hypocrisy of those who mislead to gain political power in the city, county, State, and Nation. Its members have aimed always to adapt themselves to the changing times and have ever accepted the responsibility of free men and women because they wished to remain free and, not only that, they also wanted the freedom of our American dream for their progeny.

It could be noted, too, that in following the true concept of Republicanism the club members have been free always to think for themselves. They have not ever tolerated bossism among themselves. There have been reasonable differences of opinion and those differences have been expressed freely without fear of repercussion. Differences of opinion preceding a primary election have always been resolved, however, when the wishes of the Republican voters had been registered in each primary, the group has stood united behind the party's candidates.

According to all known facts this club is the oldest Republican club in New Jersey. Probably it is the oldest of its kind in the Nation. It is interesting to note, also, that whenever the wheelhorses of the organization have stepped out for varied reasons, such as health, removal, or death, there have always been new, courageous, and determined successors at hand. This succession of workers for the cause is again emblematical of Republicans for always has this characteristic been true of this great political concept. To maintain it this will surely continue to be necessary, for freedom for the individual will never come without struggle and without dedicated workers to accept the challenge of attaining it and maintaining it. There is no permanence in freedom or any ideal unless we will it so by our determined effort.

In keeping with its aims and purposes of Republicanism, the club has supplied the Nation, the State, the county, and the city of East Orange with men and women of integrity—that great inherent quality necessary for continued good, progressive government. Each and everyone has been inspired to serve his or her constituents well for the benefit of all. This service has been rendered with distinction and honor. A few of these who come readily to mind are:

1. Miss Alice I. Webster, our champion and queen of public service, served 50 years as East Orange city clerk. Her knowledge and efficiency in that capacity are exceeded by none, at least anywhere in New Jersey, as an authority on city clerkship and her counsel is sought by many.

2. Our most distinguished and faithful member is undoubtedly the Honorable Albert L Vreeland who has served our Government as Congressman, colonel of the Army, judge, and commissioner. He has never failed to serve the other members of the club as adviser and friend.

3. The honorable Frank Sundstrom was Congressman from our district while Colonel Vreeland was in the Army. His other well-known success was as all-American tackle while attending Cornell.

4. All of our councilmen, year in and year out for 50 years, were and are members of this club. Anton Krause has had the honor of serving on our city's governing body for 12 years, a notable and distinguished record. Presently Ed Ruhnke is serving the city as a councilman from the first ward. He has served for 7 years and chairman of the city council; Mark Stern has just begun his first term as councilman from the first ward.

5. Mrs. Eliza Wright, widow of former State Senator Wright, served capably and honorably as recreation commissioner, freeholder, and director of our county government.

6. Hon. Charles H. Martens, of beloved memory, was mayor of East Orange for 34 years, in addition to many years of service as councilman from the third ward. He, habitually, attended our yearly club dinners and annual business meetings as well as all of our campaign rallies. He once said, "The heart of the first ward is right." He was a stanch party man and his administration was best known for its strict ethics in the conduct of our city government.

So that anyone interested may have this further information, following are the names of all known club presidents listed alphabetically: Joseph H. Bissell, William J. Cairns, Ross K. Cook, George S. Dates, Chris H. Freimuth, David S. Kelly, Jr., George L. Kelly, Anton Krause, Bloomfield Littell, Hoyt D. Lufkin, James J. MacWithey, Charles Mapletoft, J. W. Marden, John W. Noble, Karl J. Olson, George B. Roesch, Edward E. Ruhnke, M. DeForrest Soverel, Mrs. Edgar Vail, Mrs. Albert L. Vreeland, Hon. Albert L. Vreeland.

With this listing this attempt of a brief history to date of the First Ward Republican Club is hereby ended. The truly complete history of the club, however, will never be ended or written. As long as Republicanism remains a part of the American dream of freedom for everyone regardless of creed or color, the club will prosper and it will practice its Republican ideals. The new penetrations in thinking and practice of an ever-active society will ever be embraced as a part of these great American ideals if the penetrations always fit into the picture of freemen in a free world. My the Eternal Power under whose guidance we aspire to live ever show us the way to this achievement. May our prayers to Him help us and give us strength to attain that goal be bountifully granted. May we always be grateful in humility for His ever blessing.

Railroads Can't Meet Wartime Emergency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, in the January 9, 1960, issue of the Register and Defense Times, Daniel P. Loomis, president of the Association of American Railroads, is the author of an article, titled "Railroads Can't Meet Wartime Emergency." Mr. Loomis' statement is based on the report of the Kilday Subcommittee on Transportation of the House Armed Services Committee and is a revealing article, since it discloses the inability of the Nation's railroads to continue to play their part in support of the national defense effort. Copies of the report and of the hearings conducted by the Kilday subcommittee may be secured from the House Committee on Armed Services and will be very interesting reading for those concerned with the adequacy of transportation systems in support of the National Defense effort in the event of a national emergency.

Mr. Loomis' article follows:

RAILROADS CAN'T MEET WARTIME EMERGENCY

(By Daniel P. Loomis)

(Charges have been made in Congress that the Nation's transportation system is inadequate to meet defense needs in event of national emergency. To give reads a better understanding of this situation, the Register invited the president of the Association of American Railroads, Daniel Loomis, to explain the positon of his industry in national defense.)

The Nation's railroads and Armed Forces have much in common. Both are essential to national security; both have long and proud records of service in the Nation's defense; and both—despite repeated demonstrations of their vital roles in time of emergency—are frequently denied the means to build added strength in time of peace.

In World War II, railroads of the United States confounded the theorists who had buried them prematurely by giving the greatest performance in their history. Their accomplishments included handling of more than 90 percent of all military freight and more than 97 percent of all organized military travel.

At the peak of the war, in 1944, the volume of freight moved by rail was double the prewar volume, and the passenger volume had multiplied four times. Of the total intercity movement of freight, both civilian and military, the railroads' share increased from 61 percent in 1940 to a high of 71 percent in 1943.

Reached mark: Railroaders well recall when they were criticized by high authority for misleading the public, when they promised to move 200,000 barrels of oil a day early in World War II to take up the slack created by the action of enemy submarines operating off the east and gulf coasts. Yet railroads not only quickly reached that mark, but eventually were handling more than 1 million barrels a day.

Commending the railroads for their wartime performance, President Roosevelt, in 1944, observed that "the way our railroads have transported munitions and men to all parts of the United States and to our seacoasts to be sent to our fighting fronts all over the world has earned the admiration and gratitude of the entire American people."

Even in the Korean war, in which other carriers were not hampered by rationing of fuel and scarce materials as they were in World War II, the predominant reliance of the military on railroads was apparent. Military freight routed by railroad during the years 1951–54 amounted to 72 percent of the total. Of the remainder, 23 percent moved by highway and 5 percent by water. In the movement of military passengers, counting both group and individual travel, railroads handled 64 percent of the total, airlines handled 30 percent, and buses, 6 percent.

In another emergency, the need for railroads and the Nation's reliance on them would be at least as great as in any war in the past. Indeed, if war should come to our shores, as is more likely than at any time in history, the need for railroads and the tasks they may be called upon to perform may greatly exceed in importance even their vital role of World War II.

House probe: This, in fact, is the conclusion of a special subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee which in July and August this year conducted an investigation into the adequacy of transportation systems in support of the national defense effort in event of mobilization. This subcommittee, in its report of October 1959, flatly asserted that "no plans for transport dependence can fail to take into account the railroad industry." It added: "* * * military logistical planning is built around the railroads for the bulk of its freight and passenger movements. The other forms of transport, important as they are to the total need, are auxiliary and supplemental to the railroads."

Why the railroads would continue to be vital in another war, whether fought by conventional means or nuclear, has been well stated by Maj. Gen. Charles G. Holle, formerly Deputy Chief of Engineers for Construction of the U.S. Army. Referring to the vast scope and variety of transportation service that would be demanded by the Armed Services in a nuclear war, Holle has said:

"The changes in military planning brought about by the nuclear age will in no wise diminish the needs for such service and may well increase them. The tides of battle may shift with greater rapidity about the globe, requiring more movement and transport."

Whether another war is fought by conventional means or nuclear, or whether the war is over in a matter of days or years, it is clear that destruction on both sides would be widespread and severe. In the vital work of reconstruction following an attack railroads would have their greatest role. And new developments in weapons concepts, rather than lessening reliance on railroads, portend even greater military use for them than in the past.

Missile pads: One of the probable new uses for railroads in another war was revealed recently by Lt. Gen. Francis H. Griswold, vice commander in chief of the Air Force's Strategic Air Command. Plans being developed, General Griswold said, call for using railroad cars as a mobile base for the new Minuteman missile now under development, the purpose being to insure against loss of our retaliatory capability if fixed bases are destroyed.

In the light of this demonstrated and continuing importance of railroads to national defense, the railroad industry, like the Armed Forces, should be given every encouragement possible to remain strong and healthy in the public interest. It is a curious fact, however, that instead of providing encouragement, public policy in many areas is actually a deterrent to the railroads in their efforts to help themselves.

Public policy, for example, has decreed that in the competition for traffic and revenue the competitors of railroads shall have the use of highways, airways and airports, and waterways that are provided, operated, and maintained by Government out of taxes. It further provides that some of these costly public facilities may be used by competitors of railroads either entirely free of charge, as in the case of waterways and the Federal Airways System of navigation and traffic control, or without adequate charge, as in the case of airports and highways.

About face: When it comes to railroads, however, public policy does a complete about-face. It decrees not only that the railroad companies themselves shall provide, operate, and maintain their own road-

way and other facilities, but also that they shall pay heavy taxes on these facilities and that some of the taxes they pay shall be used to provide the highways, airways, and airports, and waterways for the use of railroad competitors.

Another reason for the difficulties that confront railroads in preparing for their defense role is that Department of Defense policies as to allocation of military traffic among the several forms of transportation in time of peace are inconsistent with the predominant reliance which the Armed Forces place on railroads in time of war.

As I told the House Armed Services Subcommittee this year in its investigation into the adequacy of transportation systems to meet a defense emergency, the railroad industry does not today have the reserve equipment to meet an emergency increase in traffic that it had in 1940—this despite new capital expenditures totaling more than $15 billion since the end of World War II. It does not have this reserve capacity because public policies such as those I have described have combined to keep railroad earnings far below the level necessary to support adequately the full-scale improvement effort that is necessary in the public interest.

Time is now: The time to rectify these inequities of public policy is now, not after an emergency is upon us. For as Chairman KILDAY of the House subcommittee said in opening the hearings: "The fact that we had time to prepare and to buildup our transportation capacity in previous conflicts, is no assurance that the same period of grace will be extended to us again. In fact, the reverse is perhaps more in line with probability.

"Therefore, it behooves us to be prepared to meet this situation by providing a posture that will, to the best of our efforts, be adequate in the event of a future conflict."

Shorter Presidential Campaigns

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, in further support of my suggestion for shorter Presidential campaigns, I append herewith an editorial which appeared in the Waterbury-Republican on January 11, 1960:

WORTH LOOKING INTO

It may come as something of a disillusionment to some of our stanch citizens of Irish ancestry to learn that one of their number is advocating borrowing an idea from "our British cousins." But the idea is not without its merits, even if it does have a British flavor.

The time, the money, and the patience expended in our quadrennial presidential election campaigns has not infrequently been a topic of discussion among some of our intelligent and interested citizens.

The consensus has been that we Americans expend too much of all three—but especially money—in the process of selecting our national leaders.

In line with this thought, our own Congressman from the Fifth District of Connecticut, suggests that the U.S. Congress adopt a law limiting presidential campaigns to 60 days, roughly half of the present length. As it now stands, approximately 4 months elapse from the time of the nominating conventions to the day of election. JOHN S. MONAGAN suggests that this is wasteful in many ways and often results in apathy on the part of voters saturated to the gills with political propaganda.

His idea stems, he admits, from the election methods of "our British cousins." In his speech to his colleagues, Mr. MONAGAN pointed out that in Great Britain the whole machinery of a national election, from the first call on September 7, 1959, to the actual day of balloting on October 8, lasted just a month and a day.

He adds: "It is becoming more obvious every day that this 4-month period (in American campaigns) serves no useful purpose. It brings the candidates to physical prostration. It causes the unnecessary expenditure of vast sums of money, and it carries the voting public to a condition of apathy.

"I honestly believe that the time has come to reduce the campaigning period of our national elections * * * a shorter campaign in this country would prevent wear and tear on the candidates; save millions of dollars and preserve the voter's interest in the candidates and the election."

We doubt that the Congressman's suggestion will get to first base, but we think it should have a chance at bat. Who knows—it might even hit a home run.

Dulles' Policies Were the Best Possible in the World He Had To Contend With

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by William Henry Chamberlain from the Wall Street Journal of January 4, 1960. The more experience others have in trying to halt Communist expansionism and preserve our freedom, the more they will come to respect Secretary John Foster Dulles and to appreciate the fundamental soundness of the policies he followed:

DULLES' POLICIES WERE THE BEST POSSIBLE IN THE WORLD HE HAD TO CONTEND WITH

(By William Henry Chamberlin)

Until his display of physical courage in the last months of his life won universal recognition and admiration, the foreign policy of John Foster Dulles probably elicited more brickbats than bouquets. It was easy to attack an attitude of firm resistance to Communist expansion as "unimaginative" and "inflexible," even if critics were not successful in proposing any alternative that did not savor strongly of appeasement.

Certain phrases of Mr. Dulles—"massive retaliatory power," "agonizing reappraisal," "brink of war"—were taken out of context and attacked as bellicose or obnoxious to our allies. These phrases, however, seem more justifiable if the circumstances in which they were used are recalled.

Certainly, for all but absolute pacifists, there are conceivable situations in which the United States would be obliged to use massive retaliatory power. And a reappraisal of American political and military policy in Europe would have been necessary if France had persisted in blocking the rearming of the German Federal Republic. As for "brinkmanship," Mr. Dulles was not proposing to risk war just for the fun of it, but as a response to the familiar Communist maneuver of seeking to realize aggressive ends by threat of force.

Now a Belgian-born professor of political science, Mr. Paul Peeters, has prepared a vindication of the foreign policy of the Eisenhower administration, of which Mr. Dulles was the principal architect and executive. He first presents the doctrine of "massive retaliation" as stated by the administration, often in the administration's own words. He then analyzes the arguments against this doctrine and ends with a consideration of the course and shape of public debate on issues of foreign policy.

POLICY DEFINED

Mr. Peeters carries on his running fight with the critics of Dulles with vigor, logic and lucidity. He makes the point that there is more flexibility than is generally recognized in the expression, "massive retaliation" and deflates some of the horrendous interpretations with the following exposition of what this policy really means:

"If an aggressor is not able to calculate that aggression is a paying proposition, the retaliation to which he exposes himself is massive; it is massive in relation to his expected gains. Defined thus, massive retaliation is self-explanatory. The essence of any punitive action is to make the hurt outbalance the gain; if the aggressor knows in advance that he would lose more than what he would gain, it would be unreasonable for him to carry his aggressive plans into execution. He is deterred. This is what massive retaliation generally means. It does not mean atomic bombs being dropped all over the map, nor does it imply that the United States would fight for the complete destruction of any enemy or that local hostilities would automatically be turned into a general war. The substance of this strategy is its flexibility."

Some of the criticisms of American foreign policy during the Dulles era, as Mr. Peeters shows, cancel each other out. So the administration was reproached, sometimes even by the same individuals, both for endangering the Western coalition by its stand on Suez and for not committing itself to an all-out support of movements against colonialism. One of these criticisms could be justified; but scarcely both.

The author scores another point against American liberals when he remarks: "They repeatedly claim to be ready to defend causes that are morally justified. The trouble is, however, that when there is a cause to defend it never seems to have a moral justification."

BESETTING WEAKNESSES

This hits at one of the besetting weaknesses in the attitude of some Americans toward foreign affairs, a weakness generated during the time when America's role was that of a sidelines spectator and kibitzer in the game of world politics. This weakness is the belief, explicit or implicit, that unless an issue of absolute moralism is involved, there should be no involvement, however great the risk to national interests and security.

But the usual picture in the history of international relations is not of a clash of pure white against dark black, but of something much closer to gray. America's age of innocence in international affairs is being outlived; but enough of this heritage remains to warrant Mr. Peeters' astringent comment.

Although the book is not free from the sin of repetitiousness and the style sometimes

suffers from a rather rarefied scholasticism, there are some well-expressed sharp epigrams:

"Lack of courage surrenders policy to appeasement, the most rigid and inflexible policy of all."

"Spelling out a policy in order to appease domestic opinion serves only to handcuff the administration without tying the hands of an enemy."

"The day communism truly changes it will cease to exist."

Readers of this book will find a good deal of chapter-and-verse evidence for the exaggeration, inconsistency and downright emptiness of many of the stock criticisms voiced against Mr. Dulles' conduct of the Nation's foreign affairs. They will also learn why the Democrats seem to be up a tree as regards a convincing campaign issue in the field of foreign affairs.

Free Passage Through the Suez Canal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the Jewish Federation of Omaha recently adopted a resolution calling for the opening of the Suez Canal to Israeli ships, Israeli cargoes, or Israeli products. The continued denial of the use of the canal to Israeli shipping is contrary to historic agreements and contrary to the policy of the United States.

The unilateral action taken by the United Arab Republic in this instance is a clear violation of international agreements, and I urge that the State Department make a strong protect to the United Arab Republic and also take appropriate action through the United Nations to open this waterway to Israeli interests.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the resolution adopted by the federation:

RESOLUTION OF THE JEWISH FEDERATION OF OMAHA, NEBR., JANUARY 10, 1960

Whereas the United Nations Security Council repeatedly has called upon the Government of Egypt and subsequently the United Arab Republic to respect the Constantinople Convention of 1888 providing for the free passage of the ships of all nations through the Suez Canal; and

Whereas the President of the United States of America personally pledged our Government to secure such free passage at the time of the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Sinai Peninsula; and

Whereas the Government of the United Rrab Republic continues to deny free passage of Israeli ships, Israeli cargoes, or Israeli products through the Suez Canal, the organized Jewish Community of Omaha, Nebr., assembled in its annual meeting on January 10, 1960, does hereby and herewith call upon the United Nations and the United States to take immediate and appropriate action in this matter: Be it

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the President and General Secretary of the United Nations, to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, and the Senators and Representatives of the State of Nebraska in the Congress of the United States.

Research on Causes of Blindness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the Ridder newspapers recently carried a revealing story by Columnist Virginia Kelly on the subject of blindness. It points up the meager amount of funds being devoted to research on this subject of such great and vital importance to so many Americans. I commend the article to the attention of all. It was printed as follows in the Long Beach Press Telegram for January 15:

APATHY SHOWN TOWARD BLINDNESS—FUND SPENT ON RESEARCH SMALL

(By Virginia Kelly)

The thought of blindness has always brought a shudder of terror to mankind. Nevertheless, Americans, including the medical profession, show apathy because so little is spent on research in the cause, treatment and prevention of blindness. Approximately $4,031,714 was spent in 1959 on this research. This includes public and private funds.

In contrast, Americans spent $76 million for lipsticks; $24 million for playing cards; and $14,400,000 for dog and pet medications last year.

An estimated 60 million Americans have eye defects and need glasses. Nine million are children. Three hundred and forty-five thousand persons are legally blind. A million and a half Americans are blind in one eye.

Two of the main blinding diseases are glaucoma and cataracts.

About 1 million Americans have glaucoma without knowing it and may go blind unless they have treatment. Of the known blind, 14 percent have primary glaucoma. Of the legally blind, 24 percent lost their sight from cataracts. Eighteen percent have senile cataracts (found in those over 55) for which the cause is unknown. Six percent have congenital cataracts or the cataracts of youth.

The cataracts of youth have many causes. I experienced the first symptoms of cataracts—a slight blurring of vision in sunlight—before I was 30. A reputable ophthalmologist said, "You imagine it."

For several years thereafter, eye specialists said, "The condition is not serious." They never told me I had cataracts. Doctors still do not agree as to when young patients should be told the truth.

In an astonishing lack of scientific interest—if nothing more—neither the U.S. Government nor the medical profession have figures on the incidence of cataracts in the population.

The most common major eye operation in U.S. hospitals today is for cataracts. The Division of Neurological Diseases and Blindness, National Institute of Health (U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare) lists cataracts as a neurological disease. Many doctors prefer to call a cataract merely "a clouding of the lens of the eye."

Because longevity is increasing, cataracts are on the increase. Also because women live longer than men, more women will eventually have cataracts. Cataracts are present in about 00 percent of the population over 60, and in about 100 percent of the population of 80 or older.

Some doctors believe that drops could be developed which would help in retarding cataracts. None are now in existence.

Doctors emphasize that one must be careful not to translate research data about animals to human cataracts. It is known, however, that depriving rabbits of certain food elements will bring on cataracts. Some medical scientists believe the high incidence of cataracts in India has several contributing causes, including heredity, poor diet, and the reflected glare of sunlight.

Scientists agree that, if enough interest and funds were provided, great strides could be made in cataract research.

It is impossible to evaluate the human misery and loss of productivity to the Nation caused by blindness. More than $90,400,000 in public funds has been expended in 1959 for aid to the blind. This does not include the tremendous sums expended for medical care and hospitalization by those with visual disorders.

Here are some of the things you should know about cataracts: A cataract is a clouding of the lens of the eye. One of the first danger signals is a blurring of vision.

This symptom does not necessarily mean that a person has cataracts but it does mean that thorough eye examination is in order.

Vision can be restored by removal of the cataract by surgery if the only difficulty with the eye is the cloudy lens and if the person is in good general health.

Hospital records show that 85 percent of cataract operations are successful but the operation is still a serious and delicate one requiring great surgical skill.

Formerly, it was thought that a cataract had to be "ripe" for removal. Now the operation is usually performed when the better eye is no longer able to service the patient satisfactorily. The time also depends on the type of business, age, and general condition of the patient.

In many instances, surgeons operate earlier than they formerly did.

In most cases, a person stays in the hospital 8 to 14 days and it will be 4 to 6 weeks before he can be fitted with glasses.

There is no way that a cataract can be cured without an operation. So-called "cures" involving drops, medication by mouth, and the like have not been proved of value. All eye patients must be careful to avoid racketeers and charlatans.

Many Americans have read of the alphachymotrypsin enzymes rather recently developed for use in cataract surgery. During this reporter's recent operation by Dr. Elliott Randolph at Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore these enzymes were used.

Surgical techniques have greatly improved and much of the terror has been removed. Although each surgeon has his own technique, most allow their patients to get up soon after the operation. There is no longer the dreaded immobility of the sandbags to be reckoned with.

Confusion in the Space Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KEN HECHLER
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. HECHLER. Mr. Speaker, some years ago while I was teaching political science at Columbia and Princeton Universities, I used to bring groups of undergraduates to Washington to meet with Members of Congress, the judiciary and high administrative and political officials.

It was on one of these trips that I first met Ralph E. Becker at the Republican

National Committee at the time when he was national head of the Young Republicans. Although we are of different political faiths, I respect Mr. Becker as a brilliant organizer and a patriotic man who always has the interest of America at heart.

Last November, during the 14th annual meeting of the American Rocket Society at the Sheraton Park Hotel in Washington, D.C., Ralph E. Becker delivered a cogent and penetrating address entitled "How To Win the Space Race." So that this excellent analysis of our space program be given wide circulation, I am asking that it be printed in conjunction with my remarks.

Mr. Becker states bluntly:

The United States is running second in a two-party race * * * the machinery we are employing seems ill suited to the task of winning.

Mr. Becker asks:

Why then have we failed to give ground on the front-running Soviet Union? I am persuaded to agree with the growing number of qualified observers who have concluded that the answer lies in the organization of our space efforts and not its extent and caliber.

Mr. Becker goes on to state that our space program lacks "well-defined long-range objectives" and is also duplicative, "laboring under a maze of ill-coordinated and sometimes conflicting committees, agencies, and councils, and as devoid of a day-to-day central administrative authority."

Mr. Speaker, these criticisms, coming from a leading Republican and patriot, are devastating. Recently, I called attention to the need for an organization like the Manhattan project, which developed the atomic bomb during World War II, to administer our space program.

Mr. Speaker, although there are aspects of Mr. Becker's solution to the problem with which I do not completely agree, I believe he is 100 percent correct in his analysis of what is wrong with the current administrative mess in our space and missile programs.

I commend Mr. Becker's remarks to the attention of all thoughtful Americans.

HOW TO WIN THE SPACE RACE

(By Ralph E. Becker [1])

Implicit in the problem how to win the space race are several facts of life Americans must face and accept.

The basic assumption that cannot be avoided or understated is that this country is in a race—an intensely competitive contest for the highest possible stakes—survival. With our collective lives and fortunes riding on the outcome, we cannot afford to bemoan the fact that the race may not have been of our choosing or the ground rules to our liking. Nonetheless, it began on October 4, 1957, has accelerated, and though the United States finally left the starting gate we are still many lengths behind.

And this is the second basic fact which seems to become more evident with every new Soviet feat, namely, that the United States is running second in a two-party race.

Lastly, what now appears to be painfully clear is that even after a reluctant start and a too slowly developing thirst for the chase, the machinery we are employing seems ill suited to the task of winning.

America should be told and retold in unequivocal terms that this is a winner take all race. There is no place or show money in this race. Despite the fact that Mr. Khrushchev has temporarily muted the Communist trumpet, he left us with no allusions that he has changed the basic theme—the world is inexorably moving toward communism. The Soviet Premier may have decided that the audience has wearied of this theme in martial notes and that now is the time for symphonic instrumentation. But regardless of how the Soviets express their objective of world domination, it exists, and their prime tools for achieving it are the breathtaking weapons in their missile arsenal.

Soviet supremacy in the production and use of missiles and space vehicles will give them a twofold advantage. One, the United States will and ability to combat Communist moves of aggression will be paralyzed by the threat of mass destruction, and, two, the world will be told the Communist system is best suited to the new era of civilization in which man has escaped his earthy confines. It takes little imagination or foresight to anticipate our plight were such advantages to reside in the hands of the masters of the Kremlin. Our eventual submission to Communist dictates and control would be assured.

The challenge is real—it needs only articulate expression and acceptance by the Government and the people of this great country. It would be disastrous to allow the Soviets to win the space race. It is unthinkable that we would lose by default and equally beyond reason to compete without utilizing all of our ability in the most effective manner possible.

This is the crux of the problem. It is not enough to desire victory, for the will to win is not lacking in our opponents. Our resolve must be accompanied by the most efficacious utilization of our talent and productive ability. It is an individual American characteristic to want to win—we are notoriously poor losers. Never looking for a fight, we have never backed away from one when the challenge was clear and the provocation sufficient. If this threat is made clear to our people, they will once again translate their will to prevail into a collective national effort to be victorious.

Assuming then the existence of the will to fight and win, do we have the wherewithal to achieve this victory?

No country seems better equipped to win such a race than the United States. We have the most money, the greatest production capacities, the largest pool of research facilities, and walked away from World War II with the cream of the crop of German missile experts to complement our large reservoir of brilliant scientists. Are we spending enough money, employing enough people, and using enough facilities? The outlay of $25 billion since 1950 and the scores of private and governmental projects engaging thousands of skilled scientists and technicians compel an affirmative answer to all of these questions.

Why then have we failed to gain ground on the front-running Soviet Union?

I am persuaded to agree with the growing number of qualified observers who have concluded that the answer lies in the organization of our space effort and not in its extent or caliber. This conclusion finds support in the competence and diversity of its proponents. Numbered among those who feel that the weak link in our space program is its organization are many of its scientific and administrative architects, past and present, astute congressional leaders, some military leaders, seasoned newsmen, and a wide range of private citizens and government leaders experienced in management.

What are the factors and circumstances which militate against any other conclusion? In general terms, our space effort is attacked as being without well defined long-range objectives, as being duplicative, as laboring under a maze of ill-coordinated and sometimes conflicting committees, agencies, and councils, and as devoid of a day-to-day central administrative authority.

A brief recital of some specific facts and figures gives these criticisms a large degree of substance, correctness, and credibility. Included among those entities with some responsibilities and authority in the space program are: four separate presidential advisory councils; the Bureau of the Budget; two congressional committees; the Department of Defense and thereunder the Joint Chiefs, the Office of Defense Research and Engineering, the Institute for Defense Analysis, the Advanced Research Projects Agency, the Army, Navy, and Air Force each with research, development, and operational projects; the National Aeronautics and Space Administration with its seven research and operational projects. Supporting this vast governmental complex are a great variety of industrial contractors with intricate organizational structures rivaling those of the Federal agencies. Interspersed through this maze are numerous liaison groups at all levels which advise, criticize, and coordinate.

This bureaucratic complex, consisting of 61 distinct organizations and committees concerned with the space effort, is administering 67 rocket, missile, and space projects plus scores of subsidiary research projects. Physical separation, organizational separation, differing security classifications, jealousies, incomplete exchange of data and views assure duplication no matter how diligent are the attempts to avoid it. And the evidence is that duplication is not avoided but fostered by interservice and military-civilian rivalries for domination of projects and facilities. Why should all three services separately be studying space medicine and all services and the civilian agency be working along parallel lines on propulsion, instrumentation, tracking, and other aspects of missilery and space probing?

That a program so fractional, so disparate, so unwieldy, could give America the momentum and the direction necessary to beat a highly systematized totalitarian opponent is on its face questionable. That it has to date failed to do so seems evident from our country's respective positions in the space race, which show the United States still trailing badly.

What is the solution? After Sputnik I the space program was analyzed, examined, criticized, and dissected from within and without. The prescriptions for the program's ills were largely to establish more bureaus, more committees, more councils, with the result that the cure was worse than the disease. As long as the organization remains fragmented we can expect only a never-ending series of debates, transfers of functions and projects, expansion and contraction of responsibilities and duties and a multiplication of coordination and liaison activity further burdening a now overburdened labyrinth.

While I do not pretend to have all or even a few of the answers, I have a suggestion. Oftentimes an intimate involvement with problems in all their details blinds the eye to their obvious resolution. I make my proposal as a "tyro"—a term which you all must agree best describes my participation in the field of space. My suggestion has the characteristic simplicity which the un-

[1] Partner of the law firm of Brookhart, Becker & Dorsey, Washington, D.C. Member and program vice chairman Space Law and Sociology Committee, American Rocket Society. Member Committee on Law of Outer Space, American Bar Association. Delegate Inter-American Bar Association Convention Buenos Aires, 1957, address on "Impact of Atom and Satellite on Law and Lawyer," Miami, 1959, address on "the Lawyer and the New Dimension of Space."

initiated bring to the solving of problems outside their ken. But often it is the simplest solution that is the best and its uncompounded nature that most recommends it.

My plan is to take all of the projects, facilities and personnel now devoted to the space program in the 61 scattered, separate agencies and bring them together as a unified single force in a single organization—the Department of Space. This would be a new major Government department of equal rank and magnitude with the Departments of State, Defense, etc., and administered by an officer of Cabinet rank—the Secretary of Space. All of our eminent and dedicated scientists and administrators would find their skill and energies merged into an integral whole, with the stature and dignity that a department at the highest executive level commands. NASA and all of its subordinate commands would be disestablished, and the Department of Defense would be taken out of the research, design, and production of missiles and space vehicles. Operational control of certain missiles would remain with the military and perhaps complete responsibility for certain well-defined tactical weaponry. But all basic and advanced research and development in every aspect of space utilization would reside in the Department of Space, in a manner similar to the Atomic Energy Commission's responsibility for all nuclear programs.

The authority of the Secretary of Space would be complete subject only to the President and the National Security Council which would establish national requirements. The Secretary of Defense could place the requirements of all the military services on the Secretary of Space with the authority to resolve any conflicts thereover resting with the National Security Council.

I would foresee that all scientific and technical personnel now working on research and development for NASA and the Defense Department would be transferred permanently to the Department of Space. Wherever necessary, military personnel could be assigned to the new department. No unilateral control would be exercised by the Department of Defense over a missile or space vehicle until it was operational and assigned to fulfill a specific military need and mission. Defense Department personnel assigned to the Department of Space would of course work on any project which had military application. The lines of authority would have to be so drawn as not to imperil the ability of the Department of Defense to fulfill its prime mission of insuring the security of the country.

A unified program would induce a less disputatious climate in which the scientists would be free from the strife which curbs and hinders the fullest expression of their talent. The frustrations inherent in any divergent program have already cost us the service of some eminent scientists, and we stand a good chance of losing more, not only to industry but to the employ of friendly allies. We can ill-afford to hazard such a possibility.

An examination of our opponent's formula for winning the space race reveals the existence of a well-functioning, monolithic, all-pervasive organization—the Interdepartmental Commission for Interplanetary Communications. The experience of a winner has taught many a lesson.

Any such sweeping proposal as this raises a plethora of questions as to how it could best be achieved with a minimum dislocation of people and interruption of projects. Assuming that unification of effort in a single department is the answer and a decision to do so is reached, I would urge a 60- to 90-day crash basis study by a Hoover Commission-type group as to how this can be accomplished. I am not proposing a unification feasibility study, but an organizational study based on a firm decision to unify. At the end of this period the study group would answer specifically the who, what, when and where's of this consolidation and also submit a draft of the necessary enabling legislation.

If unification is the answer, and I believe it is in large part, it will not be accomplished without a struggle. No far-reaching change is ever wrought without opposition. Tempers will be short, wounds inflicted and scars remain. But the end result should be a single cohesive force with wasteful rivalries and duplication reduced to a minimum, and probably a savings of many billions of dollars.

Another indispensable element of any program large or small is its leadership. The man who will inherit this newly unified space family will find it not entirely happy or at once homogeneous. Memories of the inevitable fight over unification and old jealousies will plague the organization at the beginning. The Secretary of Space will have to be a forceful, courageous man of broad vision, proven management ability, able to harmonize conflicting personalities and competing aims and rise above partisan motivations. I don't see how anyone who is or has been an active participant in the space program could meet all of these qualifications. It therefore would seem prudent to recruit a man whose judgment could not be questioned on the basis of prior actions. There come to mind several ably equipped and proven leaders such as Charles H. Percy, the imaginative president of Bell & Howell who recently chaired the committee which outlined broad national objectives and aspirations; Henry C. Alexander, the able executive, lawyer, banker and president of Morgan Guaranty; George Romney, the brilliant far-sighted president of American Motors who brought about America's small car revolution.

These are but a few of America's store of skilled managers among whom we would surely find an administrative architect of a unified effort to conquer space. At critical periods of our history we have always found the man who could unite, organize and arrange our capacities, resources and genius to the undertaking at hand. In President Eisenhower we have a living example of a man who twice, in World War II and at the onset of the cold war, displayed the qualities and ingenuity which a Secretary of Space will have to command. Somewhere today there is such a man—he must be found and put to the task.

Our overlapping, duplicative, cumbersome, fragmented, bureaucratic space program is not providing the thrust that we need to surpass or draw abreast of the Soviets. The competition is too strong, the risks too high to tolerate any longer the luxury of a red-tape organization where all are chiefs but no one is in charge.

We have all the ingredients necessary to win the space race—the money, the resources, the brains, the know-how and the will. We need only to harness them in one concerted effort under a single authority of the highest standing and rank.

Only then can we reasonably expect to see the day when the hammer and sickle will find at the terminus of its planetary voyages the Stars and Stripes already firmly planted.

Woodrow Wilson Memorial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join the other Members of the New Jersey delegation in introducing a bill which looks toward the establishment of a Woodrow Wilson Memorial in Washington.

Citizens of New Jersey have a special interest in, and regard for, the man Woodrow Wilson. We consider him New Jersey's adopted son, and the years which he spent in our State, and the great contributions he made during that time, will never be forgotten.

Nor can the Nation forget Woodrow Wilson who, as our 28th President, gave his life, in effect, for the pursuit of world peace. The principles for which he stood, and which in large part he originated, still guide us, today, in our own very similar efforts to achieve a lasting peace, with justice.

I therefore feel it is most fitting that we reflect our gratitude in a permanent memorial to President Wilson. As a member of the Judiciary Committee, to which this bill will be referred, I intend to push for immediate committee support and approval.

Unfair Attack on Benson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, admittedly the farm subsidy program is difficult, legislatively, and something ought to be done. Meanwhile the clamor of critics, particularly the Congress, reminds me that some of the more vocal critics are those in responsible positions in the Congress. In no other field, it seems to me, has Congress failed so miserably to provide the right legislation. In this lack of proper legislation or maze of improper legislation, Mr. Benson attempts to do the best he can. His congressional critics fail to realize or overlook the fact that if Congress does not like the farm program, Congress can certainly change it.

Further, the Congress is under the leadership of the Democrats and it is their responsibility to provide the necessary corrective legislation. Short of this, the criticism of Secretary Benson by the congressional Democrat leaders comes with poor grace.

Perhaps Mr. Benson's gracious attitude, despite vicious attacks, has been noticed and appreciated by the rank and file of American people in and out of agriculture. A good expression of this viewpoint is found in the Dallas Morning News editorial of Wednesday, December 16, 1959, entitled "Unfair Attack on Benson," which follows for the benefit of my colleagues and those interested in the agriculture problem:

UNFAIR ATTACK ON BENSON

Never has there been a more unfair, more unfounded, or more pusillanimous attack upon an American Secretary of Agriculture than the attack now carried on against Ezra Benson lying on his sickbed and as it has been carried on against him for years.

It is unfair because the program attributed to Benson is 90 percent of Democratic origin and enactment and 100 percent non-Benson. It is unfounded because Benson's enforcement of the program stems out of Benson's oath of office to enforce the law—not as Benson likes it, but as Congress has left it.

The attack is pusillanimous in the full dictionary sence of that word. It is "destitute of manly strength and firmness of mind"; it is "of weak or mean spirit"; it is "cowardly."

Benson's critics blame him because their solution of the farm problem—and not his—won't work, never has worked, and never will.

The more we subsidize limited production on the farm the more the farmers overproduce. Our warehouses are full; our granaries can hold no more; even caves and mothball ships are loaded.

It is cruelly unreasonable to make out Benson as the farmer's enemy. He grew up milking a string of cows and peddling the milk to customers in town. He is a successful farmer now—taking no subsidy from anybody. His Mormon church and his Mormon people refused to touch a dime of Federal giveaway.

Have you heard about the legless Mormon's barbershop? When the patient's stumps were healed, the church brought him a high chair, taught him the barber's trade, rented him a shop—and ordered 150 Mormons to get their haircuts and shaves at that shop.

Benson comes of that kind of people. He is that sort of man. As a religious man, he respects his oath. But, as a farmer, he knows that no Washington farm plan can donate anybody out of bankruptcy or enact farm prosperity. He is everlastingly right.

A Memorial to the Memory of Woodrow Wilson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, today I have joined with many other Representatives in introducing a bill authorizing the creation of a Commission to consider and formulate plans for the construction in the District of Columbia of an appropriate permanent memorial to the memory of Woodrow Wilson.

True recognition of the great abilities and service of President Woodrow Wilson is clearly shown by the sponsorship of the resolution which completely crosses party lines.

Senator HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR., who has introduced this resolution on the Senate side with many cosponsors, has received a number of suggestions for a fitting memorial.

It is my own hope that when a Commission is created and plans formulated, that a living memorial, such as suggested by the Rev. Francis Sayre, son-in-law of Woodrow Wilson, would be the truest recognition of the great contribution made by President Woodrow Wilson.

President Eisenhower has also indicated that his own belief would be for a Woodrow Wilson House, rather than a statue and that he would favor the fund to be raised by private subscription. Knowing of the great interest in this proposal throughout the United States it would certainly appear that the accumulation of necessary funds for such a project would be no serious problem.

It is my hope that prompt congressional action can be obtained on this resolution.

Legislation To Remove Inequities in the Social Security Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CECIL R. KING
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. KING of California. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing two bills today which I would like to discuss briefly. They will remove inequities in the social security program and, I believe, improve it. As a member of the Ways and Means Committee, I am, quite naturally, extremely interested in any legislation designed to modernize this great program. Identical legislation is being introduced in the Senate today by Senator VANCE HARTKE, a member of the Senate Finance Committee.

This legislation will:

First. Remove the present $1,200 limitation on earned income with respect to individuals receiving benefits.

Second. Provide earlier retirement at reduced benefits for men at age 62 and for women at age 60.

Third. Eliminate the requirement that an individual must have attained age 50 in order to be eligible for disability benefits.

Fourth. Provide a special tax credit against social security taxes to employers who employ individuals who are more than 45 years of age.

Mr. Speaker, this legislation will remove inequities in the social security program which experience has shown us are unwise and unfair.

EARNINGS LIMITATION

Present law forbids a person receiving social security benefits from earning more than $1,200 a year. He may receive unlimited amounts of money from dividends and annuities and still receive a social security check each month. The absurdity of this is, I believe, apparent. We are rewarding the rich and penalizing those who really need the protection offered by the social security program.

This legislation calls for the complete removal of the income limitation. Since this will involve an annual cost of almost $3 billion, it will be necessary to have this matter thoroughly considered by the proper committees of the Senate and House. I believe a comprehensive study will indicate the feasibility of doing this immediately. If for fiscal reasons it cannot be done immediately, a temporary adjustment should be made raising the present ceiling to a more realistic and reasonable figure.

EARLIER RETIREMENT

Present retirement age under the social security program is 65, except that a woman may retire at age 62 with reduced benefits. I would like to see these requirements lowered to age 60 for women and age 62 for men, if they so desire. This would be optional and at reduced benefits.

DISABILITY BENEFITS

Present law requires that a person be 50 years of age, and totally and permanently disabled, before he can qualify for disability benefits. If an individual is fully paid up and becomes totally and permanently disabled, I feel that he should be able to receive disability benefits at any age. I can think of no reason why a person at age 50 is more entitled to receive disability benefits than a person at a lower age.

HIRE THE ELDERLY

We are all aware, I am sure, Mr. Speaker, of the difficulty which individuals over the age of 45 are experiencing in finding employment. While I say hire the elderly, we cannot, of course, say that an individual as young as 45 is old. But they are old in terms of finding employment. Something must be done to encourage the employment of these individuals. One thought which has come to my mind as a possible inducement is a special tax credit equal to one-half percent of the wage with respect to which the social security tax is imposed on employees over the age of 45. This credit will be given to the employer hiring or employing an individual over the age of 45. I believe this would encourage the hiring of the elderly. It is at least worthy of consideration.

I earnestly hope that the House Ways and Means Committee will schedule hearings on these amendments to the social security program at an early date. This is not a matter which we should continue to neglect.

Neither Snow, Nor Rain, Nor Heat, Nor Ocean Gale

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1960

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, an ancient Greek historian discussed the Persian postal system around 600 B.C. At that time Herodotus wrote "Neither snow, nor rain, nor heat, nor gloom of night stays these couriers from the swift completion of their appointed rounds."

I'd like to add the words "nor ocean gale" to that description of the delivery of the mail as it applies to Mrs. James Cochran of Lakeside, Oreg., in my district. Mrs. Cochran has delivered the

mail in her boat three times a week to some 30 permanent residents on the north and south Tenmile Lakes for the past 9 years. And she doesn't swim.

Her work has taken her through stormy waters whipped up by a 90-mile-per-hour wind.

The story of Marj Cochran in detail appeared in the November 1959 issue of Northwest Ruralite. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include that article:

WATERBORNE MAILMAN

Every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday morning, the tiny boat slips out from its dock on south Tenmile Lake and heads for Lakeside, on the Oregon coast below Reedsport. At the post office at Lakeside, mail destined for some 30 permanent residents on the north and south Tenmile Lakes is loaded aboard the boat and the "mailman" starts the appointed rounds.

As has been fabled in story and song, the mail must go through no matter what the weather. It does—even in the primitive back country around the two Tenmile Lakes on the coast. For this, Uncle Sam can thank a tall, slim, quiet lady named Marj Cochran. She's the mailman.

"Just an everyday grind," she says matter of factly.

But as a matter of fact, it's more than that. Since the mail traditionally must go through, Marj Cochran has delivered the U.S. mail regularly through such obstacles as hurricane-like gales, snow, hail, thick fog, even mechanical breakdowns. Only once in the 9 years she has been on the job has she failed to complete her 40-mile mail delivery run—and then it wasn't her fault. A log jam had blocked the canal which connects the north and south Tenmile Lakes.

At latest count, there were 7 permanent residents on north Tenmile Lake, and 23 on south Tenmile. The two lakes combined have a total of 178 miles of shoreline. The people who live on this shoreline are an individualistic sort. Many of them are retired or semiretired, spending their golden years in the restful solitude of a sprawling, rolling showcase of nature (which is now patching up the scars of an old logging area). The few roads that serve these families are primitive and open only a few months of the year. The dairy farmers who live on the shores of the lakes, take their milk to market by boat, for the lakes and their many octopus-like arms and inlets are the only highways to the outside in winter.

Electricity has come to these families only within the last few years, thanks to Douglas Electric Cooperative and the Central Lincoln Public Utility Division. Most of the residents are still without telephone service, save for the special private circuit that eight residents on the south lake have set up to talk among themselves. But even this telephone system has no connection with the outside.

In winter often their major means of communicating with the "outside" is via mail. Mrs. Cochran's yellow and red boat skims over the lakes three times weekly, delivering the mail and sometimes even doing such neighborly tasks as delivering a bag of groceries or feeding a cat while its master is away.

And in her appointed rounds, Marj Cochran often finds a neighborly offering of a steaming cup of coffee from her patrons. At the Bill Wolfe place she's greeted on each trip by the barking, tail-wagging, jumping and running enthusiasm of a big black Labrador dog named Butch. Marj sometimes gives the mail to Butch who, gripping it firmly in his teeth, delivers it to the house nearby.

"I always look first to see that the Wolfes are home," says Marj, "because if they aren't, Butch would probably take the mail out back someplace and bury it. But Butch has always done a good job delivering the mail—until the Montgomery Ward catalog came. That was almost too big for him."

Marj actually uses two boats in her delivery, one for summer, another for winter. The summer boat she describes as a "classy racing job," 13 feet 8 inches long and 42 inches wide. Powered by a 40-horsepower motor, it gets up to 34 miles per hour. In winter she switches to a larger and less classy boat that provides a cover for keeping the mail (and Marj) protected from the ravages of wind, rain, hail and snow.

Although the elements are bad enough, they aren't the only hazards to prompt delivery of the U.S. mail. Once she smacked a submerged log and ruined the motor. She had to paddle some distance, before hooking a tow from a passing motorboat. As insurance against getting stuck up the lake without a motor again, she now carrier a spare motor—a tiny 1.7 horsepower unit. Marj, incidentally, is handy at fixing motors. "Changing the plugs is usually all that's necessary nowadays, anyhow," she says. The wear and tear on the motors is such that a new one is necessary every 18 to 24 months.

Fog is often a hazard to the safe delivery of mail on the Tenmile lakes, although Marj navigates the many twisting, fjord-like arms of the lake in the thickest fog at a fairly good clip, apparently by some sort of instinctive radar. "The boat knows the route," she says.

"My main worry in a fog," she says, "is that some crazy fool will be anchored out in the middle of the lake fishing, and I won't see him before it's too late."

The number of mail patrons on the lakes varies considerably from summer to winter. The variance may be even greater in the future, for many summer homes are now being built. The current number of summer homes adds about 10 residents to the 30 permanently on the lakes. Camp Easter Seal, the summer camp for crippled children on north Tenmile Lake, accounts for a lot of summer mail (and the arrival of the mail boat is a big event at the camp).

Although summer accounts for more stops for the mail boat, winter exacts its work, too. Residents order many items through the mail order houses and as a result such divergent cargoes as linoleum and baby chickens are common. The Christmas mail, of course, always taxes all of Uncle Sam's postal facilities, and Marj's boat gets its share of cards and packages.

Marj considers her "worst" cargo the big box of fishing worms one man had ordered through the mail. Unfortunately, they apparently got delayed somewhere along the route, because by the time Marj got them at Lakeside, they were pretty ripe. But the mail went through.

The most hectic trip may have been the one in which Marj fought her way through the boiling cauldron of water whipped up by one of those hurricane-like gales that occasionally come up on the coast. She ran the little boat through buffeting 4-foot waves, holding the craft to the middle of the lake because the shoreline was being bombarded by falling limbs and even whole trees as a result of the 90-mile-per-hour wind. She made it, but breathed a sigh of relief that afternoon when she pulled the boat up to the dock and slipped out of her lifejacket (she doesn't swim) at the end of the trip.

Marj, who is married to Lakeside Boatshop Owner James Cochran, got into the mailboat business in partnership with her father. When her father died, she carried on with the boat run. Not only has she held her three-trips-a-week schedule for the past 9 years, but she has never even allowed the mail to get wet. And that's a pretty big order when the mail must go through by boat on a stormy coastal lake.

National Whirligig

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting into the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial by Mr. Ray Tucker appearing in the November 30, 1959, issue of the Beaver Valley (Pa.) News-Tribune.

The editorial effectively sets forth a strong and cohesive argument against enactment of the Harris fair trade bill, H.R. 1253, which, according to reputable economists who unanimously and uniformly oppose the measure, would cost consumers of this country between one and twelve billions of dollars a year.

The editorial follows:

NATIONAL WHIRLIGIG

(By Ray Tucker)

WASHINGTON.—A pile of mail from pensioned old folks and social security beneficiaries in forgotten fountains of youth—Florida, Louisiana, Arizona, southern California—has spurred Senate action of fair trade bills designed to keep retail prices at artificially high levels, especially drugs and medicines.

Alarmed by these complaints, Senator GEORGE SMATHERS, of Florida, thought that he saw too much caution concerning this problem on the part of the Senate Anti-Monopoly Subcommittee, which is headed by Senator ESTES KEFAUVER. SMATHERS showed his concern, and obtained a promise from the Tennessean that he would begin his drug inquiry on December 7, Pearl Harbor Day.

The druggists had hoped that consumer complacency and their unorganized state would permit quick and quiet passage of the Harris fair trade bill. Sponsored by the Arkansas chairman of the Television Quiz Committee, the measure was reported favorably with a 20-to-9 vote by the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee at the last session.

It is now before the House Rules Committee, which directs legislative traffic. It may or may not be reported to the floor for action next January.

STRATEGY TO ALERT CONSUMERS

The Smathers-Kefauver strategy is designed to alert consumers so that, like the old folks' letters, they will use their influence to offset the drug trade's powerful lobby. If killed at the next session, the price-fixing program will be embalmed, perhaps permanently.

Gov. Edmund G. Brown, of California, has shown his concern over this problem, in view of the difficulties resulting from the migration of so many retired people to his State. He has appointed Mrs. Helen Ewing Nelson as California's first consumer counsel, one of the few in the Nation.

THAT FAIR TRADE MEASURE

The Harris fair trade bill empowers a manufacturer to negotiate a fixed-price contract

for his goods with retailers within a State which permits such deals. If a single retailer signs such an agreement, his price scale becomes binding on every retailer in that State, even though they would prefer to sell that manufacturer's products at a lower figure.

This scheme has been criticized by Robert A. Bicks, Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Antitrust Division, as monopolistic. It is opposed by every Government official and department which has any jurisdiction over goods, services, and prices, from foods and farm machinery to drugs.

In fact, few manufacturers or retailers support the fair trade scheme. Its only aggressive backers are the druggists' and medicine men's lobbies.

EXCESSIVELY HIGH PRICES HERE, LOW PRICES ABROAD

The Kefauver files explain fully their commerical interest. Only a few firms manufacture about 80 percent of the Nation's drugs, and, if reinforced by a monopolistic fair trade bill, they can control prices merely by watching each other's trade lists—or advertising. It is as simple as that.

Whatever the reason may be, they maintain excessively high prices in this country while dumping them at whatever the market will bring abroad.

Fifty Miltown tablets, for instance, sell for from $3.85 to $4.25 in the United States and for only 46 cents in South America. Migraine headache pills, which old and young alike need because of age or alcohol, cost $14 a hundred in this country and only $7 in Western Europe.

In contrasting these charges, it should be remembered that foreign costs must include fees for shipping, insurance, two dock handlings, several transshipments, and a far more complex and expensive system of retail distribution than exists in this country.

But there is no need to wander so far from Capitol Hill. In Maryland, which suffers from a fair trade act, drugs cost from 25 to 75 percent more than in the District of Columbia, where Congress has legislated in favor of a system of free enterprise and competition.

Communist Rule in Poland Exposed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, during the recess between sessions of the 86th Congress, the Chicago Tribune ran one of the most penetrating series that I have read about present conditions in Poland, which today tragically finds itself in the hands of a Communist regime.

This series was written by Mr. A. M. Rosenthal, a correspondent of the New York Times, who had been expelled from Poland for probing too deeply into the affairs of the Polish Communist Government.

I have asked permission to reprint this very revealing series because I believe the Chicago Tribune and the New York Times through Correspondent A. M. Rosenthal have performed a great public service.

Mr. Rosenthal's articles throw the spotlight on the absolute folly of those who today still live in the belief that the free world can trust or look forward to any semblance of coexistence with those who preach the Communist doctrine.

The series is particularly timely because we see in this country today a rising tide of those who have been fostering coexistence with communism. The series is particularly significant because Mr. Rosenthal so expertly draws the fine line of distinction between the present Communist regime in Poland and the people of Poland. We in the Congress of the United States must always keep in mind the fact that the Communist regime, presently holding a tight grip over the Polish people, in no way reflects the true spirit of freedom so deeply imbedded in the people of Poland themselves.

This series demonstrates that communism, whether it is practiced in Poland or in the Soviet Union, cannot stand the glare of truth. It is, therefore, no surprise that the Communist regime of Poland ousted Mr. Rosenthal because in maintaining the highest tradition of American journalism, he refused to compromise in bringing the true story of conditions in Poland under Communist rule to the free world.

It is my most sincere hope that the formulators of American foreign policy will learn a revealing lesson from Mr. Rosenthal's series, for it indeed dramatizes the total failure of Communist dogma.

I wish to congratulate the Chicago Tribune for reprinting this excellent series on conditions in present-day Poland under Communist rule.

Mr. Rosenthal's series, which was printed in five articles, follows:

[From the Chicago Daily Tribune, Nov. 30, 1959]

WRITER TELLS SITUATION IN POLAND TODAY

(By A. M. Rosenthal)

VIENNA, November 29.—The story of Poland in the autumn of 1959 is the panicky realization of Polish Communist leaders that they have failed stunningly to establish effective Communist rule and direction in the country.

This is the reason—this failure and not vast mysterious plots—that Wladyslaw Gomulka, a hero 3 years ago and now taut, nerve ridden, and isolated, has decided he has need of harder men and harder ways. "Discipline," Gomulka cried furiously at a Communist meeting, and "discipline," a Warsaw newspaper cried back a few days later in a pagewide headline.

Everywhere he turned in Poland, Gomulka could see this deep failure of Polish communism to reach out into the roots of the country's life.

BACK IS TURNED

He saw a peasantry that has turned its stolid back on every form of socialism simply because it hated his government. He gave them more and more in the way of food and profits, but the hatred was there and the back remained turned.

He saw a Communist Party filled with opportunists and grown paunchy with cynicism and apathy.

"Jobseekers and churchgoers, that's what we have in our party," a central committee member said wearily. "What kind of a party is it when half of our members sneak off to church every Sunday? Half of them, I tell you."

He saw an intellectual class that despised the party and what it stood for. He could starve them for a while, give them little economic plums for a while, punish them or censor them, but he could not get them to work for the party.

YAWN AT SLOGANS

He saw a youth that yawned at slogans and programs of the Communist East and turned with pathetic eagerness to Dave Brubeck, Marlon Brando, and Albert Camus. He saw empty Communist meeting rooms and crowded Roman Catholic churches.

It is this failure Gomulka is determined to end. He intends to make sure the Communist Party starts ruling Poland, that communism is heeded by the worker, the intellectual, and the peasant.

But Gomulka and the people around him are not men free to act precisely as they please. They are aware of the essential boundary—the boundary that divides resentment from chaotic rebellion and the entry of the Russian Army.

That is why the story of Poland in the autumn of 1959 is still a continuing one. The move away from liberalized communism is clear. But at some point it will run up against Poland's emotional boundary and there it may have to stop.

SEEMS IN FURY

Even at the moment, the story of the strange, deliberately heightened crisis in Poland touches directly upon some of the most important problems in Communist society. Perhaps most important of all, it touches upon the extent to which Communist rulers of a satellite nation can afford to permit liberties to grow.

These days Gomulka acts more and more like a man in a strange fury.

"That man does not talk to us any more," a Polish Communist official said in Warsaw. He opened his mouth in a silent, derisive yowl, "That man screams at us."

It is an essential part of the story, however, that neither Gomulka nor the men around him have any fear that communism will be overthrown in Poland—nor have the Polish people any hope.

RUSSIA HOLDS KEY

The Communists know—every adult and most children in Poland know—that communism in Poland is maintained by the existence of the Soviet Union.

The determination of the Soviet Union to keep a Communist regime on its western frontier is the paramount fact of political life in Poland.

It is one of the ironies of Poland that foreigners particularly Western diplomats, have to deal much more gingerly with this basic reality than do Communists. Western policy is engaged in an attempt to come to terms with the Soviet Union and the captivity of Eastern Europe is a topic it is best to stay away from. What's the use?

For most Communists it is all so obvious.

GRIPE ABOUT RUSSIA

In a car in eastern Poland, a couple of Communists riding with a foreigner were griping about the Soviet Union. A nonparty Communist sympathizer in the back seat spoke up:

"Without the Russians we would all be swinging from trees," he said. Then he gestured toward one of the party members. "But you gentlemen would go first," he said mockingly.

The party member laughed:

"Is this a discovery? As my American friend here always says—what are you supposed to be, Christopher Columbus discovering America?"

So the Communists are not worried about being thrown out of power. And of course all the Communist Parties of Eastern Europe, not just the Polish party, rule in effect by the authority delegated to them by the existence of the Russian Army.

PARTY IN CONFUSION

There is a difference in Poland, however, and it is this difference that has led the party to failure, filled Wladyslaw Gomulka with a sense of frustration, driven the Polish party to a state of confusion, and made for the decisions of the past couple of months to tighten political and economic control.

The parties of Hungary, Rumania, Albania, Bulgaria, and Cezchslovakia are able to rule by plain and unashamed force. The Communist Party of Poland has foresworn the use of police terrorism—partly in answer to pressures of the people, partly because of the revulsion of many party members. It has not been able to find any substitute technique.

In 1956 Gomulka and many of the members of the Communist Party resisted complete Russian domination of their country. Then they set about picking up the pieces of communism in their own land.

Gomulka never pretended to be a liberal. Quickly and decisively he cut dead any thought that Poland would move to the "second stage" of social democracy. He purged his party not only of Stalinists but of the "revisionists" who believed in ever-increasing liberalization. He set about making friends again with Nikita Khrushchev.

IT'S DIFFERENT BRAND

The Polish brand of communism remained far different—and still is far different—from the Czech or East German brand. Gomulka believed a truce with the church and permitting peasants to own their land was the price of peace in Poland and he was willing to pay it.

In other important ways Gomulka and his party changed the model of Eastern European communism. In Poland today a man cannot vote freely or write freely, but he can speak his mind to his neighbor, read Western books, often get a passport, and go freely to church.

Poland became a country where a man, although he might not like his government, at least had the privilege of turning his back on it and leading his own life.

For a while the tacit live-and-let-live bargain between the people and the government worked. As far as the people were concerned it might still work, because they have no other choice.

LIFE IS DREARY

Life in Poland is gray and dreary, but German devastation has as much to do with that as Communist misrule. Anyway, production went up, consumer goods appeared on the shelves, food was plentiful, and if a man could not live in happiness, at least he did not live in pain. Internationally, Poland found herself in the delightful position of being wooed by Washington and acclaimed as a brother by Moscow.

It was not long, however, before the Polish road to socialism ran into trouble.

Liberalization was successful in removing the edge of discontent and revolt. But the Communists found liberalization did not draw the Polish people closer to a system they detested. It simply permitted them to turn their backs on it.

Gomulka took steps. He has been taking them for at least 2 years, but, because they were not particularly dramatic, many westerners overlooked them and concentrated instead on the fact that a Polish writer could get a passport or an American newspaper was on sale in a hotel lobby.

PRESS IS MUZZLED

Factory workers' councils were stripped of influence and put under party control. The Polish press, a couple of years ago astonishingly free spoken, was muzzled. Writers found it more difficult to get books published.

Still nothing worked. The Communist Party found itself deeper and deeper in the soupy indifference of the Polish people.

Since the government was the only major employer and the government was detested, it became the accepted thing to cheat and steal. Factory managers, given a slight amount of administrative freedom, joined in the fun and cut themselves huge slices of graft, making sure to pass out some crumbs to the workers in the form of unearned wage dividends and overtime.

In the struggle against the church, the Communists found themselves making little headway. In Poland today it is only the nonconformist parent who does not enroll his child in a religious instruction class.

CAME SO LATE

There were only two surprising things about Gomulka's decision to try more emphatically to tighten control. One was that anybody was surprised at it. The other was that it came so late in the game.

The Russians undoubtedly urged Gomulka to bring back men like Julian Tokarski and Lt. Gen. Kazimierz Witaszewski—fervently pro-Russian, enthusiastically tough-handed men.

Having made the decision that the time had come, Gomulka set about creating the necessary atmosphere of crisis. In March he boasted about how much meat the Poles ate. In October he denounced meat eating as a national disaster.

BOASTS OF WAGES

In January the Communists boasted of their increased production and increased wages. In October Gomulka shouted that industry was going to pot and billions of zlotys were overspent.

The big question in Poland for most people, of course, is how tough things will get. It means a lot to Polish Communists and intellectuals that some of the old-time Stalinists are coming back.

It means more to more people that wages are to be cut, overtime wiped out, dividends eliminated, payrolls slashed.

Gomulka is fighting, not to return to Stalinism, but to establish the party as the instrument of power and authority in the country. He has not suddenly become a tyrannical beast but is using the methods he thinks imperative now to prod Poland along the road to communism in fact as well as in theory.

It is likely the nature of Poland will make the current trend not a steady downward slide but a matter of ups and downs.

The Polish story therefore may not be continuously dramatic. The next upward trend will convince many people that it's all been a fuss of no terrible significance.

[From the Chicago Daily Tribune, Dec. 1, 1959]

POLISH REDS IN CONFUSION—GOMULKA LOSES HIS POPULARITY WITH PARTY

(By A. M. Rosenthal)

VIENNA, November 30.—Poland's Communist Party, placed in power and kept in power by Russian might, has been thrown into confusion and bitterness by a leader it once followed out of hope and now follows out of desperation.

In a Warsaw newspaper office, three Communist journalists were teasing a fourth Pole because he was the only member of the editorial board who did not belong to the party. "Aren't you afraid for your job?" they kept asking him.

SOLE PEOPLE'S MAN

"Not at all," the nonparty man answered, lightly. "I am the only one of us who feels secure. They have to keep me. I am the only one who represents the people."

It is the awareness that the Communist Party of Poland is a party of a small minority, kept in control by the existence of a foreign power, which has never been able to bridge the gap of distrust that separates it from the people of Poland.

UNDERSTANDING MISSING

But this is an old story in all the eastern European Communist countries and in Poland the Communists have learned to live with it.

Some of them live with it proudly—"We are part of the forces of history." Some cover it wtih a layer of cynicism—"If they don't like us in Poland all they have to do is move the country to the moon."

But in the past few months, the Polish Communist Party—officially, the United Workers Party—has been stumbling badly under additional troubles, troubles that few Polish Communists really understand.

IGNORED BY SAVIOR

Polish Communists find themselves denounced with scorn by Wladyslaw Gomulka, the man they brought back to power with that surge of hope in 1956. Then they find themselves ignored by Gomulka until the time comes for another denunciation.

They find men coming back to power whose very names chill them with memories of the past—and of the people's reaction to the past. They find more and more of the men who recalled the hope of 1956 being dismissed and sometimes they refuse to believe, because it is too painful to believe or because nobody bothers to inform them.

"I tell you Hochfeld cannot have been dismissed," said the editor of a Polish Communist weekly to a Western correspondent. "I'll bet you a hundred zlotys he has not been dismissed."

NOBODY TELLS HIM

Julian Hochfeld, a socialist spark of the 1956 intellectual upheaval, had been dismised as head of the Institute for International Affairs a full week earlier. Nobody had bothered to tell the editor of the weekly that is Gomulka's mouthpiece.

Poland's Communists are not Liberals or Social Democrats; they are Communists. But many of them are men who believe deeply in socialism and who had believed deeply that socialism could be achieved under a considerable degree of freedom—and in 1956 risked their necks to prove it.

RIGHT PROVES WRONG

In 1956 they saw themselves as part of a movement that might not be liked by the people but was right for Poland and would be accepted by the people. Now they see that there will be restrictions in the range of liberty. It may not be as bad as it was in the days of Stalinism but having had a taste of freedom even Communists are not happy with dollops.

As Communists they would accept much more easily if they understood fully or believed fully in what their leader was doing. They neither understand fully nor believe fully.

For one thing, most of the members of the party have lost contact with Gomulka. For the first time since 1956 they refer to him not just by his underground nickname of "Wieclaw" but as "Wieclaw the dictator."

FILLED WITH FEAR

The party follows Gomulka. It has no other choice. Members know in essence what he is driving at—instilling discipline

into the party, trying desperately to give it roots in the country, prodding the people and the party.

But many party members are filled with a heavy fear that he is going about it the wrong way. Perhaps peasants in the countryside or workers in a provincial town do not care much which Communists are appointed to high places. They lump most Communists together and would be happy to pack them all off to the Devil.

STALINISTS RETURN

For a party member there are not many more important things than the men who rule the apparatus. The personalities and philosophies of the leaders determine the tone of life for the rank and file.

Now men whom most Polish Communists took it for granted were destroyed by 1956 are coming back to places of influence, men like Julian Tokarski, the Stalinist target of the workers' wrath in 1956, now recalled from obscurity to the post of Vice Premier.

It has been a long time that the party has been trying to dilute the memory of 1956. At the last party congress in March 1959, history was rewritten to make Russia the inspiration of 1956 instead of the main opponent of 1956.

SOME GAINS REMAIN

But the trends set in motion by 1956 still exist in Poland and the Government has not yet turned its back on some of the principal achievements of 1956—the truce with the church, the removal of Polish terrorism, privately owned land.

But the fear is heavy in the party ranks that Gomulka is so intent about establishing the power of the party and so heavy-handed that whether he wills it or not he is recreating the influence of the Stalinists.

RECREATED PARTY

Gomulka was successful in the days after 1956, successful in Communist terms. He found himself a leader of a shattered party and recreated it.

But in the last 2 years, particularly the last few months, he has made one enormous error. He has failed to give the party the line.

The line for a Communist party is a combination of ideology, directive, officially accepted causes and remedies and, most of all, clearly understood political atmosphere.

PARTS MISSING

These days there are none of the component parts of the line available for the Polish Communist to latch onto.

There are days of jumpiness in Warsaw when newspapermen compare the number of tranquilizers being swallowed in their shops—"on Jeruzalimskie street it's just like Madison avenue."

Then days come when nothing happens and in the steamy cafes people tell each other it's all a passing fuss. "You know," a Polish teacher said comfortingly, "in Poland the Communists always have to act tougher than they intend to get because otherwise who would pay any attention to them?"

But nobody really knows because nobody knows the line.

WHAT'S THE LINE?

Gomulka screams at the propaganda chiefs for failing to get out there and pitch. Party editors go to the next briefing prepared to hear the whip crack. But Edward Ochab, the new propaganda boss, merely talks mildly about the need for "studies." What's the line?

And the Russians, what to think about them?

Every time something unpleasant happens in Poland or is about to happen, Polish Communists, particularly foreign office types, whisper to their Western friends that it is all the Russians' fault.

And then there's agriculture. Everybody says that's the key. Everybody knows that the peasant cannot be cajoled into collectivization and cannot be forced into it.

[From the Chicago Daily Tribune, Dec. 2, 1959]

POLES' RATION OF FREEDOM GETS SMALLER BUT RETAIN MORE THAN OTHER RED LANDS

(By A. M. Rosenthal)

VIENNA, December 1.—The ration of liberty doled out in Poland is becoming more meager.

It is still so much larger than in the other Communist countries that a Pole returning from Moscow kissed the ground of Warsaw airport.

It is still large enough to give Westerners who come to Warsaw with a chain and gag image of Polish communism a comfortable glow that comes with the feeling that things are pretty good for the natives after all.

STILL CAN BUY A BOOK

It is still large enough so that a Pole can buy a book on an American jet pilot in the Joseph Stalin Palace of Culture, that seven young Poles, who call themselves the New Orleans Stompers can bang out "Warsaw Ragtime No. 1" in the Philharmonia auditorium.

But the ration has become more meager, and it leaves Polish intellectuals bitter because foreigners pay more attention to the fact that an American newspaper can be bought in a hotel lobby than that the Polish press, once virile, is now subservient.

ESSAYS CONFISCATED

Culture minded western diplomats are so entranced with finding a copy of Kafka on sale that they shrug off the fact a collection of literary essays by one of Poland's best known writers was confiscated a couple of days after it was put on sale.

("O, Old Wladek"—which is not his name—"He's always complaining, but he does all right for himself, after all," westerners like to say. Certainly, says "Old Wladek," he is doing all right, he has enough money left for a couple of months yet. And in a cafe another writer says, "Perhaps your diplomat friends would like Old Wladek to put on a little demonstration of starvation for them. Would that get them interested?")

DESPOTISM EASY TO SEE

It is all fairly confusing, this business of rationed liberty. Freedom is easy to see, understand, and evaluate. So is despotism.

Polish intellectuals are placed in a position between freedom and repression and are shifted about by the government, sometimes in one direction, sometimes in another. The story is not dramatic—"The west won't pay any attention until we are all arrested and then who will care about what the west thinks," a Polish essayist likes to say.

Polish intellectuals appreciate what degree of liberty they have. They appreciate it so much that they are terrified at every sign they are losing it. Some of them decide that the best thing to do is to keep quiet for fear of making matters worse.

FOREIGNERS GET PEEVED

Others decide to shout and complain and it is true that on occasion their conversational pitch gets rather high. Then foreigners in Warsaw tend to get a little peeved.

"It is a rather strange situation, you know," a Polish writer said one day. "The west sits down to a big dinner—a big dinner of liberty—and looks across the room at us and says 'aren't you lucky to have potatoes and bread.'"

The evidence that a measure of liberty still exists is not hard to come by because Poles speak plainly if not quite as freely as a couple of months ago. It is not free speech; a Pole who spoke his mind from a soapbox would be carted off. It is free conversation.

SATIRES IN "THE BARN"

Many Poles have no fear about mixing with foreigners although fewer do recently.

Warsaw university students put on muted little satires in a club called "The Barn."

Artists are free to paint as they please and there's a buzzing colony of abstract artists down in Cracow. American scholarship programs take Polish intellectuals and scientists to Western Europe and the United States.

The radius of liberty is sometimes seen as an achievement of communism in Poland, a vindication of the hopes of liberalistic communism. Not all Poles see it that way, not all by any means.

RADIUS GETS SMALLER

Many of them feel that liberty was expanded in Poland during 1955 and 1956 because of the pressure against the Communists and the disgust of many Communists with what they had created. When the party pasted itself together and the disillusioned were thrown out or retired, the radius began to get smaller.

A Pole cannot vote freely, engage freely in political activity, write freely, travel freely, or speak freely in assembly.

There is plenty of evidence that the ration is getting smaller. Last December, the Polish union of writers, meeting in Wroclaw, adopted a resolution denouncing government censorship and calling for a fight for the defense of freedom of expression.

Polish writers had become convinced that the party had determined to restrict them into an ever-narrowing corner of expression.

A couple of months ago the screws were turned tighter and when this reporter left Poland by invitation of the government a couple of weeks ago some of the most important writers in Poland were telling each other that the time had come to withdraw in silent protest from the leadership of the writers union—a sort of intellectual boycott.

This discussion was reported in the New York Times. That dispatch was in the file given to Wladyslaw Gomulka, Poland's Communist chief, by party leaders and was one of the reasons he ordered the reporter expelled for probing. Gomulka detests the writers of Poland, but he is quite aware that they still have some meaning abroad.

WORRY ABOUT FOOD

The decision to tighten the screw was part of Gomulka's broader decision to fight to impose the party's control on the life of the country. Gomulka is giving the writers something else to worry about aside from politics—getting money for food.

Editors of State publishing companies are turning down more and more books on flimsier political grounds.

In newspaper and radio offices throughout the country people are being fired, making those who kept their jobs readier to toe the line.

[From the Chicago Daily Tribune, Dec. 3, 1959]

CHURCH, STATE SHARE CONTROL OF POLES' LIVES—ARMY MAINTAINS REDS IN POWER

(By A. M. Rosenthal)

VIENNA, December 2.—In the life of Poland, fundamental power belongs to the Soviet Union, but fundamental influence still belongs to the Roman Catholic Church.

The existence of the Soviet Union and the existence of the church are the two overriding realities in Poland. Everything else stems from them.

These two realities shape the broad outlines of political moves and political structure in Poland and determine their limits. And in an intimate day-to-day way these two realities influence the life of every Pole.

It was because of the existence of the Soviet Union—more bluntly, because of the ever-present shadow of the Russian army—that communism was able to come to power in Poland and has been maintained in power.

POLES ARE UNSWAYED

It is because of the existence of the church—more precisely, because of the intense devotion of the huge majority of Poles to it—that communism has had virtually no impact on the emotions and loyalties of the Polish people.

It is largely because of the existence of the church that the Polish Communists, who know that at best they only share authority with it, have had to strike out on some unexplored socialist roads to maintain order and even the semblance of control.

And the existence of the Soviet Union puts constant limits on the actions, decisions, and pronouncements of the church in Poland. Fear that the overthrow of Polish communism would bring the Russian army into the country has made the church forego the use of its strength against Polish communism—and sometimes help it.

LIVE WITH REALITY

To turn the coin around, fear that an all-out contest between Polish communism and Polish Catholicism would result in chaos and the entry of Russian troops has made Poland's Communists decide, as no other Communist land has, to try to live with the reality of the church—to struggle against permitting its influence to grow, but not to risk the attempt to destroy it.

Catholicism for most Poles is not a matter of mass on Sundays, but as much a part of their lives as the earth they walk.

A Polish woman on a pilgrimage does not saunter into the fortress-like monastery at the shrine of Czestochowa. She falls on her knees as she enters the stone courtyard.

A MATTER OF NATIONALISM

For most Poles Catholicism is not only a matter of piety but also a matter of fervent nationalism. For them the church and Poland are one. They sing "Mary, Queen of Poland."

Officially, there is a truce between the church and the state in Poland. Wladyslaw Gomulka, Poland's Communist leader, agreed to it in 1957 soon after he ordered the release from imprisonment of the only other man who counts for anything in Poland, Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski.

It is not a piece of paper that keeps the truce alive despite the incessant pressures on it. It is the realization of the Catholic leader and the Communist leader that without it their nation would be in constant turmoil and in constant danger of occupation.

RECURRENT CRISES

There are recurrent crises between church and state in Poland and there will continue to be.

These crises come from the belief that each side is endeavoring, under the protection of the truce, to reduce the influence and prestige of the other.

In the summer of 1958, for instance, the Communists became convinced that the priests in the parishes were becoming too outspoken in their opposition to communism. The government took the dramtic step of raiding the cardinal's offices in the monastery of Jasna Gora at Czestochowa, impounding church presses, and launching a violence antichurch campaign.

NEW PRESSURES BEGUN

The campaign died after a while, before it became too dangerous. Now the state has started on a series of administrative measures designed to restrict the church—high taxation, calling seminarians into the army, refusing to recognize the bishop of Kielce.

For its part, the church is neither powerless nor inactive. It has no political party and its only real newspaper is a weekly printed in Cracow.

But the voice of the parish priest is heeded more than the voice of Trybuna Ludu, the party newspaper.

CHURCH SUPPORT NEEDED

For example, a Warsaw priest was leading his congregation on a 9-day pilgrimage on foot to Czestochowa. Within sight of the great walls of the monastery he turned to a foreigner and said, "Show me a Pole who would walk 9 days for a copy of Trybuna."

Without church support the Communists usually find their programs drowning in the indifference of the people.

While there is constant pressure against the church, there is no interference with church attendance. A Warsaw police official once said that one of the big administrative problems of his force was making sure there were enough policemen on duty on Sunday to direct traffic and control crowds coming to church.

PROBLEMS OF CROWDING

The state also allows religious instruction in state schools, one of the agreements of the truce. In Poland a boy who does not go to religious education class risks the taunts and blows of his schoolmates.

The church has its problems in Poland that are not the result of state pressure. The hideously crowded living conditions in the Polish cities have led many Catholics to ignore the injunctions against birth control and abortion.

And it is a fact that many young Poles, particularly in the cities, have lost some of their admiration for priests—as men, not as priests.

There are priests in the hierarchy whom Catholic intellectuals regard as backward looking and out of step socially with the mid-20th century. Among Catholics there are leaders who believe in a policy of resistance to everything the state does. And there are leaders who believe in positivism—working, as Poles and as Catholics, to create the best kind of Poland that history, geography, and the reality of Communist power allow.

[From the Chicago Daily Tribune, Dec. 4, 1959]

POLAND'S ROLE IN EAST-WEST DRAMA FADES—RED PARTY BOSS GLAD OF IT

(By A. M. Rosenthal)

VIENNA, December 3.—The Polish Communist government is faced with the fact that its international role is dwindling as a conduit between East and West, and within the Soviet bloc.

But in a strange and important way this diminution of importance is not a matter for despair for Party Boss Wladyslaw Gomulka, but a matter of satisfaction.

Poland's international role is becoming less significant, because two things made it virtually inevitable: The trend of East-West power relations in the last year, and the development of communism in Eastern Europe in the last 3 years.

In October 1958, Foreign Minister Adam Rapacki, of Poland, visited Oslo, Norway. This visit of the well-mannered and well-groomed Communist diplomat to an ally of the West had importance. It was one of the moves the Poles took, with the approval of Moscow, toward preparing an atmosphere for negotiations.

CHANGE IN IMPORTANCE

Just about a year later, Premier Khrushchev visited Washington. This historic visit of the leader of the Soviet bloc and the real power behind M. Rapacki to the fountainhead of Western strength obviously reduced the significance of Polish diplomatic trips and Polish diplomatic contacts almost to the point of invisibility.

In October 1956 the other Communist governments of Eastern Europe looked at what was going on in Poland and trembled with fear lest the infection spread. In December 1959, these governments feel themselves growing stronger and the Poles weaker and they do not bother to contain their "we told you so's."

Ever since 1956, Polish Communist diplomats have prided themselves on their contacts in the West. They never thought for a minute that these contacts meant that they could be independent of the Soviet bloc—and it was a matter in which they had no interest.

FOR SMOOTHING OFF

But these contacts, and Western interest in the Polish story, gave Polish diplomacy a certain prestige within the bloc and outside it. The Poles did not see themselves as a bridge exactly, but as a sort of sandpaper smoothing off the rough spots in East-West relations.

For the West they provided an insight into Russian thinking as passed to the satellite world for relay to the outside. For the Russians, the Poles provided a sort of soundingboard.

At the same time, the Poles drew advantage from the role. In Moscow they presented themselves as faithful members of the bloc who were using their position in the world to help the bloc; in Washington, London, and Paris they presented themselves as reasonable men and were able to win sympathy for their country by the hint that, whatever the Polish Communists did that the West did not like was a result of Russian pressure—which was true only part of the time.

NOT ALWAYS EASYGOING

Seen in Warsaw, Polish Communist diplomats are not always so easygoing, liberal, and knowingly sophisticated as they are in Washington or the United Nations. But in Warsaw or in Washington their diplomacy stands out vividly from the heavily clanking, party-line diplomacy of other communist diplomats. Their contacts remain good and useful to their nation.

But they are not especially useful any more to the great powers. When Khrushchev can tour the Western capitals and talk directly with Western leaders he has no need of the Polish advance man. When Western leaders can talk directly with Khrushchev and when Russian diplomats generally start loosening up, there is no particular importance to the West of glimpses of political thinking in Moscow as relayed by Warsaw.

The Russians are not at all sorry about seeing the Polish diplomatic role reduced.

THE RUSSIANS' ADVANCE

Now the Russians are not shy about making it clear that they are delighted they can deal directly with Americans instead of via the Polish detour. The Russian attitude toward Americans is "We are all big boys together," and "Who are these others?"

A couple of small cases in point:

An American newspaperman was expelled from Warsaw a few months ago for misquoting M. Gomulka. A few weeks later the newspaperman received a visa to Moscow.

About 5 hours after this reporter was ordered to leave Poland, he received a rare invitation to a Russian Embassy reception that night, by special messenger. He was unable to attend. But Russian officials told his colleagues that they had wanted him to come and have a vodka, apparently to show there were no hard feelings as far as they were concerned and to kill the idea that they were behind the expulsion order.

As far as the West is concerned, contacts with Polish diplomats and the Polish people are still valuable. But against a broad political background there is a certain embarrassing quality in them.

The West has made up its mind to try to come to an arrangement with the Soviet Union. It has not a great deal to say to Eastern Europe now. The Russian presence in Eastern Europe—the status quo—is taken for granted as part of any arrangement, written or unwritten.

The policy of liberation is dead. The West cannot urge Poles to take any strong action in relation to the Soviet Union, because, as a Polish Communist said to this reporter soon after he arrived in Warsaw, in case of trouble the West could only send flowers.

NOT GREATLY CONCERNED

That does not mean that the situation is forever frozen in Eastern Europe. As an Eastern European Marxist said, things have a way of happening in the part of the world, and the people of the area are not simply puppets waiting for strings to be pulled by Moscow or Washington.

But it does all mean that, for the time being, neither the West nor Moscow is as concerned with Polish diplomatic activity as both sides were not long ago.

Within Communist Eastern Europe, Poland's role has become more that of a political football than a political catalyst. And Poland's neighbors take joy in kicking the ball around a little.

POLAND'S INFLUENCE SLIGHT

The Czechoslovakian and East German Governments, particularly, see themselves growing more economically solid as the Poles become economically weaker. They see that Polish "liberalization" has not worked very well while their own policy of force and repression has at least kept the lid on tight.

Steadily the other satellites push toward complete collectivization of the land. In Poland only about 15 percent of the land is cooperatively, or state, owned.

The Polish infection has not spread. Instead the Poles find themselves more and more isolated economically.

The attitude of officialdom in eastern Europe 3 years ago toward Poland was heavy with concealed respect. Now it is heavy with unconcealed sardonicism.

It used to be thought that the Poles could influence the other eastern Europeans. Now they find the influences being applied to themselves.

There is often talk of Soviet pressure and, of course, the existence of the Soviet Army is a matter of everyday pressure for the Polish people.

Moscow exerts its influence in many of the Polish Communists' decisions, and in many decisions the political ties among Communists make pressure unneeded.

But there is also pressure on Poland from the satellite countries. The east Germans and the Czechs become increasingly critical in private talks with Poles and foreigners about the Polish way.

GOMULKA NOT UPSET

The dwindling of Poland's international role may upset Polish diplomats concerned with their prestige in the west, and it upsets Polish Communists, who saw themselves as part of a great movement to reform the Communist system. It is most unlikely that it upsets Gomulka.

Gomulka never saw Poland in terms of great international standing. The fact that Polish communism was pushed center stage always seemed to rub against his unsmiling, irritable sense of the fitness of things.

Gomulka is not concerned with establishing Poland as a key player in the diplomatic world. He is not interested in having Poland play a potentially dangerous game between east and west.

ORDERLY ROLE PREFERRED

Gomulka is interested in establishing communism as a functioning and orderly mechanism inside Poland and establishing his party as the wielder of power and influence as well as its symbol. He has determined to take stricter methods to establish that goal. His job is made infinitely more difficult than the jobs of the other satellite leaders, because neither he nor his party is eager to go back to the use of naked force—and they fear the reaction of the Polish people if they do.

In an important sense the diminution of Poland's international role inside and outside the Soviet bloc takes some pressures off the Polish Communist leadership. That leadership is freer to concentrate on internal problems. It is freed to some extent of the fear of being caught in a big power play, freed to some extent of the fear that Polish communism will be held responsible by its allies for all their troubles.

Almost Respectable

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 14, 1960

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, more and more people are coming to realize that practicality and reason, if not survival itself, require resumption of communication with the governing entity of the 600 million Chinese people who live on the mainland of China. While at one time a suggestion of this kind would have elicited tacit, if not outspoken, accusations of near treason, some of our most respected leaders are now advocating it without incurring any thought that they are disloyal. One of those who is speaking out on the subject is the distinguished Senator from Ohio, STEPHEN M. YOUNG.

Under a previous consent, I am including excerpts from his newsletter, "Straight From Washington," of November and December 1959:

RED CHINA

Thought should be given and, very likely, action taken early in the year to bring about increased communications with Red China and opening trade between that nation and ours. Then the question of recognizing the government of Red China may be given consideration. Of course, recognition of any de facto government does not at all mean that this Nation approves of that form of government. Practical considerations are persuasive in connection with doing business with Red China. For one thing, how can we definitely stop testing of nuclear weapons under a plan for international inspection unless the government of Red China agrees to allow control stations within her borders? We are not advocating appeasement, softness or concessions to Red China, but why not start this troubled world on the road to disarmament with adequate safeguards to compel real disarmanent?

PENETRATE THE CURTAIN

We, in this Nation, have had no definite foreign policy since the good neighbor policy of Cordell Hull 25 years ago. It is important that we find some way to establish friendlier relations with Red China. We should penerate that bamboo curtain and permit American newsmen, businessmen, tourists and students to visit that country and permit Red Chinese nationals to visit this country, under severe restrictions, of course. Were we to engage in some trade with Red China, we in this Nation would gain from that. Furthermore, we cannot ignore that nation of 600 million people. We have no intention of abondoning Taiwan (Formosa), as our frontier there and the maintenance of bases are important to us and to the free world. Nevertheless, Chiang Kai-shek is merely a symbol. He knows that the Communist regime is well entrenched in the Chinese mainland. Furthermore, 35 percent of 640,000 Nationalist soldiers are Formosans. The youngest and best soldiers of the Nationalist Army have never seen the Chinese mainland. As Formosans, they desire freedom for their country. They have no particular liking for Chiang Kai-shek. The force is entirely too small anyway for a successful invasion of the Chinese mainland, unless American air, sea and military might spearheads the drive. Chiang Kai-shek himself knows that he is talking as a politician and boasting as a warlord when he speaks of invading the Chinese mainland. This has been going on for 10 years, and the prospects of his meeting with success are nil. No revolt in Red China could possibly succeed unless elements of the Red Army revolted. The peasants have no arms or munitions. Were any section of the Red Army to revolt, and of course there is no indication of that, then that Commander would be the new No. 1 boy, and General Chiang would be definitely out even as a symbol.

Nineteen Hundred and Sixty's Busy Man—Philleo Nash

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a column on Wisconsin politics by my good friend, Miles McMillin, of the Capital Times, Madison, Wis. The article, "Nineteen Hundred and Sixty's Busy Man—Philleo Nash," describes the infinite variety of the Lieutenant Governor's activities. I have known Philleo Nash for many years and value his friendship highly. At this time, I am glad to call the attention of my colleagues to his many contributions in the field of anthropology, agriculture, business, and politics.

The article follows:

NINETEEN HUNDRED AND SIXTY'S BUSY MAN—PHILLEO NASH

(By Miles McMillin)

You can put it down in the winter book that when the Democrats send their team out next fall Lt. Gov. Philleo Nash will be on it.

Nash has not said that he will be a candidate for reelection, but one does not talk to him very long without getting the impression that another shot at the office is pretty well imbedded in his plans.

He considers himself a part of the Democratic team elected in 1958. He puts con-

siderable emphasis on the program that is yet to be carried out—a program which has been blocked by the Republican majority in the Senate.

Nash not only talks as though he expects to run but as though you expect him to.

He brings a rare combination of qualities into the political life of the State. He is at home talking about the academic life, where he spent several years in anthropology; business life, where he is still engaged in cranberry production; and in politics where he has had top level experience in both National and State politics.

And if conversation should wane he can pick up a guitar and do a first-rate job knocking out some folk songs.

He has a quick and piercing mind, driving to the heart of problems in a hurry, a facility that gives him time to keep all his irons hot. During the recent cranberry crisis he was in and out of Washington as much as he was in and out of Madison. Not even the most rabid Republican could accuse him of neglecting his duties.

Veteran observers know of no Lieutenant Governor who more quickly mastered the rules of the senate, over which he must preside. Up until the other day when the Senate Republican majority blew its stack at the spanking it received from Governor Nelson it had not overridden one of his rulings, a tribute to his fairness and mastery of the rules.

There are reports that the Republicans had decided to deliberately overrule him sometime during the session to keep him from making a perfect record.

"The Republicans didn't do any violence to me," Nash said. "They did it to the rules of the senate."

He is going to be a busy man in 1960. In addition to his own campaign for reelection he will be engaged this spring in Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY'S presidential campaign in Wisconsin. Nash will be on the Humphrey slate. He may join with Mayor Frank Zeidler of Milwaukee to head it up.

Some Democrats profess surprise at Nash being for HUMPHREY. A former member of President Truman's White House staff, he is a confidante of the ex-President and is considered to be Truman's man in Wisconsin. Truman is reported to be for a fellow Missourian by the name of SYMINGTON, and it was believed that Nash would go along.

But when Truman was recently in the State, Nash talked over the situation with him, pointing out that HUMPHREY, for years, had put himself at the disposal of Wisconsin Democrats in their efforts to build up the party.

Truman told him that he thought Wisconsin Democrats should support HUMPHREY.

Symbol of Hope

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER NORBLAD
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. NORBLAD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith an excellent editorial written by Mr. Verne McKinney in the Hillsboro (Oreg.) Argus on the President's trip abroad:

SYMBOL OF HOPE

President Eisenhower's journeys abroad developed into a phenomenon. Nothing like this had ever happened. In far-off places, India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and others, men and women who had never seen him before hailed the President as a new messiah. A messiah of peace.

These throngs were welcoming more than an individual. They were greeting a symbol, who represented all of us as Americans. These peoples have come to see America as lighting a path to peace and a better way of life—a nation strong enough to lead—a great challenge to Americans.

Many of the nations visited have been termed less-developed nations. Probably the same label could have been tacked on the Original Thirteen Colonies.

The Founding Fathers seemed to have done pretty well, even though they had only an idea. This idea was that freedom, if you could hold on to it, could make a nation great. The core of the idea was that the things free people wanted came from themselves, not the Government. This idea was what the colonists and their descendants turned into the America hailed as the hope of all nations.

While basking in the warmth generated by President Eisenhower for us around the world, we could very well recollect that we are close to losing, or rather destroying, the hope we are holding forth to ourselves and to others.

This threat to our freedom stems from the notion, sprung up in this country in the last 30 years or so, that government is the fount from which all blessings flow. This is the exact reverse of the original idea held by the founding fathers.

When politicians make golden promises in order to be elected, people are prone to forget the simple principle "that governments can never give to the people something it has not taken away from them." Real wealth is created by people, not government.

Staggering Cost of U.S. Debt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article appearing in the Washington Sunday Star of January 17, 1960:

STAGGERING COST OF U.S. DEBT

(By Sylvia Porter)

Tomorrow, when President Eisenhower submits the budget, he'll report that almost $12 of every $100 in taxes in the next 18 months will be used for interest on the national debt.

The President will make no effort now to hide the staggering size of this expense. Debt interest has become a drain on taxes second only to national defense. During the Eisenhower administration this expense has risen by billions.

When the President said last week that he'd introduce a budget balanced at $79.8 billion to show a surplus of $4.2 billion, he went out of his way to stress the chunk earmarked for debt interest. He did so by prefacing his comments about balanced budgets in 1960 and 1961 with the words, "The debt with which we are now confronted is about $290 billion. With interest charges alone now costing taxpayers about $9.5 billion, it is clear that this debt growth must stop."

But the emphasis in those sentences easily could mislead you into thinking that the reason interest on the debt has been skyrocketing is that the total of the debt has been skyrocketing.

This is not so.

In 1946 the U.S. debt was at a war-swollen total of almost $270 billion. It's not much bigger now.

But in 1946 the annual interest cost of that debt was $5.3 billion. The cost of carrying the not-much-bigger debt has almost doubled.

While the climb in the total debt under Mr. Eisenhower has been relatively modest, the climb in its carrying cost has been spectacular.

The explanation lies, of course, in the upsurge in the level of interest rates—the cost of borrowing money.

And while a businessman may decide to shelve his borrowing plans in a phase of expansive credit, the Treasury has no similar choice. It must borrow to cover the Government's bills when outgo exceeds income. It must constantly tap the market for new loans to replace maturing IOU's. These days is must compete in the marketplace for the cash, pay the rates demanded by lenders for funds.

Thus this one figure in tomorrow's budget will stress the impact of tight and expensive money on a borrower.

This one statistic will dramatize the tight-money issue—which many believe will be the key issue in the Democratic campaign this year.

Don't underestimate this. It is a major issue which warrants plenty of honest questioning. As an illustration, the aim of tight and expensive money has been to discourage fringe speculation and thereby control inflationary activities which spur price rises. But while the price rise has slowed, it hasn't stopped. A fundamental objective of the GOP has been to reduce the total of the national budget. But the soaring interest cost item in the budget has been steadily raising the budget total.

When interest rates rise to a level forcing the Treasury to collect $9.5 billion a year from all taxpayers to pay out only to those who own Government securities, the entire economy is directly and vitally involved.

When debt interest becomes such a massive factor in the budget, a national debate on the reasons and justifications for the expense becomes not only desirable but also imperative.

How About Academy of Foreign Service?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT H. BOSCH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, long before I was elected to served in this House I was interested in legislation to create an Academy for training young men to serve in the Foreign Service of

the United States. Among the first bills introduced by me in the 1st session of the 83d Congress, my first term in the House, was a bill to establish a Foreign Service Academy, and I have introduced this bill in each succeeding Congress—the latest being H.R. 1232, introduced January 7, 1959, and pending before the Committee on Foreign Affairs. It is my hope that this legislation will see the light of day before this Congress adjourns.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include an editorial on this subject which appeared in the Long Island Press of January 20, 1960:

HOW ABOUT ACADEMY OF FOREIGN SERVICE?

We're glad to hear the State Department is attracting more bright young people into Foreign Service careers.

Only 3,000 applied in 1958, but more 10,000 did last year. One reason: tests now are held in 65 or more places around the country. A few years ago they were held only in 16 places.

The State Department is only one of several Federal agencies with representatives all over the world.

These people are our front-rank troops in waging the war for world peace.

We should have a National Service Academy to prepare these young men and women for careers in foreign fields. It should be along the lines of, and have the prestige of, our Military Academies—West Point, Annapolis, Air Force Academy, and our own U.S. Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point.

Congressman ALBERT H. BOSCH, of Richmond Hill, has introduced bills time and again for such an Academy. We hope he gets action at this session of Congress.

Putting in Your "2 Cents Worth"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege and a pleasure for me to bring to the attention of my colleagues in the House an article which appeared in the December 1959–January 1960 issue of Topics which was authored by our distinguished and beloved majority leader, the Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK.

It is a simple yet eloquent statement on a subject which is very close to all of us written by one of the most sincere and splendid Americans ever to sit in this Chamber. I am sure that you will find the following of great interest, and I am more than happy to be able to place it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

Americans have a way of expressing their views in down-to-earth, simple terms, and one of these phrases is: "I put in my 2 cents worth."

Putting in our 2 cents worth, or expressing our individual opinions, can be vitally important to the future of our country.

Americans have a God-implanted love of free speech, but I have observed during my service in Congress that too few of our citizens take advantage of this privilege of speaking up on Government matters.

A reason may be that many people believe their Congressman does not welcome a letter or a telephone call from a citizen who has an opinion on some past, pending or future matter. May I correct this mistaken idea as simply and as clearly as possible? Every Congressman welcomes the opinion and counsel of our citizens because his primary job is to do just that: represent our people in the government of our country. To do this well, the Congressman must know what his people are thinking, and the more opinions he gets the better will be his decisions. Public opinion is a very important factor in a democracy.

The very basis of our government is built around people. What we call politics, elections, legislation—all are attuned to one great determinant, the voice of the people or public opinion.

The people created America, and the people—you and I—must continue to watch over and improve the country our forefathers built and our contemporaries are building. This is our duty and our greater obligation.

As a country, we decided long ago to place this responsibility upon our citizens. Freedom for all was the fruit of this decision, but freedom carries with it the cost of widespread citizen interest and participation in the affairs of Government.

One of the best ways to fulfill your duties of active citizenship, of course, is to help elect the man or women of your choice to public office. But do not stop there. Let me encourage you to take the next step. Keep the persons who represent you in government informed of your views throughout the year. This is an equally important responsibility in our democratic form of government.

Sometimes I think it might be well if we erected a large sign over Congress which contained this thought: Here the opinions of all Americans are heard—and should be heard—with equality. As a result, the sense of their proposals becomes the law of the land.

Or perhaps we should put it in more typical American language: Here your 2 cents worth does make a difference.

JOHN W. MCCORMACK,
Member of Congress.

American Credo Stamp Series

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, on January 20, Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield launched the American credo stamp series designed to revitalize famous quotations from great American patriots.

The first of these new 4-cent stamps honors George Washington and carries the advice contained in his Farewell Address of 1796: "Observe good faith and justice toward all nations."

Postmaster General Summerfield's comments in dedicating this stamp deserve wide reading. Therefore, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the address of the Postmaster General:

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE ARTHUR E. SUMMERFIELD, POSTMASTER GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES, AMERICAN CREDO STAMP CEREMONY, MOUNT VERNON, VA., JANUARY 20, 1960

There could be no more appropriate place to dedicate the American credo stamp series than here on this hallowed ground of Mount Vernon.

Here lived the man whose creed became the guiding inspiration of every generation that has followed, most certainly including our own.

The lives of great Americans lie behind us; but the immortal principles they expressed in words stand vitally before us.

In these treasured words we find the shining ideals by which our Nation has grown and prospered in freedom. By these words are formed the great and timeless credos that light our way forward.

We need to keep them before us, to emphasize their spirit, and to offer to share their universal truth with all the people of the world.

It is with these thoughts in mind that we have created the series of American credo stamps, the first six of which will be released in the months ahead.

As we join with you to launch the first of them today, we are inspired by the magnitude of the purposes they may serve. No other special stamps have received such warm and wide acclaim.

Our distinguished Citizens' Advisory Committee began consideration of this series over 2 years ago. At that time, we asked 100 prominent Americans—leaders in public life, historians, presidents of State universities—to state their opinions.

We presented a list of 24 expressions by great Americans, and proposed that they rate them according to their own evaluations, and add any which they believed to be more meaningful.

We received an almost 100-percent response. All heartily endorsed the endeavor. And with their vote and suggestions, and our own judgment, we arrived at the six which are to inaugurate this series.

There was almost unanimous agreement as to the first. It is the admonition enunciated by George Washington in his Farewell Address to "Observe good faith and justice toward all nations."

As you will recall, President George Washington announced his unequivocable decision on September 19, 1796, to relinquish his high office when his second term ended in March the following year.

In a Farewell Address on this occasion, the vigorous but aging First Citizen culled from his long life a series of principles which, summarizing his deep "solicitude for your welfare" chartered the course for the then infant United States of America.

No document save the Constitution has been quoted more often in political debate and whether the arguments from it are used pro or con in the heat of political controversy, Washington's Farewell Address is rightfully regarded as one of the most significant political testaments ever made.

Of all the national policies advocated by our first President in the farewell document, the precept "Observe good faith and justice toward all nations" is without question the most abiding.

We hope it can be said that over the course of 170 years, we have followed this counsel devotedly. It has been our guiding light; and today, it is the very essence of our international policy and desire.

Some may say that this ideal is easily and completely applicable as far as the free world is concerned. But what about the ideologies that are hostile to our very way of life? What about those who strive for world domination?

What, in short, about the Soviet Union and Communist China?

The counsel of Washington still applies, as surely as it did to the tyrannies of his day.

We can only hope for good faith in others as we demonstrate it ourselves. We must assume that the leaders of the Soviet Union, of Communist China, and other totalitarian regimes will eventually understand justice the better if justice prevails as the overwhelming world force of their time.

Let us observe good faith toward all nations, including those whose motives we dare not, at this juncture, fully trust. Let us impress upon their peoples the clear fact that we are as dedicated to freedom for all mankind as our fathers were in those fateful years when General Washington and his tattered legions fought to establish liberty as man's God-given right.

In practicing good faith, we must of course be prepared against bad faith at the same time.

As President Eisenhower expressed it so clearly in his recent state of the Union message: "Neither we nor any other free world nation can permit ourselves to be misled by pleasant promises until they are tested by performance."

And until this test is conclusive, we must follow the further wise advice of our first President, in his view that: "To be prepared for war is the most effectual means of preserving the peace."

We should not forget, either, the extent to which Washington gave of himself to insure that the precepts set forth in his farewell address would be realized.

Let us not forget that Washington and the men around him, not only his fellow Americans, but supporters from other countries like Lafayette, Kosciusko, Von Steuben risked everything, including life, in the cause for freedom.

George Washington was a wealthy planter, with a life of ease and comfort before him, if he so chose, when the call to duty came.

He accepted that call without hesitation. He suffered with his troops at Valley Forge. He endured all manner of hardship, even including the attacks of some of his own short-sighted countrymen.

And while he was leading the way in costly war and turbulent peace, he cast much of his own fortune into the struggle, never to be recovered.

His later years, here at Mount Vernon, were shadowed by debt and economic problems—a sharp contrast to his earlier life.

Thus George Washington set the challenge for us to meet today. It is for us to pledge ourselves to serve wholeheartedly, and to sacrifice as need be, in the preservation of the incomparable heritage we enjoy.

May this postage stamp carry our message of American hope, trust, and purpose throughout the world. May this stamp, as it expresses this great and noble ideal in 120 million printings, be a force of historic value in our own unity as a people; in the advancement of good will and understanding between ourselves and the peoples of today's closely knit world.

Other great Americans whose credos will be illuminated by these American credo stamps include: Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, Patrick Henry, Francis Scott Key, and Abraham Lincoln.

We hope that each of these stamps, so beautifully designed by the noted artist, Frank Conley, will provide a means and an occasion for schools and patriotic and civic groups to commemorate these credos as they apply today.

Let me say that the Post Office Department will be happy to cooperate to the fullest extent possible in all activities so designed.

We believe that, in this undertaking, there is the basis for great good to be accomplished beyond the reach of the stamps themselves.

The ideals of liberty, courage, and faith were never more vital. All that we can do to implant them, as individuals, and as educators and public leaders, will be critically important to our future.

It is in this solemn spirit that we here dedicate this series of American credo stamps and wish them Godspeed in bearing their messages not only throughout our country, but to the people who would observe good faith and justice in all parts of the earth.

The New York Times in its "Topics" column on its editorial page of January 20, 1960, made some apt observations about the significance of this new stamp. This news comment reads as follows:

TOPICS

INAUGURATION IN AN OFF YEAR

If 1960 were an inauguration year instead of an election year, someone would be taking the oath of office as President of the United States today. Whoever that someone may be, next year he will be only the fourth man to be inaugurated on this date; Franklin Delano Roosevelt became the first when he entered his second term in 1937, but all of the 30 men who preceded him in office during nearly a century and a half took the oath on March 4. This year January 20 has been chosen for a different kind of inauguration. Today at Mount Vernon, Va., the post office is issuing a new kind of postage stamp inscribed with eight words over the facsimile signature of "G. Washington."

POSTAGE STAMP CREDO

There is nothing new or unusual about the size of this stamp; it represents 4 cents' worth of postal service paid for in advance and has adhesive on the back for the usual purpose. However, instead of a portrait or a pictorial design, the eight words from Washington are set in a border of decorative panels printed in red and blue on white paper. This is the first in a projected series of stamps announced last September and planned to give prominence to wise words of Founding Fathers and later statesmen. The general idea is that as the series continues these periodic phrases from the past will form a kind of progressive creed for Americans. To affirm this each stamp will carry the word "Credo" in one of the border panels, and quotations selected will embody a basic principle of national policy.

WISE WORDS NEVER SPOKEN

The words selected from Washington are the antithesis of anything to do with inauguration, coming as they do from his last utterance as Chief Executive rather than from his first. The admonition with which this new patriotic creed opens today is "Observance of good faith and justice toward all nations," the opening words of a paragraph midway in the Farewell Address composed by Washington, with help from Alexander Hamilton, over a period of 3 or 4 years and finally corrected by Washington for printing in the Philadelphia Daily Advertiser in September 1796. He dated the manuscript pointedly without designating his office or even the city in which he completed the document, but simply wrote "United States." Although it is entitled an address as is always so cited, there is no record that Washington ever delivered it orally. It must not, of course, be confused with his Farewell Address to his officers at Fraunces Tavern at Broad and Great Dock (now Pearl) Street on December 4, 1783, an occasion marked chiefly by good food, few words and strong emotions carefully suppressed among fellow officers "gentlemen of the old school."

FAITH, JUSTICE, PEACE

Washington's admonition to "observe good faith and justice" toward other nations is followed in the original document by the words "cultivate peace and harmony with all." It is this passage in the address that contains his sound and thoughtful advice against too much love or too much hate for any other nation. Writers and speakers seeking to discourage close ties with foreign governments by this country have drawn upon it heavily. Often they associate with it the well-known phrase about avoiding "entangling alliances" which is not Washington's but Thomas Jefferson's expression and may be found in his First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1801. The whole tenor of Washington's thought on this point is to preserve a dignified, friendly balance between close attachment and strained relations; this course, he believed, would be especially wise for a small, new nation trying its way in the world.

WISDOM IN BRIEF

In the context of news at the opening of 1960 with high-level state visits behind us and before us and with summit meetings scheduled, few brief sentences could be selected which might describe more concisely the posture of this country on the world stage. As the serial parts of the new thumbnail-sized creed appear in wisdom and brevity through an election year, one may hope that statesmen now living, especially those ambitious to serve their fellow citizens in elective offices, might take the hint and recognize that words which live after a great man are often more admirable and memorable when found in such small gems as these.

A Two-Pronged Approach to the Farm Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following speech given by John H. MacMillan, Jr., last November before the First Bank Stock Corp., of Minneapolis. Mr. MacMillan is chairman of the board of Cargill, Inc., one of the largest grain companies in the world. Naturally he has wrestled with the problem of farm surpluses as have all of us. His analysis and suggestions are fresh and seem to me to make sense:

A TWO-PRONGED APPROACH TO THE FARM PROBLEM

(Remarks of John H. MacMillan, Jr., chairman, Cargill, Inc., before meeting of the First Bank Stock Corp., Minneapolis, November 20, 1959)

Virtually everyone in the United States today, regardless of political party, economic bias or personal claim to liberalism or conservatism, has come to refer to our 30-year-old program of high-level crop supports, and the consequence of such supports, not as the farm plan, but as the farm problem.

This choice of phrasing suggests immediately the regard in which the crop support program is held by most of our people. They recognize it to be a program that simply has not worked; a medicine that has not cured; a failure. With this popular finding I heartily agree.

The phrases "farm problem" and "farm plan" suggest more than just the failure of high crop supports. They also suggest a reason for the failure. They would indicate to a casual listener that the farm problem is a single problem, that should be amenable to solution by a single plan. In fact, however, it is two separate and distinct problems, one of them economic, and solvable only in the manner classic to economic functioning, and the other human, approachable only in human and social terms.

Confusing the two has led to a popular analysis that would define the farm problem as "too much production, at too low a price." Yet this, as a moment's reflection will tell us, is a paradox. Here is a ballpoint pen. It cost 15 cents at my neighborhood drugstore. Tens of millions of pens like it were produced last year and from one to a dozen were sold to virtually every person of scribbling age in the country. Others almost identical are in the pockets of people, rich and poor, from Thailand to Tanganyika to Tibet. This is so not, primarily, because so many pens were produced, but because each of them sold for 15 cents. If they had sold for $15, a dozen would have constituted a surplus, and such all-out production as we have today would have required the building of elevators and warehouses in which to store them. If they had sold for $15, a labor force of one man working in his spare time at home would have been enough to fill all real requirements. But they sell for 15 cents, so millions are produced and purchased and goodness-knows-how-many people are employed and sustained thereby.

SAME SITUATION

Exactly the same situation applies to our present great surpluses of grain and other farm commodities. The economic problem is not one of too much production and too low a price, but of prices so high as to result in unmarketable quantities of wheat, corn, cotton, etc. If prices were not prohibitively high, but instead were at levels consistent with present-day costs of efficient farm production, our surpluses would disappear overnight on expanded markets throughout the world, and our problem would become one of needing more production to supply the needs, not less.

The human problem—that is, the problems of too many people laboring too hard to receive too little—would in part solve itself if full production and consumption were brought about in agriculture through realistic pricing. But after 30 years of pretending to help American farmers, but failing to do so, I don't believe anyone would now propose abandoning them and telling them to "go it alone." Public spending to assist these people to their goals is certainly in order. But such spending, to accomplish its purpose, must reach the people who need it rather than being used to inflate and distort the true value of bushels or bales of produce. If it does reach these people—and it can—the job will prove to require far less public money than present farm costs might lead one to expect. And the "return on the investment" would not be embarrassing, white-elephantine piles of produce, but more gratified and gratifying human beings.

You gentlemen, as officers and executives of a major group of banks located throughout the Northwest, and myself, as chairman of a firm engaged in the handling, processing, and sale of farm products, are as vitally concerned with finding solutions to the two agricultural problems as is the farmer himself.

Certainly a very large percentage of your present business and future expectations are based on the prosperity or lack of prosperity of the farm economy and on the profitable occupation of the people who live in your various communities. At present you see a number of efficient farms and farmers operating in areas surrounding you, but with large tracts of their usable land standing idle, and with large portions of their present production moving not into the mills or processing plants in your towns, but instead into Government storage. You see some farmers placing whole farms into soil bank retirment, and themselves moving south to seek their own retirement. You see countless poor and small farmers, unable to take part in the community's business, or in your bank's business, because they have not enough land or enough training to buy or make effective use of the high-speed machinery, fertilizers, seeds, and other adjuncts essential to efficient production. You see in your towns feed mills, garages, grocery stores, truck and tractor agencies, and hundreds of other businesses that at best are expanding only slowly, and that in all too many cases are failing to expand or are going under. You know that healthy towns and a healthy countryside must have full employment of its people and full production of goods and services that in turn are being fully consumed. You know that no such situation exists today. You, no less than the farmer, are saddled with both the economic and the social aspects of the farm problem.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

To return to the purely economic problem, a desirable and workable agricultural situation must first call into question the whole concept of crop price supports. Such supports, originally intended to provide an emergency cushion for farmers at times of sudden and drastic price declines, have long since failed to serve that laudatory function. Instead, especially for producers of corn, wheat, cotton, and our other major surplus items, they have not been supports at all, but have functioned instead as artificial markets. Most farmers recognize that support prices are unreal prices, but they also recognize money legally received from the Government as being every bit as good as that received from a legitimate consumer. They have no reasonable alternative but to produce to their utmost, despite their own understanding that some if not all their production will be added to surplus stockpiles and paid for from the Public Treasury.

To be sure, both taxpayers and consumers have complained bitterly at the constantly greater demands made on their purses with each succeeding year. They have observed that the more they spend to "solve" the surplus problem the greater the surplus grows. They have also noticed that legislative efforts to resolve the dilemma—such efforts, for example, as acreage controls, production quotas, soil banks, and soil-conservation programs—have failed entirely to accomplish their primary goal. For efficient farmers, by intensively cultivating their restricted acreages, have been able to boost their total production higher than ever. Efficient operators, by placing their least fertile acres in the soil bank, have received from taxpayers the financial backing needed to buy fertilizers, improved seeds, high-speed machinery, and other aids to production. But efficient or not, they have received what amounts to a simple handout for doing absolutely nothing.

NO SERIOUS MOVE

Most of our legislators—confusing, like the rest of us, the economic problem with the social—have made no serious move to get out from under price supports, or to support that precious few in Government who do advocate their end. Yet the feasibility of changing from a supported to a competitive agriculture is shown by the fact that the so-called basic farm crops—corn, wheat, cotton, peanuts, rice, and tobacco—while totaling only one-fourth of the overall output of our farms, result in our largest surpluses and account for the bulk of our price-support payments. Other less fully supported crops—specifically eggs, flaxseed, wool, milk, and feed grains—account for an additional one-fourth and cost comparatively little to support. The remaining one-half of farm marketings, among them such large-volume items as meats, vegetables, and fruits, are raised entirely without subsidy and are successfully sold, year in and year out, in the competitive free market.

In the face of this evidence, and in the face also of the staggering budget required each year to maintain crop-price supports, it is amazing that we have not forced ourselves to a more clear analysis of what we are doing. Instead, we have accepted a picture of agriculture described wholly in terms of "averages." We have taken a lazy approach to knowledge, and have emerged with a typical lazy man's lack of understanding.

We are told, for example, that the average farmer does not receive his rightful share of our national income. We are told that the things he must buy cost proportionately too much and the goods he has to sell bring proportionately too little. We are told that the average farmer needs our help and have been under the impression that he was receiving it.

But is there such a thing as an average farmer? Certainly the range of economic and social difference in agriculture is as great as in any other segment of society. Certainly we should be able to describe a farm population of some 20 million persons in some more meaningful way than by averages.

Clearly distinguishable at the top of the heap are our major commercial farmers, a small but powerful group, and by every standard made up of prosperous and successful businessmen-farmers. Although they constitute only 27 percent of total farm numbers, they account for 78.7 percent of all product sales. This big farmer group receives at least 78.7 percent of crop price benefits, for only marketable commodities are eligible for Government support. They also receive, because of the size and business-like efficiency of their farming operations, by far the larger share of tax money paid for compliance with acreage allotments and soil bank or soil conservation programs.

The most recent agricultural reports of the U.S. Bureau of Census show annual sales per farm—a figure that does not include production control payments—totaling from $5,000 to $10,000 a year for 55 percent of our major commercial farms. They show 35 percent of the major commercials receiving from $10,000 to $25,000 annually, and 10 percent receiving more than 25,000. The census does not report peak incomes of this 25,000-or-over group, but I don't believe we can doubt that some are very high indeed.

The major commercials, operating some 1,300,000 farms, are our Nation's most efficient producers. Their farms are classified as almost entirely family-owned and operated. Their operations are highly mechanized; their investment in equipment and land is of big business dimensions; their output of grains and other products supplies virtually all our domestic consumer requirements as well as most of our export demands and all but the smallest fraction of our surplus stockpile.

Just as clearly distinguishable as the "majors," but at the bottom of agriculture's heap rather than at the top, is that large farm category currently described by the census as "rural residents and small or part-time farmers." Most of these people are both poverty stricken as individuals and deplorably unsuccessful as producers. They are, according to census figures and to Government social surveys, in acute need of

higher standards of living and broadened economic opportunities. These people, more than half of whom are called "economically marginal" by rural sociologists, represent 56 percent of our farm population, yet account for only 7.1 percent of total farm sales.

This small fraction of total production, the market output of 1,226,000 farms, can at best bring the farmers concerned 7.1 percent of our annual outlay for crop price supports, and in fact brings them considerably less. Their small harvests are seldom worth the red tape involved in obtaining a Government loan, arranging for storage, and so forth. The annual sales of farmers in this group, again according to the census, ranged from a peak of $2,500 downward literally to zero.

THIRD GROUP

A third important farm group, smaller than either of the others and situated economically between them, might be called the small commercials. These people operate some 812,000 farms, or 17 percent of the total, and on them produce 12.1 percent of all agricultural sales. Their incomes range from $2,500 to $5,000 a year. Their farming operations are both medium in size and medium in efficiency. They receive, obviously, no more than 12.1 percent of price support payments and are able to participate in production control plans only to a very limited extent. Among them appear to be two main developments, with one segment tending to become larger and more highly mechanized in order to join the major commercial group, and another tending either to dispose of its holdings and go to other kinds of work or to slide downward on the economic scale to the marginal category.

These groups, then, are our Nation's farmers. They are the recipients, but in proportions exactly opposite to their need, of our farm subsidy dollars. The fault for this is our own. By allowing ourselves to accept a set of averages in lieu of a true picture of agriculture, by lumping together the poor but large marginal group and the small but successful group of major commercials, we have hoodwinked ourselves into accepting a farm plan that brings undue returns to the prosperous and virtually no return whatever to the poor.

Even geography is ignored in the workings of the crop support program. We all know, for example, that there is no surplus even today of the high quality spring wheat raised in these northern States. But for purposes of the program, spring wheat and southwestern winter wheat are all lumped together as one, and are declared in equal surplus.

It is interesting to note that a similar, thought not exactly parallel, example of fuzzy analysis has now been spotted and eliminated by the Government's Census Bureau in preparation for its 1960 nose count. In the past any person was counted as a farmer if he lived on three or more acres of land and if he raised—whether for sale or not—150 or more dollars worth of produce. In consequence city-employed businessmen who commuted from country residences and who happened to raise a fair-sized garden for their pleasure and personal use found themselves counted as farmers. Also rural folk, who live on a fragment of farm but who gain their real livelihood from town or industrial jobs, continued to be counted. Retired people, pensioners and a dozen other categories were, in the same way, called farmers and their numbers included in the average farm picture.

CENSUS ESTIMATE

The Census Bureau estimates that this one clarification of thinking, and of researching, will result in the dropping from 1960 farm totals of some 500,000 farm units. Another 100,000 units are expected to have fallen away due to the ever-continuing trend toward larger and fewer farms. This will leave a grand total for all of agriculture of roughly 4 million farms rather than the earlier estimates of 4.6 million, and will have reduced the statistical population on farms by more than 4 million persons.

We encounter the misleading use of averages not only when we examine farm population and income figures but also when we look at figures on production and yield. By combining the inordinately small output of poor farmers on impoverished land with the enormous and efficient production of our commercials, we arrive, for example, at a national average yield for corn of 52 bushels per acre. Yet the average in California is 75 bushels and our top commercial producers in the Central States are today making 100 bushels per acre commonplace, with many turning in 120 to 150 bushels. Similar mixing of the fat with the lean shows national average wheat production to be 27 bushels per acre. Yet many commercial farmers are producing from 60 to 70 bushels in major wheat-growing areas.

At the same time, average productivity of farmworkers, a lumping together of the highly productive and the wholly unproductive to produce one of the most understated averages of all, has grown more since 1950 than it had grown in the previous 120 years. In 1820, an average farmworker produced enough to serve the needs of 4.1 persons; by 1940 this figure had risen to 10.8 persons, and it had climbed to 20.8 persons by 1956. If the average worker is serving 20.8 people, the efficient and well-equipped worker—about whom no such figures exist—is certainly serving upward of 100.

CONCLUSION DRAWN

What must we conclude, after examining closely the averaging of highs and lows in these various situations? Obviously, the bulk of our farm production is not in the hands of the "average" farmer but in those of the major commercials. Obviously, also, commercial production is far more efficient and involves far lower per-unit costs than average figures would indicate. Wheat, which is supported at roughly $1.77 per bushel, is being raised in the great Southwestern farm areas at costs as little as one-third of the support price. In 1958, Nebraska grew wheat for a statewide average cost of 79 cents per bushel, according to official USDA and Extension Service estimates. I personally know of large-scale farmers who are growing it for 60 cents per bushel and even less. These production costs, as low as they are, will get still lower, for farm technology proceeds at an unslackening rate.

So far, I have listed some of the reasons for the complete unworkability of the crop-support technique. I have also indicated that a realistic setting for supported crops, based on efficient production costs and values in growing markets, would be considerably below today's inflated levels. But I have limited my remarks entirely to the economic problem, without discussing the human values involved. What would happen to the farmer, you will ask, if price supports are either removed entirely or lowered from incentive levels to levels no more than protective?

The question, if it is to have meaning, must apply to real farmers, and not to those fallacious average farmers we have contended ourselves with for so long.

First of all, the large marginal group of our farmers would not be injured by an end to crop supports, any more than they have been helped by their 30-year continuance. One might, in a discussion of farm surpluses alone, choose to ignore this group entirely, for they produce almost nothing for the stockpile. But it would be unwise, as well as unjust, to do so, for they provide most of the argument for the continuance of supports. Not only does their production make up the lows from which misleading averages are derived, but their departure in large numbers from the countryside is used as proof of the downfall of the family farm. If their situation is not improved, they will continue to be used by politicians and farm groups as justification for continued high suports. If their condition is improved, we will have done the entire Nation a service by providing additions to total income, new sources of capable manpower, and new and vigorous markets for the sale of consumer goods.

For the past 3½ years, one Government program has been making tentative steps toward such improvement. Called the rural development program, it would encourage self-help in underdeveloped areas to improve farming methods, introduce economical farm crops, encourage consolidation of small units to create larger ones, and—most important but least emphasized of all—cause town and country cooperation in setting up or attracting local industry to provide farmers with full- or part-time jobs while living at home.

PILOT OPERATION

Unfortunately, the program is still a pilot operation. Its budget last year amounted to only $640,000. It has been organized in only 100 counties, spotted here and there among 30 States. It continues to be one of the President's requested programs for expansion, but so far it has been given very little support by the Congress.

I believe it politically essential that this program be greatly stepped up, and I believe it economically essential that its emphasis be shifted to creation of local industry, with farming encouraged only where there is promise of attaining commercial levels. And, most important, I believe jobs should not be created by direct Government expenditure, but only by encouraged or induced free enterprise activity. To some extent, the attraction of industry by organized local effort will bring results, especially if such persons as yourselves take active and creative roles. This approach alone might well have solved the problem long ago had not 30 years of Government programing so greatly hindered natural development of the rural economy. But if 30 years' induced timelag is to be overcome in a reasonable time, it would seem that some degree of Government encouragement would be in order.

The movement of industrial and service enterprises to the countryside, if such were to be undertaken and encouraged, would also be of value to the middle group of farmers, the so-called small commercials. As I have mentioned, some of these people, by trying to work undersized and undermechanized farms, are sliding downward toward the marginal group and could be greatly bolstered by the availability of nearby jobs. Many today are staying with their farms simply because there are no palatable alternatives, but they could be perfectly willing to leave farming if better-paying jobs were available. This, in turn, would make it possible for those deciding to continue as farmers to acquire needed land, to expand to full economic size, and to become effective members of the major commercial group. But it seems to me important that it be abundantly clear that if help is to come to these people, it will not come in the guise of a crop support program, or even of a farm program.

PROGRAMS OF HELP

If our marginal farmers, and those small commercials tending to become marginal, were to receive help from programs genuinely calculated to help them, the main excuse for the present farm program would dis-

appear and serious attention could be given to removal or lowering of crop support levels. Then, with realistic prices appearing in the free market, dramatic increases could be brought about in United States and world consumption of this country's production of grains, oils, and other farm commodities.

At present, because our supported prices are much higher than world prices, we sell grain abroad only on receipt of government subsidies to fill the gap. If however, domestic and world prices were identical, and were only reasonably higher than actual per unit cost of raising the products, we could compete with the utmost vigor, and without fear of charges by our international neighbors of economic dumping. That our prices would be competitive in this situation is beyond doubt, for today, when mechanization so largely compensates for the differences in farm wage scales between this and foreign countries, our commercial production is the most efficient in the world. Thus our farmers could not only acquire a larger share of present world markets, they could also offer products at prices that would create great new markets.

We have all read of the extraordinary expansion predicted for world populations in the next 10 and 20 years. This process is already taking place, not only in the industrialized West, but throughout the Orient, in much of Africa, and in major population areas of South America. These peoples are in acute need of lower cost foodstuffs and at competitive prices they will buy our grains and oil and meal, not only to fill presently acceptable needs, but also to replace present foodstuffs with more desirable alternatives, to increase overall consumption of grain in cereal form, and to initiate and expand meat production.

There has been ample proof that changes in dietary preferences can and will take place among foreign populations. In India, where rice is historically the basic food, low prices some years ago in grain sorghums caused that grain to increase in popularity and to be imported in quantity from the United States. Then, as sorghum supplies in this country became short, Indian importers were induced to try wheat. Today the taste for wheat is so well entrenched that sorghum producers are unable to regain more than a fraction of their old market. In a similar way Japan, also historically a rice consumer, is now importing considerable quantities of wheat and barley, and would import infinitely more at favorable prices. In this regard the soybean industry, with its various programs to stimulate sales of its products overseas, is doing an outstanding job.

The market are there and waiting. Our present need is only for reduction in supports and for a gradual lowering, to levels consistent with production costs, of free market prices.

I repeat my earlier question: What, then, would be the effect on farmers?

I trust my summary has indicated that our major commercial farmers, like the marginal group and the small commercials would be helped far more than hurt by a gradual end to price supports and a realistic lowering of free market prices. To be sure farm bloc politicians and some farm groups would object strenuously. But at the same time, many other farm groups, and a large percentage of the farmers themselves, would applaud the change and welcome a return to free and independent production. For as efficient producers, endeavoring to keep net profits high despite lower profit margins, they would be able once again to utilize all of their tillable land, to boost their total production, and to lower their per unit costs still further. They would make use of every cost-saving production technique presently available, and would seek more vigorously than ever newer and better techniques.

Meanwhile, however, though members of our consuming and taxpaying public are showing increasing distress at the size of farm program costs, neither they nor a sufficient number of their representatives have taken conclusive steps to end them. On the contrary, many politicians and farm groups are continuing to call for parity for crops instead of for people. They ask more crop supports, more land retirement premiums, more of all the things that have tended to freeze agriculture for three decades, that have prevented its adaption to world food needs, that have forestalled the improvement of its human beings.

It is a strange twist that those politicians who advocate such a holding onto the past should call themselves liberals, and should attempt to label as reactionary those who would let progress proceed. They are the reactionaries. They are the advocates of the obsolete, the antique, the outdated. They are the defenders of the status quo.

Yet sooner or later, if incentive crop supports and their resulting surpluses are not done away with, their cost to the U.S. public will become so great as to bring everyone—laborers, housewives, white collar people, literally everyone—into the streets to demand their end. If that should happen, farmers and all who associate with them—farmers and all who even admire them—will receive a blow to their prestige and honor that will require them years to overcome. The farm problem, still a political football, will then become nonpartisan despite the politicians, for their people at home will order them to solve it and solve it immediately or go look for another job.

I hope such a drastic situation does not arise. I hope the more wise and thoughtful of our Senators and Representatives—and there are a number of such men, in both the parties—will recognize and cause others to recognize that the issue is too important to be used as an insincere device for seeking headlines and votes; will understand that a continued partisan approach will weaken both themselves and the Nation; will see that nonpartisanship now, on their own initiative, may win them the name of statesmen rather than the name of fraud.

In January the Congress will again convene. Farm legislation, representing all extremes of political and economic position, will certianly be asked and attempted. The times, in terms of national production and employment, are expected by our best accepted economic analysts to be not only healthy but booming. As a result of this year's shutdowns in the steel and allied industries, there will be a heightened need for full operation of mines, smelters and refineries, and full production of autos, tractors, heavy machinery and a hundred other products to fill back orders and build up reasonable inventories. There will be full employment in industry and services and a compelling need for additional workers. Those presently ill-equipped farmers who wish to seek productive jobs outside of agriculture will find them waiting. Certainly the time is right both for solution of the economic problem and absorption of its social products. Let us hope the opportunity is not passed.

May we soon be able to write finis to the price-support program.

Gary, Ind., Crime Decreases 69 to 75 Percent Since 1952

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, Mayor George Chacharis of Gary, Ind., has forwarded excerpts from an article in the February issue of the Coronet magazine pertaining to the remarkable crime decrease in his city. One of the main reasons for this amazing decrease has been the installation of modern street lighting in the city of Gary.

The excerpts follow:

McPherson, Kans., has installed one of the most extensive street lighting programs in the United States. Brightness was increased six times and enough street lights added so that there is now one for every two and a half homes. There have been no burglaries since then. Says Chief Paul Smith, "Our lights have just about illuminated residential crime out of existence."

Albuquerque, N. Mex., cut both auto thefts and thefts from autos by new street lighting. Detroit is attacking crime in its toughest neighborhoods with light. Police officials in Philadelphia; Washington, D.C.; Kansas City, Mo.; Houston; and Chicago report that street relighting programs have been a major weapon against crime in their cities.

Most police officials feel that bright streets not only make the police job easier but inhibit crime. The total of crime in any town actually drops when adequate lighting is installed.

Still, many cities refuse to face the facts. Among the U.S. cities with the darkest, most dangerous streets are: Richmond, Va.; Savannah, Ga.; Rochester, N.Y.; Cincinnati; San Francisco; and Des Moines. Close behind are Boston, Memphis, and Charlotte, N.C. These cities lack minimum safe street lighting. The major reason they cite is cost, yet with modern fluorescent and mercury vapor lamps proper street lighting is 20 percent cheaper per unit of light than it was before World War II. It costs each citizen annually less than the price of a restaurant meal to bring the lighting on his street up to standard.

An engineer who specializes in street lighting, W. E. Schwanhauser of General Electric, has five questions you can use to judge the effectiveness of lights in your town:

1. Are the fixtures hanging at least 20 feet above the roadway?

2. Are the lights spaced no more than 150 feet apart?

3. Does the fixture direct the light downward?

4. Does the light illumine just the streets and sidewalks or is light sprayed all around the pole, into house windows?

5. Is the lighting on the road and sidewalks fairly even and uniform, not a "puddle of light" under each pole with long stretches of darkness between fixtures?

If the answers are "Yes," then your streets are safe. If most of the answers are "No," then you had better start educating your neighbors so you can work together to make your street safe at night.

Good street lighting is your cheapest weapon against crime. Look at the case of Gary, Ind., which started installing mercury vapor lights in 1952, half of them in dimly lit areas. Between 1953 and 1955, when the program was fulfilled, Gary's population increased 27 percent, yet assaults decreased 75 percent and robberies went down 65 percent. Police Chief John Foley explained why: "A good street light is as valuable as a good policeman—and a lot cheaper, too."

Dictograph Products, Inc., Celebrates 50th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT H. BOSCH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, in November 1959, Dictograph Products, Inc., located in my congressional district, celebrated its 50th anniversary in the field of internal communications.

American business can give much of the credit for its rapid growth and highly efficient operating methods to the dramatic advances in the vital area of communications. A significant contribution to this area has been made by companies which have engineered electronic means of voice transmission to fit the varied and complicated needs of individual firms. One of the pioneers in this field is Dictograph Products, Inc.

On its 50th anniversary it received congratulations from U.S. Secretary of Commerce Frederick H. Mueller and was presented with a certificate of merit from the city of New York in honor of the occasion.

In tracing the history of Dictograph Products and its founder Dr. Miller Reese Hutchison we can see how American inventiveness built a company that in turn has aided and fostered the growth of hundreds of businesses, small and large, throughout the country.

When Dr. Hutchison perfected and commercially produced his dictograph internal communication system at the turn of the century it was the first of its type ever marketed. The philosophy behind the system is the same today as it was then. In short, the system aimed to supply to the management and operation of every business a means of two-way communication which would be fast, private and flexible enough to fit any organizational plan.

Recognizing its wide application companies such as Sears Roebuck, Pacific Gas & Electric, and Monsanto Chemical became early users of the system. In the 1920's Supreme Court Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes used the system to coordinate his tremendous volume of office work. As these companies and many like them expanded, their intercommunications expanded. Today Dictograph is used by 89 percent of America's leading companies, by more than 30,000 other successful companies and by military installations and Government agencies such as the Pentagon, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Atomic Energy Commission, and the Central Intelligence Agency.

But Dr. Hutchison did not confine himself to one area. He perfected other acoustical devices. The best known of these is the Acousticon hearing aid—the first commercially manufactured electrical hearing device. For this invention he received the Reward of Merit for Scientific Investigation and Invention from Queen Alexandra, of England. He received the medal because of the success of his acoustic appliance in aiding her hearing. Other medals and awards Dictograph has received include the Universal Exposition Medal, the Silver Medal at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, the famed Diplome Bruxelles Exposition Universelle et Internationale, the Grand Prix de Paris, and the Grand Prix Gold Medal Hors Concours.

Today, the company under the leadership of its president, Malte J. Carlson is devoting considerable time, effort, and money to research and further perfection of its products. In conjunction with its golden anniversary in the intercommunications field it introduced a new transistorized system which was heralded by newspapers throughout the country as a major step in humanizing internal communication.

It is fitting that we should focus attention on Dictograph Products, Inc., on completion of its 50th year in the intercommunication field and give recognition as well to its pioneering efforts and contributions in the development of devices to aid the hard of hearing. I am proud to join in paying tribute to this company.

Loss to Cranberry Growers in Oregon Partially Estimated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1960

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Kenneth G. Garside, director of operations for Ocean Spray Cranberries, Inc., has estimated the loss to members of that organization at more than $11 million. Ocean Spray handles around 80 percent of the national crop.

Oregon cranberries generally make up about 4 percent of Ocean Spray crop. My arithmetical computations would place the loss at around $440,000 for the growers selling to Ocean Spray in my State, using Mr. Garside's figures. As you know, Congressmen from the cranberry-growing States have been meeting to find a solution to the unfortunate dilemma in which growers suddenly found themselves.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the full text of Mr. Garside's letter of January 4, 1960:

OCEAN SPRAY CRANBERRIES, INC.,
Hanson, Mass., January 4, 1960.

Hon. CHARLES O. PORTER,
Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PORTER: I wrote you on December 30 promising you information on the loss to cranberry growers following the pre-Thanksgiving ruling by Food and Drug Administration.

The figures I have compiled in an attempt to measure the cost to us of FDA's action with reference to aminotriazole are necessarily approximate because of the magnitude of the operation. Secretary Flemming's action affected every phase of the cranberry business and there just has not been time to get in the detail of checking invoices. Figures have been compiled for Ocean Spray Cranberries, Inc., as a whole. Since our company is a cooperative, all members share pro rata in the proceeds of operations—they also share pro rata in any losses. Therefore, I know of no better way of calculating the losses for the growers in Washington and Oregon except on a percentage basis, as their deliveries relate to the deliveries of all our members in total. In recent years Oregon's deliveries have been about 4 percent of the total and Washington's 8 percent to 9 percent.

Your letter to Mr. Orrin Colley on December 23 requests for "statistics concerning the loss to cranberry growers following pre-Thanksgiving ruling by the Food and Drug Administration."

Mr. Fleming's statement on that day, and subsequent statement by him, affected not only the 1959 crop but also the preceding two crops. My preliminary estimate of the loss to our members relative to these three crops it is in excess of $11 million actual reduction in net income to them. The total loss from this situation is incalculable. It includes such items as:

1. Loss to Ocean Spray employees.
2. Expense to FDA of this affair.
3. Expense to other Government agencies and to friends of Ocean Spray who cooperated in sampling and analysis.
4. Loss to the trade in profit on the sale of 150,000 barrels of fresh cranberries and 2 million cases of finished goods.
5. Credit expense to growers in financing future farming operations and in actual loss in investment, in many instances.
6. Value of products seized and used as samples.
7. Permanent loss of the cranberry market.

Ocean Spray handles over 75 percent to 80 percent of the crop and I am unable to guess the loss connected with the balance. Perhaps Mr. Colley, as president of the Cranberry Institute, can help you.

Sincerely yours,

KENNETH G. GARSIDE,
Director of Operations.

The Captive Ukraine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON L. SHORT
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Speaker, January 22 will mark the 42d anniversary of the proclamation of independence for the Ukraine. That independence was short lived, however, and since 1920 that na-

tion has been under Communist domination. In observance of the independence proclamation of 42 years ago that stands as a symbol of the hopes and aspirations of the still-captive Ukrainian people, I ask to include a story from the Belfield News of January 14, 1960. Many fine Ukrainian-Americans live in the Belfield area and elsewhere in southwestern North Dakota. The article follows:

UKRAINIANS TO CELEBRATE INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT

This year, like in previous years, Americans of Ukrainian descent are observing the 42d anniversary of the proclamation of independence of Ukraine on January 22.

The universal proclamation of the Government and Parliament of Ukraine was issued in the capital city of Kiev on January 22, 1918, and the new state was recognized as the legitimate nation of the Ukrainian people by many foreign governments, including that of Soviet Russia. The latter, however, almost simultaneously with recognition, declared war and began hostilities against the new Ukrainian Republic.

Since that day in January 1918, Ukraine remained under the yoke of the Soviet Russian dictatorship without, however, surrendering in spirit or giving up hope of liberation, and complete independence. During the whole period of enslavement, Ukrainian resistance has been going on without interruption up till today. As a result the Ukrainian people are subjected to constant persecutions by the misruling Russian regime in the Kremlin. As Khrushchev himself stated at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. in 1956 the Communist regime of Stalin planned a total physical extermination of the Ukrainian people which plan failed only because of impossibility to do that because there were too many Ukrainians.

It is almost a unanimous testimony of former American, English, and other inmates of Soviet slave labor camps, as well as those of returned German and Japanese war prisoners that the Ukrainians constitute the largest number of inmates of slave and concentration camps. Also, the Ukrainians, along with other enslaved nations, are the organizers and leaders of anti-Communist resistance movements and rebellions throughout the Soviet Union, the concentration camps included.

During this time both Ukrainian Churches, namely: The Ukrainian Authocephalic Orthodox Church and the Ukrainian Catholic Church were completely liquidated by Moscow. In their place the Russians imposed upon Ukraine the Russian Orthodox Church which, since World War II, has had the full support of Moscow and serves as a tool of Russian religious and political aggression.

The struggle of the non-Russian people, among whom the Ukrainian are the most numerous and most determined, is vitally important to the entire free world and particularly to our own United States, now the unchallenged leader of the free world. Our President, the Senate and House of Representatives have expressed their concern and sympathy to all the captive nations by enacting the Captive Nations Week resolution.

The 42d anniversary of the proclamation of Ukrainian independence is the most fitting and appropriate occasion to repeat and make known to the world once again that Ukraine and the other so-called Union Republics of the Soviet Union have been imprisoned in the Soviet Russian prison of Nations for the longest time and that they deserve to be liberated in the interest of peace, justice and security of the whole peace-loving world, and primarily in the interest of the United States of America.

Chief Timothy, White Man's Indian Friend

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALT HORAN
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. HORAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I am pleased to include an article by Rowena L. Alcorn, published in the Tacoma Sunday Ledger-News Tribune, Tacoma, Wash., on October 25, 1959.

This deals with another great Nez Perce Indian, known as Chief Timothy, who was born in 1800 and was the first Nez Perce to become a Christian convert. Chief Timothy undoubtedly had his influence on Chief Joseph who has become famous as the leader of the Nez Perce war of 1876–77.

The article follows:

CHIEF TIMOTHY, WHITE MAN'S INDIAN FRIEND—SETTLERS AIDED BY NEZ PERCE LEADER

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The author of this story about Chief Timothy of the Nez Perces, Mrs. Rowena L. Alcorn, is a well-known Tacoma artist. Seven of her paintings of Nez Perce subjects, including Timothy, now are on display at the exhibit of the Tacoma branch of the National League of Pen Women at the Tacoma Public Library. The exhibit will end next Saturday.)

(By Rowena L. Alcorn)

The story of Chief Joseph and his outstanding leadership during the Nez Perce Campaign of 1877, is familiar to almost everyone, but another and equally important figure, Chief Timothy, is all but forgotten.

This remarkable Nez Perce Indian, who lived in our own State of Washington, helped immeasurably to lay the foundations for our great Pacific Northwest. Chief Timothy (Ta-Moots-Tsoo, Friendly One) ruled jointly with Red Wolf (He-Mene-Ilp-Pilp), over the Alpowa band. Their village was situated where the Alpowa empties into the winding Snake River, a few miles below the junction of the Clearwater and the Snake, where Lewistown and Clarkston are now located.

The Nez Perce, most powerful yet peaceful of all the mountain tribes, was divided into more than 20 separate bands, each one ruled by one or sometimes two chieftans. They lived in a widespread region, which included southeastern Washington, west and central Idaho, and the beautiful Wallowa Valley of northeastern Oregon. Expert horsemen, they moved freely about as they harvested camas roots, hunted and fished. Frequently they passed over the high Rockies via the Lolo Trail, to hunt buffalo on the plains of Montana.

The spectacular plateau and mountain country where the Nez Perces lived, was slashed here and there by deep pine-covered ravines and yawning canyons of the Clearwater, Salmon, Imnaha, Grande Ronde, and Snake Rivers. It is the swift, coiling Snake which carved the awesome Hells Canyon.

SAW LEWIS AND CLARK

Ta-Moots-Tsoo (Timothy) was 5 years old, when on October 11, 1805, the Lewis and Clark Expedition stopped briefly at the Alpowa village. Alpowa, which means "Place of Rest," is now known as Silcott. The members of the expedition were the first white men ever to be seen by the Nez Perces. Ta-Moots-Tsoo always remembered the mysterious "book" from which Captain Clark read devotions before the party pushed off down the Snake toward the mightly Columbia River. Their dugout canoes had been made for them by Chief Twisted Hair of the Kamiah band far up the Clearwater. Here the expedition made first contact with the Nez Perce Tribe.

The small curious Indian lad had a noble heritage, for he was a nephew of Twisted Hair, and a cousing of the great Chief Red Bear (Hoh-Hoats-Ilp-Pilp). These two chieftains and Broken Arm, in befriending the Lewis and Clark party, made their expedition a resounding success.

When he became head of the Alpowa band, Ta-Moots-Tsoo, at the 1831 Nez Perce all-tribe councils, persuaded Red Bear to seek the "Book of Heaven" for their people. Rabbit-Skin-Leggings, No-Horns-on-His-Head, Black Eagle, and Man-of-the-Morning were selected to make that long trip to St. Louis.

MISSIONS BUILT

As a direct result of that request, the two Presbyterian missionaries, Marcus Whitman and Henry Harmon Spalding came west in 1836 to establish missions. Whitman settled at Waiilatpu, near Fort Walla Walla, and Spalding chose Lapwai in the Nez Perce area, about 90 miles to the east. Here Lapwai Creek empties into the Clearwater (Koos-Koos-Kie) River. This place is now called Spalding, and the present-day Indian village of Lapwai is farther up the creek.

Chief Ta-Moots-Tsoo was Spalding's first Christian convert, and from then on he became known as Timothy. Spalding, aided by Timothy and the other tribesmen built the story-and-a-half Mission House at Lapwai; thus was the beginning of the great State of Idaho. Here were constructed the first grist mill, the first sawmill, and the earliest irrigation project. Apple orchards were planted and wheat was grown for the first time. Spalding brought in a printing press and the Gospel was translated into the Nez Perce language. Timothy became a stanch friend of the white man, and throughout his lifetime he proved his devotion many times.

In 1847, the Spalding enrolled their 10-year-old daughter, Eliza in the mission school at Waiilatpu, and she was there on November 29, when the Whitmans were massacred. She was one of those who were spared by the wrathful Cayuses, and there is no doubt that her ability to speak the Nez Perce language, taught to her by Timothy, saved her life.

GIRL RELEASED

This faithful Indian protected the Spaldings after the massacre, and then he went to Waiilatpu and demanded Eliza's release. It was a month before her captors allowed Timothy to return her to her parents, but she was delivered to them unharmed. Fearful for their safety, the Spaldings left Lapwai a few months later, for Oregon, and Timothy was not to see Eliza, until she was a grown woman. Timothy with Spalding's help, had established a small Indian church at Alpowa, and the devout red man made many converts of his tribesmen.

When our Territorial Governor, Isaac Ingalls Stevens, called the great Five Tribe Treaty Councils at Walla Walla in 1855, Chief Timothy arrived with the impressive Nez Perce delegation numbering 2,500. The standard they proudly carried was a large American flag. The tribes invited for the negotiations were the Cayuse, Walla Walla, Yakima, Umatilla and Nez Perce. The Nez Perces arrived first and led the way in persuading the others to sign the treaties.

The Nez Perces refused to convene on Sunday, and the astonished Governor and his commissioners listened, through an interpreter, to Timothy as he preached to his reverent tribesmen. His text that day was the Ten Commandments.

Among the signers of the treaties, one will find listed, Chief Timothy of the Alpowa band.

GUIDED EXPEDITION

Three years later, Timothy, fully aware of the dangerous situation, volunteered to accompany as guide the Steptoe Expedition. Colonel Steptoe with 157 cavalry men and officers, camped overnight at the Alpowa Village on their way up to Colville. Request for military protection had come from the frightened settlers in that area, who were fearful of the rising tempers of the Coeur de Alenes, Palouses, and the Spokanes.

On May 17, as they wound through the Palouse hills near where the town of Rosalia is now located, they were stopped by nearly 1,000 whooping warriors. Holding a high point, they were attacked repeatedly that afternoon. When night came and the enemy fire ceased, Steptoe discovered they were almost out of ammunition, but faithful Timothy led the white men out of the trap in a miraculous escape down along an unguarded shallow curving gulch, through the enemy encirclement.

Without resting, for fear of pursuit, they pressed on in spite of seven severely wounded men who had been strapped on their horses. Two nights later they filed down through a steep narrow canyon, since known as Steptoe Canyon, from the ramparts to the Snake River bank. Too exhausted to ford the river that night, at dawn they were ferried across by members of Timothy's band. They had been saved from the same fate which came to General Custer at Little Big Horn on June 15, 1876.

LOST OWN LAND

Timothy, always believing and trusting in the white man's religion and laws, was persuaded to sign what proved to be a disastrous treaty in 1863. This treaty, which even omitted Timothy's own land, further shrank the Nez Perce Reservation. Flagrant violations of Indian property by some early settlers and avaricious miners, eventually led to the uprising in 1877. In this Timothy took no part.

Even though he no longer owned his land, he was permitted to live out the remainder of his life at Alpowa. Entirely forgotten by the white man to whom he had been so devoted, he died in 1891 at the age of 91. Totally blind in the last years, he outlived his his wife, Tima, who was a sister of Chief Old Joseph (Tu-Eka-Kas, father of Young Joseph, who led his people in the War of 1877).

Lonely and bewildered, his only comfort was his worn Bible and a treasured, faded old watercolor sketch painted for him by Mrs. Spalding, and given to him the day she left for Oregon in 1848.

The exact location of Timothy's burial spot was forgotten until 1915, when A. E. White, who owned the land, was riding his horse and it broke through into the shallow grave where Timothy was buried beside his wife and two sons. (Their daughter Jane Silcott was buried elsewhere.) The area of the graves was fenced in by Mr. White.

MONUMENT ERECTED

Largely through the efforts of the late Judge Elgin V. Kuykendall, who always said that it was disgraceful Chief Timothy had been so neglected and unappreciated, the city of Clarkston, a few years ago, moved the bodies to a place of special honor in their Beachview Park. There an appropriate monument was erected bearing this inscription:

"CHIEF TIMOTHY

"He was the first Nez Perce Christian convert and preacher, and lifetime friend of the white man. When Colonel Steptoe's troops faced annihilation by hostile Indians, Timothy led to safety and ferried them across the Snake River at Silcott, May 20, 1958.

"In tribute to Timothy—1800–1891."

When one passes through Clarkston, it would be very fitting to pause beside this monument and pay silent tribute to that Nez Perce, the gentle Timothy, who devoted his life to spreading the Gospel among his tribesmen and serving his white brothers.

Cumberland County, Pa., Woodrow Wilson Birthday Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES M. QUIGLEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. QUIGLEY. Mr. Speaker, one of the truly unique organizations in the country is the Cumberland County Woodrow Wilson Birthday Association in my home county of Cumberland, Pa. This group grew out of a corporal's guard of Wilson admirers who first met on the birthday of our 27th President in 1923. By the time they met again in 1924 President Wilson was dead, but the organization conceived in his honor is today far from dead. Every year on or near Woodrow Wilson's birthday the association holds a dinner meeting to pay tribute to the memory and to take inspiration from the ideals of one of America's greatest Presidents.

The Cumberland County Woodrow Wilson Birthday Association is not a partisan organization and its dinners are in no way partisan affairs. They have never, for example, been used for fund-raising or other political activity. The sole function of the annual meeting is to inspire those who attend with a little of the burning faith in democracy which burned so brightly in the soul of President Wilson.

Through the years some very prominent and distinguished Americans have graced the speaker's table of the annual Woodrow Wilson dinner. A few years back, when I had the honor of serving as president of the association, the speaker was our distinguished colleague from New Jersey, the Honorable FRANK THOMPSON, JR. This year the speaker was the Honorable Anne X. Alpern, the attorney general of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and the first woman attorney general in any State in the Union.

However, the truly distinctive note of every Woodrow Wilson birthday dinner, and probably the secret of its survival, is the fact that every meeting is addressed by three young orators selected from the schools of Cumberland County. In this way, each year the future citizens of Cumberland County are made aware of the greatness of Wilson. This year, the young speakers were Russell Acri, Rural Route No. 2, Carlisle, Pa., Middlesex Elementary School; Gary Martin, Rural Route No. 1, Newville, Pa., Centerville Elementary School; and Russell Gutshall, Rural Route No. 6, Carlisle, Pa., South Middleton Township Elementary School. All of the speakers are in the sixth grade in school.

I ask unanimous consent to extend in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks the talks delivered by each of these students so that through their words we might be reminded of the yet unfulfilled goals of America and democratic government as personified by one who had an abiding faith in the destiny of each.

The first student, Russell Acri, spoke on "Wilson, the Idealist." The text of his talk follows:

WILSON, THE IDEALIST

Many of Woodrow Wilson's critics scornfully spoke of him as an idealist. Those who admired him were quick to admit he was an idealist. Is it wrong to want and strive for freedom and peace between people and nations? Is it a scornful thing to believe in America? Its institutions, and its way of life? These beliefs were Wilson's ideals for which he died.

Soon after coming back from the peace conference in Europe, President Wilson was heard to say, the most touching and thrilling thing that has ever happened to me, happened almost every day when I was in Paris. Delegations from all over the world came to me to solicit the friendship of America. They frankly told us they were not sure they could trust anybody else. They came and sat at the feet of the youngest nation of the world and said, "Teach us the way of liberty."

January 1910, when he was president of Princeton University in an address honoring the memory of Gen. Robert E. Lee, remembering Lee's great sacrifices, Wilson said: "I wish there were some great orator who might go about and make men drunk with this spirit of self-sacrifice. I wish there were some man whose tongue might every day carry abroad the golden accents of that creative age in which we were born a Nation," accents which would ring around the whole circle of the globe so that America might again have the distinction of showing men the way. That certain way of achievement and of confident hope.

Yes those who revere the memory of Woodrow Wilson proudly admit that he was an idealist, and that his fervent wish came true in his own person. The world today could do no better than to follow his wise counsel.

The second speaker was Gary Martin and he directed his remarks to "Wilson, the Prophet," in the following form:

WILSON, THE PROPHET

While it is true that Woodrow Wilson was an idealist in the best sense of the word, he also possessed so deep a sense for the truth that he was able to prophesy with great accuracy the future state of affairs.

In 1919, while fighting desperately and unsuccessfully for his League of Nations, he declared, "I can predict with absolute certainty that within another generation there will be another world war if the nations of the world do not concert the method by which to prevent it."

Later he said, "There will be no reform in the world for a generation if the conditions of the world are not now brought to settled order and they cannot be brought to settled order without the cooperation of America."

His words went unheeded, the United States did not join with other nations in the League of Nations and within a generation the world was again at war.

Again he predicted, "I do not hesitate to say that the war we have just been through, thought it was shot through with terror of every kind, is not to be compared with the war we would have to face next time. What

the Germans used were toys as compared with what would be used in the next war."

In keeping with Wilson's dark prediction, the most destructive weapons ever known to mankind destroyed millions of lives and billions of dollars worth of property in World War II.

Finally, after America rejected Wilson's League of Nations, the last public words he uttered before his death were, "I cannot refrain from saying, I am one of those who have the least anxiety about the triumph of the principles I have stood for. I have seen fools resist providence before, and, I have seen their destruction as will come upon these again," utter destruction and contempt. That we shall prevail is as sure as that God reigns."

We have since seen the utter destruction of the contemptible Hitlers and Mussolinis who dared to resist providence, and we have seen Wilson's League of Nations again arise in the new form of the United Nations.

The final student, Russell Gutshall, chose "Wilson, Man of the Ages," and he had this to say:

WILSON, MAN OF THE AGES

Reviled and hurt by his enemies during his lifetime, Woodrow Wilson, within less than 40 years after his death, has become a man of the ages. * * * The world now knows that Wilson, being an idealist, a prophet, and a realist, was a man of truth, while his enemies are remembered only for their blindness to the truth.

His honored place in history has long since been assured. How well assured can be best stated by quoting the words of newscaster Raymond Graham Swing, spoken in a radio broadcast as long ago as December 28, 1943. He said of Wilson:

"Being a prophet with the training of a historian, he was devoted to the idea of the League of Nations, and the only eulogy he would crave would be to have his idea perceived as truth. He was among the rare and great men of state. * * * No man ever believed more devoutly that right becomes might. No man ever believed more profoundly that peace grows only in the soil of justice.

"He had the gift of utterance not matched among Presidents since Lincoln. * * * We are imbued with his spirit and are now following his prophetic leading.

"We are grateful to feel that Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln walk with us in America; we should as gratefully acknowledge the guiding companionship of Woodrow Wilson."

The Late Peter D. Henderson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, when word reached Capitol Hill last Monday of the sudden death at West Palm Beach, Fla., on January 16, of Peter D. Henderson, first director of the gymnasium for Members of the House of Representatives, a pall of gloom settled over many offices in the Senate and House whose personnel had come to know and esteem the genial Scotch-American who fought as a doughboy in the American Army in the First World War.

Pete, as he was affectionately called by scores of Members of the House and Senate whom he met and served personally during his 15 years as director of the House gymnasium, was equally well known by employees in all departments of the House of Representatives. His friendly disposition was not reserved for officialdom but was known to be one of his outstanding characteristics by employees at every level.

At this point I wish to call attention to the obituary notice that appeared in the January 19 issue of the Washington Evening Star which I wish to include at the conclusion of this tribute of love and respect for one of the finest men ever employed on Capitol Hill.

After his retirement Pete made return visits annually to Washington in the spring and summer, returning to his Florida home to spend the winter months. On these annual visits he always made it a point to call at my office and those of many other Members where he knew he was certain of a royal "welcome home."

The last time I saw Pete was in October 1959 when he came to my office to discuss an article he was writihg, incorporating many of his experiences during his 15 years of employment as gym director. At that time he repeated his appreciation of my statement upon entering naval service in 1941 when I alluded to the fact that I owed my fine physical condition to the benefits derived from daily activities under his direction at the House gym. During the 18 years following the statement he never forgot its utterance as he told me that along with similar complimentary remarks by several other Members such commendations were a source of recollection of his days on the Hill which gave him great pleasure in his retirement years.

In tendering this tribute of respect and esteem for my good friend, Pete Henderson, I would be remiss in appraising his many fine qualities were I to neglect to mention the great love and devotion he shared with his beloved wife, Ellen Cavanaugh Henderson, who survives him. Pete and Ellen were in the fullest sense true partners and inseparable companions traveling at home and abroad on various occasions. Together they were examples of a typical American couple capable of radiating sunshine and spreading cheer as they traversed life's highway. When the Angel of Death invaded their home the genuine sorrow expressed and the beautiful tributes tendered to the memory of the deceased husband were indicative of the indelible impression his life made on those who were privileged to know and love him.

It is my sincere wish in expressing deepest sympathy to Ellen Henderson that Almighty God will give her added strength to bear the great sorrow that has befallen her in the death of her beloved husband. It is hoped that the exemplary life of Pete Henderson when reflected upon by his loved ones will prove a source of consolation in the knowledge that he was highly respected and greatly esteemed by his fellowman.

Finally, it is my fervent prayer that God will have mercy on the soul of my departed friend and grant him eternal rest.

Mr. Speaker, the editorial from the Washington Evening Star, referred to above, follows:

PETER HENDERSON DIES—DIRECTED HOUSE GYM

Peter D. Henderson, first director of the gymnasium for the House of Representatives, died Saturday in West Palm Beach, Fla., after a heart attack and an emergency operation.

Mr. Henderson was gym director for the House when the new office building opened in 1933. He served 15 years there before his retirement.

He helped win additional space from House planners to add a half-court gym floor to the original steam bath layout. The space is used for handball, volley ball and individual exercise. His reputation was made when he invented the congressional game of "paddle ball," the easy way to play handball on Capitol Hill.

DEFENDED PRACTICE

Generally considered an easy-tempered man, Mr. Henderson saw red when articles suggested Members of Congress were living the life of Romans when they tried to take care of their health in the gym.

A magazine once printed a picture of a Congressman in a steam bath and captioned it "Asleep in the Deep."

"These aren't Roman baths," Mr. Henderson exploded, "They're places where a Member can relax right and keep himself fit."

Among the politicians who took physical fitness seriously and joined in the workouts were Vice President Henry A. Wallace and Representative RICHARD M. NIXON.

LEARNED AUTO TRADE

Born in Scotland, Mr. Henderson took to the sea as a youth. His goal was America. He learned the automobile trade, and worked in Paterson, N.J.; Buffalo, Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago and Santa Fe, N. Mex.

When World War I broke out he joined the American Army and fought as a sergeant. He was attending officers' training school when the armistice came.

After his retirement, Mr. Henderson and his wife spent winters in Florida and summers in Washington.

He leaves his wife, the former Ellen M. Cavanaugh of Washington.

Funeral arrangements, which are being handled by the James T. Ryan Funeral Home, are incomplete.

Burial will be in Arlington Cemetery.

Guilt of Intolerance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, people everywhere remember with profound sorrow the horrendous tragedy that was inflicted on our fellowmen by Hitler's Nazi regime. The malignancy of hatred and bigotry is once again flaring up throughout the Western World

notably in West Germany and here in the United States. The wave of desecration in places of worship is deplored by morally sensitive and responsible people. These apparently unrelated acts by irresponsible people may well be unconnected. However, to ignore these acts as trivial incidents is inexcusable in the light of recent history. It may well be only the acts of stupid ignorant people. However, the real beneficiary of any discord among the United States would be international communism. And only international communism is capable of instigating similar acts in any part of the world at the same time. Therefore, the bruised mind of the survivors of nazism who are intent on destroying the democratic government in West Germany could very well be the willing tool of the Communists whose goal is still world supremacy by any means. Even though Communist Russia is today talking peace, let us never forget that the great danger to freedom is being lulled into a sense of security. Let us be ever vigilant not only of the Soviet Union military posture, but even more so of the insidious subversive potential of the international Communist conspiracy.

I have asked the Secretary of State, Christian Herter, to have an investigation by the United Nations to see if the latest anti-Semitic movement was international in character and determine its sponsors. The State Department has informed me that the United Nations Subcommission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities is now investigating the matter and assembling the available facts.

We must do everything in our power to oppose and condemn any display of anti-Semitism. Recent history disclosed that the sparks of bigotry and intolerance became a flame that roared in the ovens of the concentration camps until approximately 6 million lives were consumed.

I would like to include in my remarks the following editorial which appeared in the Jersey Journal of January 16, 1960. It is most thought provoking and depicts a question which we should all ask ourselves, "Are we guilty of intolerance?"

The article follows:

GUILT OF INTOLERANCE

A few swastikas painted on synagogues and other buildings can do little harm in themselves. The danger is that the poison which the swastikas represent—the poison of bigotry and hatred and intolerance—will spread. That is what those who paint the swastikas manifestly want, a spreading of their poison.

And that, precisely, is what men of tolerance and good will do not want. The conflict is absolutely clear. The problem is how to neutralize this poison by means that will not in themselves foster its spread.

The painting of swastikas is vandalism. It can be attacked as such with laws now on the statute books in most civilized countries.

The World Council of Churches was right to issue a statement denouncing all forms of segregation or discrimination; it was right to call upon all member churches throughout the world to work for their abolition. Yet this must be done, not by harsh repression, using totalitarian methods, but through a reawakening of greater tolerance in the hearts of men.

The swastikas are overt signs of a festering wound that usually lies hidden beneath the skin of society. Bigotry is not felt only by those so sick that they smear abominations on places of worship; it also corrupts, to some degree, the minds of millions of others. The symbols of hatred are a reminder that many of us must share, in some measure, the guilt of intolerance.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

The Old Stone House in Georgetown

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALAN BIBLE
OF NEVADA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 22, 1960

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, on Saturday afternoon, January 23, 1960, there will occur an event of unique significance in the long and cherished history of the District of Columbia. I refer to a showing by the National Park Service of the Old Stone House at 3051 M Street, in Georgetown.

Through the interest and generosity of several Georgetown citizens, period furniture of the 18th century has been loaned for this building. On the following day, Sunday, the restored structure will be officially opened to the public, and there will be no charge for admissions.

The Old Stone House has many traditions, Mr. President, many of them legendary. In 1934 an architectural survey determined conclusively that it was built between the years 1764 and 1766, which makes it the oldest known house in the District of Columbia. When this fact became known, interest immediately began to generate. The 2d session of the 81st Congress held hearings on H.R. 7722 and testimony brought out the fact of the age of the prerevolutionary building and the fact that it had witnessed many events in the Nation's Capital stamped it with inescapable historical value.

On September 25, 1950, Public Law 836 gave the United States title to the building and the Department of the Interior was authorized to administer it and exhibit it as a public museum.

Since that time architectural restoration has been completed, and we have an attraction that is bound to add to the many charms of Georgetown and the District of Columbia.

Federal Aid to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, on January 14, 1960, Mrs. Agnes E. Meyer made a speech to the Woman's National Democratic Club on "Federal Aid to Education" that merits the careful consideration of every Member of Congress. Her speech follows:

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

(By Agnes E. Meyer, address before the Woman's National Democratic Club, Washington, D.C., January 14, 1960)

When I look back over the last 20 years, I would be discouraged about the number of fruitless speeches I have made on "Federal Aid to Education" were it not for the Biblical admonition "Be not wearied in well-doing." I assure you the only thing that keeps me going is the faith that every important issue, if constantly pursued, is bound to prevail.

Yet at this moment the prospect of success is dimmer than ever. At present we Americans approach most of our great contemporary problems with a frightening complacency. For a complexity of reasons our people seem to think that we ought to find easy answers to all our tough problems. Above all, their solutions must not increase our taxes nor interfere with the equable tenor of daily life.

Harold B. Dorsey, writer on economics and finance for the Washington Post, a very astute observer of the American scene, said in his New Year's article that many organizations and individuals are scheming to obtain more and more for less and less effort, instead of relying on the solid achievement and the sound economic principles that have given our country its high standard of living. In other words, the American people are in a mood where they are only too glad to believe the phony promise of "peace and prosperity" despite the fact that the military and economic security of the Nation is more seriously threatened than at any period since our democracy was first established.

Why do I call peace and prosperity a phony promise when the experts say that our production will rise by 30 billion next year and the first summit meeting has been called for May? Our prosperity is precarious because we are spending too much on consumer goods and not enough on necessities, both military and civilian. And peace is an illusion—a dangerous illusion as long as the Communists continue to augment their power and their influence among the impoverished masses of Africa, India, and other eastern countries. To be sure, the Communists don't want a shooting war any more than we do, since they have every reason to think they can win their objective—world domination—without it. The plain fact is that we are not meeting the challenge of the Soviet Union. Walter Lippmann is right when he said on December 31 "It is a dual challenge—to negotiate and to compete, to reduce the international tension and to increase the national effort. This is the case which the Democrats need to make if ever they can unite behind a candidate who understands the case and has the eloquence to take it to the country."

There are, to be sure, profound psychological reasons why our people are prone to believe this propaganda of peace and prosperity. All other peoples of the world have lived with tragedy that is unknown to us. Ours is the only country, protected from its beginnings by two oceans and blest with vast resources, that has long enjoyed a sense of security denied to all other nations. Our increasing wealth also increased our self-satisfaction. Now that our land, our homes, our great cities are exposed for the first time to the constant insecurity with which all other nations have always had to exist, it is too hard for us to face this reality. We are only too ready to believe that everything will come out for the best with no effort or sacrifice on our part. It is a question—a serious question—whether we shall be able to conquer the psychological effects of isolation and its consequences—the moral and intellectual lethary of the overprotected.

Certainly the American people are as yet completely unaware that the Russian sputniks and moonshots are not merely the symbol of a foreign power's military prowess. They symbolize an intellectual attainment of the highest order and indicate that brainpower rather than military power will become the chief instrument of national policy in the future and the deciding factor in ideological conflicts.

"The achievement of the Soviet satellite," said Lloyd V. Berkner, member of the President's Scientific Advisory Council, "has demonstrated to Americans what they refused to believe before, that they are in a race for intellectual leadership when they hadn't realized that there was a race. In the complacency of our assumed technological lead, we have confused our high standards of living and material prosperity with intellectual stature. It is an extravagant and dangerous mistake."

If the next campaign is conducted on the dubious premise of peace and prosperity, it will make our people even more indifferent than they are now to the fact that the Communists are outmaneuvering us on every front. In our minds we are well aware that we have already lost our position of world leadership. Many of our most respected military leaders have proved this with chapter and verse. But in our hearts we feel too secure and too certain of ultimate victory. Furthermore—and this is not a partisan statement but a plain fact—under this administration the people have had no leadership, I repeat, absolutely no leadership, on their serious domestic problems.

It is unbelievable, for example, that President Eisenhower should boast of a surplus of $4.2 billion in his message on the state of the Nation, while insisting for the nth time that the States can and must pay the bill for better schools, that the "educational process cannot be made to leap ahead by crash, centralized Government action." In fact the whole message exudes the same smiling optimism with which he has lulled the American people to sleep throughout his administration. No wonder his popularity is greater than ever. Like most Americans, President Eisenhower does not like to face the tragic aspects of life in a revolutionary era. Western civilization and our social structure is crumbling before our eyes—but President Eisenhower is blissfully unaware of it.

As a result there is no sense of urgency to improve our chaotic society and to make our Nation strong enough internally to cope with our many foreign responsibilities. We think there will always be time to do next year what we fail to do now. As a result there is an indifference even in Congress—whether on the Democratic or Republican side—to Federal support for education. Unless we awaken from this dream world we shall regret it to the end of time.

What about the National Defense Education Act of 1958? You may ask, "Is that not a step in the right direction?" At first the friends of Federal aid said to themselves,

"Well, at least the fear of the Soviets has breached the wall of opposition to Federal aid. A minute loaf is better than none." But in some respects the measure fills me with apprehension. It was obviously drawn up by persons who have only the vaguest concept of education, and of Federal-State-local relationships. It declares at the outset that "This title prohibits Federal control over the curriculum, program of instruction, administration of personnel of an educational institution or school system." And yet that is precisely what this measure could bring about, if it is not amended or scrapped completely when we get a better bill for Federal aid to education. The loyalty oath demanded of any student wishing to take advantage of the loans it offers, has met with vigorous opposition by many universities who have withdrawn from participation. And yet that provision is typical of the whole spirit of the bill. Calling it a defense act was probably necessary to make our political reactionaries swallow the bitter pill of Federal aid. But this in itself will lead children to think that they must be educated not for their own development but primarily for national defense. Yet education in a democracy must cherish each child as an authentic individual, not as a means to an end. If we treat our children as tools of the state we are imitating the Communists.

And yet, education is our first line of defense. But the only way education will make its greatest contribution to our national security is by developing the child's whole personality whatever its special talents may be. For we need not only more scientists and engineers; we need a vast reservoir of highly educated manpower of various kinds, people capable of guiding our complex society and our no less complex relations with other nations. Such leadership demands plural abilities and calls for the education of many types of minds in many different fields. We can develop this type of leadership not by Federal dictation concerning this or that subject matter, however important, but by underpinning the whole school system with adequate Federal funds, and leaving the States and localities free to determine the curriculum.

It is precisely this freedom which the National Defense Education Act undermines by dictating not only what shall be learned but how it should be taught. There is an undue emphasis on educational gadgetry such as television, radio, motion pictures, and other audiovisual materials—excluding textbooks. Why this prejudice against textbooks? Are they obsolete? All these gadgets have their value but they can never replace textbooks. As a matter of fact, new textbooks in physics and mathematics are essential, so great has been the progress of these sciences in the past 10 years.

Much as I have always favored greater emphasis on mathematics, science, and foreign languages, if the Federal Government gives support only to these subjects, it will gradually determine the whole curriculum. And this dictation of subject matter is precisely what we criticize in the Russian school system.

I do not wish to imply that the present Commissioner of Education wishes to be a dictator. I am certain he doesn't. But the wording of the legislation makes it possible. This is dangerous. If we deprive the State and local school boards of their autonomy, we undermine our whole democratic structure. For local control of education is the strongest bulwark we have left against the growing tendency in our country toward overcentralization of power in the Federal Government in our military hierarchy, and in our industrial bureaucracy.

In addition to dictating subject matter and methods of instruction, no State can participate without submitting a plan to the Commissioner of Education indicating that the provisions of the act will be faithfully executed. And in spite of these minute Federal directions, the States must match the Federal funds, dollar for dollar. And all this subservience for Federal contributions so small that they are not worth the vast amount of paperwork and administrative redtape required in the State boards of education to follow out the orders.

The worst weakness of the National Defense Education Act lies in loaning money to our talented boys and girls instead of giving them outright scholarships. To load down our most promising youngsters with debts early in life is bound to cripple their spontaneity and freedom of action. To bribe them, moreover, to work off these debts, or rather half the debt, if they teach 5 years in the public schools, is bound to make them hate the thought of this bondage. What kind of teachers will they make under this stress? Certainly this temporary period of service in the schools will not build up a permanent, experienced teacher staff. And what will the Federal Government do if these young borrowers fail to repay the loans? The whole concept is unsound—a false gesture on the part of a parsimonious Federal administration.

The enemies of Federal aid to education may be tempted to use my criticism of the National Defense Education Act by saying, "We told you so. Even Agnes Meyer now claims that Federal aid to education will result in its control from Washington." But the point I am making is that Federal aid can and always has been given to support the public schols, without any such controls as exist in the National Defense Education Act. Federal aid began in the early days of our country with the land grants for public schools and land grant colleges and continued through the Smith Act for vocational training. It is this tradition of making Federal grants and leaving the States free to use them as they see fit that must be continued.

Instead of imitating the Rusians by becoming educational authoritarians, we must develop a thoroughly democratic philosophy of education which will serve the purposes of a free society as effectively as Soviet education serves the purposes of despotism.

How do we approach such a goal? For one thing we cannot begin at the top of the educational ladder, as the National Defense Education Act does. A new concern must be the acceptance of the nursery school as a public responsibility. This is essential not only because millions of mothers work but because millions more women are needed to increase our labor force, according to the reports of the National Manpower Commission. The young child in our society is frequently neglected not only because his mother works but because of the disruption of family life. Thus when the school gets the child at 6 years of age, it must frequently cope with serious psychological aberrations already so fixed that they are difficult and sometimes impossible to overcome. If more and more mothers are recruited into the labor force, nursery schools would constitute a sound contribution to National Defense. But they will not be established quickly enough without Federal aid to education.

Federal Aid has long been essential for our overcrowded and understaffed elementary and high schools. At present 7 million elementary schoolchildren are in classes larger than thirty. It is impossible to teach with the psychological insight teaching requires today when the teacher cannot possibly get acquainted with her pupils and understand their personal problems. Of prime importance is immediate Federal aid to the elementary schools. If all our children received a good elementary school education, we would not need Federal subsidies for improving the teaching of mathematics, science, and languages in the secondary schools. If our children came to high school well prepared, all talented boys and girls would take these subjects in their stride.

Secretary Flemming recently gave some figures which are alarming. There is a shortage of 132,400 classrooms and the number of pupils enrolled in excess of normal classroom capacity has risen this fall to almost 2 million. This means that not only these 2 million children receive an inadequate education. It means that they overcrowd existing classrooms and lower the educational standards for millions of other children. At the same time due to the high birth rate, we must provide classrooms for 1 million additional students every year. The States have made valiant efforts to keep abreast of their school construction but for the past 2 years bond issues for school construction have been defeated and construction has decreased because tax resources of the cities and the new suburban towns have been exhausted.

At the same time there is a critical teacher shortage due largely to the pitiful salaries they receive in most States.

And yet Secretary Flemming said flatly that legislation for direct school aid would meet with administration opposition. As President Eisenhower is always asserting that the States and localities should pay the bill for education, let me just outline rapidly what has happened to the tax situation in the past 50 years. Whereas in 1902 the Federal Government collected only 19.0 percent of all taxes, the States collected 13.9 percent and the local government collected 67.1 percent. The tables had completely turned in the later years of World War II, and have continued so down to the present time. The Federal tax collections in 1956 were 71.2 percent, the States 14.6 percent, and local government 14.2 percent. Last year about 75 cents out of every tax dollar went to the Federal Government, 15 cents to the States, and a mere 10 cents to local governments. Obviously, our States and city governments cannot meet their numerous heavy obligations in an urbanized society without Federal aid or without a thorough revision of our tax structure.

At the same time the number of children to be educated is 10 times larger than it was 50 years ago, and the costs of education are much higher for the following reasons:

1. We now expect much more of our schools in a technological age than we did when the Nation was predominantly rural. Scientific education calls for laboratories and other expensive equipment. Good language teaching also calls for new technical equipment.

2. In our urbanized society the school has heavy social responsibilities that used to be the province of the home and the church. This calls for additional personnel of different kinds; social workers, doctors, nurses, etc., to keep the schools in touch with the community.

3. If we are to desegregate our schools without sacrificing the education of the white children, we shall have to have smaller classes, more teachers, and more well-equipped classrooms. This is a heavy moral responsibility in which we cannot afford failure. But let's not deceive ourselves. If well done, the desegregation of the Nation's schools is a difficult and very expensive job.

Administration opposition to these stark realities is, of course, due to the sacredness of the budget despite our rising productivity, and a huge surplus. President Eisenhower, under the influence of his former Secretary of the Treasury, George Humphrey, has become convinced that a sound dollar is more important to the Nation than sound citizens. But before the Democrats begin to feel a sense of superiority, don't forget that the Democratic congressional majority let the President get away with this false sense of values.

Even before this new Congress convened, Secretary Flemming in the same statement which described the alarming conditions that prevail in our school system, added that a debt-service bill for school construction is the only kind President Eisenhower would sign. The President made this plain in his recent message. Moreover, it will not, as the President claims, encourage State and local effort. This empty gesture can be summed up by saying that it will increase the debts especially of the poorer States—if any of them make use of it—without being of service to the schools. It is so cumbersome to administer as to be unsound and unworkable.

It puzzles me why highways are built with direct Federal grants while schools must be built with borrowed funds. Have our political leaders no sense of logic? For every new road means new communities and new communities mean new schools.

Senate bill 8, introduced by Senator McNAMARA, is the most promising new legislation for Federal aid to education. It provides $1 billion exclusively for school construction to be spread over the next 2 years. This is, of course, a drop in the bucket when $500 million have to be divided among 50 States. I doubt whether the educators will support it. I hope they come before the Senate committee and demand at least a billion dollars annually for the next 4 years in direct grants to the States, the provisions in old Murray-Metcalf bill. Nothing else can make an impact of sufficient value on a situation that has become so critical.

But with such an adequate appropriation much money could be saved if the new legislation stated that the National Defense Education Act is thereby terminated. This would mean salvation for the independence of our State and local school systems. For in a truly democratic bill for Federal aid to education the State boards of education should be left free to decide whether they wish to use their share of the appropriation for school construction, for improving school equipment and curriculum, or for raising teachers' salaries. Nor should the States be asked to match the Federal contribution on a 50–50 basis which is one of the features of the National Defense Education Act and also of the McNamara bill though in the latter matching is on a sliding scale. For this penalizes the poorer States who have the highest number of children per 1,000 of the adult population and, therefore, need Federal aid the most. As a matter of fact, the States and localities now spend $14 billion for elementary and secondary schools whereas the Federal Government which gets most of our tax money, spends less than $500 million. So the local school systems already match Federal contributions by 30 to 1. The provisions for maintenance of State and local effort as set forth in the Murray-Metcalf bill, would make it certain that Federal funds will not supplant State and local school funds. On the contrary, Federal aid would encourage greater local support as people begin to realize the benefits derived from more and better education.

So I am tempted to ask you Democratic women, what are you going to do about this vital issue? I don't see how any Democratic candidate can come before the country as the protagonist of Federal aid to education, unless the present heavy Democratic majority in Congress stages a real fight for an adequate measure in this session. Since all the leading Democratic candidates are members of the Senate, how can they fail to take a strong stand and put through a sound bill for Federal aid to education, or forgo a great advantage in the coming campaign? If President Eisenhower should veto the bill, that would only strengthen the issue for the Democrats. And who knows—since this is a presidential election year—it is not impossible that the obvious Republican candidate, Mr. NIXON, might see the handwriting on the wall and persuade President Eisenhower to approve it.

For quite apart from the great need to give all our children an equal chance to develop their talents, we must ask ourselves this question: What kind of image of democracy do we project for the impoverished nationalities who yearn to raise their educational status, if the richest democratic nation in the world says that it is too poor to give all its children a proper education? Surely these nationalities must ask themselves, if Communist Russia can do it, why not the United States? For Russia, whose productivity by no means equals ours, is spending a higher percentage of its resources on education than we are. In addition, Russia is inviting thousands of Africans, Indians, and other Eastern peoples to come to Moscow free of charge to receive an education with a considerable dose of indoctrination in Marxist ideology and in knowledge of the Russian language. Yet in the face of these ominous and eminently sensible preparations for world conquest, we, who haven't even enough schoolrooms or teachers for our own children, and claim we cannot afford them, sit back and prate about peace and prosperity.

With the deepest sincerity and solemnity I will conclude with this statement: Our Nation is poised on a watershed. The way we turn now may mean destruction of freedom for us and for mankind. The greatest bulwark of freedom we have is a highly trained body of citizens. What happens to American education will determine what happens to America. And what happens to America will determine the course of history for generations to come.

Address by Hon. Wright Patman, of Texas, at East Texas Baptist College

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STUART SYMINGTON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 22, 1960

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, last October I had the great honor of participating in ceremonies at East Texas Baptist College in Marshall, Tex., honoring our distinguished colleague in the House of Representatives, WRIGHT PATMAN, of Texas.

It was a moving occasion, and the highlight of the ceremonies was the address by Representative PATMAN. In it he expressed some of the ideas and principles that have guided him during his long and distinguished career of public service.

I commend this able address to all my colleagues.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the address by the Honorable WRIGHT PATMAN, of Texas, delivered at the special convocation at East Texas Baptist College of Marshall, Tex., on October 6, 1959, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF WRIGHT PATMAN, MEMBER OF CONGRESS, TO EAST TEXAS BAPTIST COLLEGE, MARSHALL TEX., SPECIAL CONVOCATION, OCTOBER 6, 1959

President Bruce, trustees of East Texas Baptist College, members of the faculty, distinguished guests and alumna, you have been most kind and generous.

I can think of no greater honor that could come to any man than to be singled out as having made an effort on behalf of his fellow man which this great educational institution considers to be worthy of its notice and commendation.

It would be difficult to know how to reply to the extremely kind personal remarks that have been made here today.

It is not difficult, however, to know what to say to the teachers and the administrators of this great college. You have remained close enough to the sweep of history to know that, whatever doubts may have been raised by new and threatening physical forces, the humanizing principles of liberal education are still civilization's brightest and best hope.

About 30 years ago H. G. Wells wrote: "Human history becomes more and more a race between education and catastrophe."

He was not speaking of education in the sense of training more technicians and specialists to harness new and more powerful physical forces, though, of course, civilization badly needs more specialized training too—more scientists and technicians of all kinds. He was observing—as one must when reflecting upon the course of human history—that the race is between mankind's rapidly accumulating knowledge about the physical universe and his learning how to organize his society and better govern himself. He was talking about education in the liberal sense—education which forms the cultural bridge between the past and present and links the specialists of our own day into a common bond for civilization's advancement.

Few educated people doubt that the great problem of our age is to obtain more liberally educated people—people who have learned how to join together in voluntary associations to define and extend the common good. The problem of our age is not so much to extend further the frontiers of science, to discover new physical laws, but to bring about better law and order in the human society. In short, our problem is better government at all levels of human association, whether we happen to call the governing unit a government, an association, the United Nations, or just the family.

Making this commonplace observation does not mean that I share a view sometimes expressed that civilization is on the downgrade, or that we are witnessing an all-around moral decline.

They say that when you get to the point where you think the country is going to the dogs, that is a sign of old age. And they also say that being an incurable optimist about the future of mankind is a sign of muddleheadedness.

Admitting only to mature optimism, I would have to say that the progress in man's ability to govern himself which I have been able to observe has been marked with some notable advances.

Consider, for example, that discussions of scientific truths, and even conflicts of scientific truths, now observe very high moral standards. This achievement must be ranked among the priceless human freedoms. It has become almost unthinkable that any question in the realm of physics or biology would be answered by appeals to political authority. It is unthinkable that a scientist would try to establish a thesis by deliberate fraud, or that a scientific finding would be censored

or distorted by the newspapers and other commercial media of communication. This has not always been so.

Nor does it explain this advancement in the scientific fields to say that science is especially concerned with discovering the truth and, therefore, it is only natural to be extremely careful of the truth in matters of science. Men are seeking to find the truth in other fields, no less so than in science.

The explanation, I think, is to be found in two developments.

First, the people who make up the scientific professions are educated, almost without exception, not merely in techniques, but in the origins of their science and its contributions to the human culture. Being educated people, they are well aware of the long struggles that were waged to win freedom for scientific investigation and expression, and are no less zealous of this freedom than of the science itself.

Second, I would attribute the high moral standards being observed in the scientific fields to the voluntary associations that are the governing bodies of the people working in these fields. These associations would most certainly frown upon fraud, misrepresentation, and the like, if such were used in describing scientific matters.

Wouldn't it be a wonderful thing if our civilization were advanced to the point that discussions and controversies over political truths observed moral standards as high as those observed in scientific controversies?

Perhaps there has been progress in this direction, though I am not sure of it. The slambang assertion and the flamboyant claim have largely died out. But they have largely been replaced by the more subtle techniques of mass propaganda. So it may be that here improvement has been in form, while in substance there has been retrogression. Yet, I have no doubt, if I may be so bold as to make a forecast, that there will come a day when both politicians and those responsible for the machinery of mass opinionmaking will be as careful to distinguish between truth and innuendo, between hope and fact, as are the scientists.

As to the very difficult field of relationships, among nations, there have been some recent and unmistakable advances in man's ability to govern himself. We have now, in the United Nations, an organization for bringing the peoples of the world together in common support of common causes—most particularly to resolve differences by peaceable means. True, the United Nations has not lived up to the high hopes that many first held for it. But at least the nations of the world have found it possible to remain in association for orderly discussion of their common problems and their individual differences. Even this was not possible only a generation ago, despite the horrible lesson of the First World War.

Within my own lifetime there have also been quite notable advances in our country in recognizing and fulfilling our responsibilities for the common good on the national scale. There was time, within my memory, when it was widely believed that the people of this country could not, and should not, be mutually responsible for their common economic good. When I first went to Washington, the prevailing view then was that the economic condition of the people was a matter of no proper concern of the Federal Government. The great ebbs and tides of the business cycle were regarded as the workings of a mysterious force, almost sacred, not to be meddled with or controlled by the collective intelligence of people. Yet within a decade such beliefs and superstitions were discarded and a newly recognized responsibility for intelligent control of the economic climate was embraced. Indeed, following the last great war, we wrote this newly found responsibility for the common economic good into statute, declaring our national policy to be that of using all the plans, programs and agencies of the Federal Government to promote maximum employment, production and purchasing power.

To assure each man a job, no. To tell any man what his job shall be, how he shall try to satisfy his instinct for workmanship, no. But to an assured general prosperity, yes. To pledge opportunity for earning a livelihood, yes. To pledge economic freedom—meaning that each man shall have a wide and practical choice of ways in which to earn his livelihood, also yes. These thing we now recognize to be our responsibility on a national scale.

We have not acquired the best techniques for accomplishing these objectives as rapidly as we might like. And what may be more serious, responsible officials of govenment have not seemed to hold steadfastly to the objectives themselves. But this is to be expected. In human progress, some faltering steps seem always to follow a long forward step. But I do not see in this any fatal rhythm of history. Notable progress toward economic freedom has been achieved, and few people are so thoughtless as to entertain notions of abandoning this progress.

So much for the recent advances, as I see them, in our ability to govern ourselves.

At all levels of government—national, international, and so on—there seems to have been some advancement, and at least no serious retrogression, in all cases except one. But as I see it, the most important governing unit of all has been, and is now, undergoing a serious breakdown. I am referring to the individual family, which has, of course, been the basic unit of government in our civilization for as long as we have had a civilization.

Indeed, the family is an integral part of our religious heritage, and considering the values which are at stake, it is a wonder that our whole society does not cultivate and nourish this unit of government above all.

Yet we are today witnessing premature separations and splitups of so many families, and with such consequences, that we are witnessing in our own time a partial return to barbarism. It would be difficult to imagine any development more productive of present cruelty or more threatening to civilization's future.

There seem to be almost countless instances where grandparents—the old folks—have been separated from the family and set apart to spend their declining years in lonely surroundings and conditions of essential uselessness. Furthermore, these people are frequently being separated from their families at the very time their families most need the stabilizing influence, the wisdom, experience, and, in short, the whole cultural heritage which is theirs to hand down. And they are being separated from their families at the very time that they, too, are most in need of an opportunity to be of service to their families.

In almost countless instances, too, young children and teenagers are being turned into the streets, with little guidance, with hardly an introduction to our cultural heritage, and left to try to work out a culture and a moral code in association with other dispossessed children. This is most disturbing.

If I may be so bold as to suggest causes, I believe that there are two factors at work contributing to the breakdown of so many units of family government.

First, too many people are forgetting the ancient truths while learning new dogmas.

We are, as a nation, too often neglecting the Lord's commandments while seeking moral guidance from psychological theories.

If I have correctly learned from my very wise and very wonderful pastor, Dr. Coggin, then I am right in thinking that when the Lord gave Moses the commandment, "Honor thy father and thy mother." He meant this commandment was to be taught to his children and his children's children for all time, and not just until such time as a Dr. Spock or a Dr. Gesnell might present added things that children should be taught.

A second cause of this wide-scale breakdown of family government seems to be, without question, that so many families are being split up because the younger people especially in the farm and smalltown areas of the country, such as ours, are being forced to migrate over long distances to find economic opportunity.

Thus, I believe, we must take prompt steps to expand economic opportunities here at home for the young people—and for the older people, too, as for that matter. It is not enough that the Federal Government does its part to maintain a general prosperity in the Nation. We must work through all of our associations—at the regional, State and local levels—and form new associations if need be, to see that economic opportunities are expanded.

This suggestion involves no new principle. In practice, it would be a renewal of our traditions of neighborliness. In the old days, when the country was young, our grandfathers gathered to help newlyweds clear a patch of land and establish a homestead. And they helped new settlers in similar ways, by all pitching in to build a barn and helping to plant the first crop. Both our State and Federal Governments also helped expand economic opportunities, such as by helping build the railroads to open new frontiers for settlement.

As I see it, we must today apply the same kind of group effort and shoulder the same kind of community responsibilities to expand the new forms of economic opportunity as they exist, or can be made to exist.

Nature has smiled on us and on the region in which we live. Our five talents are our bountiful land, our equitable climate, our pure water, our good people, and the unique community spirit which we have inherited.

Fortunately, our parents and grandparents have left us all these resources in good repair. The land is none the poorer for having provided sustenance for many offsprings. The water is still plentiful, and we are taking steps to conserve it. Our people have better education, plus the same stout hearts and willing hands.

We have good markets and growing markets here in our own area; and we have some of the basic industrial materials we need, not the least of which are iron and steel. We are close to favorable energy sources, especially natural gas and oil. Our transportation is on the whole good, and someday we will have, in addition, water transportation.

Providing more economic opportunity here at home will mean finding ways to bring about more industry to use our resources. Admittedly, attracting industrial settlers today is somewhat more difficult than attracting farm settlers in generations gone by. Traditions of neighborliness are different. Farmers have never regarded other farmers as competitors. It has never been the custom of farmers to discourage others from farming, nor to withhold information as to how others might produce more by better methods. Not so among industrial and commercial rivals.

Witness the fact that when efforts were being made to establish the Lone Star works—first the iron works and then later the steel works, which now comprise the Lone Star Steel Co.—these efforts were met with both discouraging advice and outright resistance. In fact, if we had not been so fortunate as to have the guiding genius of Mr. E. B. Germany in helping to establish a steel industry here in our area, our success might have been retarded for another generation.

We were told, among other things, that we could not make steel in this area because our

people did not know how to make steel and that they could not learn for a generation to make steel as good or as skillfully as workers in the great steel centers. As it turned out however, our people did learn very quickly how to make steel, and to make the best steel, and they learned with the help of only a few imported workers and technicians. This achievement is a tribute to the native abilities of our people, both to produce and to manage large enterprises. Such achievements can be repeated.

One of our economic problems today is that we are losing farm population very rapidly. Productivity on the farm, that is to say, actual farm output per man-hour of work, is increasing at a phenomenal rate. The technicians figure it at about 8 percent a year, which is several times the productivity increase in industry. We are still going through another technical revolution in farming. More mechanization, more fertilizer, more miraculous chemicals to control insects, fungus diseases, and so on, more plant hormones, new plant and animal breeds, and in all-around advancement in understanding and controlling the life processes of plants and farm animals.

All this means that a smaller and smaller percentage of the population is needed on the farm to turn out all of the food and fiber required by the whole country, plus much of that required abroad.

And, of course, farm people are not the only people who are moving away. We are also losing population from the towns and villages—people from the families who have performed the service, trade, and professional functions for the farmers. I do not mean that we are losing population in an absolute sense; of course not. But failing to provide for the normal growth of an area means an economic drain on the whole area.

And what is much more important, the whole Nation is losing the benefit of family government as a result of premature separation of family groups. The Nation is losing in moral fiber by reason of its irrational cruelty to its older people, and by reason of its turning its younger people into a generation of juvenile delinquents.

We need have no fear that the graduates of East Texas Baptist College will ever become juvenile delinquents—or adult delinquents either, for that matter. By the time the young people have completed their education here, they have drawn a large measure of wisdom from the great teachers, past and present. They have been made acquainted with our cultural and religious heritage sufficiently well to be able to mark their own guideposts when they leave here. But what about the children set loose to mark their own guideposts who are not so fortunate as to have the kind of education and training that young people receive here?

I happen to share the belief that there is no such thing as a basically bad boy—or a basically bad girl either. It is a belief which has received considerable support from some of the recent studies of juvenile delinquency.

Specialists who have made quite serious and competent investigations now report that what seems to us highly nonconformist conduct on the part of the juvenile delinquent is actually highly conformist conduct as related to the rules and ethics which have grown up within the juvenile gang. The youthful delinquent, we are told, is in reality guided by public opinion, but by a public opinion of small society that has somehow gotten out of the main stream of opinion in developing its ideas as to what is proper and improper conduct.

Since mankind has been given the means of accumulating knowledge over the whole span of the human experience, we might wonder why it is that some people seem to expect that each individual child might become civilized by some kind of divine intercession, rather than by education and training.

I do not suggest that all of the ideas and customs which have been embodied in the ethical codes of the past, or even in the best body of religious thought, were necessarily correct and suitable for all times. Obviously, many were not. And no doubt some of the ideas in our best body of ethics today will be changed with time and experience. That changes will be made is not so important as how they will be made, and this, I think, is the main significance of the family unit in our civilization.

Revisions to the ethical and moral codes are best made in a society of liberally educated individuals, living together under family government. In this kind of society revisions to the moral code will be made in the light of accumulated human experience and religious wisdom. In this kind of society the test of the ethical and moral code is not how well it accommodates individual, selfish interest, but how well it contributes to the continued well-being and happiness of the family.

National Safety Council and American Merchant Marine Institute Honors MSTS Crew of USNS "Pendleton"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 20, 1960

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter I have sent to Admiral Gano, commander, Military Sea Transportation Service, commending his gallant crew on their great seamanship during the rescue of 24 Japanese fishermen who survived the sinking of their ship a year ago. I also include the names of the crewmen who reside in San Francisco and clippings detailing this great exploit in the annals of maritime history. I am now and always have been proud of our MSTS service and their brave officers and seamen. May I commend to your attention these items:

Vice Adm. ROY A. GANO,
U.S. Navy, Commander Military Sea Transportation Service, Department of the Navy, Washington, D.C.

DEAR ROY: With the presentation of the National Safety Council and American Merchant Marine Institute Special Award of Merit to the skipper and crew of the USNS *Pendleton*, national attention has once again been drawn to the magnificent seamanship of the men under your command.

The rescue of all 24 of the Japanese fishermen who survived the sinking of their sampan *Chiyo Maru* a year ago December has already become a legend of the sea. It is rightly fitting that the National Safety Council and the American Merchant Marine Institute should single out Capt. Hans C. von Weien and his brave and skillful crew for this honor.

I wish I had been back in my hometown of San Francisco when the award was presented and been able to have taken part in honoring the splendid seamen whose courage and devotion to duty exemplify the highest standards of seamanship which are characteristic of the Military Sea Transportation Service.

JOHN F. SHELLEY,
Member of Congress.

CREW MEMBERS ON BOARD USNS "PENDLETON" ON DECEMBER 18, 1958

PRESENT ASSIGNMENT

Name and address

Fred S. Crowley, Jr., radio officer, 49½ Caselli Avenue, San Francisco; *Pendleton.*

Modesto L. Lauriano, Carpenter, 639 Excelsior Avenue, San Francisco; *Pendleton.*

Enicirio A., Adam, able seaman, 5 Porter Street, San Francisco; *Pendleton.*

Archie F. Moromisato, ordinary seaman, 1990 Sutter Street, San Francisco; RIF January 1, 1960.

Chee T. Wong, ordinary seamen, 2248 Mason Street, San Francisco; *Pendleton.*

Hom B. Pon, ordinary seaman, 728 Montgomery Street, San Francisco; *Pendleton.*

Murray W. Jewett, first assistant engineer, 903 Pine Street, San Francisco; receiving section.[1]

Hugh I. Morrison, third assistant engineer, 121 Yukon Street, San Francisco; receiving section.[1]

Shee H. Yip, fourth assistant engineer, 1170 Powell Street, San Francisco; *Miller.*

Wayne F. Wagner, licensed junior engineer, 938 Geary Street, San Francisco; *Pendleton.*

Gasper F. Ferro, oiler, 576 Geary Street, San Francisco; *Pendleton.*

Carroll L. Main, oiler, 1955 Quesada Avenue, San Francisco; *Pendleton.*

Donald Chew, oiler, 1464 Leavenworth Street, San Francisco; *Pendleton.*

Aurelio Ducosin, fireman-watertender, 654 Capp Street, San Francisco; receiving section.[1]

Damian A. Aguilar, fireman-watertender, 1351 Stockton Street, San Francisco; *Pendleton.*

Cornelio M. Manay, wiper, 1503 Scott Street, San Francisco; *Pendleton.*

Salvador P. Gancero, wiper, 281 Santos Street, San Francisco; *Patrick.*

Water L. Reed, second cook-baker, 235 Prague Street, San Francisco; *Patrick.*

Cornelio Villafuerte, assistant cook, 350 South Van Ness Avenue, San Francisco; retired May 31, 1959.

Rofino C. Forges, messman, 935 Kearny Street, San Francisco; *Pendleton.*

Cleto J. Mercado, messman, Post Office Box 1028, San Francisco; *Pendleton.*

Donato H. Visico, utility, 1478 Hudson Avenue, San Francisco; *Breton.*

Henry C. Verano, utilityman, Post Officee Box 7073, San Francisco; *Patrick.*

Manuel G. Carreon, utilityman, 234 Linden Street, San Francisco; *Pendleton.*

George, Cowans, utilityman, 1084 McAllister Street, San Francisco; *Pendleton.*

ADRIFT 29 HOURS—"PENDLETON" RESCUES 24 JAP FISHERMEN

In June 1944, the *Mandan Victory* slid down the ways to join the fleet of supply ships which helped win the war in the Pacific. Later, renamed the *Sgt. Jack J. Pendleton*, she worked for the old Army Transportation Corps, and in January 1950, she joined MSTS. Little of excitement or special note happened to her from them until last December when she picked up this message from Pac:

"Fishing boat *Chiyoh Maru*, 148 tons, 25 crew, large hole in hull, flooding seriously. SOS received. Position 17–48 N., 161–25 E. Divert to position. Render assistance as necessary."

The U.S.N.S. *Pendleton* acknowledged the message and altered course while her crew Next word from the *Pendleton* came 28 hours later when her new skipper, Capt. Hans C. made preparations for picking up survivors. Von Weien, sent this message:

"* * * picked up entire crew *Chiyoh Maru*. Twenty-four members all aboard at 18130Z. No apparent injuries. Men taken from makeshift raft. * * *"

---

[1] Awaiting reassignment.

With the 24 fishermen safely aboard, the U.S.N.S. *Pendleton* set course for Guam. Their raft, which was left adrift, was described by Captain Von Weien. It consisted, he said, of four oil drums, various wooden boxes and fishing balls, held together by a fish net. It provided standing room only and rode the waves in sections. Once aboard the *Pendleton*, the Japanese, who had been adrift for 29 hours, luxuriated in fresh-water showers and were given cigarettes and $5 apiece by the crew.

At Guam the *Pendleton* and her crew received heroes' welcome, including a Navy band at dockside and a 25-foot banner hailing the rescue.

Captain Von Weien and his crew received official accolades from COMSTS, Admiral Will; from commander in chief, Pacific Fleet; and from commander, Hawaiian Sea Frontier—all of whom sent dispatches—while Rear Adm. W. L. Erdman, commander, naval forces, Marianas, waited at the dock in Guam to greet them.

U.S. SHIP RESCUES JAPAN CREW ADRIFT

YOKOHAMA (KYODO).—All 24 crew members of a Japanese tuna boat, which sent out an S O S Wednesday southwest of Wake Island, were rescued Thursday by a U.S. military transport.

News of their rescue was contained in a report received yesterday by local maritime safety authorities from Wake Island.

The report said the 148-ton *Chiyo Maru* of Misaki, Kanagawa Prefecture, had been abandoned after it sprung a leak.

Skipper Kazuyoshi Taniguchi and the crewmen took to a raft and were picked up about 500 kilometers (300 miles) southwest of Wake at about 10:40 p.m., Thursday by the U.S. military transport *Jack Pendleton*.

The rescued fishermen were reported to be heading for Guam aboard the American transport, one of a number of U.S. and Japanese ships which rushed to the aid of the sinking boat. Planes also took part in the search for the craft.

MSTS SHIP RESCUES 24 FISHERMEN

YOKOSUKA, JAPAN.—The U.S. Navy said Friday a Military Sea Transportation Service cargo ship rescued 24 survivors from a stricken Japanese fishing boat at midnight Thursday about 1,800 miles southeast of Japan.

The MSTS ship *Sgt. Jack P. Pendleton*, a modified attack cargo ship, rushed to assist the fishing boat *Chiyoh-Maru* Wednesday after the Japanese vessel reported it had a hole in its hull and was flooding.

A Navy spokesman said word was received from the rescue ship that all members of the fishing boat's crew were rescued, including the Japanese skipper.

The Navy spokesman said the brief rescue message reported the Japanese vessel had sunk but did not elaborate on how the survivors managed to stay afloat.

The message quoted the Japanese captain as saying all persons aboard had been saved and that the boat was lost.

MSTS TO RESCUE—JAPANESE CREW SAVED

GUAM.—Twenty-four crewmen of an ill-fated Japanese fishing boat rescued Thursday by an American cargo vessel were transferred at sea Sunday off Guam to another fishing boat for return to Japan.

The Japanese fishermen had drifted 29 hours on an open raft with standing room only after sending an SOS Wednesday that their ship, the *Chiyoh Maru*, was sinking.

They were picked up by the U.S. Military Sea Transport Service cargo ship *Sgt. Jack J. Pendleton*. The *Pendleton* rendezvoused with the *Sazamu Maru*, a sister ship of the *Chiyoh Maru*, 3 miles off Apra Harbor, Guam.

The Japanese were transferred by Navy crash boat.

Vice Adm. John M. Will, commander of the MSTS in Washington, described the rescue as upholding the finest traditions at sea.

Capt. Hans C. von Weien, the *Pendleton's* master, had high praise for the Japanese survivors.

He said they had been adrift on a makeshift 8-by-10-foot raft assembled from four oil drums, wooden boxes and fishing float balls held together by fishing net.

The survivors said the raft rode the waves in sections.

The Japanese fishermen took long and vigorous showers aboard the *Pendleton* and were treated to haircuts by the ship's barber. The crew furnished them with clothing and rubber sandals.

Just before their transfer the Japanese were given $5 and a carton of cigarettes each as a farewell gift.

The *Pendleton* received a hero's welcome when it returned to Guam after the transfer. Rear Adm. W. L. Erdmann, commander, Naval Forces Mariannas, and the Navy band were on hand to greet the rescuers.

[From the Japan Times, Dec. 22, 1958]

CREW RESCUED BY U.S. VESSEL BOARDS JAPAN SHIP OFF GUAM

YOKOSUKA.—Twenty-four Japanese fishermen rescued from a makeshift raft in mid-Pacific by an American naval craft, were transferred Sunday to a Japanese fishing boat off Guam, the U.S. Navy reported.

The survivors, who were aboard the *Chiyo Maru* which sank Wednesday night 350 miles west southwest of Wake Island, were transferred from the attack ship *Sgt. Jack J. Pendleton* to the *No. 7 Sasayama Maru* 3 miles off Apra Harbor at 8:30 a.m. Sunday, the Navy said.

The *Sasayama Maru* was one of two Japanese fishing boats directed by Japan's Maritime Safety Agency to pick up the survivors at a rendezvous point off Guam. The *No. 3 Azuma Maru* was also reported heading for the same place.

The *Pendleton*, a U.S. Navy attack cargo ship was en route to San Francisco from Guam when it received an SOS call Wednesday night. She diverted her course and picked up the fishermen some 1,000 miles northeast of Guam Thursday night.

The survivors were found adrift aboard a makeshift raft that consisted of four oil drums, various wooden boxes and fishing glass balls securely enclosed in a fishing net, the Navy said. They were adrift for 29 hours.

The *Chiyo Maru*, a 1,481-ton tuna fishing boat, flashed a distress signal at 5:50 p.m. Wednesday and sank 55 minutes later.

Ukrainian Independence Day

SPEECH
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, commemorating today the 42d anniversary of the independence of the Ukraine not only serves as a reminder to us of the continuous hope for freedom of 42 million Ukrainians in the U.S.S.R. and behind the Iron Curtain but also affords us the opportunity to again urge restoration of freedom to all captive nations.

I join my colleagues in paying tribute to the Ukrainian people throughout the world who are dedicated to the belief that freedom is the right of all nations. It remains for us of the free world to help them sustain their faith in God and humanity, in their own survival and in their inevitable freedom. Words of encouragement and sympathetic expressions of understanding of their plight will mean a great deal to these people in their dark hours of desperation.

We must remain true to the cause for which these people continue to fight. We also must work diligently in support of freedom everywhere so all freedom-loving people of the captive nations may continue to hope fervently that they may soon enjoy the God-given right of independence with justice which should be the national heritage of all mankind everywhere.

A Crusade for Decency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALLACE F. BENNETT
OF UTAH
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 22, 1960

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address given on October 11, 1959, in Salt Lake City, Utah, by Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson before the general conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Secretary Benson is an apostle of the Latter-day Saints—Mormon—Church, and was speaking on this occasion as a member of the governing body of the church, and not in his official capacity as member of the President's Cabinet.

The comments of Secretary Benson are very timely inasmuch as Congress will be considering legislation during this session to strengthen existing laws regarding the dissemination of pornographic literature.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A CRUSADE FOR DECENCY

(Address by Elder Ezra Taft Benson, apostle of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, given at general conference of the church held in Salt Lake City, October 11, 1959)

We live in a choice land. But we live in a time of anxiety—a time when the basic concepts and values of a free society, which we cherish, are being seriously challenged. This challenge is not only from godless, imperial communism abroad, but also from dangerous ideologies and practices here at home.

It is true that outwardly everything seems prosperous. More people are working at higher wages and enjoying a better standard of living than ever before in the history of our country. More of our people are enjoying travel, cultural, and educational opportunities than any time in our history. New churches are being erected at a rapid rate, and an increasing number of people are church-affiliated. Our Nation is at peace.

All these things should give a feeling of stability, inner assurance, and a sense of satisfaction, but they do not seem to do so. Discontent among our people, nationwide,

seems to be high. We view with alarm the ever-raising level of public and private debt and the threat of inflation. We note with fear the increase in crime, juvenile delinquency, alcoholism, drug addiction, and sex offenses.

We pay lip service to the principles embodied in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution without realizing what they are and the danger of ignoring them. We demand more and more of Government, so Government grows larger all the while, marking the stampede away from personal responsibility which occurs at all levels of life. We passively contribute to the spirit and demoralizing philosophy of something for nothing.

Because sin is rampant and increasing, I make bold enough to call this Nation to repentance. Only through righteousness is there safety for our beloved country. There is no other way.

Today I speak out against one of the insidious and rapidly increasing threats against our young people.

As a church we have always placed great emphasis on youth. Our young men, if worthy, receive the priesthood at 12 years of age. We enlist a higher percentage of our young boys in scouting than any other group. We have a comprehensive program, combining Sunday school, primary, M.I.A., priesthood activitiees, and weekday seminary classes, to guide the activities of our youth, instill within them a testimony of the Gospel, and help them to grow up to be good citizens and faithful members of the church. Yes, we recognize full well that our boys and girls, our young men and women, are our greatest asset. They are our hope.

The youth of today are the trustees of the future. Sooner than we think the leadership of the church and the future of our country will rest in their hands. It is our grave obligation to help prepare American youth to be worthy trustees, to help them fit themselves for their coming responsibilities. This is the obligation of every adult citizen.

We have confidence in or youth, yes. But we know they face troubled times. They are beset by man temptations—temptations, which, if not new, are certainly more blatant, more prevalent, than ever before.

We know how important it is for our youth to posess clean minds in healthy clean bodies. "Be ye clean that bear the vessels of the Lord." Moral purity is an eternal principle. The Spirit of God "cannot dwell in an unclean tabernacle." Purity is life-giving; impurity is deadly. God's holy laws cannot be broken with impunity. Great nations have fallen when they became morally corrupt, because the sins of immorality left their people scarred and misshapen creatures who were unable to face the challenge of their time.

I speak about one aspect of this question of morality which affects all our youth. There are forces at work in this country today which are vicitimizing many thousands of our youth, undermining their moral fiber, poisoning their minds. There is being spread about in this land a veritable flood of obscene photographs, movie films for private showings, filthy books, and so-called comics that drip with depravity and obscenity.

Every day some 200,000 circulars are flooding our cities and towns, seeking to sell ooscenity and filth to the American people. It is a $500 million a year business and growing fast. The sales volume of mail-order obscenity has doubled in the last 5 years.

Who are the targets of this drive? Three-fourths of these circulars are sent to our youth. Our schoolchildren are the targets, our boys and girls, particularly between the ages of 11 and 16.

The U.S. Post Office Department estimates that between 700,000 and a million children in American homes will receive unsolicited obscene and pornographic literature through the mails this year.

Our boys and girls need not have shown any interest in this vile stuff. It is thrust into their hands by racketeers who go to great lengths to get the names of our children. They buy mailing lists from standard sources. They get names from high school yearbooks and classbooks. They set up fake business fronts. A boy sends away for a model airplane, a baseball bat, a toy automobile, a stamp collection, often advertising at bargain prices—and the muck merchant has his name and address on his list.

Then the solicitations begin.

The smut dealers last year mailed out an estimated 50 million sales circulars under the protection of first class mail. Some of these circulars are in the form of pseudo personal letters in girl's handwriting, signed with a girl's name.

The smut dealers go further. They even seek to involve our youth as salesmen of their trash. One scheme is to sell our youngsters playing cards decorated with lewd pictures for perhaps $3 per deck—to be resold at 25 cents or 50 cents per card.

Many children fall into the trap of ordering obscene material. Traffic with children is a major and growing part of the filth merchants' business.

Postal inspectors in New York City recently raided one dealer in pornography. They confiscated 17 tons of highly obscene printed and filmed materials. They found mailing lists containing the names of thousands of high school graduates taken from high school yearbooks.

Some parents are almost frantic because of their inability to keep this unwanted material out of their homes. A mother in a midwestern State writes to the Post Office Department as follows:

"Enclosed you will find the filth that has been sent to my son for the past year. He is 14. Think what this could do to him, and how many other innocent boys and girls he could corrupt by passing this literature on to them. Can't you do something to stop it?"

Another parent in the East writes:

"Ads like this come to my minor son at the rate of one or two a week."

A lawyer tells how his son answered an innocuous appearing ad in a national magazine and received a batch of obscene pitcures and an order blank for more. His name is on the mailing list and nearly every week an ad for pornographic material comes in the mail. The lawyer says, "My wife and I are beside ourselves as to how to stop this flood of mail."

Now, what are the effects of this material on our youth?

Juvenile delinquency has become a blot on our coumtry. Gangs roam the streets of some of our big cities. Arrests of juveniles for major crimes rose about 10 percent last year. Authorities have observed on repeated occasions that the obscenity racket is a prime contributor to the increase in juvenile delinquency.

FBI figures show that more boys of 18 and 19 are now committing the heinous crime of rape, then males in any other age group. The percentage of convictions of boys under 20 has grown substantially in recent years.

Now of course some people will argue that many children exposed to these pictures and books never become delinquent. This argument has no merit at all. Your child may be exposed to tuberculosis or polio and never contract either disease. In this a reason for deliberately exposing children to infection? Of course not.

It is true that people go wrong for many reasons. Children become delinquent in part because of such factors as broken homes, drinking parents, indifferent parents, and bad companions. But the wish is father of the dead. Thought precedes action. We cannot help but be influenced by what we read and what we see. A dirty book, a filthy picture, may be the trigger that sets off a terrible crime.

Reports from police chiefs and sheriffs indicate the tieup. Here are typical statements from city officials in Massachusetts, Colorado, and Pennsylvania:

"Teenager criminally assaults 16-year-old girl. Search of his room revealed 50 pornographic pictures beneath his mattress."

"Student molesting two teenage girls found to have pornographic literature in glove compartment of his car."

Let me quote from a report of a Senate subcommittee that has studied this problem. The report says in part:

"There is a peculiar resemblance to narcotics addiction in exposure of juveniles to pornography. There is the same pattern of progression. Once initiated into a knowledge of the unnatural, the impressionable young mind with the insatiable curiosity characteristic of those reaching for maturity inevitably hunts for something stronger, something with more jolt, something imparting a greater thrill.

"The dealer in pornography is actually aware of this progressive facet; his array of material to feed this growing hunger is carefully geared to the successive stages. Like the peddler of narcotics, his only interest is to insure that his customers are hooked. He knows that once they are hooked they will continue to pay and pay."

These are some of the direct results of the smut campaign. There are indirect results, too. Our children, our wives, our friends, may be the horrified victims of criminals who are triggered by obscene materials.

Well, what is the response of the smut publishers and dealers to these facts?

Their attitude is summed up in some such sentiment as this: My job is to make a dollar, not to look out for unstable children or adults. No wonder J. Edgar Hoover has said:

"The activities of the muck merchants are national in scope. Your child can easily become one of their victims."

What are we going to do about it? Shall we fold our arms, shake our heads dismally, and do nothing?

Shall we permit organized crime to continue and extend the obscenity racket—already a half billion dollar a year business—and make it really big and immeasurably more vicious?

Shall we allow more and more of our children to be victimized, allow them to be hooked by this menace to clean and right living, this threat to moral purity?

Shall we sit by and watch sex crimes grow and grow in number and violence?

Shall we permit these cheap peddlers of filth to undermine the moral fiber of our youth, the moral strength of our Nation?

I believe I know what our pioneer forefathers would have answered to these questions.

And I think I know what you and other responsible citizens will answer. They would have said, as we say today: "Forbid it, Almighty God. We shall not sit by any longer. We shall act in defense of decency and order and in the name of our country."

Our Government is striking with all the weapons it possesses against the obscenity menace. Until last year, purveyors of filth had to be prosecuted at the point from which they mailed their smut. This was a severe handicap to prosecution. Courts, notably in Los Angeles and New York, where the great bulk of the mail order business in obscenity originates, handed down soft rulings on obscenity. Few offenders were convicted and these usually paid a small fine and began operating again.

Legislation passed by Congress last year has now made it possible to prosecute where the mail is received.

The first case prosecuted under the new law was in Boise, Idaho. A man and his wife, who were mailing extremely obscene material from the west coast, were given 10 years in jail, plus a heavy fine.

A Virginia man and his wife dealing in obscenity were sentenced to a year in the Federal penitentiary and fined $2,000. In Louisiana, two more dealers in filth were given a year and 18 months in jail respectively.

This is a good start. But it is only a start.

If Government is to make full use of the new legislation, it needs and must have the cooperation of all our citizens and especially of all our parents.

The privacy of the mail is a basic American right. It will not be violated. The Post Office cannot open first-class mail even if it is certain the envelope contains obscene materials. The Post Office can act only if parents supply the evidence after the mail has been delivered. Here is what we as parents can do, what we must do:

1. If mail coming to your home is obscene, or solicits the sale of obscene materials: save all the material, including the covering envelope; put it promptly in the hands of the local postmaster either personally or by mail.

2. Do not wait for this danger to strike your home. Join with other parents, teachers, local law enforcement officers and civic groups in drawing public attention to the menace of this traffic in filth.

3. Work closely with teachers in your community to detect obscene materials in the possession of children and to determine the origin of such material.

4. Join with other parents and teachers in making a special effort to impress upon the community the fact that even children who are never exposed to the obscene material may be victimized by sex criminals.

5. Cooperate with the schools in taking positive, long-range steps to help children develop wholesome interests in good literature and art—making it readily available to them at home, in the classroom, through literary and library clubs, and through student groups.

6. Help civic groups bring about the establishment of a decent literature committee, broadly representative of the interested civic organizations in the community.

7. Get local judges, law enforcement officers, and representatives of the police force to talk before civic groups telling what they, as guardians of the community's laws, know of the relationship between the traffic in obscene literature and juvenile delinquency and sex crimes.

We must defend our youth, in the interests of this Nation which God has blessed above all others. We must rise to this task, stand up and be counted on the side of decency. We must show by our lives and actions that we possess the virtues that made America great.

There will be those who will cry censorship and suppressing of freedom of information. To these people there does not seem to be any difference between liberty and license—but there is a real difference. It is not a denial of liberty to forbid the sale of narcotics or alcohol to children, and neither is it a denial of liberty to ban the distribution of filthy, obscene, character destroying materials.

There has developed in this country, I am sorry to say, a species of so-called broadmindedness which tolerates anything and everything. It is high time right-thinking citizens showed they are fed up with such false broadmindedness. I for one fail to see where this so-called tolerance of evil has made society any better or individuals any happier. We cannot steer a safe course without a compass. We cannot build an enduring society except on principles of righteousness.

As Dr. Daniel A. Poling recently wrote in the Christian Herald, "it's time for a new crusade," a crusade for decency.

The youth of the church and of America deserve that we parents live up to our responsibilities in this regard.

Many centuries ago, a celebrated Roman matron, Cornelia, was asked by an acquaintance to display her jewels. Cornelia called to her children to step forward. "These are my jewels," she said.

The youth of the church and of America are our jewels. Let us prize them as they deserve. A clean America will be a strong America, a secure America, a prosperous America, a peaceful America, a free America, an America that will continue to merit God's blessings in the future as it has in the past.

God grant it may be so, I humbly pray in the name of Jesus Christ. Amen.

Old Truths for the New Frontier

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN L. HRUSKA

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, January 22, 1960

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, recently an honorary degree of doctor of humanities was conferred by the Indiana Technical College at Fort Wayne, Ind., to a noted fellow Nebraskan of mine.

He is Dr. Clayton F. Andrews, 33d degree, imperial potentate, A.A.O.N.M.S., of Lincoln, Nebr.

In his introduction of the honoree, Dr. Planck of the Indiana Technical College stated:

Today we are honored to pay tribute to a man who has devoted his adult life to relieving human suffering. He received his medical degree at University of Pennsylvania, served in World War I in the United States, England, and France, received the master of science degree in surgery for research and thesis done at the famous Mayo Clinic, and since 1923 has been practicing in Lincoln, Nebr. He is past president of the Nebraska section of the American Board of Surgery. He is affiliated with such organizations as the chamber of commerce, the University Club, Sons of the American Revolution, the Shrine, and the Newcomen Society, indicating that his interest in his fellow man is not entirely clinical. I am honored to present to you Clayton Farrington Andrews for the honorary degree, doctor of humanities.

President Keene, of that college, in presenting the degree itself, said of Dr. Andrews:

Because you have through the years considered, first, the physical welfare of your fellow man before your own desires and comfort; because you have given freely of your abundant talents, having labored to bring those talents to their highest level; because your skilled surgeon's hands have been gentled and guided by a warm and generous heart; and, finally, because in honoring you we are honoring all those courageous surgeons who through the centuries have dared to take human life in their hands that healing might result, Indiana Technical College, upon the approval of its board of directors, is honored to pay tribute to you and, through the authority in it vested by the State of Indiana, confers upon you the degree, doctor of humanities, honoris causa, with all of the rights, titles, privileges, and obligations appertaining thereto.

Mr. President, because the address delivered by Dr. Clayton Andrews on that occasion relates the well-considered philosophy and observations of a noted citizen, it is very much in order to share the substance of his address on a wider scale.

Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of this address.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OLD TRUTHS FOR THE NEW FRONTIER

(By Dr. Clayton Andrews)

It is with a good deal of pleasure and joy that I receive the honorary doctor of Humanities from this exceptionally fine college. My previous degrees were all earned in the challenge and discipline of the life of the schoolroom. This degree comes to me out of the background of years in the schoolroom of life. I sincerely wish to express my appreciation to all and especially my close friend, Past Imperial Potentate George Stringfellow, as well as to President Keene the faculty, and students of this technical college.

As a physician and surgeon, my life and mission has been in the healing ministry. Naturally, then, you will expect me to take my illustrations and make my observations from the area of knowledge that has meant so very much to me.

Now, all over the world there are research centers solving and trying to find solutions for the many ailments of mankind. There are great foundations which provide the necessary funds for much of the research work. The university laboratory also provides great resources for research. And my thought carries back to one of the first research centers ever established.

It was on November 14, 1888, Louis Pasteur, out of the background of his interesting and challenging life, founded the Pasteur Institute.

Pasteur, who as a boy student was rated one of the bons ordinaires by his dominies, even as a youth showed his unusual brilliance in the field of research when he began to investigate the common blue mould, penicillin glaucum. It seems very odd that men should have been seeing bacteria in their microscopes since the 17th century without an idea that they lived, multiplied, and could devour or ferment. But it was Pasteur, still in his youthful teens, who made this discovery. He sought to find a way to exclude the elongated microorganisms and developed the first technique of sterility and gave spontaneous generation its death blow.

It is not my purpose to retell his life. But Pasteur had the ability to apply the insight and lessons he learned in the schoolroom to the perplexing problems facing his day. A disease of silkworms was ruining the south of France. Pasteur agreed to study the problem even though he had never seen a silkworm. In 4 months he had applied the technique of the laboratory to the disease and quenched the malady. He conquered chicken cholera, and in the attack upon the dreaded anthrax disease of cattle developed the principles of antitoxin to a science.

Then he began to meet personal attacks and vilification. He attempted to stamp out rabies by means of antitoxin. One day there came to this chemist's door two peasants bearing a child in the last stages of hydrophobia. "But I cannot save him," Pasteur

protested. "It is too late." They begged, but he resisted. Should the cure fail now, disrepute might blight the whole undertaking. But the agonies of the child spoke to his great heart. He plunged in the needle even though he knew it was too late and watched—the failure. The peasants then turned on him and ran through the village telling all that Pasteur had killed their child. This was the darkest hour of his life. Then came a stroke, illness from the difficulties of his struggle, but he would not give up.

Then came the aforementioned day in November 1888, when he knew his greatest triumph. It was at the inauguration of this institute that Pasteur closed his oration with the words I should like to use: "Two opposing laws seems to me now in contest. The one, a law of blood and death, opening out each day new modes of destruction, forces nations to be always ready for battle. The other, a law of peace, work, and health, whose only aim is to deliver man from the calamities which beset him. The one seeks violent conquest, the other the relief of mankind. The one places a single life above all victories, the other sacrifices hundreds of thousands of lives to the ambition of a single individual * * * which of these two laws will prevail, God only knows. But of this we may be sure, that science, in obeying the law of humanity, will always labor to enlarge the frontiers of life." It is that last line which intrigues me—"of this we may be sure, that science * * * will always labor to enlarge the frontiers of life." We sincerely pray this may ever be true.

Ours is a contest of science between nations and we are told that the outcome of the peace of the world depends upon our scientific achievement to match the scientific advancement of those who might challenge our way of life. But really, our great need is to push back the boundaries and to develop a science for creative living.

Ours is a world in which we have increased our information without having increased our wisdom of living. We are living in a world in which we have multiplied our riches without having learned how to use our wealth creatively. We have developed the natural resources of the earth without having developed correspondingly greater resources of the spirit. Our prayer still is:

"Give me men to match my mountains,
Give me men to match my plains,
Men with empires in their purposes
And great eras in their brain."

Only such men will be able to reach out and claim the new frontiers for humanity of which Pasteur spoke 71 years ago.

May we still have the faith of Pasteur that science will always labor to enlarge the frontiers of life.

If so, first of all we shall have to stress and stress again our need for clear thinking. This is not always easy. There is a good deal of truth in the old saw or maxim—"5 percent of the people really think, 15 percent of the people think they think, and 80 percent would rather die than think." Oh, we often hear, "Everyone has a right to his own opinion." But like many sayings this is only a half truth. Does anyone really have a right to his own opinion on public affairs, the issues confronting us, the important decisions of life unless his convictions are rooted in fact, subjected to criticism, and tested in the marketplace of competing ideas? Certainly I should not desire to be treated by a doctor who always followed his own opinions. No; the opinions of medicine are first tested in a laboratory, tried out very cautiously, studied closely for results and then placed in the hands of those who have been trained to evaluate, make decisions in regard to life or death and act in the light of all the available information.

The mental discipline needed for the thinking required to meet the ever-changing advancing life on the frontier of thought must be first of all, well informed. Ever alert to his own prejudices, ever watchful for half truths and willing to change his set opinions as new facts or accomplishments are presented.

An Oxford Don defined education as what you have left when you have forgotten all you have learned. What he was stressing is the need for a disciplined, well-informed, critical faculty, able to separate the essential from the unessential in the ever-increasing volume of facts in such a way that we have left the ability to penetrate to the heart of a subject, the power and habit of reflection and an alert and intelligent self with which to live. This makes of education an unending process and saves one from ever mentally growing old.

Again, the new frontiers will be claimed by those who have vocational competence. Still as of old, the honors of life go to the man who is able to accomplish, follow a plan or a dream until it becomes an actual accomplishment. It is said that if you wish to stay young, associate with young people, and if you desire to grow old, just try keeping up with them.

Henry Van Dyke, former professor of English at Columbia, minister and, during the First World War, Ambassador to Holland, once said that you could classify college graduates into three groups. He called the three ideas of education that he met in his world travels, first the decorative, which confers an air of distinction and enables a man to rate as a university man in the community. He can wear his fraternity pin, or perhaps a Phi Beta Kappa key, and stand apart as a man who has had the privilege of studying with some of the great instructors or professors in his chosen field. Secondly, the marketable, which looks on education as a profitable deal, financially rewarding. And then, the creative, which he noted reveres college training for the mental stimulus it affords. We have all met these three groups.

There are those who do reveal their education as a mark of distinction but never really distinguish life in service to mankind. There are those who financially climb the ladder of success but never think of life as an investment or accept the responsibility of stewardship. There are those who think of education as creative, the enrichment of life, and allow its beauty to permeate all of their actions. While I would not wish to disagree with Henry Van Dyke, for the life of me I cannot see anything to prevent all three of these attitudes being present in the well-balanced life.

A man should accept the privilege of his years of schooling as a mantle of competence, character and intellectual insight which directs his life. In the field of economics he should have grasped some of the tools which will enable him to be a sound workman having vocational competence. He also should possess an historical perspective, an understanding of the general knowledge which enriches life out of the heritage of the past. He should know what Emerson meant when he wrote: "The lesson of life is to learn what the centuries have to say to the hours." In the competitive struggle of life on a world, national and community scale, we need the best equipment we may secure to perform the work we have chosen in which to invest the precious gift of our life.

It is also unthinkable to me that anyone dare move out on to the frontier of life without some scientific understanding. Surely, in this school, here is one of the priceless gifts which may be acquired.

Now, it is unlikely that the intricacies of modern science will be understood by a great many people. But how important it is that the practical lessons of science be applied to daily living. We call this the scientific age but really it is an age in which great scientific advancement has been made by a few. Yet we still are challenged to apply the scientific spirit to the great problems confronting us. What problems our day faces.

There is the problem of increasing population growth. Every child means the need for more gifts and service. The only answer possible will be found in a scientific approach of providing food, clothes, housing, and a chance for the people in the great undeveloped areas of many of the nations of our world.

There is the problem of the struggle for power. America, with 6 percent of the world's population, uses 50 percent of the world's resources. Students all agree that this figure will change. The undeveloped areas are crying for a larger share of the world's goods. But in the laboratories, in scientific understanding, we know that we have but begun to tap the resources that may be found in the sea, the power of the sun, the new synthetics, or making a better use of the things we already have. But the answer will lie in the application of new insight through science to the problem before us.

Or here is the problem of automation. The industrial revolution has simply moved into a new phase of change in the life of industry.

That fateful day in August of 1945, when the first atomic bomb was exploded, ushered in a whole new era. They tell us that in one atomic bomb there is more destructive power than in all of the bombs dropped by the Allied air force during the years of the last World War. Here we understand what Pasteur meant when he said that "two opposing laws seem to me now in contest. The one, a law of blood and death, opening out each day new modes of destruction * * * the other, a law of peace, work, and health."

Some people in the face of the problems to be solved will think only of the difficulties. (Someone has defined the difference between a pessimist and an optimist by saying that a pessimist in any situation sees only the impossibilities while the optimist will take note of the possibilities.)

Others will try to turn their back on the problems, believing that solutions will come of their own accord.

But others, in a true American spirit, will accept a challenge, give all that they have and in faith and high courage apply the gifts of science and understanding to finding solutions to perplexing problems which will raise the standard of living for all.

Given real mental and moral discipline, vocational competence, scientific understanding, there is yet a need for spiritual conscientiousness. A doctor is dedicated to advancing life. The joy of being an American is that we not only think of life on the economic and material plane, but we hold the great spiritual ideals of freedom, of responsibility, our American way of life, the right to worship and our responsibility to God, all sacred in the growth and development of life. Still, as of old, the Master Teacher inquires, "What does it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"

When a man gains spiritual consciousness he becomes aware of beauty, goodness, truth, and love. He thinks of his body as the holy temple of life. He seeks for worthy ends and purposes in the art of living. It means that at the heart of life there is a sacred shrine.

In our 50th State, Hawaii, every morning a contingent of sailors put out from the shore to go to the middle of the harbor to put the American flag up on a pole that rests in a concrete base jutting out of the water

Every night at sunset they go out and take the flag down and reverently bring it back to shore. Why do they do it? Well, in the middle of the harbor there is buried the battleship *Arizona*, which was sunk during the attack upon Pearl Harbor. In the sunken ship there is nearly an entire crew of officers and men who gave their lives to the last full measure of devotion. We must never forget that all over the world there are such monuments which must not be in vain.

We complain a great deal in America about the overhead of taxes, the high cost of living, but we should never forget the underground and the great investment that has been made by those who have gone before that we might live. Truly, every place we stand, in the light of the terrific sacrifice of the past, is holy ground.

A sound mind, in a sound body, with spiritual ideals, with the training necessary to make life creative and useful; this alone, it seems to me, is the type of life required for the many frontiers of our space age.

Ukrainian Independence Day

SPEECH

OF

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, on January 22, 1918, the Ukrainian people regained their freedom by proclaiming their independence and by establishing the Ukrainian Republic. That act, the founding of the democratic Ukrainian Republic, was the culmination, the happy climax, of a long struggle that had its beginning in the mid-17th century when the Ukrainians were brought under the autocratic Russian regime. It is one of the happiest climaxes in the modern history of nations fighting for their freedom, and as such constitutes the brightest page in the history of the Ukrainian people. But the happy period which followed the establishment of the Ukrainian Republic did not last long, for the forces of destruction and death, the aggressive Communist Red army troops, were on the march. Late in 1920 they invaded the Ukraine, overran it, treacherously put an end to freedom there, and brought the Ukrainian people under the oppressive Communist totalitarian regime. And for all these years, for almost four decades, they have been held down by their heartless overlords in their historic homeland.

The peoples subjected to the Soviet Union's totalitarian tyranny have suffered for decades, but it is no exaggeration to say that no people, perhaps at no time, have suffered for so long and have sacrificed so much in material wealth and in terms of human life, as have the Ukrainian people under the unspeakable Communist totalitarian dictatorship. The number of those who died because of the manmade, Stalin-administered starvation campaign, is counted in the millions; and many more millions lost their lives in prison camps and in forced labor camps in some forbidding parts of distant Siberia. Thus the price the Ukrainian people have paid for their survival, for their miserable existence, has been frightfully high.

Still, I am happy to say that these brave people have not ceased fighting their oppressors. They still carry on their struggle, ceaselessly and systematically, with all the means at their disposal, in the hope that eventually their righteous cause, the cause of freedom and independence, will win out. On the observance of the 42d anniversary of their Independence Day my best wishes go to these dauntless and courageous souls.

This Can't Be Allowed To Go On

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL T. CURTIS

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, January 22, 1960

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, as our Government continues to grow larger and larger, the liberties and rights of the people decrease. We have large Government operations that rule rather arrogantly. I ask unanimous consent to have published in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Farm Journal entitled "This Can't Be Allowed To Go On."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THIS CAN'T BE ALLOWED TO GO ON

Farmers are as much interested in protecting the public health as anyone. But with respect to feed additives, pesticides, and similar tools of modern agriculture, we have an intolerable situation.

1. We have a law that needs changing—the Delaney amendment, or "additive" to the Food Additives Act. It specifies that no substance which has ever caused cancer, in so much as a laboratory mouse, can be added to feed. It doesn't matter that the substance requires massive doses over an extended time; it doesn't matter that as little as one part per million of the additive may show up in meat, milk, or eggs, or that absolutely none shows up. Congress—not scientists—has said this is dangerous and can't be allowed. The trouble with the law is simple: It leaves no room for scientific judgment.

Never before has the Food and Drug Administration been hamstrung this way. It has allowed tolerances of some 2,000 potent substances which are judged by scientists to be safe in negligible amounts. Why not continue to let scientists decide?

Actually it has been proved that salt, pepper, eggs, or glucose solutions can produce cancer in experimental animals as readily as diethyl stilbestrol, which produced the recent poultry scare. Other estrogens, which act much like stilbestrol, occur naturally in alfalfa hay, corn, and wheat. Are we to stop feeding them, too?

The result of the cancer scare is that Food and Drug is not approving any new feed additive. Manufacturers are now required to prove not only that their product hasn't yet produced cancer but that under no conceivable circumstances could it do so—obviously impossible of proof. Hence progress with new and better feed additives has almost ground to a stop. The pesticide world has been thrown into confusion.

2. We have an able, though understaffed, Food and Drug Administration which is not completely running its own show. Decisions, if they have any publicity value, are being made by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. In the more spectacular instances, the pronouncements come from him, too—by press conference.

FDA is responsible to a Cabinet Officer, who is a political appointee, part of a political administration. We can't say whether Arthur S. Flemming, Secretary of HEW, is influenced by political motives or not. The point is he could be. And if he weren't, his successor might be. The Secretary of HEW doesn't have many opportunities to make the front page. When something like cranberries or capons comes along, it's a temptation to call a press conference, toss the word "cancer" about, suddenly achieve headlines and emerge as the great defender of the people.

What can be done? Well, first, we need a change in the Delaney amendment. Second, we need a change in the administrative setup. Third, farmers must absolutely follow labels—the responsibility is on them, too.

As to administration, we need to remove from the hands of any one man, particularly when he is a political office holder, (1) the power to panic American consumers with a mere ill-advised statement, and (2) the power to lay low with one blow an entire segment of agriculture.

How can we do it? We might make FDA an independent agency like the Federal Trade Commission. We might equip FDA with better advisory bodies than it already has—let these bodies assay the danger, make recommendations, and take over the function of announcing such news to the public. We might bring in the U.S. Public Health Service. Agriculture ought to have a voice somewhere—at least it should be heard. Maybe we need a new broad-based commission.

Certainly we need something better than we've got. The present situation cannot be allowed to go on.

Ukrainian Independence Day

SPEECH

OF

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, the fair and fertile Ukraine has been the land of the unfortunate and unhappy for centuries. In the course of their modern and recent history the Ukrainian people have suffered under many cruel, autocratic, and oppressive regimes, and their present-day Communist oppressors have been most cruel towards them. Having robbed the Ukrainians of their newly regained freedom, these Communists, Godless agents of the Kremlin, have succeeded in enslaving the Ukraine's 42 million innocent and helpless inhabitants. For almost 40 years these people have been held down by the brute force of totalitarian dictatorship. But under unheard-of hardships and privations, and under indescribable misery, their spirit of freedom is not broken, and they still have their fervent desire for free-

dom. I have no doubt that eventually they will have their reward. On this 42d anniversary of Ukrainian Independence Day I extend my wholehearted sympathy to, and best wishes for, these stouthearted people.

Denver: The Mile-High City

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON ALLOTT
OF COLORADO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 22, 1960

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, this Nation has enjoyed an almost unique position among the nations of the world from its very beginning. First settled as a haven for people seeking to worship as they please, the essence of fredom has been the very foundation of the United States of America.

Through the years, people of every race and of every faith have contributed to that foundation and have made of the United States a nation of men who may walk tall in the knowledge that they worship and work and act as independent, free-thinking individuals. We, in Colorado, are proud of the many peoples who took part in opening the West, in forging the basis for its great growth and great future.

Among those who have contributed vigorously to this growth and progress are members of the Catholic Church, whose missionaries were among the early western pioneers. A reflection of their work and their pride is contained in the December 1959 edition of the Catholic Digest.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this article by William E. Barrett be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DENVER: THE MILE-HIGH CITY—HER MEMORIES INCLUDE STALWART MISSIONERS, SILVER MINERS, COLORFUL JOURNALISTS, AND BUFFALO BILL

(By William E. Barrett)

Denver, Colorado's State capital, celebrated its 100th birthday this year. A century ago, the rush to the Rockies was inspired by the lure of gold. The anniversary rush has been composed of tourists seeking vacation thrills—fishing, hiking, horseback riding, mountain climbing, or driving on colorful highways against glorious backdrops of towering mountains.

Denver has many approaches: air, rail, and highway. The great road of the visitor is historic Route 40, which enters from the east, cuts through the heart of the city, and climbs into the mountains on the way to Salt Lake. This was the most difficult and dangerous route across the plains 100 years ago, the route of stagecoaches and freighters. It was known then as Smoky Hill Trail.

You can learn the history of Denver, and see much of it, without leaving Route 40. Your first impression may be deceptive. After the long miles of flat prairie and widely spaced towns in eastern Colorado, you may easily mistake Aurora for Denver. A sleepy suburb before the Second World War, Aurora is now the fourth-largest city in Colorado. It crowds the Denver boundary on its west and pushes out into the plains to the east.

Fitzsimons Hospital, on the right as you drive into the city, is the largest Army hospital in the United States. It is an imposing group of red-roofed buildings on 600 acres. When President Eisenhower was stricken with a heart attack on September 24, 1955, while visiting his mother-in-law in Denver, he was taken to Fitzsimons Hospital.

The old Smoky Hill trail ended at what is now the civic center. State and city government, symbolized by the capitol and the city and county building, confront each other across 15 acres of lawn, bisected by Broadway. Colorado's capital, a small scale copy of the National Capitol in Washington, D.C., is distinguished by the gold-leaf covering of its dome. The dome is floodlighted at night. One of the capitol steps is exactly one mile above sea level, and is so marked.

On the west side of Broadway is a centennial exhibit. It includes a small, gaudily painted locomotive from the exciting narrow-gage railroading days. Above the locomotive towers a huge missile, nose pointed to the sky. It is a Titan intercontinental ballistic missile, a two-stage, 90-foot, liquid-propellant rocket with a range of 6,000 miles at a speed of 15,000 miles an hour. The Titan is made in Denver at the Martin plant. It made its first flight from Cape Canaveral February 6.

South of the civic center is the new library. The Denver public library is famous for its western history and aeronautical collections.

Northward on Broadway is the Brown Palace Hotel; Denver's leading hotel since 1892. It has sheltered many famous persons. It became a temporary White House when when President Eisenhower was a visitor. The Brown opened a 22-story annex to celebrate the centennial.

Another hotel, the show place of its day, has been less fortunate than the Brown. The Windsor opened in 1880. The land on which it stood cost $200,000, the building $350,000, and the furnishings $200,000. Among its guests through the years were Presidents Grant, Cleveland, Theodore Roosevelt, and Taft. Mark Twain registered there; so did Oscar Wilde, Robert Louis Stevenson, George Bernard Shaw, Eugene Field, Robert W. Service, John L. Sullivan, and Grand Duke Michael of Russia.

Its most colorful guests, however, were the Tabors: H. A. W. Tabor, U.S. Senator, mining magnate, and builder of the Tabor Grand Opera House; and his second wife, the legendary Baby Doe. At the height of his fame, Tabor lived in the finest suites of the Windsor. After he had spent more than $12 million in a dozen years, he died in poverty in one of the Windsor's smallest rooms. He was received into the Catholic Church 2 weeks before his death. He was buried from Sacred Heart Church, the pioneer Jesuit church of Denver.

The Windsor Hotel, like Tabor, fell from glory to drab poverty. The neighborhood around it deteriorated. Still retaining traces of its former elegance in floors of black walnut and white ash, diamond-dust mirrors, marble tiling, and wide walnut staircases, it became a shelter for skid-row transients. It still stands, waiting hopefully for an angel to restore it.

Two blocks east of the capitol is another powerful symbol of Denver's past and present. Immaculate Conception Cathedral was dedicated October 27, 1912, 6 years after the laying of its cornerstone. It stands upon a hill, thrusting its spires 230 feet into the beautiful sky. It is a monument to Bishop Nicholas C. Matz, second bishop of Denver, and to Msgr. Hugh L. McMenamin, its first rector.

Denver's first cathedral was St. Mary's, a 30-by-40 brick building erected in 1860 by Father Joseph P. Machebeuf, the missionary priest who became the first bishop of Denver. When the first cathedral was built, the city had fewer than 200 Catholics in a total population of 3,000. Cathedral school claims direct descent from Father Machebeuf's school, opened in 1862 with one lay teacher.

When he died in 1889, Bishop Machebeuf presided over a diocese of 40,000 Catholics. In 1931, Denver became an archdiocese under its present archbishop, the Most Reverend Urban J. Vehr, fourth bishop of Denver and first archbishop. There are 160 parishes and 159 missions in Colorado today, and 274,119 Catholics. More than 20,000 children attend Catholic schools in Denver, more than 28,000 in the archdiocese.

Many men and women who played important roles in the winning of the West have been buried from Immaculate Conception cathedral.

One of the most spectacular funerals was that of Col. William F. Cody (Buffalo Bill) in January 1917. He was a convert of Father Christopher V. Walsh, a cathedral curate. Father Walsh, now retired, has been pastor of several churches.

Father Joseph Machebeuf came to Denver in October 1860 under orders from his companion in the missions of Ohio and New Mexico, Bishop Jean Baptiste Lamy (later Archbishop) of Santa Fe. The careers of these two men have inspired many books, including Willa Cather's novel, "Death Comes for the Archbishop."

The Methodists had built the first church in Denver. When Bishop Miége of Leavenworth visited Denver in June 1860, he said the city's first mass in a private home. Father Machebeuf, on his arrival, needed everything that a pastor could need; church, school, parishioners, and money. Eventually he obtained the first three, but even after he became the bishop, he always lacked funds. He lived in pioneer poverty to the end of his life, riding over a vast territory in wagons and on horseback, still doing the work of a missionary priest.

Five blocks south of the city and county building is a large plant in which the Register newspapers are printed. There was a Denver Catholic Register early in the century, but its circulation was small, its publication haphazard, and its influence slight. On October 1, 1913, Matthew Smith, 22 years old, was appointed editor. He had an 1890 typewriter, a couple of old desks, two chairs, no employees, a circulation of 2,800, and a debt of $4,000.

From that beginning, the dogged and devoted young man built the largest chain of Catholic newspapers in the world. He was ordained a priest in 1923. Msgr. Matthew Smith is still editor of the Denver Catholic Register and of the Register national edition. Newspapers of 31 dioceses are printed at the plant.

Denver has always been noted for colorful newspapers and picturesque newspaper characters. Bonfils and Tammen, the gambler and the bartender who combined talents to create the Denver Post, left legends which grow with the years. Gene Fowler, whose career began on Denver papers, wrote the Bonfils-Tammen story in Timberline.

Damon Runyon, Eugene Field, and Clyde Brion Davis worked on Denver papers early in their careers. The Rocky Mountain News, now a member of the Scripps-Howard chain, occupies its own building behind the Civic Center, facing the U.S. mint. It is Colorado's oldest newspaper, published continuously since April 23, 1859.

The mint is one of the two surviving mints in the country. Sixty-five percent of the Nation's coinage is produced there. It was famous once for silver dollars, which circulated more freely in Denver than paper dollars. No silver dollars have been minted since 1934, but they have been plentiful in

Denver again this year. The mint released part of its $15 million storage stock.

Denver's downtown district was until 5 years ago a monotonous group of low buildings, controlled by an ordinance restricting height of buildings to 12 stories. The one structure which escaped the ordinance was the Daniels and Fisher tower. The tower, modeled on the campanile of St. Mark's in Venice, dominated the skyline. It is dwarfed today by a whole series of new skyscrapers.

Denver has grown apace since the 2d World War. Lowry field was a training center for bombardiers and aerial photographers during the war and a separation center for Air Force personnel at the end. Many of the airmen returned with their families to live in Denver.

About 10,000 Air Force technicians are trained every year at Lowry Field. On the old bombing range, a launching site for the Titan ICBM is now being built. Lowry is linked with the North American Air Defense Command at Colorado Springs, and with the Atlas ICBM operation at Warren Air Force Base in Cheyenne, Wyo. The Air Force Academy was located at Lowry until its buildings were completed near Colorado Springs in 1958. Members of this year's graduating class, the academy's first, spent 3 of their 4 cadet years in Denver.

The odd angling of downtown Denver streets is due to the tendency in early Denver to lay streets parallel to, or at right angles to, Cherry Creek. The creek is now an unimpressive trickle. The first shacks were erected on its banks by the earliest gold seekers in 1858. Two rival communities came into being on opposite sides: St. Charles and Auraria. St. Charles disappeared with the organization of the Denver Town Co. in 1859. Auraria was absorbed on April 3, 1860.

The settlement was named after Gen. James W. Denver, Governor of Kansas Territory. Those early settlers were disappointed in their search for gold. They were harassed by Indians and buffeted by severe winters. But the town prospered by supplying the needs of gold seekers. Those who found gold in the hills came back to the town to spend it, but Denver's great boom days grew out of silver strikes rather than gold.

St. Elizabeth's Church stands on the west side of the creek, it spires visible from most of the downtown intersections. It is Denver's second church, built by Father Frederick Bender, a German missioner, in 1879. The population of the city was then 15,000, with about 3,500 Catholics. Franciscans took charge of St. Elizabeth's in 1887.

On February 23, 1908, Father Leo Heinrichs, one of the Franciscan Fathers at St. Elizabeth's, was fatally wounded by a fanatic while distributing communion at the 6:30 mass. Father Leo's cause has been advanced for beatification. If he is canonized some day, as many Denverites hope, he will be the second saint who has lived in the city. Mother Cabrini once worked at the Queen of Heaven orphanage. A shrine erected in her honor has a lovely mountain setting outside the city.

The University of Denver, near the southern city limits, dates from the founding of the Colorado Seminary of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1864. The university is operated today on a nonsectarian basis, while retaining a seminary.

Two Catholic colleges stand within the greater Denver area. Loretto Heights College traces its history to the arrival of the first Lorettines (Sisters of Loretto at the Foot of the Cross) in Denver and the establishment of St. Mary's Academy on August 1, 1864. Last year, 625 girls were enrolled at Loretto. The Jesuits' Regis College accepted its first students as Sacred Heart College in 1884. It is now joined to Regis High School on a 94-acre campus. Enrollment at Regis College for the 1958–59 term was 1025.

St. Thomas seminary, founded in 1908, has trained 645 young men for the priesthood.

The first hospital in Denver was St. Joseph's, established in 1873. The most famous of the city's institutions of mercy is the National Jewish Hospital, internationally known for its contributions to the world's knowledge of tuberculosis, asthma, and heart surgery. Its motto is "None may enter who can pay: none can pay who enter."

Beyond the western boundary of the city lies the foothills of the Rockies. The mountain roads are beautifully banked and graded, easy to drive. You may follow Route 40 to Salt Lake City or turn off to explore Central City, the old mining town famous for its annual opera festival in an opera house the miners built.

You may visit Buffalo Bill's grave on Lookout Mountain, a shore drive from Denver, or Red Rocks amphitheater, a theater carved by nature which has been provided with a modern stage and seating for more than 10,000. The Denver Symphony Orchestra plays there in the summer.

Colorado will not celebrate its 100th year as a State until 1975, but if you cross the ranges to the western slope, you are reminded that this country is not new to history. The western half of Colorado was explored and accurately mapped by two Franciscan priests, Silvestre Velez de Escalante and Antanazio Dominguez, in the year of destiny, 1776. New Mexico, where they started on their expedition, had 11 Catholic churches in 1617, 3 years before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock.

Air Transport Rights for KLM

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, January 22, 1960

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Stick to the Rules," which appeared in the Washington Post on Monday, January 18, 1960.

The request by the Government of the Netherlands for aditional air transport rights for KLM, the national airline of that country, would require the United States to set aside the policies the United States has followed in agreements with more than 50 other countries, many of whom are also good friends and allies. To grant the request would be unfair to many other governments as well as to our own airlines.

The fairness and soundness of this position is well stated in the editorial "Stick to the Rules," which appeared in the Washington Post, Monday, January 18, 1960.

The denial of the most recent request can hardly be called unfair, because of the unprecedented advantage the Netherlands airline already enjoys from its rights in the United States. KLM operates air service to and from New York, Miami, and Houston. About one-third of KLM's total international revenues are earned from the rights it has in the United States.

Furthermore, according to Time Magazine for August 17, 1959, KLM earns $29,400,000 from its rights to carry passengers to the United States; but the U.S. airline serving passenger traffic to and from Netherlands points earns $1,700,000. In the face of this advantage, there is no justification for additional air rights for KLM. To make further grants could only arouse similar unfair demands by other governments.

I strongly urge our State Department to give serious consideration to the danger involved in abandoning the principles upon which our whole system bilateral agreements is founded.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 18, 1960]

STICK TO THE RULES

The Netherlands currently is seeking United States approval of an Amsterdam-Los Angeles route for the Dutch airline, KLM, in the renewal of a request that was denied 2 years ago. From the Dutch viewpoint, another rejection would seem to be discriminatory. As Netherlands spokesmen note, "KLM alone among the large European air carriers has been denied the right to serve the west coast." Jet airliners promise so fast a trip from California to Europe that there is little doubt that an increasing share of the American oversea travel market will develop in the West. KLM not unnaturally wants to be in on it.

Regrettably for the Dutch, they have had to develop and seek to improve their sizable role in world air transport under a serious handicap which neither they nor this country can do very much about. This is that Holland neither provides nor attracts a large number of air travelers. Yet the demand for travel to and from a country has by common agreement—including the agreement of the Netherlands—come to be the standard by which the nations attempt to allocate landing rights to each other.

The United States, which is the largest generator of world air travel, already has given KLM access to a considerably greater share of the American market than this rule would seem to allow. A very large proportion of those who fly KLM from New York to Amsterdam go directly on to other European destinations. KLM in effect has assumed a supranational character, tapping the American market far beyond the actual travel requirements to and from Holland. If this were not the case, or if KLM were prepared to give up flights in New York in exchange for west coast rights so that the relative advantage over other foreign carriers which it already holds at least would not be increased, the Dutch case would have more merit.

In its essence, the plea for even greater access to American travel dollars is a plea that the United States change—or at least wink at—the basic concept of air route allocations. Obviously rules of concern to many nations—many of them, like the Netherlands, friends and allies of this country—cannot be altered in the context of a bilateral negotiation. Whatever the shortcomings of the present method, no obviously fairer standard has been suggested.

As for winking, there has been plenty of this in the past out of respect for Holland's financial needs and its role in NATO. But if there are extraneous considerations, they should be dealt with in a different context. International aviation policy is fraught with enough complications as it is. The need is for a rational, even-handed application of the rules—until the rules, by common agreement, can be improved upon.

This Miracle America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON ALLOTT
OF COLORADO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 22, 1960

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, it is important that all of us continually review the pattern of American history, seeking guidance in the heritage of freedom which made this Nation great. This is true on both domestic and on international issues.

We learned in the depression days of a quarter century ago that our complex economy makes it virtually impossible for every American to assure completely his own security. We inaugurated a number of programs, some wise and some not so wise, which are designed to assure basic security and maximum opportunity.

Yet these programs and that opportunity and freedom are imperiled today by inflation and by too little respect for the great American traditions of individualism. It is a specter which haunts most the greatest number of Americans—those on wages and other fixed incomes. One of my constituents, Mr. H. G. Frankel, of Denver, recently wrote an article which poses this problem against the background of our heritage.

Mr. President, I should like to share some of Mr. Frankel's thoughts with my colleagues and accordingly request that excerpts from that article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THIS MIRACLE AMERICA: WHAT MADE THIS MIRACLE—THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA?

(By H. G. Frankel)

With less than 7 percent of the world's population, how is it possible that almost every nation on earth—both inside and outside the Iron Curtain—looks to us today for aid?

In 183 years we have attained a greater degree of freedom and a higher standard of living for the great mass of people than was ever dreamed possible in 10,000 years of recorded history.

Our wealth and industrial capacity were the deciding factors in two world wars.

Other nations have had as much or more territory; and many nations have had greater natural resources.

What, then, caused this miracle—this heaven on earth?

We believe it was due to the men who founded this country, and the free enterprise system of government they formed—a republican representative government unique in all history. We believe that these geniuses were the true liberals of the ages—that they were as God-inspired as the prophets of the Bible, and that their concepts of government are as true and binding today as they were in 1776 and 1789.

What were some of the basic concepts of these founders?

Individual responsibility as a corollary of individual freedom.

That without property rights you cannot have full human rights.

That the less the government and the more economical the government, the better the government.

A maximum of local self-government and a federal government of delegated powers only.

That a paternalistic government must ultimately lead to tyranny.

These concepts of government brought to our shores men who wanted opportunity rather than security. This new birth of individual freedom, together with the incentive that a man could retain for himself and his children the bulk of the wealth he created, brought forth this dynamic society and opened new horizons for civilization.

The ironic fact today is that those who hold fast to these principles—truly the most liberal in history—are labeled "reactionaries" by many self-styled liberals; whereas many of these pseudo liberals are diametrically opposed to most of the basic concepts of Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, and the other founders.

In the past 25 years we have traveled back a long way to European paternalism and collectivism, and the farther we travel that road, the more impossible it becomes to turn back. This road is plainly marked for all to see:

Unbridled expansion of federal government.

Unlimited increase of federal bureaucracy.

Wiping out the dollar by excessive Federal spending.

Then controls and more controls, and then finally—complete regimentation.

In times of depression, we are told that the only way back to prosperity is to open the flood gates of the Federal Treasury.

In boom times, we are told that continued prosperity depends on still more Government spending.

Pressure groups are encouraged to constantly demand more and bigger subsidies; and politicians vie with each other, to buy elections with the taxpayers' money, and to offer pie in the sky to everyone.

We are told it is impossible to ever balance our budget anymore because of necessary defense expenditures—so why even try?

And then, the most vicious fallacy of them all—"why even worry about the public debt, since we owe it all to ourselves."

The time has definitely come for the public to arouse itself from its lethargy and to realize that:

Free enterprise and individual liberty are so inextricably bound together, that one cannot survive the other.

That our free enterprise system cannot survive much more whittling away of the dollar.

That the decrease in the value of the dollar, and the increase in the cost of living must be in mathematical proportion to the amount of Federal deficit financing; and that this excessive Government spending is the prime and basic cause of all inflation.

That a welfare State cannot be a free State, and that responsibility for welfare funds, public housing, slum clearance, education, etc. should be given back to the States and the local communities where they belong.

That the way to economize is to economize, and the way to balance the budget is to balance the budget.

That we can maintain all necessary defense expenditures and still balance the budget—and in addition, redeem a minimum of $5 billion per year in times of prosperity, providing we resist any further grants or subsidies to favored pressure groups, and make a determined effort to reduce the present ones as rapidly as possible.

That public pressure forces Congress to eliminate at least part of its annual pork barrel legislation, and

Providing the Hoover Commission report is adopted in toto.

Our American way of life cannot be destroyed from without—only from within. Today we are at the crossroads. Surely all of us—farmers, merchants, labor, and capital—can forget our own selfish interests and can unite to prevent any further inroads on the most wonderful heritage any people have ever been blessed with.

Remember, this miracle—America—never happened before in all human history. But once destroyed it may never happen again.

Elimination of Racial Bar by Trainmen Forward Step in Securing Job Equality

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 22, 1960

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, a special convention of the 20,000-member Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen has voted to eliminate the racial bar in the union's constitution.

I wish to congratulate the brotherhood on this action, which is in the best tradition of the union movement. The decision of the brotherhood is in accordance with the general labor ban on racial discrimination. Now only one union affiliated with the AFL–CIO retains a constitutional bar against admission of Negroes.

Removal of offensive constitutional language does not solve the problem of racial discrimination in unions. Practices and procedures can be shaped to subvert intent. It is my hope that American unions will continue to pursue with vigor—on the job as well as in the convention hall—the goal of equality for all workers.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by A. H. Raskin headed "A Loss for Jim Crow" which appeared in the January 21, 1960, issue of the New York Times.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A LOSS FOR JIM CROW—TRAINMEN'S VOTE TO SCRAP RACIAL BAR SHOULD EASE FRICTION IN AFL–CIO

(By A. H. Raskin)

The merged labor federation has just scored its most dramatic breakthrough in its fight to eliminate racial discrimination in its affiliated unions. The victory took the form of an overwhelming decision of a special convention of the 200,000-member Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen to scrap the color bar in its constitution. The action should do much to temper the bitterness that erupted in a floor fight over the race issue at the bienniel convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations in San Francisco last September.

The debate had left in the minds of many Negro workers doubts about the sincerity of the federation's desire to wipe out Jim Crow rules and to give meaningful expression to the antibias guarantees embodied in the merger compact 4 years ago.

The unhappiest aspect of the bitter exchange was that it created the outward appearance of a rift over principle between the two men who had been most conspicuous in the implementation of the no-discrimination drive. They were George Meany, the federation's president, and A. Philip Randolph, its only Negro vice president.

DIFFERENCES OVER SPEED

Actually their differences have never been over which way the federation should go, but over how fast its progress should be and how much pressure it should exert to make it faster. One of their specific points of disagreement at San Francisco was whether the parent organization should set a 6-month deadline for action by the trainmen to erase their whites-only clause. Mr. Randolph said "Yes"; Mr. Meany said "No." Mr. Meany's view prevailed.

The top-heavy vote by which the brotherhood's convention put its constitution in line with the federation's policies of racial equality vindicated Mr. Meany's belief that more could be accomplished by moral suasion than by using the big stick of an expulsion ultimatum.

He labored quietly, but with typical bluntness, to make certain that the constitutional issue would be put before delegates to the special convention, which had been called primarily to deal with problems raised by the passage of the Landrum-Griffin Act.

He reinforced his behind-the-scenes activity with a telegram to the convention, urging that the brotherhood's basic law be brought into compliance with the general labor ban against racial discrimination. Yesterday, his wish fulfilled, he sent another telegram, in which he said:

"True trade union brotherhood knows no racial distinction—a fact which your brotherhood has now underscored. The trade union movement cannot and will not rest until the civil rights battle has been won."

NAACP PRAISES MOVE

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which has been sharply critical of the federation's performance in the civil rights field, also registered its gratification.

Roy Wilkins, the association's executive secretary, called the action "a heartening reaffirmation of the American principle of equal opportunity for all."

He expressed hope that the decision would spur laggard unions to move forward in ending bias.

The National Urban League and the National Labor Service of the American Jewish Committee urged business organizations to match labor's zeal in promoting fair employment practices.

The trainmen's move leaves only one federation affiliate, the 87,000-member Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, with a constitutional wall against the admission of Negroes. This contrasts with 26 unions in the AFL alone that had such keep-out clauses in 1940 when Mr. Meany first went to Washington as the federation's secretary-treasurer.

However, it is fanciful to pretend that the mere setting right of constitutional language has opend union gates to Negroes evrywhere. There are many union locals, especially in the building trades, that are as opposed to integration as any member of the White Citizens Council.

At its midwinter meeting in Miami Beach next month the federation high command intends to strengthen the enforcement machinery that is designed to back up its standing committee on civil rights. Whenever the compliance efforts of the regular committee prove unavailing, a special committee of AFL–CIO vice presidents will be appointed to demand that discrimination cease.

No one expects labor to achieve perfection in this field overnight. The same problems, real and imagined, that block headway in education, housing, and most other aspects of community life operate to retard union leaders and rank-and-life members. But Mr. Meany has given new proof that he and his associates are dedicated to the proposition that bias must go.

Establishment of a National Seashore Park on Padre Island

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, January 22, 1960

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, although the President and the Secretary of the Interior have not officially announced which three seashore areas they believe should be given National Seashore Park status, United Press International reports it has learned that one of the three heading the list is Padre Island.

If this report is accurate, the Secretary of the Interior has made a wise choice for there is no disputing that this beautiful 18-mile stretch of beach holds promise for the future as the finest seashore recreation area in America.

Recently three Texas organizations have passed resolutions favoring the establishment of a national seashore park on Padre Island. These include the Bayshore Rod, Reel, and Gun Club, of Boytown, Harris County, which has more than 2,000 members, the Democratic Women of Bexar County, and Southside Lions Club of Corpus Christi.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the three resolutions printed in the Appendix of the RECORD:

Resolution by Bayshore Rod, Reel, and Gun Club of December 21, 1959 favoring establishing a national seashore on Padre Island;

Resolution by the Democratic Women of Bexar County, Tex., of December 8, 1959, for establishment of Padre Island National Seashore; and

Resolution by the Southside Lions Club of Corpus Christi, Tex., of December 8, 1958, in favor of putting a national seashore recreation area on Padre Island.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION OF BAYSHORE ROD, REEL, AND GUN CLUB FAVORING PADRE ISLAND NATIONAL SEASHORE

Be it unanimously resolved by the membership assembled in general meeting of the Bayshore Rod, Reel, and Gun Club at 3223 Minnesota Street, in the city of Baytown, county of Harris, State of Texas, the evening of Monday, December 21, 1959, That

Whereas a Padre Island National Seashore Recreation Area is approaching realization through efforts of many public minded citizens and numerous elected and appointed public officials; and

Whereas Bayshore Rod, Reel, and Gun Club has examined closely the merits of the project and has found it worthy of support: Then be it

Resolved, That the Bayshore Rod, Reel, and Gun Club supports the preservation as a national seashore recreation area of all of that part of Padre Island between the present county parks at the north and south ends of the island, including the Laguna Madre and the coastal lands up to the intracoastal canal, and be it further

Resolved, That this support shall be both continuous and active until passage of the required legislation in the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Texas and the Senate and House of Representatives of these United States, including both enabling acts and appropriations of adequate funds for both purchase and development, all this so that our children and their children may enjoy the right to go down to the sea to enjoy the sports and pleasures thereof and derive inspiration therefrom as our Father has intended for man without let or hindrance from time immemorial.

In witness whereof we set our hands

W. T. HUNT,
President (Presiding).
C. W. PLATO,
Vice President.
JIM NELSON,
Treasurer.
N. T. WADDELL,
Recording Secretary.
J. E. WALKER,
Corresponding Secretary.
DUSTY RHODES,
Financial Secretary.

RESOLUTION OF DEMOCRATIC WOMEN OF BEXAR COUNTY, TEX., FAVORING PADRE ISLAND NATIONAL SEASHORE

Be it resolved by the Democratic Women of Bexar County in San Antonio, Tex., assembled in a regular meeting on the 8th day of December 1959, as follows:

Whereas that area of land forming a part of the State of Texas on the Gulf of Mexico and known as Padre Island is of great natural beauty and of tremendous resort and vacation value to an extent rarely equaled elsewhere in our Nation; and

Whereas such an area as Padre Island should be set aside and reserved for the benefit and use of all the people of the State of Texas and of the Nation;

Now, therefore, the members of the Democratic Women of Bexar County do hereby go on record in support of the creation of Padre Island into a national park duly established by the U.S. Government in the interest of all of the people of our country.

MAE B. TUGGLE,
President.
MARY M. WARD,
Vice President.

RESOLUTION BY SOUTHSIDE LIONS CLUB OF CORPUS CHRISTI, TEX., FAVORING PADRE ISLAND NATIONAL SEASHORE

At the regular meeting of the board of directors of the Southside Lions Club of Corpus Christi, Nueces County, Tex., held at 8 p.m. December 8, 1959, at the Mercantile National Bank, on motion duly made, seconded, and unanimously passed by the board of directors the following resolution is unanimously adopted:

"Whereas it has come to the attention of the board of directors of the Southside Lions Club that the Federal Government has set aside funds for the creation of a national seashore area at some place on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico; and

"Whereas Padre Island is under consideration along with other sites to be designated as this seashore area; and

"Whereas it being the opinion of this board of directors acting on behalf of the Southside Lions Club that Padre Island is ideally situated and suited for designation as such seashore area; and

"Whereas it appearing that a hearing will be held in Corpus Christi on December 14, 1959, relative to the matter of such national seashore area and that this club should go on record as favoring such designation of Padre Island: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved,* That the Southside Lions Club of Corpus Christi, Tex., favors the designation of Padre Island as the site for the proposed national seashore area and at the December 14 hearing relative thereto, the

action of this club in support of such designation be made known; be it further

"*Resolved*, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the Honorable Noah Kennedy, Jr., county judge of Nueces County, Tex., that he may in turn present it in behalf of this club at the December 14 hearing."

LESLIE CHAPPELL,
President, Chairman, Board of Directors.
Attest:

ORVILLE HARRIS.

Castro a Threat to the Americas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STYLES BRIDGES
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 22, 1960

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, the patience of the American Government is being taxed to the limit by the daily actions and words of the Cuban revolutionary government and its spokesman, Fidel Castro.

One of the great problems which the Castro regime has promoted—that of stifling the healthy development of business in our hemisphere—is the subject of an article by David Lawrence, which appeared in the January 21 edition of the Washington Evening Star. Mr. Lawrence displays a keen insight in his discussion of our problems with Cuba; and I ask unanimous consent that his excellent article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Evening Star, Jan. 21, 1960]

CASTRO A THREAT TO THE AMERICAS—DICTATOR SEEN HURTING DEVELOPMENT OF BUSINESS IN WHOLE HEMISPHERE

(By David Lawrence)

When will all the Latin American countries wake up to the fact that Fidel Castro is doing more to hurt the business development of the entire hemisphere than anybody else, unless it is the regime in Moscow?

Businessmen today are hesitating whether to invest money in Central and South America. They wonder if the same destructive influences which gave Castro power will arise in other countries besides Cuba. Most significant is a statement just made by William R. Mathews, editor and publisher of the Arizona Daily Star. He is widely known for his writings and has for years done a great deal of traveling to different parts of the world to report on political and economic conditions. He says:

"As one of the several newspaper and radio reporters who interviewed Castro of Cuba in his home near Havana last February 28 and saw what a rare opportunity he had to bring about the blessings of freedom and democracy to his country, the course of events has compelled me to change my opinion drastically.

"I have seen Communist operations all over the world. Castro, in my opinion, is a prisoner of the Communists. The time is not far away when he will have to bow to their will and establish a 'people's democracy' or make way for his brother and others to do it.

"Probably in the next year, if our present hands-off policy continues, we will be confronted with a full-fledged Communist nation on our doorstep. When that happens, inaction on our part will have a profound effect elsewhere in the world.

"Let us not overlook the fact that Commissar Mikoyan spent 10 days in Mexico a few months ago. For what? If we remember that the Castro revolution was hatched in Mexico, the reason for such a visit becomes more apparent."

Mr. Mathews suggests that maybe the time has come to invite the people of Cuba to come into the United States with the same free commonwealth status as Puerto Rico has. Certainly, rather than have Cuba go Communist, many Cubans would prefer to be under American protection.

But the people of Cuba undoubtedly want to preserve their independence and their sovereignty. The United States can do a great deal to assist Cuba to remain free from the control of any foreign gocernment. The problem, however, is not merely in Cuba but all through Latin America, where the Communist apparatus is at work infiltrating political and economic institutions.

Relations between foreign countries and Cuba are steadily growing worse, rather than better. Confiscation of property is continuing. The American Government has been patient, but already measures of reprisal are being proposed.

Thus, Senator SMATHERS, Democrat of Florida, has come forth with the suggestion that the United States withhold from Cuba its subsidy on sugar until Cuba repays Americans for confiscated properties. The subsidy is about $150 million annually, and comes about because the United States pays Cuba a certain amount above the world price for sugar. The idea would be to deposit the differential in a special fund until the Cuban Government makes proper compensation for seized properties. If, within a reasonable time, Cuba doesn't compensate those whose investments have been confiscated, then the money would be used to repay Americans for their losses.

The Florida Senator, before leaving on a 10-nation tour of Latin America with a Senate subcommittee studying international trade, urged a new appraisal of U.S. policies toward Cuba in view of the fact that the Cuban Government, as he sees it, is "playing the Communist game." He added:

"The time has come for overall strategy as to what we're going to do about Cuba."

On reaching Panama City, Senator SMATHERS made a further comment. He declared: "In Cuba, they have a government which has been following a strictly dictatorial line. The steps Castro has taken are identcal with the steps Hitler took in Germany."

In Buenos Aires, the influential newspaper La Prensa said flatly a couple days ago that the Castro regime in Cuba is a dictatorship. There have been similar comments from other Latin American newspapers, but there is as yet no concerted planning among these countries on what to do about the Communist infiltration that has, for instance, made Castro so cocky in Cuba and so indifferent to the pleas of other governments in this hemisphere.

For the problem is not solely the concern of the United States. It involves a direct threat to all Latin American countries. The Organization of American States is really the forum where the whole situation should be discussed publicly, but, before any action can be taken by it, there will have to be a good deal of informal private consultation between the principal governments. Meanwhile, President Eisenhower has asked a special study group, which includes Secretary of State Herter and Dr. Milton Eisenhower, to come up with some program or plan for dealing with the Cuban situation.

Adequate Housing for Elderly Remains a Major Problem Facing Older Citizens

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 22, 1960

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, the Senate Subcommittee on Problems of the Aged and Aging is currently conducting a detailed study of problems facing our older citizens.

One of the subcommittee's major preliminary findings is that a substantial segment of the older population can only afford low-income housing, much of which will have to be subsidized by the Federal Government.

This fact is well illustrated by citing the problem faced by my home city of Portland, Oreg.

Portland has the largest per capita old-age population of any U.S. metropolitan city. A survey by the Portland Housing Authority last summer showed that 3,750 persons on old-age assistance were housed in substandard housing. Since that time, 400 more residents of Portland have reached the age of 65.

Portland is attempting to remedy this situation, just as are numerous other cities which face similar problems. The magnitude of the problem places great financial burden on municipalities. Progress is slow.

Last year Congress approved a new housing-for-the-elderly program. It provided for mortgage insurance and direct loans to help finance new housing projects. No funds were appropriated last year to carry out the direct loan section.

Local government cannot adequately solve this problem without some help. The Housing Act of 1959 indicated the belief of Congress that Federal assistance should be strengthened. We must work to make that law effective through provision of needed funds and insurance of efficient implementation which will guarantee that its intent is carried out.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article describing Portland's housing-for-the-elderly problem, and its efforts to solve it.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Portland Oregonian, Jan. 17, 1960]

LOW-COST HOUSING NEEDED FOR OLDER PERSONS

(By Marge Davenport)

The problem of adequate low-cost housing for the aged in Portland, like Topsy, continues to grow.

As a result of last August's survey by the Portland Housing Authority that revealed 3,750 persons on old-age assistance housed in substandard housing, a new 10-story apartment-type development is being planned that will provide 120 low-cost homes for old folks. However, during the past 6 months about 400 more Portlanders have turned 65.

Of course not all of these will need a place to live because they have reached the age of 65, but it is safe to estimate that retirement and limited incomes will force an increasingly large number to seek low-cost homes. Housing authorities agree that Portland, with the largest per capita old age population of any U.S. metropolitan city, and less public housing than any metropolitan city of comparable size, has a fast growing problem.

PROBLEM DEPLORABLE

This deplorable problem still finds thousands of Portland's senior citizens living in unhealthy, cold, drafty buildings, with unsafe stairways; buildings with vermin, rodents, debris and filth; buildings with inadequate plumbing or situations where too many people share a dirty, poorly lighted toilet facility.

Elderly persons of low income obviously cannot afford to live in retirement homes requiring substantial deposits and high-level rents. The average income of persons covered by the housing survey was $99.33 per month. Many oldsters on social security or insurance benefits are living on much less than this. A recent U.S. Department of Health figure shows an average total income of old persons in Oregon to be $77.15 per month. Rentals that these oldsters can afford to pay run from $10 per month to $45 per month (maximum rent allowed pensioners in Multnomah County by welfare).

NO HELP FOR SOME

A bill which passed the last session of Congress, designed to alleviate the housing situation, has not brought housing help to oldsters. Locally the first builder to take advantage of the 100-percent financing plan announced that rentals would range from $90 to $171 on new units for older persons.

Since last August's survey, a few oldsters in substandard dwelling, or those displaced by urban renewal, freeways, and other public works projects, have been relocated in existing public housing facilities. But these spaces are limited, and all units are full. A total of 96 elderly homes is provided in the total existing public housing dwelling units.

While city officials and housing authorities agree that the new apartment project scheduled soon for Portland's downtown west side will merely scratch the surface in meeting the critical need for decent, safe, and sanitary places for old folks to live—they do feel that it is a move in the right direction.

MAYOR TAKES HAND

Two years ago Mayor Terry Schrunk asked that an old persons' housing survey be made. Although the mayor feels that private enterprise should always provide housing if possible, he is aware of the critical shortage of adequate low-cost places for old people.

The new proposed 10-story structure will be a combination project with a total of 170 dwelling units, with 120 for elderly and 50 units for small families with preschool children.

According to Executive Director Gene Rossman, of the housing authority, oldsters will be housed in a wing of the building away from the family units. "But having the families there takes away the stigma of 'old folks' home' and makes the project more economically feasible," Rossman said.

Patterned closely after a similar and highly successful project in Cleveland, Ohio, the apartment will also include an area for a community service center available to tenants and others living nearby.

FAMILIARITY DESIRED

With the greatest concentration of old age assistance recipients in inadequate housing in the downtown Portland area, the new project was planned to be built as closely as possible to this concentration. Old people do not like to move away from familiar surroundings, friends, churches and stores to which they are accustomed.

A preliminary survey completed among these people this week, shows that at least 750 persons would like to move into the proposed 120 units when they are completed.

But what solution is there for the 3,500 others on old age assistance, and the many uncounted others with low incomes, who will still be in substandard housing after their more fortunate neighbors fill these 120 proposed apartments?

Senator MCNAMARA, who has made a study of the problems of the aging, recently said, "The country has not taken enough time and thought for the problems of its older citizens. No one is asking for a bed of roses for oldsters, but they have every right to expect and we have every moral obligation to insure them, a meaningful and adequately secure existence in their later years."

Ukrainian Independence Day

SPEECH
OF
HON. GEORGE H. FALLON
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, the Ukrainian people have waged an uphill fight for their right to freedom and independence. They finally attained their goal 42 years ago by proclaiming, on January 22, 1918, the establishment of the Ukrainian Republic in their historic homeland. Though that budding and promising republic did not last long and was ruthlessly shattered by Communist forces of destruction 40 years ago, and though since then the Ukrainian people have been subject to the most intolerable of tyrannies in their homeland, still they have not given up hope for their eventual liberation from the clutches of Communist rule. On this 42d anniversary of their independence day I gladly join all Ukrainian-Americans and voice the hope that the Ukraine will gain its rightful place among independent and sovereign countries.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

Appendix

Anniversary of the Birth of Robert E. Lee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, on Saturday, January 23, the senior Senator from South Carolina delivered a stirring address in Statuary Hall commemorating the 153d anniversary of the birth of Robert E. Lee, general of the Confederacy.

Senator JOHNSTON, the able chairman of the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee, was invited to deliver this address by the United Daughters of the Confederacy, and I commend the UDC in their choice of a speaker.

Senator JOHNSTON is an outspoken defender of the rights of States, and one who carries on today in our mutual struggle to preserve in our Nation the principles to which Lee dedicated his life.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this address by Senator JOHNSTON be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF SENATOR OLIN D. JOHNSTON COMMEMORATING THE 153D BIRTHDAY OF GEN. ROBERT E. LEE IN STATUARY HALL, THE CAPITOL, WASHINGTON, D.C., JANUARY 23, 1960

Madam President and Daughters of the Confederacy, one approaches a discussion of the life of Robert E. Lee in an audience of this character with a feeling of great satisfaction and deep reverence. To again be honored with your invitation is a source of no little personal gratification to me.

Robert E. Lee was a direct descendent of the famous Lee family which played such a prominent part among the Founding Fathers of our Nation. Richard Henry Lee, one of his uncles, as a Delegate from Virginia, signed the Declaration of Independence and also the Articles of Confederation. In fact, Richard Henry Lee was the author of the resolution at the Virginia Convention which resulted in the Articles of Confederation.

Robert E. Lee's father was the distinguished Revolutionary War hero, Henry Lee, a bosom friend of George Washington. His father is better known as "Light Horse Harry" because of his extraordinary exploits during the Revolution. As a consequence of this service, Lee's father became a major general in the U.S. Army. He later served as Governor of Virginia and as a Member of Congress. The Congress selected Lee's father to deliver their eulogy to George Washington upon the latter's death. It was he who was the author of the time-honored reference to Washington as the man "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

The distinguished ancestry of Lee stood him in good stead both as a southerner and as an American. He is now loved by men of good will in both the North and the South.

Theodore Roosevelt had as one of his aides Col. Fitzhugh Lee, a nephew of General Lee. President Roosevelt remarked about the general as follows:

"This Nation is big enough to revere the name of Robert E. Lee without sectional distinctions. He is no longer southern; he is American, and he belongs to the Nation, not to the South alone."

As a southerner, I am proud to acknowledge a debt to Mr. Roosevelt for the use of those words. It gives us heart to know that out of the blood and sorrow and suffering of war has come, at last, a healthy, mutual respect—yea, admiration—for the man on both sides of the Mason and Dixon line.

It is a trait of our race well to be glorified that we possess the inherent and cardinal virtues of forgiveness and forgetfulness.

There is a noble page in our history we will not forget. That was the last sad encounter between General Lee and General Grant at Appomattox. Lee, the highborn knight, the flower of chivalry, and the best the South could produce, met Grant, the plain man of the plain people of Ohio. Lee was there—in the words the Daughters of the Confederacy engraved on the stone marking the spot of surrender, which say:

"Here on Sunday, April 9, 1865, after 4 years of heroic struggle in defense of principles believed fundamental to the existence of our Government, Lee surrendered 9,000 men, the remnants of an army unconquered in spirit, to 118,000 men under Grant."

From the pen of a Union officer who accompanied General Grant to General Lee's headquarters on the day of surrender, we have a moving account of what transpired on that fateful day. Grant, upon entering General Lee's room, extended his hand, saying, "General Lee." The two shook hands cordially. The conversation started with General Grant saying, "I met you once before, General Lee, while we were serving in Mexico." "Yes," replied General Lee, "I know I met you on that occasion and I have often thought of it."

After a brief reminiscence of the Mexican campaign, in which General Grant was a captain and General Lee a colonel, General Lee requested General Grant to write out the surrender terms. After admiring the handsome uniform and sword worn by General Lee, General Grant said it would be an act of humiliation to require the officers and men to surrender their swords and side arms or their personal baggage and horses.

General Lee upon reading the terms of surrender was greatly relieved when he read the passage permitting his men to retain their horses and baggage. He said with a warmth of feeling:

"This will have a very happy effect on my men."

As General Lee left his office and mounted his famous Traveler, General Grant moved toward him and saluted. Returning the salute, General Lee left in a slow trot to break the sad news to the brave men under his command. It is said that General Grant sent an order to the Union soldiers that no salutes be fired by them, for, he said:

"The war is over; the rebels are our countrymen again; and the best sign of rejoicing after victory will be to abstain from all demonstrations in the field."

In this brief talk, ladies, which you were gracious enough to invite me to give, I shall not attempt to even give in summary a career and life so crowded with momentous historical events. The life and heritage of the man so overshadow all description that one would be presumptuous to feel otherwise. I am confident that you need little introduction to the subject matter.

Robert E. Lee was born January 19, 1807, at Stratford, the stately Lee Mansion in Westmoreland County. His background on his father's and mother's side was illustrious. His army service tempered the aristocracy of his birth. He never claimed preference or prerogative of birth or name. There was a cast to his mind, an elevation of spirit and a loftiness of thought which gave him a wholesomeness of spirit and action. He was drawn to the right as the needle is to a magnet. He never had to meditate on the truth; he spoke it by nature. Unconsciously, he set up as his life's model his father's distinguished friend, the illustrious George Washington. Lee followed that example as an humble aristocrat in thought, word, act, and deed.

Shortly after General Lee's death, a most distinguished Southern Senator, in an address before the Southern Historical Society, said:

"When the future historian shall come to survey the character of Lee, he will find it rising like a huge mountain above the undulating plain of humanity, and he must lift his eyes high toward Heaven to catch its summit. He possessed every virtue of other great commanders without their vices. He was a foe without hate; a friend without treachery; a soldier without murmuring. He was a public officer without vices; a private citizen without wrong; a neighbor without reproach; a Christian without hypocrisy, and a man without guile. He was Caesar without his ambition; Frederick without his tyranny; Napoleon without his selfishness, and Washington without his reward. He was obedient to authority as a servant, and royal in authority as a true king. He was gentle as a woman in life; modest and pure as a virgin in thought; watchful as a Roman vestal in duty; submissive to law as Socrates, and grand in battle as Archilles."

Lee was a military genius. He graduated from West Point, second in his class, at the age of 18 years. No one need labor the point of his military excellence. His record equals history's greatest. Distinguished historians, professional military men, as well as laymen, vie with one another in their praise of his military achievements.

The late James Ford Rhodes, the scholar and historian from Ohio, said of Lee:

"Drawing from a knightly race all their virtues, he had inherited none of their vices. Honest, sincere, simple, magnanimous, forbearing, refined, courteous, yet dignified and proud, never lacking self-command, he was in all respects a true man."

When the War Between the States became evident, Lee was offered the command of the Union forces. He resigned his U.S. Army commission and said:

"With all my devotion to the Union, and the feeling of loyalty and devotion as an American citizen, I have not been able to make up my mind to raise my hand against my relatives, my children, and my home."

We cannot know the agony of spirit which he must have suffered in his decision to leave the Union and remain with those on his native soil of Virginia. He must have paced the broad pillared veranda of Arlington House struggling with soul and mind as he saw the Capitol's dome. We must recognize in that hour of trial one of the finest products of the American way of life. As the years go by, surely we shall see in larger measure that such a life cannot be judged in a partisan measure or tone. All shall come to look upon him as the English now look upon Washington.

Sir Frederick Maurice, an English major general, said of General Lee:

"As he rode along lines, hundreds of his devoted veterans pressed around the noble chief, trying to take his hand, touch his person, or even lay hands on his horse, thus exhibiting for him their great affection. The general then, with head bare and tears flowing freely down his manly cheeks, bade adieu to his army. In a few words he told his brave men who had been so true in arms to return to their homes and become worthy citizens."

Such was part of the farewell to the army of the South. It is said that when Lee returned to Richmond after the surrender, the people flocked to cheer him. He was received with great acclaim by men and women alike. The record, the character of the man, had placed him forever in the hearts of his comrades and his people irrespective of war's misfortunes.

The integrity, humility, and devotion to duty of General Lee are among his great characteristics. Many have appraised his service after the war to be more important than his direction of the South during that struggle. He returned to his wrecked and prostrate homeland. By precept and example he called his fellow citizens to duty to their State and Nation. Among other things, he said:

"I have led the young men of the South in battle; I have seen many of them die on the field; I shall devote my remaining energies to training young men to do their duty in life."

General Lee accepted the presidency of Washington College at Washington, Va., which had been almost totally demolished by the ravages of war. Cheerfully, resolutely and with determination he set about his appointed task of building the character and educating the men privileged to attend the college which now bears his name along with that of Washington.

Lee's greatness is exemplified in his farewell message to his troops. That also becomes a good note on which to end this discourse. The great General we all love and respect so much said:

"After 4 years of arduous service, marked by unsurpassed courage and fortitude, the Army of Northern Virginia has been compelled to yield to overwhelming numbers and resources. I need not tell the survivors of so many hard-fought battles, who have remained steadfast to the last, that I have consented to this result from no distrust of them; but, feeling that valor and devotion could accomplish nothing that could compensate for the loss that would have attended the continuation of the contest, I have determined to avoid the useless sacrifice of those whose past services have endeared them to their countrymen. By the terms of the agreement, officers and men can return to their homes and remain there until exchanged. You will take with you the satisfaction that proceeds from the consciousness of duty faithfully performed; and I earnestly pray that a merciful God will extend to you His blessing and protection. With an increasing devotion to your country, and a grateful remembrance of your kind and generous consideration of myself, I bid you an affectionate farewell."

A Tax the States Need

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, when one finds support for his own thinking it is not displeasing—the more so if the expression of similar views to one's own thinking emanates from a recognized and influential newspaper. So last week when I read an editorial in the New York Times entitled "A Tax the States Need," I was highly gratified for I have long favored strengthening local government by transferring certain sources of income from the Federal Government to the States.

In this connection, on January 19, 1960, I expressed approval of Governor Rockefeller's proposal that Congress allow the Federal excise tax on telephone service to expire and I inserted a table showing the revenue by State and region which could become available to the various States to meet going costs.

Following is the editorial referred to above:

Addressing State governors in 1957, President Eisenhower dealt, as he had before, with the temptation to transfer the problems of States and cities to Washington for solution. "Every State failure to meet a pressing public need has created the oportunity, developed the excuse and fed the temptation for the National Government to poach on States' preserves," he said in that address at Williamsburg, Va. "Year by year, responding to transient popular demands, the Congress has increased Federal functions. So, slowly at first, but in recent times more and more rapidly, the pendulum of power has swung from our States to the central Government." Yet, as the President then said, it is difficult to "turn back long-established trends."

In 1949 General Eisenhower, addressing the U.S. Conference of Mayors, meeting in Washington, had also commented upon this tendency to "pass things unnecessarily to the Federal Government because thereby they (local officials) escape the necessity of levying locally unpopular taxes which may be hard to explain to the voters."

President Eisenhower has an excellent opportunity in this, his final year in office, to advance the principles he has thus so long espoused. This oportunity lies in agreeing with Governor Rockefeller's proposal that the Federal Government allow its 10 percent excise tax on local telephone service to lapse on June 30, 1960, and let States or localities take it over to finance the services, including education, for which they are so hard put to find money.

Mr. Rockefeller would entrust this taxing power to localities for support of schools. It is estimated that it would supply $70 million in New York State, and it would carry with it other attendant benefits: By relieving the political pressure for much greater State aid, it would serve to avert that greater centralization of taxation and power in State capitals that is similar to what President Eisenhower would like to avoid as to Washington in its relations with the States; it would avoid new, locally imposed nuisance taxes that might prove damaging if enacted; it would strengthen the principle of local governmental responsibility, bringing the raising of money and the spending of it into closer proximity.

Resolutions by Propeller Club of the United States in Support of American Merchant Marine and Allied Industries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, at it recent annual convention, its 33d, the Propeller Club of the United States adopted a number of resolutions supporting the American merchant marine and its allied industries.

These resolutions merit the consideration of the Congress and the attention of all the people of our country. I ask unanimous consent that certain of the resolutions which I believe to be of particular importance be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE 33D ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE PROPELLER CLUB OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE CONFERENCE, DETROIT, MICH., OCTOBER 14, 15, 16, 1959

MERCHANT MARINE ACT

The Propeller Club of the United States reaffirms its belief in the basic principles of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, as amended, and urges that the necessary funds be appropriated to carry out its purposes, particularly—

1. The orderly replacement of such vessels as are needed to serve commerce or the national defense.

2. The further upgrading of the efficiency of merchant ships, including further exploration of nuclear energy for merchant ships.

3. The payment of operating-differential subsidies to those lines serving essential trade routes.

4. The construction subsidy provided by law should achieve parity by covering the entire excess cost of construction of vessels in American shipyards over the fair and reasonable estimate of cost as determined by the Federal Maritime Board of a vessel of comparable capacity and utility constructed in a foreign shipyard.

STRENGTHENING OF PARITY PRINCIPLE IN MERCHANT MARINE ACT

The present statutory limitation of 50 percent of foreign construction costs should be adjusted in the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, to conform with current cost differentials.

CARGO PREFERENCE

The Propeller Club of the United States should take all reasonable steps to support efforts of American-flag operators toward

more equitable and effective implementation of cargo preference statutes.

NAVY WORK IN PRIVATE SHIPYARDS

The Propeller Club of the United States urges Congress to enact legislation to require that 75 percent of the funds for conversion, alteration, and repair of naval vessels be expended in private shipyards, and to require reports of compliance directly to appropriate congressional committees.

VESSEL REPLACEMENT PROGRAM

The Propeller Club of the United States recommends that the Federal Maritime budget for the fiscal year 1961 to be presented to the Congress in January 1960, includes, as a minimum, funds for 30 replacement cargo ships, 2 large passenger liners (1 for the United States Lines and 1 for American President Lines, which have been already authorized by Congress) and 1 nuclear-powered experimental tanker, as a means of stimulating the replacement program now far behind schedule and also to correct deficiencies in our present merchant marine so that it may eventually constitute a mobilization potential adequate to meet initial wartime needs.

PRESERVATION OF DOMESTIC COMMERCE FOR U.S. VESSELS

The Propeller Club of the United States opposes any further breaching of the historic and universally accepted policy of preserving domestic commerce for vessels built in the United States, documented under the laws of the United States and owned by citizens of the United States and reaffirms the policy so firmly established by the Merchant Marine Act of 1920, the purpose of which was to assure an American merchant marine adequate to take care of our domestic commerce.

TAX DEFERRED DEPOSITS

The Propeller Club of the United States urges the Congress to amend the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, as amended, to permit unsubsidized steamship operators and inland waterways operators in the domestic and foreign trade to make tax-deferred deposits of earnings in a construction reserve fund for vessel replacement.

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST AMERICAN VESSELS

The Propeller Club of the United States supports efforts by the Maritime Administration and the Department of State to remove discrimination against American vessels in foreign countries.

The Propeller Club of the United States urges the Congress to repeal the so-called section 22 rate authority, which has resulted in transportation media handling Government cargoes at rates resulting in loss or not providing full compensation.

COMPETITIVE RATE PRACTICES

The Propeller Club of the United States opposes any further legislative erosion in regard to unfair competitive rate practices of other modes of transportation. We also urge the Interstate Commerce Commission to rigidly apply the spirit of the 1958 Transportation Act in not permitting the quotation of rates by other land transportation media below compensatory levels, particularly when such rates threaten the continued operation of inland or ocean water carriers.

TRANSPORTATION POLICY AS REGARDS HAWAII AND ALASKA

Such control of transportation as is necessary between the continental United States and the new States of Hawaii and Alaska should remain under the jurisdiction of the Federal Martime Board and should not pass into the hands of other Government agencies less qualified to judge matters concerning ocean transportation.

STEAMSHIP CONFERENCE SYSTEM

The Propeller Club of the United States urges that all reasonable effort be made by all segments of the industry to increase public understanding of the absolute need of the steamship conference system as the best method of guaranteeing reliable and uninterrupted steamship service to the import-export trade of the United States, as well as in all world trade and providing service in which rates are at such levels as to encourage the movement of cargoes, and not susceptible to disruptive fluctuations, and it endorses and supports the dual rate system or any equivalent arrangement such as will reasonably guarantee patronage for conference line vessels.

VESSEL DOCUMENTATION

The Propeller Club of the United States acknowledges the seriousness of redtape in connection with navigation of vessels to and from their ports and recommends to the Customs, Public Health, Immigration, and other agencies—and urges upon these agencies—that immediate steps be taken, as necessary, to reduce duplication of information and unnecessary documents in connection with entering and clearing of vessels.

Through the medium of the International Maritime Consultative Organization, or other appropriate international shipping organizations, the U.S. Government should take positive steps toward seeking uniform vessel document requirements throughout the world.

NAVIGATION OF VESSELS ON THE GREAT LAKES

The Propeller Club of the United States urges upon Congress the passage of legislation which will require the navigation of all vessels in trade on U.S. waters of the Great Lakes to be in charge of personnel whose knowledge of applicable rules of the road, and whose familiarity with those waters have been adequately demonstrated to competent authority.

Horsesense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. HALEY

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial column which appeared in the January 21, 1960, issue of the Lake Wales News, one of Florida's outstanding weekly newspapers. The writer of "Over in My Corner," Mr. O. A. Brice, is a man of sound thoughts who commands the respect of all who know him. The subject of this article is very pertinent to the problems we face here today. I agree with Mr. Brice's philosophy and I hope my colleagues will give their attention to his statements. As Mr. Brice has said we should "dig deep for all the horsesense we possess and then apply it effectively and decisively" to the problems which face us.

The article follows:

[From the Lake Wales News, Jan. 21, 1960]

OVER IN MY CORNER

(By O. A. Brice)

I once knew an old veterinarian whose specialty was doctoring horses. He possessed a pretty clean philosophy of life and regardless of what subject might be under discussion as the crowd gathered around the big-bellied stove in the grocery store on winter evenings, his conclusions somehow were generally accepted pretty much as plain old horsesense.

He used to declare, when pressed into the corner on some argument, that most of the problems of the world could be solved if people would only apply a liberal amount of horsesense toward reaching the right conclusion.

I have seen him when disappointment and hard luck stepped in his path and there seemed to be little chance for him to avoid the blockage. It was then he displayed his best brand of horsesense and he usually hurdled over the obstruction in a fashion which caused his friends to label him as "just pure lucky."

As I grow older, this pioneer horse doctor's reasoning seems to ring even more true. In the complex problems most of us face at times and in the disappointments of our busy lives—in fact in our everyday living, I come to the conclusion that he really had something in his simple, honest way of reasoning and in the tolerant, unselfish manner in which he met the issues.

This oldtimer literally loved the critters to whom he administered and their traits were so familiar to him that in almost every instance he could find someway to apply their sense.

One time in a community campaign when the proposed project was about to be lost, the chairman of the meeting called upon the old horse doctor for a speech. He had heard a lot of kicking and complaining during the course of the discussion and when he arose his friends wondered how he could apply his philosophy to that particular occasion.

But he gave his speech in just a few words which after all were just plain horsesense and the campaign proved a success. Here were his remarks which I have always remembered: "A horse can't pull while kicking, this fact I merely mention. And he can't kick while pulling, which is my chief contention. Let's imitate the good old horse and lead a life that's fitting—just pull an honest load and then there'll be no time for kicking."

There have been too many times in recent years when the average person permitted the other fellow to do his thinking and his voting. If community jobs needed working it was assumed the other fellow would do them.

If an election of importance was in the offing, a lot of us have neglected to even qualify so our ballot would be counted. Old plain old horsesense should cause us to remember that about all it has taken to be seated in some important political office was the ability to talk, a box from which to address the voters and the political trading which usually takes place here and there in campaigns.

The men and women who made the final selection too often have failed to analyze the promises made by the high-sounding candidate and the hero of the hour went into office wearing tinsel which caused the voters to believe him as the glamour individual of the age. They refused to use their horsesense, much to their regret at a later date.

I am wondering if it isn't about time that more people stopped chasing those dollars in the rainbow and give more thought and concern as to the freedom America is losing and the signs which gradually point to another world conflagration.

Even the horsesense of my old veterinary friend made him understand that he couldn't spend more than he made without bankruptcy. His horsesense could never agree to any program which would grow hogs, wheat, cotton or potatoes and then destroy them while thousands in the world go hungry.

Yet through our failure to use horsesense we permit politicians who subscribe to such programs to perpetuate themselves in office term after term and then come back asking for more.

The year 1960, in a world beset by problems which sometimes seem unsurmountable, seems to me to be an excellent period of

civilization to dig deep for the horsesense we possess and then apply it effectively and decisively.

Federal Registration of Certain Voters—Civil Rights Views of Father Hesburgh, of Notre Dame

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very informative statement made at Portland, Oreg., by the Reverend T. M. Hesburgh, president of Notre Dame University, with respect to Federal registration of voters in areas where the States have refused to people their inalienable American right to vote. Father Hesburgh is an outstanding member of the Civil Rights Commission, and thus entirely familiar with the situation which he discusses. The article describing Father Hesburgh's views appeared in the Oregonian-Journal of January 18, 1960, and I believe it should be included in the Appendix of the RECORD for the information of the Members of the Senate and House.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NOTRE DAME CHIEF SEES FEDERAL REGISTRATION

Fourteen recommendations dealing with Federal registration of voters in areas where the States refuse such registration have been prepared and submitted by the Civil Rights Commission, the Reverend Theodore M. Hesburgh, president of Notre Dame University, said Sunday.

At a press conference preceding a testimonial dinner Sunday at the University of Portland, the Catholic educator expressed views on a number of points with which he comes in constant contact through positions he holds in adidtion to the presidency of Notre Dame.

Father Hesburgh is a member of the Civil Rights Commission and the National Science Board through appointment by President Eisenhower. He is also the permanent Vatican City representative to the International Atomic Energy Agency.

RESPONSIBILITY, TOO

Speaking as a member of the Civil Rights Commission, he said it is the consensus of Southern editors that the South cannot claim State rights control without also assuming States right responsibilities. "Unless the States assume responsibility for honest registration of voters they will have to expect some Federal intervention," he declared.

Among the recommendations for Federal voter registration is one which would empower the President to give authority to local Federal officers to register voters. Even though this would result in a storm of protest, it would serve the purpose of giving the voting franchise to large numbers of Negroes who are not now allowed to vote in some Southern States.

WOULD SOLVE SELVES

The questions of equal opportunity in housing, employment, voting, and education would solve themselves, Father Hesburgh said, if people were given equal opportunity according to their ability. We will have true equality of opportunity once people are given a chance to develop to the limit of their individual ability.

"It is unfair to say you have to qualify before you can get equal opportunity and then withhold the opportunity to qualify," he stated.

Father Hesburgh refused to speculate on the nature of the "fantastic" new weapon of which Nikita Khrushchev boasted last week. All nations have fantastic weapons of some sort, he said. These may be nerve gases, nuclear devices or other things.

QUESTION UN-AMERICAN

In response to a question, Father Hesburgh said he considered it "un-American" to raise the question of religion in relationship to a political candidate. He said he did not think Catholics as a whole would automatically support a Roman Catholic candidate purely on the basis of religion. He expressed confidence that voters of his faith would weigh the merits of opposing candidates on other than religious grounds.

When questioned about the population explosion, Father Hesburgh said he thought overpopulation was purely relative in terms of the amount of food a country could produce. "You could argue that this country was overpopulated by the American Indians before the coming of the white man because the Indians were glutted one day and starved shortly after."

CITIES JAPANESE

He said the Japanese have given up the idea of birth control by the use of contraceptives because it simply did not work out. They now are depending upon legalized abortion of control their population growth.

In speaking of his assignment on the International Atomic Energy Agency, he said 75 nations, including the Russians, are cooperating in the peaceful uses of atomic energy. New vistas have been opened up to man through atomic energy and new uses are being explored.

Miss Kaye Johnson, a Leader

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES W. TRIMBLE
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. TRIMBLE. Mr. Speaker, while at home during the congressional recess, like the rest of my colleagues I visited with the people of my district. It was a pleasure as always. I was present at many meetings. One of the most pleasant of all was my opportunity to be a guest at the 4–H Club achievement banquet for Washington County at Fayetteville, Ark., where the outstanding members of the Washington County 4–H Clubs were honored. Many young people were there, as well as many adults. I was inspired at the meeting by the maturity of these young people and their grasp of the challenges which are ahead for them and for us.

The president of the organization in Washington County is Miss Kaye Johnson of Route 1, Lincoln, Ark. She was the master of ceremonies at the meeting, and she did a wonderful job. She is modest, intelligent, and a Christian leader. It was my great honor to sit by her at the banquet table. A lovely young person of the type which helped make America great and will keep it great.

I asked her what 4–H had meant to her. Here is her answer. I am proud and happy to let you, my colleagues, know what she says. My heartiest good wishes to her and her loved ones, and to all her leaders and coworkers in the 4–H Club work.

WHAT 4–H HAS MEANT TO ME

Four-H has various meanings to different boys and girls, but to me it means, a way of life. A way in which we learn to do things and the learning made fun.

Since a little girl, I have been taught that a girl should know how to cook, sew, run a home, manage a budget, can the winter food supply as well as to know something about farming or business. In 4–H work we learn to do these things on a competitive basis such as dress reviews where we model our clothing, and the county and State fairs where we enter sewing and canning for judging. Winning a ribbon or prize is a big thing in the life of a 4–H'er and makes the learning of necessary things interesting and fun instead of everyday drudgery. Keeping records on all of my 83 4–H projects has made accounting and budgeting seem easy.

Being a 4–H member has also helped me to overcome a very real shortcoming, that of being shy and timid around strangers. When I first became a 4–H member, even making a motion in our club was a major undertaking; then my first demonstration was a horror to me. But, surprisingly to me, I made it, and learned I could talk and people would listen. From that beginning I have been so fortunate in holding various offices in my local club, our county and now our State. Now talking to any group is a pleasant and stimulating experience to me instead of a nightmare. I feel this one thing will make a very real contribution to my future, and this ability I owe directly to my 4–H work.

Meeting boys and girls, adult leaders, and extension workers at our State and National 4–H Congress has given me a much broader outlook in general. It is broadening to exchange ideas with others from other parts of the country, and to learn how they feel and do things. Also, in this vein, I have been fortunate in meeting boys and girls from other countries; 4–H is a worldwide group, you know. This past summer we were a very luck family to be chosen to have as our guest, and "Ifey" (Internation Farm Youth Exchange) student. She was a lovely girl from Finland. This was a real experience. Learning to understand her ways and exchanging ideas with her, learning how they cook, keep house, and do so many things in another country. All this makes the world seem much smaller, and through this experience I shall always have a warm feeling for Finland.

While we win ribbons, prizes, and trips for our best work in 4–H projects, those are not the main objectives; a young 4–H'er soon learns to be as good a loser as a winner. By doing a good job on a project I feel I have won a prize every time, whether I actually receive something tangible or not because I have learned to do something new, and to do my best with whatever the task may be. Our motto is "To Make the Best Better." This teaches one to always strive to do just a little bit better each year, and with each project one undertakes. One big thing I have learned from my 8 years in 4–H work is that you only get out of a thing what you put into it. To sum it all up, to me 4–H means the best of everything; the best way of life a young boy or girl may have.

The Steel Strike and Vice President Nixon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, this morning's Washington Post and Times Herald had some comments on the recent steel strike. In an editorial entitled "Mr. NIXON and Steel" the newspaper questioned Mr. NIXON, saying that he raised the bogey of governmental wage fixing and price fixing if events had run their course."

I agree wholeheartedly with the editorial's comments that Congress would have worked out or effected a solution which would not have necessarily imposed either governmental price fixing or wage fixing.

I fear, Mr. President, that the Vice President's comments on wage fixing and price fixing are the words of a politician. I feel that the political implications should be toned down. Let us not forget that Mr. NIXON apparently did absolutely nothing to avoid the strike and that nothing occurred in the settlement that could not have been done before the strike began.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the complete text of the editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MR. NIXON ON STEEL

Vice President NIXON's defense of the steel settlement that he and Secretary Mitchell helped to bring about lost some of its punch when he raised the bogey of governmental wage fixing and price fixing if events had run their course. Nearly everyone is glad that Congress does not need to wrestle with the issue of an unsettled steel strike in this election year. In that sense the settlement brought a general feeling of relief. It does not follow, however, that if Congress had been compelled to act it would necessarily have slipped into the quagmire of governmental price fixing and wage fixing. Rather, we surmise, Congress would have worked out or imposed a compromise similar to that now in effect.

In the light of other recent labor-management contracts and the record of negotiations in the steel industry since the war, the Nixon-Mitchell settlement was certainly not extreme. What is most deplorable is the fact that the Government and the industry had to resort to this kind of semiofficial maneuvering as the only alternative to a longer period of chaos. Also deplorable is the fact that the settlement effected is now being drawn into politics. Of course, that is inevitable so long as a candidate for office finds it necessary to step into situations of this sort, which brings us back to the great desirability of effective and well established governmental machinery for handling such problems.

Mr. NIXON gives assurance that he will continue studying the problem with the object of suggesting legislation to protect the public interest without impairing the "basic strength of our private-enterprise economy." It would be useful to have all the presidential aspirants expound their views on this issue. Reconciliation of the right to strike in basic industries with the public interest will be a major issue before the next Congress and it calls for a maximum of careful deliberation.

Welcome Test

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEO E. ALLEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial entitled "Welcome Test," which appeared in the Rockford (Ill.) Morning Star of January 22, 1960:

WELCOME TEST

The Murray-Metcalf Federal school-subsidy bill, which has won the solid support of the National Education Association, the Americans for Democratic Action, and practically all of the free-spending Democrats in both Houses of Congress, is apparently to become a referendum issue with the American people.

It may carry another name, but in substance it will be Murray-Metcalf.

Present Democratic congressional plan is to push through the Murray-Metcalf bill, which would pour out billions of dollars in direct aid both for school construction and administrative subsidy to the States, and deposit it on President Eisenhower's desk for almost certain veto.

Then, the Democrats would go before the people next fall and term the Republican Party antieducation, stingy to the children, the party of illiteracy. The Democratic Party would be presented as the stalwart bulwark of public education. The public would then decide the road to take; and the educationists, the ADA, and the Democratic spenders apparently have no doubt as to what the verdict would be.

Previously, Democratic Congressmen have taken the view that half a loaf is better than none. Try for a school-subsidy bill which might stand a chance of signature, and, failing that, would stand a chance of rallying enough votes to override a veto. In this presidential year, however, it is deemed better strategy to try to hang an albatross around the Republican Party's neck. If Murray-Metcalf should be passed and vetoed, the Republican Party would have to carry the onus of being against the opening of Federal sluice gates for public school subsidy.

The Murray-Metcalf bill is so extreme, however, paving the way for federalization of the school system, that Republicans should welcome standing against it, in Congress and before the public. It would be up to the voters to declare in their choice for President and Congressmen whether they wanted the schools run from Washington or kept as a community responsibility and challenge.

And a referendum on this issue is overdue. We have seen, over a number of years, the Federal-subsidy forces making beachheads on the public schools for the eventual mass invasion. Does the public want its schools run from Washington, or does it prefer to have a hand in running them in its own communities? A great many voters would welcome a chance to affirm that they are tired of the nibbling away of American education by Federal educationism.

Federal Aid to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN STENNIS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, in the Washington Post and Times-Herald of January 25, there appeared a fine editorial regarding Federal aid to education. I commend it to my colleagues, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOUNTAIN OF YOUTH

The Senate's Democrats, in caucus assembled on Wednesday, are reported to have expressed strong sentiment for a broad Federal aid to education bill—including aid for teacher salaries, college classrooms, and school construction. "There is nothing more vital to America and nothing more important," Majority Leader LYNDON JOHNSON told reporters, "than passage of education legislation." If the Democrats really believe this—and there is good reason for them to believe it since it happens to be incontrovertibly true—they ought to act on it. They could devote themselves to no more useful—and no more politically profitable—issue in this presidential election year.

The public schools of this Nation suffer today from a shortage of 132,400 classrooms. The number of pupils enrolled in excess of normal classroom capacity rose from 1,850,000 in the fall of 1958 to 1,883,000 this fall. These figures are taken from a statement by Arthur S. Flemming, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare in a Republican administration. "We have made very little progress over the years," Mr. Flemming said, "in dealing with the huge backlog of need for classrooms which developed during the war years, when school construction was virtually at a standstill." A press release issued simultaneously by the Commissioner of Education, also a Republican, says that "State departments of education reported in the survey that 98,800 full-time teachers have not met full certification standards for teaching. This total is an increase of 5,900, or 6.3 percent, over that of last year."

But it is now perfectly apparent that the Republican administration which recognizes and presents this problem is not going to do anything to solve it. The President's school aid proposal is so meager, so niggardly, so inadequate as to amount to no more than an empty, mocking gesture in the school crisis. "The administration has been up and down the hill on this issue," Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY told newsmen, "but never in the schoolhouse. This is the time to put them on the line." He is abundantly right. Perhaps, as Senator FULBRIGHT predicted, the President would veto any real school bill passed by Congress. The Democrats could choose no firmer, more advantageous ground on which to take their stand.

For all Americans are touched by the public schools. All Americans can see their decay. All Americans can understand that the schools are the essential source of the Nation's security and strength—that the quality of the schools today will determine the quality of scientific and industrial and political performance in the United States a decade hence. All Americans know that from the earliest days of this Republic the public schools have been its fountain of youth. And they will not choose to let that fountain run dry.

Ukraine Independence

SPEECH
OF
HON. AIME J. FORAND
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. FORAND. Mr. Speaker, on January 22 millions of Ukrainians, both here and abroad, observed the 42d anniversary of the Ukrainian National Republic, a nation which was established in the latter days of World War I. This status was short lived; only a few short years later they were absorbed by the Communist rulers of the Soviet Union.

There is a Soviet fiction that the Ukraine today is a free Republic, with all the attributes of sovereignty including a diplomatic service, and that she remains in the Soviet system as a matter of choice and free will. This is utterly false. More than 40 million people in the Ukraine share the common desire of the captive and satellite peoples of Eastern Europe for freedom and self-determination.

The history of the Ukrainian people, as we know, reflects the centuries-long struggle of man to attain individual freedom. Three hundred years ago, the Ukraine was an independent state, rich in its culture and thriving in its commerce. Today, despite its enslavement, it is the second largest of the Soviet Republics and the richest in agriculture. Through the intervening years, the Ukrainian people have become familiar with the workings of Russian tyranny and oppression, under which they have suffered greatly.

For 300 years the Ukraine has been submerged in the Russian continent. Only once in the course of three centuries has it had the opportunity to attain the goal as a free republic. That was on January 22, 42 years ago, the day on which the Ukrainian Republic came into existence. That memorable and historic day has become a landmark in modern Ukrainian history, and remains as the brightest spot in the struggle of its people for their national independence and freedom. Since then January 22 has been celebrated annually as a national holiday.

Today, I sincerely hope that the remarks uttered on the floor will be of some small comfort to those millions of captive Europeans. I have faith that the Ukraine, and, indeed, all of the captive nations of Europe and Asia, will once again be free. If history has proved anything, it is that no despot, however cruel, can extinguish the yearning for liberty that dwells in the hearts of men.

This yearning for freedom must be kept alive in our hearts as well as theirs. We can never forget that the infringement of personal liberty in any part of this world constitutes a threat to freedom everywhere. On this day, when we reverently celebrate with Ukrainians the 42d anniversary of the founding of the last Republic, we should reconsecrate ourselves to the spirit to which that Republic—and our own—was born.

How Hawaii Met the Test

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OREN E. LONG
OF HAWAII
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. LONG of Hawaii. Mr. President, Mr. Lorrin P. Thurston, publisher of the Honolulu Advertiser, has given one of the most stirring accounts of how Hawaiian youth met the supreme test of loyalty to their country during World War II and the Korean war. Mr. Thurston's remarks were made in a memorial address which he delivered at the statehood celebration at the Pacific National Memorial Cemetery on November 26, 1959. Mr. Thurston is a fourth generation resident of Hawaii, descended from Asa Thurston, who came to the islands in 1820 as a missionary. Mr. Thurston's father was the late Lorrin A. Thurston, distinguished statesman in the governments of the Hawaiian monarchy, the republic, and the U.S. territory.

In order to bring Mr. Thurston's inspiring remarks to the attention of the Members of the Senate, I ask unanimous consent that his speech be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

Without objection, the address was ordered printed as follows:

MEMORIAL ADDRESS, STATEHOOD CELEBRATION, PACIFIC NATIONAL MEMORIAL CEMETERY, PUNCHBOWL, NOVEMBER 26, 1959, BY LORRIN P. THURSTON, CHAIRMAN, HAWAII STATEHOOD COMMISSION

Fellow Americans, as part of the official observance of the granting of statehood to Hawaii, we stand here, first-class Americans all—with every privilege and every responsibility that status implies.

This solemn ceremony is held under the auspices of the 442d and the 100th Infantry veterans. As last chairman of the Hawaii Statehood Commission and as one closer than most to the problems involved in the attainment of Statehood, I know of the unique and fundamental contribution made to this cause by our gallant soldiers.

We are assembled here today in respect and in reverence, in devotion, and in humility, surrounded, as we are, by touching evidence of man's valor and of his unyielding resistance to tyranny.

The heroes who sleep here in this hallowed ground, under an eternal canopy of blue sky, and white cloud, are the comrades of all the courageous Americans who gave their lives, that their loved ones might continue to breathe the air of freedom.

As we gather here, in the middle of the Pacific, in this resting place of brave men cut down by fate in tender years, one can almost hear the muffled drumbeat and the distant bugle call of 184 glorious years of American history. It is a long and proud parade in which our beloved youths here still march in memory—Concord, Lexington, Bunker Hill, Yorktown, Vicksburg, Gettysburg, the Marne, Chateau Thierry, Casablanca, Anzio, the Bulge, The Coral Sea, Midway, Tarawa, Iwo, the Pusan Perimeter, Heartbreak Ridge.

The roll is much, much longer, and the scars are still fresh in the hearts and minds of those who sorrow.

It is a sorrow softened by love and compassion and rightful pride—for here is symbolized the spirit of freemen, who made the ultimate sacrifice, to which the thousands of graves in this sacred place are quiet testimony.

Here, before many of the parents whose honored sons rest all about us.

Here, before hundreds of their comrades in arms and service.

Here, before the representatives of the Government of the United States of America.

Here, before the eyes of all the world, let me say it plainly and simply—without the proof of devotion and loyalty so amply present in this national cemetery, so graphically written into history, we in Hawaii would not be a State today.

No protestations of good will or loyalty would have been enough to remove the doubts of the American public or of their elected representatives in Congress, as to our fitness for full citizenship. These doubts were erased in the finality of blood, on the battlegrounds of the world.

Hawaii's soldiers proved the contention of President Roosevelt, that Americanism is a matter of mind and heart; Americanism is not and never was a matter of race and ancestry.

Shortly after the outbreak of World War II, the 100th Infantry Battalion of the U.S. Army was formed from Hawaii's Americans of Japanese ancestry.

This handful of heroes, after participating in the fierce battles around Cassino and the bloody crossing of the Rapido and Volturno Rivers during the intense fighting in Italy, emerged from the war a few years later as the most decorated unit of its size in American military history.

You may recall that it was in January of 1943 that the War Department ended restrictions on Hawaii AJA's joining the Army, and volunteers were called to form an all-Nisei combat team. Response was instantaneous and overwhelming.

During a month's call, 10,000 volunteered. That was an amazing 40 percent of the total eligible population. Of the 10,000—finally 2,600 were chosen—although the original quota was only 1,500.

These 2,600—together with 1,000 mainland AJA's—formed the 442d Regimental Combat Team, which joined with the 100th Battalion to help write into the annals of American military history one of its greatest records of heroism.

I am intensely proud of the fact that I was one of those whose confidence and faith in these men, as good Americans, perhaps contributed in some small way to their being given the chance to prove to Hawaii, to America—to the world—what good and loyal Americans they were.

These 3,600 men earned 10 unit awards, including 7 Presidential unit citations.

They received 5,000—yes, 5,000—individual awards including: 3,600 Purple Heart Medals with 500 Oakleaf Clusters, 810 Bronze Star Medals with 38 clusters, 15 Soldier's Medals, 17 Legion of Merit Awards, 342 Silver Star Medals with 12 clusters, 1 Distinguished Service Medal, 47 Distinguished Service Crosses, and 1 Congressional Medal of Honor.

Small wonder, then, that this record of Hawaii's fighting men in World War II prompted a Senate Interior and Internal Affairs Committee to report in 1951:

"It is submitted that, if the ultimate test of loyalty and patriotism is the willingness to fight and die for one's country, then Hawaii has nobly met this test."

After World War II, opponents of statehood, balked by a World War II record of overwhelming patriotism in their attempts to discredit the loyalties of Hawaii's non-Caucasian Americans, turned to another avenue. They warned that the Territory must not be granted statehood because of "successful Communist penetration and control of the Hawaiian Islands."

Again it was on the battlefield that Hawaii's sons disproved aspersions on their patriotism.

On January 27, 1954, the late Senator Hugh Butler submitted a report on communism in Hawaii after an on-the-spot investigation, in his capacity as chairman of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

In it he said:

"In attempting to assess the extent of remaining Communist influence in the Territory, it is desirable to get away from conflicting assertions by proponents and opponents, and to find, if possible, some objective test of the extent to which communism controls the minds and loyalties of a significant proportion of the residents of Hawaii.

"Fortunately for our study of the question, such an objective test is available. I refer to the existence of the armed conflict in Korea against the military forces of communism and the call which has been made upon the men of Hawaii to do their part in holding the line against Communist aggression.

"If there is such a thing as a supreme test of loyalty to an ideal, then a willingness to serve in battle in support of that ideal is entitled to such a description."

Yes, the supreme test of loyalty to their country was passed again by the youth of Hawaii.

Not one case of cowardice by a Hawaii soldier in the face of the Communist enemy was recorded in Korea.

Not one case of successful Red brainwashing of any Hawaii soldier was recorded.

Not one case of a Hawaii soldier's desertion to the enemy was recorded.

There were 426 Hawaii boys killed in Korean action, a death toll 4½ times the killed-in-action average for the rest of the United States. There were 1,352 total battle casualties from Hawaii, a rate three times as great as the casualty rate per capita for the rest of the Nation.

No less a soldier than Gen. Douglas MacArthur was prompted by events to say—and I quote his official statement which he made to Governor Quinn and to me in New York:

"Hawaii should become our 50th State. No sophistry of political manipulation should delay the conferring of full status of citizenship on this loyal and devoted community. That a Nation such as ours, founded on the concepts of liberty and freedom, should further hesitate on such a basic question of right and justice, is not understandable."

To the parents of the youths who gave their all, to the parents of the men who came back alive, I say: "Honor indeed is yours." Your sons have earned for themselves, and for you, the grateful appreciation of every thinking citizen.

May you parents, who happily have your boys with you today, continue to give to them the devotion which will encourage them to take an ever greater part in the sound leadership and building of this—our new State.

May you back them in their efforts to make an ever-increasing contribution to the building of friendship and understanding of the "American way of life" among all the peoples who border the Pacific—and among the peoples of all the world.

We do not ask—we do not know—nor have we reason to want to know, what the political beliefs were of those who lie buried here.

May you help your boys who live, to learn that loyalty to America is greater indeed than party or political loyalty.

Here in Hawaii, we share a heritage—a heritage of racial good will, tolerance, and understanding. We share this, I believe, to a greater degree than is present in any other part of this world.

If we were destined by a Divine Power to be helpful in spreading this tolerance and understanding thoughout the world—and I think we were—may God help us to do our jobs well—help us to create by our everyday contacts and by our daily living, an example which will make for our children and their children for generations to come, a better Nation and an ever more tolerant one.

If the day ever comes when we of Hawaii and America must again stand, shoulder to shoulder, to fight to preserve our American way of life, I know our cause will be strengthened by the friendship and mutual respect we have—each for the other—as Americans.

May those who lie around us, or who lie in graves around the world—have just and increasing cause to say, if they were able: We did not die in vain.

All This Meat and No Potatoes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BASIL L. WHITENER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, in the Friday, January 22, 1960 edition of the Shelby Daily Star, Shelby, N.C., there appeared an excellent editorial pointing up the inconsistency in the President's promise of a surplus in the Treasury for the next fiscal year and the fiscal experience we have had so far during his administration.

The editor of the Star is to be commended on his very fine analysis of this situation, and I request unanimous consent that his editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

ALL THIS MEAT AND NO POTATOES

The proposed Federal budget is so mammoth that to contemplate such a document in a single editorial would be difficult. We are puzzled, however, about one angle.

If a surplus of over $4 billion is anticipated, why is it necessary to call for an increased gasoline tax and an increase in the postal rates?

This almost seems to us sort of like a man borrowing money from a bank to place in a savings and loan institution. He pays 6 percent interest on the loan to get 4 percent on his savings, and that's a losing proposition.

Now, we believe the postal rate increase suggestion has about as much chance of getting through Congress as a snowball in Hades.

The gasoline tax boost may get a more favorable reaction because it's more of the hidden nature than the postal tax. We'd feel the latter every time we licked a stamp.

Our major concern, though, is a seeming urgency on the part of the Republican administration to produce at least an anticipated surplus on paper. It would seem the interest here is more in political effectiveness than in efficient fiscal planning.

In reviewing President Eisenhower's askings, we can't help but remember his 1952 campaign promises that called for lower taxes and lower budgets.

Since that time, in spite of the fact that we've had 8 years of peace, we've had progressively higher taxes, progressively higher budgets, and, likewise, a higher national debt.

Instead of producing on his promises of lower taxes and decreased governmental costs, the President is going to go out of office with the record of collecting more taxes and spending more money than any 8-year peacetime President in the history of the Nation.

During the 8 years of the Republican administration, we have seen government become bigger than ever and the costs of government grow in the same way.

Now the same administration seems to be grooming its party's candidate for a promise of a reduced national debt with this year's surplus, and reduced taxes next year.

We can't swallow either proposition.

Outbreaks of Anti-Semitic Activity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, many voices have been raised to decry the recent outbreaks of antisemitic activity and communities have moved swiftly to stop them. The journey of Dr. Joachim Prinz of Temple B'nai Abraham in Newark to preach in the synagogue in Cologne destroyed by Hitler is a moving reminder of past events which were uncontrolled.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this editorial from the Newark Sunday News, which gives needed perspective to the situation today, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RELIGIOUS HATRED

Dr. Joachim Prinz, rabbi of Temple B'nai Abraham, is going to West Germany to preach in the Cologne Synagogue Friday night. His appearance and sermon will symbolize the abhorrence of all right-thinking men for religious hatred because it was the desecration of this synagogue on Christmas eve that touched off antisemitic incidents around the world.

Dr. Prinz was spiritual leader of Berlin's Jewish community before he was expelled by Hitler. It was this bitter experience of nazism that impelled him to say of the recent outbreaks: "Whether the work of crackpots or international conspirators, it apparently takes but little to bring the violent instincts of some antisemites to the surface."

West Germany, too, has shown concern. Cheers from the Bundestag greeted the admission of Vice President Carlo Schmid that the disgrace of antisemitic vandalism cannot be lessened by its occurrence elsewhere. "Here, under the swastika, 6 million Jews have been murdered," he reminded the Bonn parliament.

Herr Schmid concluded that "certain areas of filth must remain" and until they are cleansed "our nation never will be sound." This task of eradication is not, however, West Germany's alone. A report by the American Jewish Congress to the United Nations shows that of the 163 antisemitic incidents from Christmas to mid-January, 63 took place in the United States. West Germany was second with 24, but also sharing the taint were Great Britain with 16, Austria 12 and France 10.

It is disheartening, some 20 years after the Hitler horror, to find nazism, under whatever guise, on the loose again.

Cranberry Echo

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES J. DELANEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, Thanksgiving is long past, and with it, the cranberry storm. But the storm's reverberations continue, and, indeed, are growing in volume.

Secretary Flemmings' commendable action in invoking the cancer clause of the Food Additives Amendment of 1958 in the cranberry fracas, and later actions involving the use of the hormone, stilbestrol, have stirred up widespread opposition on the part of various industries and producer groups.

Some industries, through scientists who front for them, are trying to persuade the public that the cancer clause has no sound scientific basis.

The letter, written by Dr. David D. Rutstein, professor and head of the Department of Preventive Medicine, of Harvard University, appeared in the New York Times of November 18, 1959. This noted scientist fully supported Secretary Flemming, and the letter defends the cancer clause in language that any layman can understand. I comend it to the attention of my colleagues.

The letter follows:

CRANBERRY BAN APPROVED—BACKGROUND OF SECRETARY FLEMMING'S ACTION ON PRODUCT DISCUSSED

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Your editorial of November 14 "Cranberries and Mr. Flemming" prompts me to set out some of the biological facts and their relationship to the public health.

Through most of his history man has survived in his evolution by gradually adjusting to the unfavorable factors in his environment. Suddenly he was faced with a new problem. He learned to create new and useful chemical substances, some of which have deleterious effects on living things, including himself. He found, for example, that in his factories he had to protect himself against some of these new compounds or he might die as a result of contact with them.

In his wisdom man also sharpened up some of his new poisons so that they might actually destroy whole species of those germs, insects or weeds which might harm him or compete with him for the bounty of the earth. He learned how to do this without causing immediate harm to himself.

DELAYED DEVELOPMENT

Then man found to his dismay that some of these new substances might have subtle evil effects. Cells might be made to grow wild and destroy their host by a disease called cancer. This was difficult to anticipate or to detect. A harmful substance might not produce cancer for years or even decades after man had come in contact with it. For example, the radium dial painters in New Jersey during World War I developed cancer of the jaw many years later. From such experience man learned that if he had to get clear proof that a substance produced cancer in human beings it would be too late.

So man was forced to test the cancer-producing effect in animals. To this day no better method has been found for the testing of new compounds. Animal testing is difficult to do because a substance may cause cancer in one species and be harmless to another. But one fact is clear: a substance is more likely to produce cancer in man if in any dosage it produces cancer in test animals.

A further difficulty is introduced by the fact that large amounts of the cancer-producing substance, the carcinogen, may be needed to produce its evil in one animal and yet smaller amounts may produce the same effect in another species. Your editorial does not concern itself with the possibility that aminotriazole may be more harmful to man than to rats.

These facts were recognized in the recent amendments to the Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act. A substance producing cancer in animals was not permitted in any quantity in food sold for human consumption. More important, the public health was given priority over a possible commercial or industrial benefit. The burden of proof was wisely transferred from the Food and Drug Administration. The individual introducing the new substance had to show that it is not harmful to human beings.

IRRESPONSIBLE VIEWS

In this connection it is appalling to read the irresponsible statements of prominent politicians on the cranberry question. Blithely ignorant of the biological facts, they seek votes and curry favor by drinking cranberry juice in public in the spirit of juvenile bravado and adults delinquency. One may well wonder whether, in considering the questions of war and peace, they will not gloss over the facts of government and international relations in the same self-seeking way.

One may also be seriously concerned about the effect of the attacks on the Secretary and the behavior of prominent politicians on the future of the public health of the United States. When a similar situation arises in the future, will the Secretary or his successors be able to stand up forthrightly for the public interest? Or, will he, anticipating the adverse pressures, take the easy way out?

DAVID D. RUTSTEIN, M.D.,
Professor and Head, Department of Preventive Medicine, Harvard University.
BOSTON, *November 16, 1959.*

It's Another Game Khrushchev Is Playing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, today the East-West forces are at a relative standoff—although this may be only temporary.

However, the Communists have drawn tailormade battle plans for economically penetrating, subverting, and/or ideologically influencing nations all around the globe.

In the face of such tactics aimed at extending Communist influence and control, I believe the West must more clearly define its battle plans in the nonmilitary field.

The postwar U.S. mutual assistance program, for example, has been a unique effort in history by a nation to aid friendly people in attaining economic recovery and staving off aggression.

For the future, however, we must—if we are to be successful in competing in nonmilitary fields—more clearly define lines of strategy in combatting communism.

On a global basis, our allies—now moving ahead economically—can and should share proportionately in meeting the challenge.

Overall, however, the fact is, presently at least, that the major East-West contest is between the United States and Russia—major examples of free versus Communist systems.

The United States, I believe, should welcome a challenge in a field in which it excels—that of providing well for its people. As a nation, we have achieved the highest standard of living in the history of the world.

Realistically, however, we must recognize, too, that a propaganda war exists. Consequently, we must not fail to effectively tell our story to the world—if we are to expect our accomplishments to be recognized and emulated elsewhere in the world. There is, then, a dual challenge:

First. Adhering to—and as necessary stepping up—policies and programs that will assure U.S. superiority over the Communist system in the nonmilitary field—as well as maintain an adequate deterrent power militarily; and

Second. Effectively telling the U.S. story of freedom and progress to the world.

A clear definition of lines of strategy in the nonmilitary field, I believe, will help to accomplish that objective.

In the Washington Post and Times Herald of Sunday, January 24, a column entitled "It's Another Game Khrushchev Is Playing," by Roscoe Drummond, sheds light, I believe, on what are some of the real issues at stake in the competition between communism and capitalism.

Reflective of thoughtful analysis of the real points of contest between the East and West, I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 24, 1960]

COMMUNISM VERSUS CAPITALISM—IT'S ANOTHER GAME KHRUSHCHEV IS PLAYING

(By Roscoe Drummond)

What is this contest between the Soviet Union and the United States we all talk about?

We know we are in it. We know it is deadly serious. But aren't we in the position of playing a form of basketball on a football field without knowing what makes a score? Nothing could be more confusing, particularly to those in the grandstand—the nations and peoples uncommitted and uncertain of their future—than not being able to see what the contest is about.

Premier Khrushchev says that the Soviet Union will shortly show that it can exceed the standard of living of the United States and that as the result other countries will come to choose socialism over capitalism as their way of life.

If that is the contest—and there will be many who see it that way—then the first thing to bear in mind is that Soviet communism is not socialism because it is dictatorship and that American capitalism is not

what millions of people, who have never been to the United States, think it is.

The tendency is to picture American capitalism in the image of the reformer's indictment of a century ago—the image of the masses of workers being ground down with long hours at low pay for the benefit of the few—instead of viewing American capitalism as it has actually evolved.

U.S. officials and others whose duty it is to expound the United States abroad have often striven for some new phrase to replace capitalism, since so many ideas non-Americans have about capitalism are outdated.

But what is more important than new terms is new insight into what life is really like under American capitalism and what our kind of economy, call it what you will, actually does for a whole people.

If Mr. Khrushchev wants the world to choose between communism and capitalism, here are some of the facts that show that the benefits of American capitalism are not for the few.

Real income per capita has increased by nearly 20 percent since 1946.

Housing has been increased by 15 million private nonfarm dwelling units since 1946; some 60 percent of all nonfarm dwelling units are owned by occupant families.

The number of bachelor's and first professional academic degrees conferred annually trebeled from 1956 to 1959.

In the past decade more than 83,000 doctorates have been conferred, compared with some 27,000 in the 1930's and about 31,000 in the 1940's.

About 58 million persons—87 percent of all those in paid employment—are now covered by the Federal Government's old age, survivors, and disability insurance system.

More than 19 million persons are covered by privately financed pension plans.

The Federal State unemployment compensation system, which provides a defense against loss of income in periods of economic adversity, now protects nearly 85 percent of all persons on nonfarm payrolls.

This is modern capitalism at work.

But should we accept Khrushchev's definition of the contest—that the world must choose between communism and capitalism?

Let's be clear that this is not what we are asking the uncommitted world to choose between. We are inviting people to compare two kinds of societies and choose whether they feel they must develop their resources under an economic and political dictatorship or can develop their resources in an environment of economic and political freedom.

We are not inviting the world to choose American capitalism, although we like it pretty well ourselves. We are inviting the world to choose liberty and to develop an economy as each wishes in an environment of liberty.

Employment at Record High as Steel Strike Is Settled

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEO E. ALLEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following article, entitled "Employment at Record High as Steel Strike Is Settled," which appeared in the Sterling (Ill.) Daily Gazette of January 15, 1960:

EMPLOYMENT AT RECORD HIGH AS STEEL STRIKE IS SETTLED

WASHINGTON.—Employment hit a record 65,699,000 for December as the Nation's economy rebounded from the steel strike.

Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell said the December employment situation reflected a marked improvement from November with these results:

Employment: Up 59,000 to 65,699,000, a record for the month. This was the first December since World War II that showed no job downturn. Usually the December drop runs around 700,000.

Unemployment: Down 93,000 to 3,577,000. The seasonally adjusted ratio of idle workers to the total work force declined from 5.6 percent in November to 5.2 percent in December. Normally unemployment increases by about 100,000 in December.

A modest decline in the overall labor force accounted for a decline in unemployment greater than the increase in employment.

Seymour Wolfbein, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Labor, said the employment situation in December climbed back to its prestrike levels with indications the improvements will continue as workers laid off because of steel shortages are recalled to their jobs.

The strike ran 116 days until halted by court injunction in early November. The job recovery began rather slowly and mounted heavily in December.

By the time the Government took its job-sampling survey in mid-December some 150,000 autoworkers laid off because of steel shortages had been reemployed. Wolfbein said this has been continuing.

The factory workweek rose by more than half an hour in December to 40½ hours. This was about twice the normal seasonal rise for the month and reflected an effort to make up for production time lost during the steel stoppage. Overtime increased in December.

The average hourly earnings of factory workers rose by 3 cents in December to $2.26, a record. Average weekly earnings rose by $2.55 to $91.53, also a record. These increases reflected increased overtime and the return of higher paid steel and auto workers to their jobs.

Compared with a year ago, employment in December was up 1,726,000 and unemployment was down by 531,000.

There was the normal increase in temporary workers employed in pre-Christmas trade and in the postal service. The usual decline in construction and other outdoor work also was experienced.

Democratic Party Policy—Senator Gore's Goals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT GORE

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article entitled "Demos Need Policy Unity," written by Milton Britten and published in the Knoxville (Tenn.) News Sentinel of January 21, 1960; also an editorial entitled "ALBERT in the Lion's Den," published in the Chattanooga (Tenn.) Times, of January 22, 1960, dealing with Democratic Party policy.

There being no objection, the article and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Knoxville News Sentinel, Jan. 21, 1960]

DEMOS NEED POLICY UNITY

(By Milton Britton)

WASHINGTON.—Some basic questions about Senator ALBERT GORE's goals in his losing party policy battle with Senate Majority Leader LYNDON JOHNSON (Texas) are still kicking around, including:

1. Why does GORE want an expanded and elected Democratic policy committee to propose policies for action by the Democratic Senate caucus?

2. Why should these policies, if adopted by the caucus, serve as a yardstick for measuring party loyalty?

3. And just how loyal can a Senator be to his party within a legislative body and still do justice to his own convictions and the interests of his home folks?

COMMITTEES SET UP

Talks with GORE and a close review of the record of debate sketch out his picture:

The proposed Congressional Reorganization Act of 1946, which indirectly gave birth to Senate Democratic and Republican policy committees, spelled out both that members should be elected by all Senators of either party and the committees should have policy formulating functions.

This act was passed, but without the policy committee provision because the House didn't want it. The Senate did and shortly thereafter created majority and minority policy committees through an amendment to an appropriations bill.

The Republicans, led by the late Robert Taft, of Ohio, were then the majority party in Congress, but Democrat Harry Truman controlled the White House.

GAVE PARTY LEADER POWER

Under these conditions the Republicans chose to follow the recommendations of the original act—that is, elect their policy committeemen and give them policy formulating duties.

The Democrats wth their man in the White House felt less need of policy direction. They gave their party leader, then Alben Barkley of Kentucky, the power to appoint members.

But today the Democrats are in exactly the same position the Republicans were when they first organized their policy committee—that is, they control Congress but not the White House.

It's against this background that GORE launched his battle. All Democratic Senators should elect their policy committeemen, he said, because this "goes to the heart of democratic procedure within the Democratic Party."

Practical result today of having the majority leader appoint them has been to leave Tennessee and all other States east of the Mississippi River and north of Georgia with only one representative on the committee—93-year-old THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN, of Rhode Island, GORE says, adding:

"The committee should be enlarged so that all major sections of the country could have representation and, thus take into consideration the true national character and interest of our party."

Republican policy, he notes, is defined by White House pronouncements and by Republican policy arms in the Congress. But who establishes it for the Democrats? GORE argues:

"It cannot be formulated by the advisory committee to Democratic National Committee Chairman Paul Butler. It cannot be formulated by Butler himself, who hasn't been chosen by the ballots of the people.

"Here in the Congress, where the Democratic Party has a two-thirds majority of the House and Senate, chosen by the people, we have the most responsible spokesmen and officials of our party on the national level."

GORE says an expanded, representative policy committee should develop and submit with recommendations which the full Democratic caucus might accept or reject as the majority chose.

SAYS VISION IS BLURRED

As to why such policy decisions should be a yardstick of party loyalty, GORE says: "Without such policy, the vision of the Democratic Party is blurred.

"Unless there is some sense of party responsibility, the workings of the two-party system will break down in its end goal, which is to give the people a clear-cut choice. As it is, there's no position to which one can be either loyal or disloyal.

"I would not have our party 'weasel' one time after another in controversies with the White House until we stood for nothing except compromise."

So, must every Democratic Senator then adhere to party policy? "No," says GORE. "I would be the first to proclaim my independence and reserve the right to vote as I please. Let each member consider his own responsibility in voting. But let the rank and file of our party and the people of the country have a yardstick by which to measure any Senator's record in terms of his faithfulness to clearly defined policies of his party."

[From the Chattanooga Times, Jan. 22, 1960]

ALBERT IN THE LION'S DEN

Certainly newspapers go all out in favor of the men in public life submitting to interviews by the gentlemen of the press. But it must be admitted that it takes courage for them to appear on one of those television interviews. Not only do the gentlemen of the press composing the questioning panel light out after the man in public life like a pack of wolves in full howl, but the questions asked are pitfallish.

Senator ALBERT GORE gave a good account of himself on "Face the Nation" recently. Indeed, as the program ended he was saying that another Democrat named as a possible candidate for President would make an articulate spokesman for the Democratic Party, and the director of the program quickly said: "You are an articulate spokesman yourself." This kind word for a victim of a panel is almost unprecedented.

Asked if he wanted to be President, Senator GORE said he would like to be, as would millions of Americans, but that he was not a candidate, so one west Tennessee newspaper headlined the story with "GORE Is Willing To Make Race."

No endorsement or rejection of the political views expressed by Mr. GORE is involved in the statement that he handled himself well.

There were two points in his answers, however, which merit some comment. Asked if he will go along with Gov. Buford Ellington and other Tennessee leaders in backing Senator LYNDON JOHNSON for the Democratic nomination for President, he ducked the question, and he was wise to do so.

After all, how can Tennessee's favorite for President be named before the delegates to the convention from this State are chosen? Are the common people to have no voice in the selection? How can the Democrats consistently criticize the Vice President as being the "rigged" candidate of the Republican county chairmen and at the same time let the Democratic county chairmen determine the choice of any particular State? Something certainly can be said for presidential primaries.

On the point of Senator KENNEDY'S candidacy, Senator GORE might have been optimistic in saying that the young front-runner would not lose a single Southern State. The South ceased being dependably solid some time ago, and any candidate might lose a Southern State.

But Senator GORE was eternally right when he said: "In my view, no one should be given, no one should be denied, no one should seek or decline an office of public service because of religious, sectional, or racial prejudice. I do not think either has a place in the White House or, so far as I am concerned, in the ballot box."

On the whole, he made an unperturbed, amiable, and skillful appearance.

Swindles Practiced on Social Security Recipients

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDITH GREEN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, in the Washington Post Parade supplement for January 24, there appeared a fine article by Sidney Margolius, pointing up in detail some of the vicious swindles that are practiced on our senior citizens by individuals and organizations purporting to be Social Security officials, or claiming to have the power to modify the social security system in return for cash contributions by OASI recipients. Those whose activities are described by Mr. Margolius have found in our retired people a fertile field for their activities. This is true partly because of a confusion in the public mind as to the true nature of social security; and it is true partly because the present social security benefit has not kept pace with the cost of living. Many recipients, banned from earning supplemental income by the work of their hands or their brains, are hard put to meet the basic needs of life on the amount of the current benefit. But, whatever the reason for their success, the fact remains that these parasites have been stealing untold amounts of money from those citizens to whom a very few dollars means the most. I hope the Department of Justice and the Social Security Administration will help crush this unspeakable racket in the shortest possible time.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Margolius' article be printed at this point in my remarks.

SWINDLES PRACTICED ON SOCIAL SECURITY RECIPIENTS

(By Sidney Margolius)

BALTIMORE, MD.—Hundreds of Americans have been fleeced by the Nation's newest, cruelest, and—until now—least-known racket. And the danger menaces millions.

In many parts of the United States, glib confidence men posing as "Government representatives" have been sweet-talking social security beneficiaries out of their badly-needed payments. Pathetically, the swindlers' special prey have been those who can least afford to lose money. Chief among their victims have been confused oldsters, widows with children, and disabled shut-ins.

In Alexandria, Va., recently, for instance, two men who said they were social security agents visited a widow the day her check arrived. They told her she had been overpaid and demanded a refund to the Government. The frightened woman signed over her check to them as "part payment" and even offered to take out a mortgage on her house to pay the rest.

In other cases, beneficiaries have been relieved of as little as $5 and as much as $300. Sometimes the representatives outfit themselves with fake "Government" credentials. Others work in pairs to lend each other authority. One even wore a badge labeled "U.S." However they cloak themselves, these swindlers heartlessly fatten on frightened Americans with little income and a gnawing fear that even that will be taken away.

The new racket is so widespread and so successful that the Social Security Administration here has set up its own Investigations Branch to deal with hoaxers. More swindles were reported in 1959 than in 1958. Chances are the number will increase. Nearly 14 million Americans now receive social security, and the number is growing. Since many of them are both trusting and confused about social security laws, they could be easy pickings for confidence men. Some, the Social Security Administration believes, have been swindled already and do not even realize what has happened.

Although there are some local—and ingenious—variations, most of the swindles fall into six main categories:

The "refund" gimmick, in which the beneficiary is told he has been overpaid and must return money to the "agent." One imposter working the Indianapolis area was able to persuade beneficiaries to hand over as much as $282 each to settle "overpayments." Previously he had used the same scheme in St. Louis.

The "bonus" offer, in which a person is promised extra payments in return for a "fee." In Nashville, Tenn., a con man promised beneficiaries $500 apiece if they first paid $60 to the "agent" to help "veterans." The "vets' fund" was short of money, the "agent" explained.

The loan to the Government hoax. Beneficiaries are told social security is short of money (a persistent fear with beneficiaries) and must borrow from them temporarily. In one case in Shelbyville, Ind., a con man got $214 from a widow with this argument. He told her that changes in the law entitled her to more money, but because of the fund shortage she would have to loan money to social security to get it.

DOCTOR'S FEE: ONE WATCH

The phony physical examination. Beneficiaries are persuaded to take—and are charged for—a physical examination in order to continue getting payments. One cruel hoaxer in the Midwest used this spiel to prey on terrified recipients of disability benefits. Posing as the social security doctor, he even sold them medicine and persuaded them to discard medicines they already were using. In one case, he demanded a $12 fee from a disabled man, then took the man's watch as security for an additional $84 fee.

The magazine subscription racket, believed to be originated by one young man in Indiana. He told beneficiaries they would receive larger payments if they subscribed to a social security magazine. He collected as much as $15 apiece before he was recently caught.

The inspection team approach, usually used by two men working together. The fake inspectors visit elderly people to learn if they are getting social security. If the

answer is yes, the inspectors demand a payment—in one case, it was $110—to continue payments. If the answer is no, a fee is requested to become a beneficiary for the rest of your life.

HAVE YOU BEEN SWINDLED?

On enterprising operator in Lenoir, N.C., even established his swindle on a mail-order basis. He sent letters to people getting disability payments, advising them that they were required by Government law to sustain a lifetime benefit at the disability security main office, Birmingham, Ala. A fee of $25 was demanded, to be sent to "Security Board," Box 54, Lenoir.

Social security administrators believe there may be other variations still unknown because many victims have not reported them. Some victims may be reluctant to admit they have been bilked. The rest still are not aware of it. If you pay $25 to make sure your benefits continue, and the checks keep coming, you may not realize you've been swindled. Or if you refund an overpayment, and get no more dunning letters, you may assume that the record now is straight.

Both Federal and local governments are doing their best to stamp out the racket. In addition to the Social Security Administration's investigators, the FBI handles cases where Government checks are involved. But authorities say the only real protection against swindlers is self-protection. If you are receiving social security payments, you should follow these steps in dealing with agents who turn up at your door. Or if your parents or members of your family benefit from social security, you should pass along this advice:

1. Demand official identification from anyone who claims to be a social security representative. Actually this in itself is not enough protection since con men often are canny enough to fake identification.

2. Check with the local social security office by phone to make sure a representative approaching you is not a fake.

3. Have a witness if possible. One operator never returned for a fee he'd been promised because he observed a relative listening to the conservation. Another was caught because a neighbor, hearing the conversation through her apartment wall, tipped off investigators.

4. Use the mails for social security dealings. Occasionally, a social security beneficiary is overpaid, usually if he is working on the side and earns more than the limit on such earnings. But requests for refunds in these cases usually are by letter. Only if correspondence brings no result would a legitimate social security representative call. But even then, you are within your rights to mail the refund to the local social security office.

NO CASH, NO JEWELRY

5. Do not give cash, jewelry, or checks made out to individuals to anyone purporting to represent the Social Security Administration. A legitimate representative would not accept cash or jewelry. And he would insist that checks or money orders be made out to the Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors' Payments.

6. Notify the Social Security Administration, or police authorities, if you believe you have been swindled. Only by full reporting of all swindles can the Government learn the real scope of the racket. Unfortunately, if you have been swindled, you'll have to foot the loss yourself. Uncle Sam won't replace the money in spite of your good faith.

WHY THE RACKET SUCCEEDS

The real reason the racket has spread is that many beneficiaries don't understand the basic nature of social security themselves. They confuse it with State welfare payments, which are based on need. Social security benefits are based on your average earnings during your working life and are fixed by law as firmly as the ground under your feet. There is no way to get an increase because you need more money, or by cultivating a representative's good will. If you think you are entitled to more, the local social security office will recheck your benefit—and at no cost to you.

Nor is there any shortage of social security funds despite beneficiaries' chronic worry about the prospect, social security benefits are financed by taxes, never by loans from beneficiaries. Nor is there any way to get social security benefits if you didn't work long enough in covered employment, or if your husband wasn't sufficiently covered.

The potential proportions of social security racketeering are immense. Almost every American family now is covered by social security, payments already total $10.3 billion a year, and there are potential victims on every block. Your own folks will be eligible for payments someday, and so will you. All may be easy pickings if they don't guard themselves against bunco men who prey on public misunderstanding of social security laws.

Protection of the Public in Management-Labor Disputes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, on January 14 the distinguished Senators from New York [Mr. JAVITS] and Vermont [Mr. AIKEN] introduced S. 2810, to establish emergency procedures to protect the public interest in the case of labor disputes affecting adversely the national health, safety, or welfare. I was pleased to join in cosponsoring this legislation, which represents a sensible and equitable approach to problems created by strikes such as that recently concluded in the steel industry.

S. 2810 represents application of a concept now found in the Railway Labor Act to a more general field of labor-management relations. Its aim is to preserve the principle of collective bargaining without imposing on the public a perilous penalty.

The Washington Post and Times Herald of January 23 praised the approach outlined in S. 2810 and urged that the bill be utilized as a foundation upon which to base Senate hearings on methods of dealing with peacetime labor disagreements which have an impact on the well-being of the Nation.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Washington Post editorial explaining and commenting on S. 2810 be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 23, 1960]

TO PROTECT THE PUBLIC

Despite the absence of any recommendations from the White House, Senators JAVITS and AIKEN have introduced a promising bill designed to protect the country against future emergencies such as that resulting from the steel strike. "The measurable loss to our economy during the steel strike," Mr. JAVITS said, "was staggering." The steelworkers are estimated to have lost $1.1 billion in wages; the steel companies $3.3 billion in sales; the Government $710 million in taxes. Defense operations were handicapped, and the gross national product, which was expected to rise about $13 billion from July 1 through September, decreased instead by $6 billion. All of this emphasizes the importance of improving the mechanism through which the Government copes with such disputes.

Borrowing from the Railway Labor Act, Senators JAVITS and AIKEN would authorize the President to name a factfinding board whenever the national health, safety or welfare should be imperiled by a strike or lockout in a vital industry. At the request of the President, either at the time of appointment or later, such a board could recommend terms of settlement. The parties would not be compelled to accept the factfinders' solution, but it is anticipated that they would be under heavy pressure from public opinion, and no strike or change of working conditions could take place for 60 days after appointment of the board.

If no settlement should be effected by this means, the President could ask a district court to authorize seizure of the plants whose operation he deemed essential to the national health or safety. A special receiver for the plants would be appointed, and he could retain the previous management. Working conditions would remain the same unless the court should direct that the factfinders' recommendations be made effective. As an alternative to seizure, the President could seek a Taft-Hartley injunction, as he did in the steel strike.

In our opinion, this bill will need a good deal of refining, but the general principles on which it rests seem to be sound. The power to seize industrial plants when necessary to avert national disaster has often been granted by Congress. But there is need for a law specifically relating this power to emergencies growing out of peacetime strikes that imperil the national health or safety, and carefully regulating its application. The rule forbidding strikes against such plants, while under Government operation, should also be made explicit.

There is much to be said for placing alternative remedies at the President's disposal. That creates a powerful incentive to serious collective bargaining, as neither side can be certain whether seizure or a labor injunction will be sought. We think, however, that Congress should improve the Taft-Hartley machinery in addition to granting seizure powers. The President should be able to put into effect the recommendations of his factfinders, for the duration of Government control over the industry, whether the plants were seized or an injunction were ordered. This power might better rest with the President than with the court. It is an administrative rather than a judicial issue, although judicial safeguards against arbitrary action would be in order.

Messrs. JAVITS and AIKEN have given the Senate a good foundation on which to build. We should like to see the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare proceed with hearings on the bill while the cost of the steel strike and the grave problems that it raised are still fresh in the public memory.

National Broadcasting Co., American Heritage, and Equitable Life Assurance Co. Present Outstanding Television Program in Tribute to Career of Gen. John Charles Fremont

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, many of us in the Senate have expressed concern over the content of television programs because we have feared that this great medium of expression was being perverted to shows glorifying crime, sex, violence, sadism, and corruption.

It is a pleasure to cite a contrast to this trend.

On Sunday night, January 24, over the National Broadcasting Co. network, a television show was presented under the title of "Destiny West." It described the westward explorations and mapmaking of a figure of historic destiny, Gen. John Charles Fremont.

The program was sponsored by the Equitable Life Assurance Co. Its historical content was supervised by the editors of that excellent magazine American Heritage.

I wish to commend all associated with this splendid television spectacle—actors, writers, editorial counselors, the firm sponsoring the program, the NBC network and its staff and officials.

It was an inspiring contrast to the western gunfighting TV shows which depict a West which never was or will be. It contained no violence. The performances were excellent which portrayed such historic personages as Fremont, Kit Carson, Senator Thomas Hart Benton, and his daughter, Jessie. I wish we could have more TV programs like "Destiny West." The television screen would have new and richer meaning for Americans, young and old, if such could be the happy case.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a summary of the program which was sent to me by the Equitable Life Assurance Co.

There being no objection, the summary was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DESTINY WEST

John Charles Fremont, the pathmarker of the West, went where others had been before him—men like Lewis and Clark, whose reports were dull and maps inaccurate—but Fremont had as a guide the greatest scout the West had known, Kit Carson, and he was assisted by a skilled map maker, Charles Preuss. In addition, he had an admirable wife—beautiful, young, understanding—in Jessie Benton Fremont, and an influential and courageous friend in his father-in-law, Senator Thomas Hart Benton, the leading expansionist in Congress.

The story opens with Fremont having returned from his first expedition—mapping the Minnesota and Dakota Territories with Joseph Nicolas Nicollet, a skilled scientist who taught Fremont surveying and topography—in 1841. Fremont, Nicollet, Senator Benton and his daughter, Jessie, 16, are drawn together by their faith in America's "manifest destiny" to be bounded "by water on both sides." Fremont and Jessie fall in love and are secretly married over her father's objection, because he feels the marriage might interfere with Fremont's projected second expedition. Fremont leaves, meeting Kit Carson along the way, on the expedition to the Rockies and the fabled South Pass across the Continental Divide, and Jessie, pregnant, stays behind.

He returns in 1842 in a wave of popularity but disturbed because "there are another thousand miles of uncharted wilderness beyond the South Pass to the Oregon country." Benton commissions him to return to the West to find a shortcut to California to bring it in the Union in case of war with Mexico.

Fremont departs—promising Jessie that "you travel with me every step of the way"—on his third expedition, expecting to return in 8 months. He travels west to the Columbia and Oregon, then down into the Great Basin of Utah and Nevada, finally west over the Sierra Nevadas toward the Sacramento Valley.

The expedition is overdue and Senator Benton and Mrs. Fremont fear for John's life. We find Fremont, Carson and their party half-frozen, hungry and discouraged in the Sierras. All—even Carson—want to turn back, but Fremont persists in pushing on. They reach a tiny ledge high and open. They have found the valley to the Pacific. Fremont has done more than prove the route to California and Oregon. He has aroused men's minds to the West.

The cast includes: Jeffrey Hunter as John Charles Fremont, Susan Strasberg as Jessie Benton Fremont, Howard St. John as Thomas Hart Benton, and James Daly as Kit Carson.

The Old Stone House

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an announcement written by Mrs. Frank Allen West, of Georgetown, concerning the opening on Saturday, January 23, 1960, of the Old Stone House, which has been preserved as a museum through the inspired efforts of local citizens. As Mrs. West points out, it will be an interesting addition to the historic attractions of the Nation's Capital.

Mrs. West and a group of patriotic women are responsible for the preservation of this historic landmark.

The announcement follows:

THE OLD STONE HOUSE

(By Mrs. Frank Allen West)

The Old Stone House opened January 23, 1960, as the District's newest museum in the District's oldest building, standing on the original site chartered by the Commonwealth of Maryland in 1751.

Constructed by hand from ordinary fieldstone, the house was completed about 1764.

This example of early Americana has been saved by the untiring efforts of local Georgetown citizens and national patriotic societies who have aroused congressional interest and aid.

The Old Stone House shows the home life of a modest family in a small river-port town of the pre-Revolutionary era.

The Park Service is furnishing it in the appropriate style of the period, using original pieces as much as possible.

It will be an interesting addition to the historical attractions of the Capitol.

Ezra Benson's a Fighting Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEO E. ALLEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following article, entitled "Ezra Benson's a Fighting Man," written by John Grimes and which appeared in his column "An Editor's Notebook" in the January 22, 1960, issue of the Rockford (Ill.) Morning Star:

EZRA BENSON'S A FIGHTING MAN

Agriculture Secretary Ezra Taft Benson came out fighting when Senator SYMINGTON, Missouri Democrat and head of a special subcommittee investigating grain storage costs, called storage costs, shockingly high and demanded that the Government reduce them. Said Benson:

"I sympathize with those who are now just waking up to the fact that this is a costly, indefensible, and unnecessarily wasteful matter. But this is what results from the continuance of an outmoded, unrealistic program."

The program the Secretary refers to is the absorption of grain surpluses by the Government. When farmers decide not to repay their Federal price-support loans, the Government takes over the surplus grain. Our 2 billion bushels of this grain are now stored in private warehouses under contracts that guarantee operators a fixed fee, plus handling charges. Those 2 billion bushels of stored grain are equal to over 50 bushels per American family.

How did the grain get into surplus? We raised it under an indefensible farm program; we took it over, under a wasteful surplus-absorption program; and we store it in private warehouses at a fee because that is what the law provides. Wherever possible, the laws says, grain is to be stored in private facilities. On that point, Benson says, he is "sure the program would have been far more costly and wasteful had the Federal Government attempted to handle this vast storage problem." Waste of grain would clearly have been higher, since preservation of grain in usable quality involves a pretty close watch, shifting and sifting to prevent mold and vermin.

As to the rates paid the commercial warehousemen for moving wheat in and out of storage, Benson says they are precisely the same as in 1949; and the current 16.8-cent-a-bushel fee for actual storage in the Middle West is up only one-sixth since 1952. A lot of things are up a lot more.

Then Benson gets to the kernel of the matter. The big storage charge, running to $1,250,000 a day, does not rise from per-bushel charges, but from the tremendous volumes of grain the Government has taken over. In short, it costs more to store 2 billion bushels of grain than it does a half-

billion bushels, just as it costs more to ride 500 miles than it does to ride 100.

Storage costs, Benson says, "will go higher, unless this scandalous, obsolete grain program is corrected."

And what, it may be asked, is Senator SYMINGTON, with an eye on the Democratic presidential nomination, doing to get us out from under that scandalous program? He is certainly not doing anything to antagonize votes that might be harvested in the grain belt.

Benson has, on the other hand, been under heavy fire for his continual war on the outmoded farm-price-support program. That fire hasn't come alone from the Democrats. From Republicans, too, has come a plea to the White House to "keep Benson quiet." In fact, Benson's firmness is reported to have antagonized him even with RICHARD NIXON, and it has been rumored that NIXON will not want Benson in his cabinet if he becomes President.

But we need men who come out fighting, and NIXON needs a balance to the liberal Republicans, like Labor Secretary Mitchell, who have been causing a great deal of heartburn among the conservative Republicans.

NIXON could do worse than get into this fight on Benson's side. NIXON can use fighters.

JOHN GRIMES.

Cost of Crime Prevention

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, we are constantly reminded by newspapers and other sources of communication that organized crime poses a grave threat not only to life and property but to the very principles upon which this great democracy was founded.

All of us are determined to do whatever we can to stamp out crime. One of the best ways, in my opinion, is for our newspapers to point out the need for constant local vigilance.

The Chattanooga Times, in its December 1, 1959, issue, published an article in which I was quoted at length on this great need. In order to call it to the attention of all Members of the Senate, I ask unanimous consent that the article, written by Alex Corliss, Times police reporter, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Chattanooga Times, Nov. 1, 1959]

KEFAUVER STRESSES COST FOR PREVENTION OF CRIME

(By Alex Corliss)

In a recent address before the annual convention of the Tennessee Law Enforcement Officers Association in Knoxville, Senator ESTES KEFAUVER deplored the lack of public support given lawmen.

"During the hearings before the Senate Crime Investigating Committee in 1950–51, of which I was chairman, we found that the American public was dangerously uninformed and apathetic about the pervasive presence of crime" Senator KEFAUVER said.

"We met many policemen during our investigations—men who told us of the difficulties they have in enforcing the law because of a lack of support from the law-abiding citizens of their community; men who told us how pressure to obtain special consideration or favors breaks down the whole system of law enforcement.

"The ugly facts that splashed across the television sets of the Nation served to arouse the American people and rid them of their apathy about the crime problem. The hearings stirred a good deal of anticrime activity in the form of volunteer citizens groups, new crime commissions, tightening of State laws and congressional legislation.

"But unfortunately much of this activity, particularly the concern of local citizens, has been sporadic and needs dramatic stimulants. An honest and courageous police officer is priceless even as the children and adults he protects. There may be an occasional bad apple, but the vast majority of our law enforcement population represents America's most dedicated men and women. It is the responsibility of all our citizens to see that our anticrime leaders receive adequate salaries and work in conditions unimpaired by dissension or patronage."

EXPENSIVE OPERATION

The Tennessee Senator mentioned the staggering sum being spent to combat crime and pointed out that the cost in dollars is not the greatest expense.

"Crime is a cancer that destroys the minds and the souls of its practitioners and extorts severe penalties from all of us," he declared. "Approximately 3 million crimes will be committed in the United States this year. In order to meet this menace about $22 billion will be spent by local and Federal law enforcement agencies. That's more than half the amount that this Nation will spend this year for our national defense. It is 140 times the amount that has been asked by the administration to implement the National Education Defense Act. For every dollar that is contributed to our churches $10 will be spent to combat crime. From a tax viewpoint $22 billion cost every citizen $128.

"These startling financial figures do not represent the greatest expense that crime inflicts. Most serious of all is the loss in human resources, the corruption of our youth, the weakening of our moral fiber.

"When we are locked in a global struggle that threatens our ideals and ideas we cannot afford to see our future strength sapped by the corruption of our youth. I am sure you are well aware of our juvenile delinquency problem and the central part it plays in the whole crime movement. During 1959 more than 1 million young people will get in trouble with the police. More than 50 percent of all those arrested for crime against property will be youths under 21 years of age. The rate of juvenile arrests is growing 2½ times faster than the rate of population growth in this age classification."

CRIME COSTS

"Crime does not pay—although a few hoodlums make temporary financial profits. But crime certainly does cost.

"Organizations such as yours lead the counterattack against this national menace. The first line of defense against the criminal is the man with the badge who walks the beat or cruises in a patrol car; the sheriffs and officers and policemen who face the gunman, the burglar, and the mugger and at times give their lives in defense of law and order.

"You are doing a determined and courageous job, and your ranks are filled with able, dedicated men. But you can't do it all by yourselves. Your efforts are the central one, but they must derive added strength from other sources. An effective anticrime campaign is one in which America's law enforcement officers represent the link between local civic activity and national coordination. You must have the support and interest of the individual citizens which you are protecting. And your efforts would be greatly enhanced by an exchange of ideas and information between various law enforcement agencies through a national crime commission.

DESERVE CONSIDERATION

"Our law enforcement officers need to be better paid, and they need to have more adequate security when they retire or when they are disabled. Unless we can provide these incentives it is going to be hard to maintain the high caliber of people entrusted with the enforcement of our laws. I think there is a duty on the part of the Federal, State, and local governments in this connection. A great many State and local violations are also violations of Federal statutes. Local law enforcement officers very frequently assist in the enforcement of Federal statutes as well as State laws. Many times they may be killed or disabled while doing so. So I think it is proper that the Federal Government join State and local communities in a program of seeing that our law enforcement officers have better protection."

Senator KEFAUVER told the assembled officers that he had filed a bill that will extend the provisions of the Federal Employees Compensation Act to cover State and local law enforcement officers when they are killed or injured while enforcing any Federal law.

Rigged and Slanted News

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROY W. WIER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert the following article, entitled "GTA Daily Radio Roundup," for January 22, 1960, prepared by the Grain Terminal Association Public Relations Department, St. Paul, Minn.:

GTA DAILY RADIO ROUNDUP

Circulation 6,500,000. That's what Life magazine, which speaks so often for big business and the Eisenhower administration and is owned by the Luce interests, brags on its front cover. We wish we could say that our farm publications had that much circulation but there aren't that many farm families left since Benson's big squeeze went on in 1953.

We can't criticize Life's circulation figures, although many others often do, because we don't know. But undoubtedly it is large. The point is, that when a national publication of purposes of its own, sets out to blast farmers with all its editorial guns farmers are at a definite disadvantage. And that's what is happening.

You all remember Life's recent vicious attack on farmers that ran serial fashion for several issues. There's no letup. Now, in its most recent issues, the big slick magazine attacks the Farmers Union directly, and your Grain Terminal Association in particular. It stems from the present review of grain storage conditions by a Congressional subcommittee. Life says it wonders why the Government should store farm products at all. And it hints, just hints you'll notice,

that the subcommittee's head, Senator STUMINGTON, might be soft-pedaling any mention of "a leading participant in the booming storage business." This "leading participant" Life names as Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association which it claims "grosses about $3.5 million a year in Government storage payments."

Well, just like any other public warehouse, GTA stores grain for the Government as well as for farmers and their country elevators. But not nearly as much as the big private grain firms because GTA is still small compared to them. In fact, the figures show that when a check was made a year ago, GTA was storing only 8 percent, or 12,290,000 bushels, of the 94 million in storage in the Twin Cities and Duluth-Superior areas.

So it seems fair to ask why Life points the editorial finger at GTA, but makes no mention of the really big outfits in the storage business. There must be a reason because we notice in its next sentence Life picks up the line of the NTEA, which you know is so anxious to kill off or at least cripple the competition from farmers' cooperatives.

Life peddles the NTEA line this way: "Being a cooperative, it (GTA) pays a few taxes on its profits. Instead, it spends most of them on propaganda and political pressure for higher farm price supports which in turn build more surpluses and the need for still more storage."

Well, that's not hard to answer. GTA believes that farm prices are too low, that family farmers deserve decent incomes and ought to have them. And we make no bones about saying so. But what has Life magazine been doing for farmers lately? And of course, GTA makes no profit. That belongs to the farmers who own GTA and every last red cent is allocated back to them. And we think the record is abundantly clear on who has led the wheat referendum campaign for 7 straight years to hold down wheat production. GTA, of course, and Farmers Union.

That speaks for itself don't you think?

Farmers are proud of the record they have made in their cooperatives and it is an open book for all to see. We'd urge Life to keep the fight clean—and tell the truth about your GTA—the co-op way.

African Explosions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, we recognize that, in a fast-changing world, there is a real need to constantly reevaluate the factors and influences which may affect not only the present, but also the future.

As we look around the globe, the world spotlight of tomorrow, I believe, will focus more and more upon Africa—the once so-called dark continent. Including about one-fifth of the land area of the entire world—with its population of over 220 million, and vast natural resources—Africa will become increasingly important in the balance of world power.

Currently, a great many nations on the African Continent are undergoing the birthpangs of independence and nationalism.

As a respecter of the rights of self-determination, the United States should adapt its policies—and as necessary, create new ones—to recognize and assist the economic, social, and political progress and independence of the African nation.

Actually, this is in our own self-interest.

Currently, the tide of nationalism sweeping over the world—particularly in less developed countries—will not be stemmed; unless assistance and guidance is provided the emerging nations, unrest will continue, and grow—threatening peace.

If we fail to lend such assistance also, we can be assured that the Communists will step in to fill the gap.

We recall that Lenin—expounding Communist doctrine—stated that Communists should initially support nationalism, to break any existing ties with other powers; then communism should move in to amalgamate the newly independent peoples into the Communist bloc.

As the African nations strive for independence, their leaders have a deep responsibility to their people: First, in their great yearning for a quick transformation to national independence, to protect the rights and freedom of other people; and second, by declining the bait of communism—to assure that they do not trade their opportunity for achieving nationalistic goals for subjugation to the dictatorship of international communism.

Recently, the New York Times published an editorial entitled "African Explosions" reviewing significant factors in the struggle of newly emerging nations for nationalism and independence.

I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Jan. 21, 1960]

AFRICAN EXPLOSIONS

As Europe's colonial domain continues to recede in Africa a new factor begins to emerge in that hitherto rather quiescent continent. It further complicates the task of African leaders to give effect to their people's clamor for freedom and independence.

The new factor, never wholly absent but acquiring new significance, is that the struggle is not only between Europeans and Africans but also between Africans and Africans in a multiplicity of patterns. It ranges from intertribal combat between war-painted warriors with bows and arrows to uprisings against feudal tribal chiefs, to revolts against the new governments, to conflicts between the newly independent states themselves. And it is accompanied in some parts, at least, by a relapse into ancient and even barbaric customs that include witchcraft, mass poisonings and public executions.

The emergence of intra-African strife is perhaps part of the birthpangs of a new order on a continent that tries to lift itself almost overnight from the neolithic age, still prevalent in many parts of it, right into the 20th century. Its more than 200 million people comprise many races, tribes and nationalies, with some 700 languages, and divided not according to their own groupings but according to colonial partitions which have developed separate nationalisms. These people include all cultural levels, from the primitive bushmen to the sophisticated western-influenced town residents who are still too few in many cases to provide effective political leadership and essential managerial talent.

These factors will not stop Africa's transformation, and all that the West can do is to attempt to aid and guide this transformation to avert graver dangers. But consideration of this kind might well caution the African leaders themselves not to rush things too much and to build first of all a foundation for independence before attempting to exercise it, lest premature independence unleash destructive forces which could engulf them and all Africa.

State of Oregon Hard Hit by Decline in Residential Construction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very informative and thoughtful editorial from the Milwaukie (Oreg.) Review of January 21, 1960, entitled "Home Building Drop Means Trouble For Oregon." This editorial, written by State Senator Monroe M. Sweetland, editor of the Milwaukie Review, stresses the fact that high interest rates inevitably discourage new home construction, and that some 75 percent of the production of Oregon sawmills, which is our State's basic industry, rely upon residential building for a market.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Milwaukee Review, Jan. 21, 1960]

HOMEBUILDING DROP MEANS TROUBLE FOR OREGON

Will we ever learn that high interest rates mean depression?

Homebuilding experts estimate that the Eisenhower tight-money policy, which now raises interest rates again, will cut housing starts this coming year by 10 percent. This throws a pall over all parts of our home-short Nation, but it hits Oregon hardest of all.

Dun & Bradstreet's 1959 publication of "The Failure Record Through 1958" has just reached us. This volume tells how many Oregon businesses failed that unhappy year in a minor depression. What State led the Union in failures? Our Oregon, with 201.5 failures per 10,000 concerns. No other State in the Union was even close to us. Washington had 91.2 failures; the average for all eight

Mountain States was 32.7; Massachusetts was 42.8; Missouri, 26.9; Minnesota, 25.3.

The reason is not hard to find. When big finance was given its reward by the administration it took a double swipe at faraway Oregon, where the economic life is dominated by lumber. Lumber lives on the Nation's new construction, and the price we pay is tragedy for 201.5 businesses out of every 10,000—and far greater numbers of others who are all but plowed under by the consequences.

Have the Wall Streeters changed in all these years? We have sometimes thought so as their tune changed, but now it appears the words and spirit have not changed. They are basically the same today as they were in 1928, when tight money and high interest rates led us down the path to national ruin.

The chief economist of Bankers Trust Co., of New York, Roy L. Reierson, recently lauded tight money in a New York University speech.

"Interest rates in recent years," argues Mr. Reierson, "are just returning from subnormal depths. They are returning to the neighborhood of levels prevailing in 1928, a year of good business."

How blind this is to history, which a year after 1928 saw the plunge of 1929 which nearly ruined American economy, but Banker Reierson called it "good business."

As the cost of loans on new houses soars well above 6 percent, the ability of young families to buy them is sharply curtailed. The cost of a 25-year $10,000 home mortgage (FHA) has risen a thousand dollars in 2 years and few homes are built for a mere $10,000 these days.

High interest rates discourage borrowing, but by making money "dear" they increase the bankers' take at the higher level, at least temporarily. A community of new homes and future homes like our North Clackamas area, pays two ways: We find our development slowed down and the costs much higher; we find our lumber industry, which underlies all of Oregon's economy, sickening again, and this affects many incomes in our own area.

When logging and lumbering—plywood, boom operations, shipping, trucking, saw manufacturing, and all that lives on timber—is in trouble, we are all in trouble in Oregon. Two hundred and one and five-tenths failures led the Nation's bankruptcy roll 2 years ago, and it will happen again unless a mighty effort rolls back the selfish, reckless program of tight money which the Eisenhower-Nixon administration has sponsored.

Independence of Ukraine

SPEECH
OF
HON. CHARLES A. BUCKLEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. BUCKLEY. Mr. Speaker, January 22 is the date that marks the 42d anniversary of the independence of the Ukraine. It is a tragic fact, however, that this independence was a short-lived one and that in 1920 the Red Communist Army ruthlessly overran and crushed the Ukraine.

Since that date the 42 million Ukrainians have been living in enforced captivity under the heels of their Soviet oppressors. It is indeed sad that in this day and age when the world is moving slowly but steadily toward equal rights for all, that these proud and independent people are still forced to languish under the thumb of their Communist masters. They have been subject to Soviet control longer than any other minority in the Soviet Union. Their people have died by the millions in slave labor camps, in prisons and in the vast expanses of the Siberian wilderness.

Ever since they assumed control, the Soviet regime has attempted every means possible to crush the spirit of the Ukrainian people. It is a tribute to the spirit of these people that today their love for freedom and liberty shines as brightly as ever.

I am honored to join today in saluting these courageous people and in the spirit of the Captive Nations Week resolution of last July, I join in the fervent prayer that one day soon the liberty-loving Ukrainian people will indeed be properly able to celebrate their national independence day in their own free country.

Area Redevelopment Legislation Urged at This Session

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following copy of a letter sent to Members of Congress by the Area Employment Expansion Committee, 99 University Place, New York, N.Y., which urges the Congress to pass an area redevelopment bill at this session of Congress. Also included is a fact sheet as of November 1959, showing the distressed labor markets in the United States by geographical regions, as well as rural development areas prescribed by the House Banking and Currency Committee in proposed Area Redevelopment Act.

The matters follow:

AREA EMPLOYMENT
EXPANSION COMMITTEE,
New York, N.Y., January 15, 1960.

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN FLOOD: We are hopeful that Congress will enact area redevelopment legislation at this session. We have received assurances of support for this measure from the leaders of both parties. They have indicated their deep concern for the human suffering and economic waste found in chronically distressed urban communities and long-suffering underdeveloped rural counties.

S. 722 has been passed by the Senate and has been adopted by the House Banking Committee in a revised form. We have been assured of support to clear this measure through the House Rules Committee. Your aid in this effort would be highly prized. We hope that we can count on your endorsement of the legislation and your vote when it reaches the floor.

You of course know that the Special Senate Committee on Unemployment Problems has held hearings throughout the country which have highlighted the tragic neglect of these communities and the need for Federal assistance and guidance in their redevelopment. Many have already exhausted their own resources. These communities contain personal, industrial, commercial and public investments aggregating hundreds of millions of dollars. Tremendous losses will be sustained without the stimulus which Federal assistance will provide.

The staff report of the Joint Economic Committee has urged the adoption of this legislation. We believe that the committee in its forthcoming report will similarly endorse the bill and the Special Senate Committee on Unemployment Problems will also find the adoption of this measure essential to the solution of our Nation's unemployment problems.

We are enclosing a tabulation of the distressed urban communities which would have been eligible as of November 1959 for assistance under S. 722. (House revision.)

Unemployment continues to be concentrated in these distressed labor markets in a serious manner. While the number of such communities has receded from the total of 204 in July to 172 in November (including 5 in Alaska), they still exceed the 119 distressed areas of January 1959. We believe that most of the currently distressed urban communities will remain in this category for some time.

The persistence of unemployment in these areas is indicated by the following:

	January 1959	November 1959 [1]
Number of distressed labor markets	119	172
Total unemployment in these distressed labor markets	811,973	926,868
Percent of Nation's unemployment in these distressed areas	17.2	25.1
Percent of Nation's working population in these distressed areas	9.3	13.7
National rate of unemployment (percent)	7.0	5.3
Rate of unemployment in these distressed areas (percent)	12.9	9.8

[1] The number and percentages of unemployed will be raised when the full November data are available for Pennsylvania. The 5 areas in Alaska were omitted for comparability with January 1959.

We are also enclosing a list of the rural distressed areas.

Without the passage of the pending area redevelopment bill we shall not be able to attain maximum employment as required by the Employment Act of 1946 and shall continue to shoulder the high cost of support for the unemployed and their families and suffer from the waste of valuable private and public assets.

If we can be of further assistance to you in this matter, feel free to write us.

Sincerely,

PRENTISS M. BROWN,
Chairman.

AREA EMPLOYMENT EXPANSION COMMITTEE,
New York, N.Y.

FACT SHEET NO. 38D (SUPP. 1)

Employment, unemployment, and unemployment as percent of labor force in distressed labor markets in the United States, by geographical region, November 1959

Region, State, number of distressed labor markets	Date	Civilian labor force (total)	Unemployment (total)	Unemployment as percent of the labor force	Number in excess of 6 percent	Most recent date of start of substantial labor surplus
United States (177)		9,509,146	926,948	9.7	356,399	
Northeast (62)		4,378,254	402,868	9.2	140,573	
New England (26)		1,151,971	76,688	6.7	7,570	
Connecticut (5)		105,000	7,200	6.9	900	
Smaller:						
Ansonia	November 1959	20,100	1,300	6.5	94	August 1957.
Bristol	do	29,800	1,700	8.6	512	July 1957.
Danielson	do	16,400	1,000	6.1	10	March 1955.
Norwich	do	21,900	1,500	6.8	186	December 1957.
Thompsonville	do	26,800	1,700	6.3	92	November 1957.
Maine (5)		125,400	9,610	7.7	2,086	
Major: Portland	November 1959	62,100	3,700	6.0		Do.
Smaller:						
Biddeford-Sanford	do	24,300	2,500	10.3	1,042	March 1954.
Lewiston-Auburn	do	33,200	3,000	7.5	1,008	January 1957.
Very small:						
Calais	August 1959	2,400	200	8.3	56	Pre-1958.
Eastport	do	3,400	210	6.2	6	Do.
Massachusetts (14)		578,471	37,779	6.5	3,071	
Major:						
Brockton	November 1959	56,560	3,111	5.5		December 1957.
Fall River, Mass.-R.I.	do	56,940	4,157	7.3	741	January 1957.
Lawrence	do	57,111	3,255	5.7		January 1952.
Lowell	do	51,660	3,457	6.7	361	Do.
New Bedford	do	70,710	4,879	6.9	636	November 1947.
Springfield-Holyoke	do	195,440	11,336	5.8		January 1958.
Smaller:						
Newburyport	do	14,200	1,065	7.5	213	November 1957.
North Adams	do	16,610	1,827	11.0	830	Do.
Webster-Southbridge	do	22,610	1,492	6.6	135	Do.
Very small:						
Clinton	April 1959	8,000	500	6.3	20	October 1957.
Gloucester	November 1959	11,200	1,344	12.0	672	September 1957.
Great Barrington	January 1959	3,650	450	12.3	231	October 1957.
Plymouth	November 1959	7,740	550	7.1	86	November 1957.
Hyannis	do	5,300	356	6.7	38	Pre-1957.
Rhode Island (1)		333,100	20,600	6.2	614	
Major: Providence	November 1959	333,100	20,600	6.2	614	July 1951.
Vermont (1)		10,000	750	7.5	150	
Very small: St. Johnsbury	November 1959	10,000	750	7.5	150	Pre-1957.
Middle Atlantic (36)		3,226,283	326,180	10.1	132,603	
New Jersey (5)		414,900	32,250	7.3	7,356	
Major:						
Atlantic City	November 1959	64,500	6,000	9.3	2,130	January 1952.
Trenton	do	166,200	11,500	6.9	1,528	January 1958.
Smaller:						
Bridgeton	do	43,000	3,750	7.7	810	March 1955.
Long Branch	do	122,300	9,000	7.4	1,662	Do.
Very small: Wildwood	do	12,900	2,000	15.5	1,226	January 1955.
New York (10)		949,743	88,150	9.3	31,165	
Major:						
Buffalo	November 1959	527,600	55,000	10.4	23,344	January 1958.
Utica-Rome	do	135,500	11,200	8.3	3,070	November 1957.
Smaller:						
Amsterdam	July 1959	23,450	1,900	8.1	403	January 1955.
Auburn	October 1959	25,700	2,200	8.4	658	Do.
Elmira	November 1959	39,900	3,100	7.7	706	November 1957.
Gloversville	August 1959	23,400	1,500	6.4	116	January 1955.
Jamestown-Dunkirk	September 1959	63,100	4,800	7.6	1,014	January 1958.
Newburgh-Middletown-Beacon	November 1959	76,543	6,200	8.1	1,607	June 1957.
Plattsburgh	August 1959	20,050	1,350	6.7	147	January 1958.
Wellsville	October 1959	14,500	900	6.2	370	Pre-1958.
Pennsylvania (21)		1,861,640	205,780	11.1	94,082	
Major:						
Altoona	October 1959	153,760	5,000	9.3	1,774	January 1952.
Erie	September 1959	98,700	7,600	7.7	1,678	January 1957.
Johnstown	October 1959	197,130	16,900	17.4	11,072	July 1953.
Pittsburgh	do	857,800	90,000	9.3	38,532	January 1958.
Scranton	November 1959	101,310	13,400	13.2	7,322	January 1952.
Wilkes-Barre-Hazleton	do	137,000	20,000	14.3	11,780	May 1957.
Smaller:						
Berwick-Bloomsburg	September 1959	21,800	1,400	6.4	92	Do.
Butler	do	35,000	2,800	8.0	700	January 1958.
Clearfield-DuBois	do	35,400	5,300	15.0	3,176	November 1952.
Indiana	do	22,000	1,700	7.7	380	Pre-1957.
Kittanning-Ford City	do	21,400	2,400	11.2	1,116	Do.
Lewiston	do	22,100	1,400	6.3	74	November 1957.
Meadville	do	24,000	2,100	8.8	660	Pre-1957.
New Castle	do	37,150	3,000	8.1	771	November 1957.
Oil City-Franklin-Titusville	do	29,500	2,300	7.8	530	January 1957.

Footnotes at end of speech.

FACT SHEET No. 38D (SUPP. 1)—Continued

Employment, unemployment, and unemployment as percent of labor force in distressed labor markets in the United States, by geographical region, November 1959—Continued

Region, State, number of distressed labor markets	Date	Civilian labor force (total)	Unemployment (total)	Unemployment as percent of the labor force	Number in excess of 6 percent	Most recent date of start of substantial labor surplus
United States—Continued						
Northeast—Continued						
Middle Atlantic—Continued						
Pennsylvania—Continued						
Major:						
Pottsville	September 1959	77,400	9,100	11.8	4,456	January 1952.
St. Mary's	do	17,900	1,200	6.7	126	Pre-1957.
Sayre-Athens-Towanda	do	20,100	1,200	6.0		November 1957.
Sunbury-Shamokin-Mount Carmel	do	64,100	5,300	8.3	1,454	November 1952.
Uniontown-Connellsville	do	45,300	10,800	23.8	8,082	Pre-1957.
Williamsport	do	42,800	2,800	6.4	232	March 1957.
South:						
South Atlantic (40)		1,175,829	130,037	11.1	59,487	
Florida (1)		1,925	450	23.4	334	
Very small: Apalachicola	March 1958	1,925	450	23.4	334	September 1955.
Maryland (6)		130,105	11,140	9.3	3,934	
Smaller:						
Cumberland, Md., West Virginia	August 1959	39,550	3,950	10.0	1,577	January 1952.
Cambridge	do	14,800	975	6.6	87	Pre-1958.
Hagerstown	October 1959	38,550	3,650	9.5	1,337	Do.
Garrett	April 1959	6,405	940	14.7	556	Do.
Crisfield	August 1959	7,750	525	6.9	60	July 1957.
Elkton	do	13,050	1,100	8.4	316	Pre-1957.
North Carolina (10)		271,810	22,620	8.3	6,311	
Major: Durham	August 1959	48,070	3,150	6.6	266	January 1957.
Smaller:						
Fayetteville	September 1959	33,525	2,385	7.1	373	March 1956.
Hendersonville	July 1959	15,300	1,230	8.0	308	Pre-1958.
Kinston	May 1959	21,400	2,400	11.2	1,116	April 1957.
Lumberton	August 1959	33,380	2,270	6.8	267	Pre-1958.
Mount Airy	July 1959	23,030	1,670	7.3	288	June 1956.
Rockingham-Hamlet	April 1959	14,735	2,595	17.6	1,711	March 1957.
Rocky Mount	do	42,845	2,945	6.9	374	April 1957.
Major:						
Rutherfordton-Forest City	May 1959	16,640	1,115	6.8	117	November 1956.
Wilson	do	22,825	2,860	12.5	1,490	Pre-1958.
South Carolina (1)		5,750	370	6.5	28	
Smaller: Hampton	August 1959	5,750	370	6.5	28	Pre-1958.
Virginia (4)		133,005	10,150	7.6	2,260	
Major: Roanoke	November 1959	66,005	4,200	6.4	240	March 1958.
Smaller:						
Big Stone Gap-Appalachia	do	26,075	2,300	11.4	1,095	April 1955.
Richlands-Bluefield	do	30,925	2,850	9.2	994	January 1958.
Carroll and Grayson	do	16,000	800	5.0		March 1957.
West Virginia (18)		643,234	85,307	13.3	46,713	
Major:						
Charleston	November 1959	113,500	10,350	9.1	3,540	March 1954.
Huntington, W. Va.; Ashland, W. Va., Ky., Ohio	do	91,750	12,300	13.4	6,795	March 1957.
Wheeling, W. Va., Steubenville, Ohio	do	142,800	16,050	11.2	7,482	November 1957.
Smaller:						
Beckley	August 1959	23,750	7,060	29.7	5,635	March 1953.
Bluefield	June 1959	22,640	4,950	21.9	3,502	June 1957.
Clarksburg	October 1959	29,950	2,750	9.2	953	April 1957.
Fairmont	do	24,320	4,330	17.8	2,871	November 1952.
Logan	August 1959	21,760	4,280	19.7	2,974	March 1954.
Martinsburg	October 1959	21,250	1,550	7.3	269	January 1958.
Morgantown	do	19,550	3,700	18.9	2,527	Do.
Parkersburg	June 1959	39,550	3,050	7.7	677	Do.
Point Pleasant-Gallipolis, W. Va., Ohio	August 1959	36,650	4,280	11.7	2,081	November 1952.
Ronceverte-White Sulphur Springs	do	19,760	2,040	10.3	854	Do.
Welch	June 1959	22,160	6,000	27.1	4,670	February 1954.
Very small:						
Elkins	February 1959	8,943	1,100	12.3	563	
Grafton	April 1959	4,801	1,517	31.6	1,229	
Marlinton	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	
Richwood	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	
East-south central (18)		1,051,598	93,369	8.9	30,274	
Alabama (6)		410,275	29,945	7.3	5,328	
Major: Birmingham	November 1959	258,670	18,900	7.4	3,380	January 1958.
Smaller:						
Anniston	August 1959	34,785	2,055	5.9		June 1957.
Florence-Sheffield	June 1959	44,750	3,050	6.8	365	Do.
Gadsden	October 1959	33,510	3,265	9.7	1,255	February 1952.
Jasper	September 1959	17,300	1,250	7.2	212	November 1952.
Talladega	May 1959	21,260	1,425	6.7	149	June 1957.
Kentucky (8)		472,000	51,140	10.8	22,820	
Major: Louisville, Ky.-Indiana	November 1959	306,100	20,300	6.6	1,934	November 1957.
Smaller:						
Corbin	March 1959	26,050	3,050	11.7	1,487	July 1953.
Hazard	do	19,500	2,600	13.3	1,430	Do.
Madisonville	do	25,800	3,400	13.2	1,852	September 1953.
Middlesboro-Harlan	do	27,600	5,840	21.2	4,184	July 1953.
Morehead-Grayson	do	20,350	4,050	19.9	2,829	August 1954.
Paintsville-Prestonburg	do	23,250	3,600	15.5	2,205	July 1953
Pikeville-Williamson	April 1959	23,350	8,300	35.5	6,899	Do.

Footnotes at end of speech.

FACT SHEET No. 38D (SUPP. 1)—Continued

Employment, unemployment, and unemployment as percent of labor force in distressed labor markets in the United States, by geographical region, November 1959—Continued

Region, State, number of distressed labor markets	Date	Civilian labor force (total)	Unemployment (total)	Unemployment as percent of the labor force	Number in excess of 6 percent	Most recent date of start of substantial labor surplus
United States—Continued						
South—Continued						
East-South Central—Continued						
Louisiana (1): Smaller: Opelousas	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	Pre-1958.
Mississippi (1)		37,023	2,784	7.5	563	
Smaller: Biloxi-Gulfport	January 1959	37,023	2,784	7.5	563	Do.
Tennessee (2)		132,300	9,500	7.2	1,562	
Major: Chattanooga, Tenn.-Ga	October 1959	115,800	7,200	6.2	252	January 1957.
Smaller: La Follette-Jellico-Tazewell	April 1959	16,500	2,300	13.9	1,310	January 1954.
West South Central (9)		282,912	18,570	6.6	1,595	
Oklahoma (4)		50,750	3,400	6.7	355	
Smaller:						
Ardmore	August 1959	14,500	875	6.0		November 1957.
McAlester	October 1959	12,800	750	6.0		August 1954.
Muskogee	do	23,450	1,775	7.6	368	Pre-1958.
Okmulgee-Henryetta		(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	February 1958.
Texas (5)		232,162	18,170	7.8	4,240	
Major: Beaumont-Port Arthur	November 1959	117,700	9,800	8.3	2,738	January 1958.
Smaller:						
Galveston-Texas City	do	54,540	3,600	6.6	328	November 1957.
Laredo	March 1959	22,422	2,220	9.9	875	January 1958.
Texarkana, Tex., Ark	November 1959 [3]	37,500	2,550	6.8	250	January 1954.
Karnes City						
North Central (31)		2,403,261	262,855	10.9	118,663	
East North Central (20)		2,15,6410	241,510	11.2	112,486	
Illinois (5)		160,825	16,450	10.2	6,800	
Smaller:						
Centralia	November 1959	23,675	1,725	7.3	304	March 1957.
Harrisburg	September 1959	22,825	2,250	9.9	880	January 1955.
Herrin-Murphysboro-West Frankfurt	August 1959	68,300	8,400	12.3	4,302	January 1952.
Mount Carmel-Olney	June 1959	21,500	1,350	6.3	60	February 1955.
Mount Vernon	October 1959	24,525	1,825	7.4	353	April 1954.
Indiana (4)		159,300	12,130	7.6	2,572	
Major:						
Evansville	October 1959	77,000	6,100	7.9	1,444	September 1957.
Terre Haute	September 1959	44,200	2,600	5.9		January 1952.
Smaller:						
Connersville	March 1959	22,370	2,110	9.4	768	September 1957.
Vincennes	February 1959	15,130	1,320	8.7	412	January 1952.
Michigan (8)		1,715,310	203,700	11.9	100,781	
Major:						
Detroit	November 1959	1,426,400	150,000	11.2	64,416	March 1956.
Flint	do	135,400	40,000	29.5	31,876	April 1957.
Smaller:						
Adrian	April 1959	27,400	1,700	6.2	56	July 1957.
Bay City	November 1959	36,000	5,100	14.2	3,000	September 1950.
Iron Mountain	September 1959	16,000	800	5.0		April 1954.
Marquette	do	16,010	1,000	6.3	39	January 1956.
Monroe	do	24,100	2,000	8.3	554	April 1956.
Port Huron	November 1959	34,000	3,100	9.1	1,060	January 1956.
Ohio (2)		84,300	6,600	7.8	1,542	
Smaller:						
Athens-Logan-Nelsonville	March 1959	20,900	2,200	10.5	966	January 1958.
Portsmouth-Chillicothe	May 1959	63,400	4,400	6.9	596	May 1957.
Montana (2)		35,022	3,374	9.6	1,273	
Smaller:						
Butte	June 1959	18,000	1,700	9.0	620	September 1957.
Kalispell	do	17,022	1,634	9.8	653	November 1957.
New Mexico (3)		14,980	2,605	17.4	1,706	
Very small:						
Raton	March 1959	4,950	573	11.6	276	Pre-1958.
Deming	do	4,000	932	23.3	692	Do.
Las Vegas	do	6,030	1,100	18.2	738	Do.
Pacific (6)		116,280	8,070	6.9	1,093	
Washington (6)		116,280	8,070	6.9	1,093	
Smaller:						
Aberdeen	August 1959	28,910	1,790	6.2	55	February 1957.
Anacortes	November 1959	19,610	1,800	9.5	683	January 1958.
Bellingham	do	25,880	2,150	8.3	597	Do.
Bremerton	September 1959	27,870	1,680	6.0		May 1958.
Port Angeles	August 1959	14,010	590	4.2		February 1957.
Yakima	October 1959	(2)	5,000	(2)	(2)	October 1959.

Footnotes at end of speech.

FACT SHEET No. 38D (SUPP. 1)—Continued

Employment, unemployment, and unemployment as percent of labor force in distressed labor markets in the United States, by geographical region, November 1959—Continued

Region, State, number of distressed labor markets	Date	Civilian labor force (total)	Unemployment (total)	Unemployment as percent of the labor force	Number in excess of 6 percent	Most recent date of start of substantial labor surplus
United States—Continued						
North Central—Continued						
Outlying areas (5)		44,280	4,110	9.3	1,453	
Alaska (5)		44,280	4,110	9.3	1,453	
Anchorage	November 1959	23,480	2,100	8.9	691	
Fairbanks	do	12,030	1,240	10.3	518	
Juneau	do	3,800	350	9.2	122	
Ketchikan	do	3,900	270	6.9	38	
Petersburg	do	1,070	150	14.0	86	

[1] Estimated.
[2] Information not available.

NOTE.—Cities with less than 6 percent unemployment are included if Bureau of Employment Security classifies them as surplus labor markets.

Source: State employment security agencies.

RURAL REDEVELOPMENT AREAS PRESCRIBED BY THE HOUSE BANKING COMMITTEE IN PROPOSED AREA REDEVELOPMENT ACT

NOTE.—The bill recommended by the House Banking Committee declares that among the rural redevelopment areas "shall be included * * * any county (1) which is among the 500 counties in the United States ranked lowest in level of living of farm-operator families, or (2) which is among the 500 counties in the United States having the highest percentage of commercial farms producing less than $2,500 worth of products for sale annually."

The counties listed below conform to these categories:

Alabama

Congressman and Rural County

ANDREWS: Barbour, Bullock, Coffee, Geneva, Henry, Houston, Lee, Macon, Russell.

BOYKIN: Choctaw, Clarke, Marengo, Monroe, Washington, Wilcox.

ELLIOTT: Blount, Cullman, Fayette, Franklin, Lamar, Marion, Pickens, Walker, Winston.

GRANT: Butler, Conecuh, Covington, Crenshaw, Escambia, Lowndes, Montgomery, Pike.

JONES: Jackson, Lawrence, Limestone, Morgan.

RAINS: Chambers, De Kalb, Etowah, Marshall, Randolph, Tallapoosa.

ROBERTS: Autauga, Clay, Coosa, Dallas, Elmore, St. Clair.

SELDEN, Jr.: Bibb, Chilton, Greene, Hale, Perry, Sumter, Tuscaloosa.

Arkansas

ALFORD: Conway, Faulkner, Perry, Pope, Yell.

GATHINGS: Clay, Crittenden, Greene, Lee, Phillips, St. Francis.

HARRIS: Ashley, Bradley, Calhoun, Clark, Columbia, Hempstead, Howard, Lafayette, Little River, Miller, Montgomery, Nevada, Ouachita, Pike, Polk, Sevier, Union.

MILLS: Cleburne, Fulton, Independence, Izard, Lawrence, Monroe, Randolph, Sharp, Stone, White, Woodruff.

NORRELL: Chicot, Cleveland, Dallas, Desha, Drew, Grant, Jefferson, Lincoln, Lonoke.

TRIMBLE: Baxter, Boone, Johnson, Logan, Madison, Marion, Newton, Scott, Searcy, Sebastian, Van Buren.

Florida

MATTHEWS: Baker, Gilchrist, Hamilton, Lafayette, Madison, Suwannee, Union.

SIKES: Calhoun, Holmes, Jackson, Jefferson, Leon, Okaloosa, Walton, Washington.

Georgia

BLITCH: Appling, Atkinson, Bacon, Brantley, Charlton, Clinch, Coffee, Echols, Jeff Davis, Lanier, Pierce, Telfair, Wayne.

BROWN: Elbert, Greene, Hart, Lincoln, Oglethorpe, Taliaferro, Warren, Wilkes.

DAVIS: Rockdale.

FLYNT, JR.: Butts, Carroll, Clayton Coweta, Fayette, Heard, Henry, Lamar, Meriwether, Newton.

FORRESTER: Clay, Dodge, Harris, Marion, Quitman, Randolph, Stewart, Taylor, Wilcox.

LANDRUM: Fannin, Gilmer, Rabun, Towns, Union, White.

MITCHELL: Chattooga, Dade, Douglas, Haralson, Murray, Walker.

PILCHER: Baker, Brooks, Decatur, Early.

PRESTON: Bryan, Burke, Evans, Liberty, Long, Montgomery, Screven, Trattnall, Treutlen, Wheeler.

VINSON: Baldwin, Crawford, Glascock, Hancock, Jaseph, Johnson, Twiggs, Washington, Wilkinson.

Illinois

GRAY: Hardin, Johnson, Pope.

Kentucky

CHELF: Adair, Green, Metcalfe.

NATCHER: Allen, Breckinridge, Butler, Edmonson, Grayson, Hopkins, Ohio.

PERKINS: Breathitt, Carter Elliott, Floyd, Greenup, Johnson, Lawrence, Lee, Magoffin, Menifee, Morgan, Pike, Rowan, Wolfe.

SILER: Clay, Clinton, Cumberland, Jackson, Knox, Laurel, Monroe, Owsley, Pulaski, Rockcastle, Russell, Wayne, Whitley.

SPENCE: Lewis.

STUBBLEFIELD: Crittenden, Graves, McCracken, Marshall.

WATTS: Casey, Estil, Powell.

Louisiana

BROOKS: Bienville, Claiborne, De Soto, Red River, Webster.

MCSWEEN: Avoyelles, Grant, La Salle, Natchitoches, Sabine, Vernon, Winn.

MORRISON: East Feliciana, Livingston, St. Helena, West Feliciana.

PASSMAN: Caldwell, Catahoula, Concordia, Franklin, Lincoln, Morehouse, Richland, Union, West Carroll.

THOMPSON: Beauregard, Evangeline, St. Landry.

Michigan

BENNETT: Iron.

CEDERBERG: Alcona, Clare, Iosco.

GRIFFIN: Wexford.

Minnesota

BLATNIK: Itasca.

MARSHALL: Aitkin.

Mississippi

ABERNETHY: Alcorn, Attala, Calhoun, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Clay, Itawamba, Lee, Lowndes, Monroe, Noxubee, Oktibbeha, Pontotoc, Prentiss, Tishomingo, Webster, Winston.

COLMER: Covington, George, Greene, Jefferson Davis, Jones, Lamar, Lawrence, Marion, Perry, Wayne.

SMITH: Bolivar, Coahoma, Holmes, Humphreys, Issaquena, Leflore, Quitman, Sharkey, Sunflower, Tunica, Washington.

WHITTEN: Benton, Carroll, De Soto, Grenada, Lafayette, Marshall, Montgomery, Panola, Tallahatchie, Tate, Tippah, Union, Yalobusha.

WILLIAMS: Adams, Amite, Claiborne, Copish, Franklin, Hinds, Jefferson, Lincoln, Pike, Walthall, Warren, Wilkinson, Yazoo.

WINSTEAD: Clarke, Jasper, Kemper, Lauderdale, Leake, Madison, Neshoba, Newton, Rankin, Scott, Simpson, Smith.

Missouri

RANDALL: Vernon.

BROWN: Douglas, Ozark, Stone, Taney, Wright.

CARNAHAN: Carter, Dent, Howell, Iron, Madison, Oregon, Reynolds, Shannon, Washington, Wayne.

JONES: Bollinger, Butler, Ripley.

New Mexico

MONTOYA: Mora, Rio Arriba, Sierra.

MORRIS: San Miguel, Socorro.

North Carolina

ALEXANDER: Alexander, Alleghany, Ashe, Stanly, Watauga.

BARDEN: Duplin, Onslow, Pender.

BONNER: Hyde, Tyrrell, Washington.

FOUNTAIN: Halifax, Warren.

HALL: Buncombe, Cherokee, Clay, Graham, Haywood, Jackson, Macon, Swain, Transylvania.

JONAS: Avery, Burke, Catawba, Lincoln, Mitchell.

KITCHIN: Anson, Davidson, Montgomery, Scotland, Wilkes.

LENNON: Bladen, Brunswick, Columbus, New Hanover.

SCOTT: Caswell, Person.

WHITENER: Cleveland, Madison, McDowell, Polk, Rutherford, Yancey.

Ohio

HENDERSON: Guernsey, Noble.

MOELLER: Gallia.

Oklahoma

ALBERT: Atoka, Choctaw, Latimer, Le Flore, McCurtain, Pittsburg, Pushmataha.

EDMONDSON: Adair, Cherokee, Delaware, Haskell, McIntosh, Okmulgee, Sequoyah.

STEED: Coal, Creek, Hughes, Lincoln, Okfuskee, Seminole.

South Carolina

ASHMORES Greenville, Laurens, Spartanburg, Union.

DORN: Abbeville, Anderson, Edgefield, Greenwood, McCormick, Newberry, Oconee, Pickens, Saluda.

HEMPHILL: Cherokee, Chester, Chesterfield, Fairfield, Kershaw, Lancaster, York.

MCMILLAN: Georgetown, Horry, Lee, Williamsburg.

RILEY: Barnwell, Lexington, Orangeburg.

RIVERS: Allendale, Beaufort, Berkeley, Charleston, Clarendon, Colleton, Dorchester, Hampton, Jasper.

Tennessee

BAKER: Anderson, Blount, Campbell, Loudon, Morgan, Roane, Scott, Union.

BASS: Dickson, Giles, Hickman, Houston, Humphreys, Lawrence, Lewis, Perry, Stewart, Sumner, Wayne.

EVERETT: Haywood, Lauderdale.

EVINS: Cannon, Clay, Cumberland, De Kalb, Fentress, Jackson, Lincoln, Macon, Moore, Overton, Pickett, Putnam, Rutherford, Smith, Van Buren, Warren, White, Wilson.

FRAZIER, JR.: Bledsoe, Grundy, McMinn, Marion, Meigs, Monroe, Polk, Rhea, Sequatchie.

MURRAY: Benton, Carroll, Decatur, Fayette, Hardeman, Hardin, McNairy, Madison.

REECE: Carter, Clairborne, Cocke, Grainger, Greene, Hamblen, Hancock, Hawkins, Jefferson, Johnson, Sevier, Sullivan, Unicoi, Washington.

BECKWORTH: Camp, Panola, Rusk, Upshur, Wood.

BROOKS: Newton, Sabine, San Augustine.

DOWDY: Anderson, Angelina, Cherokee, Henderson, Houston, Madison, Polk, San Jacinto, Trinity, Walker.

PATMAN: Bowie, Cass, Franklin, Harrison, Marion, Morris, Red River, Titus.

RAYBURN: Rains.

TEAGUE: Freestone, Leon, Robertson, Somervell.

THOMPSON: Lavaca.

THORNBERRY: Bastrop, Burleson.

YOUNG: Duval, McMullen.

Virginia

ABBITT: Appomattox, Buckingham, Greensville, Mecklenburg, Lunenburg, Prince Edward.

DOWNING: York.

HARRISON: Bath, Highland.

JENNINGS: Buchanan, Dickenson, Lee, Russell, Scott, Tazewell, Washington, Wise.

POFF: Alleghany, Bedford, Craig, Floyd.

SMITH: Fluvanna, Greene.

TUCK: Carroll, Charlotte, Grayson, Halifax, Henry, Patrick.

West Virginia

BAILEY: Braxton, Calhoun, Clay, Doddridge, Fayette, Gilmer, Harrison, Lewis, Nicholas, Ritchie, Upshur, Wirt.

HECHLER: Cabell, Jackson, Lincoln, Mason, Pleasants, Putnam, Roane, Tyler, Wayne, Wood.

KEE: Mercer, Monroe, Summers.

MOORE: Brooke, Marion, Taylor, Wetzel.

SLACK, JR.: Kanawha, Raleigh.

STAGGERS: Barbour, Monongalia, Randolph, Tucker, Pocahontas, Preston.

National Military and Space Activities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN STENNIS

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, the American public is becoming increasingly aware of our national effort in space. Next week the Senate Aeronautical and Space Science Committee and the Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee of the Armed Services Committee will hold joint hearings on national military and space matters. While the Congress can investigate, recommend, and urge that the national space program be accelerated until our Nation is second to none, nevertheless the President, as the representative of the whole Nation is the one who can effectively speak out for American participation in an all-out space race.

In an article appearing in the January 24 edition of the Washington Sunday Star, Mr. William Hines, Star science writer, discussed this problem. I think Mr. Hines' analysis is worthy of the attention of every Member of this body; therefore, I ask unanimous consent that the article, entitled "Space Race Is More Than Money," be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPACE RACE IS MORE THAN MONEY

(By William Hines)

There will be a reappraisal of the Nation's space program in the coming weeks. It is sure to be an agonizing one, to use a Dulles phrase, in light of what can only be regarded as a niggardly increase in the space budget in fiscal 1961.

The word "niggardly" is used advisedly. Contrary to advance billing that the space effort would be approximately doubled in the budget, the increase is marginal. The best measure of the space program's expansion is shown in the accompanying Budget Bureau chart—a 22 percent rise in "Outer Space Activities" over fiscal 1960.

In the course of the reappraisal, many politicians and oracles will assert that money is the root of all evil as far as our space troubles are concerned. Adherents to this view contend that without money—lots of money—all is lost, and that with money nothing is impossible.

DOLLARS AND THE MOON

The first half of this contention is valid beyond debate. The only way an American will ever get to the moon is by being propelled there by the combined force of a great many millions of dollars.

But the other half stands up less well under scrutiny. Not lack of money, but lack of impetus seems to be the greatest single deficiency in space today. While impetus alone cannot secure victory in the space race, it is an equally harsh fact that money alone will not do the trick, either.

To mobilize the financial, material, and spiritual resources of the country behind the space race requires, first of all, an acknowledgement that such a race is in progress. There is, perhaps, an implicit acknowledgement to this effect, but that does not seem to be enough.

Dr. William H. Pickering, director of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's Jet Propulsion Laboratory, is one of the most eminent to call publicly for top-level impetus. A leading scientist of the nonpolitical variety, he recognized that only the President can proclaim American participation in an all-out worldwide space race.

A DESPERATE RACE

But today, more than 2 years after sputnik and 2 months after Dr. Pickering's remark, Mr. Eisenhower still has not stated publicly that we are in a race. Most other Americans, including the President's principal aide for cosmic affairs, NASA Administrator T. Keith Glennan, recognize that a desperate race is in progress, and that the United States is in second place.

Under Secretary of State Livingston T. Merchant, at the outset of House Space Committee hearings Wednesday, said the United States "clearly concedes" Soviet superiority in space. Last Friday George V. Allen, Director of the U.S. Information Agency, said that in the eyes of the world the Soviet Union is between 5 and 10 years ahead of this country in space.

The two officials, like the space Administrator, agreed that the race is desperate and there should be more impetus behind it. But second-echelon statements of emergency are not enough.

Mr. Glennan represents only a Federal bureau with a vested interest in space. Mr. Merchant is concerned with our diplomatic-political posture vis-a-vis the Soviet Union's. Mr. Allen's chief interest lies in seeing the United States place its best foot forward at all times.

Senator JOHNSON of Texas, Democratic leader of the Senate and chairman of the Space Committee of the Upper House, designed his view of the emergency in a seven-point statement last month. But his views, too, can be regarded as colored by his position on Capitol Hill and his status as an aspirant for the Democratic nomination for the presidency.

All, in short, are special pleaders. None speaks for the whole people or even for the Government. The views of each must necessarily be taken as parochial, and therefore biased to some extent.

Without an expression of concern from the one source representative of the whole Nation—the President himself—the space program must of necessity rock along as a matter of secondary or tertiary importance.

There is another thing to be considered in any presidential definition of the situation. A mere statement is not enough; the public must be told why anything as expensive as space activity is important. In a day of high taxes and high living costs, talk of the "great challenge," the "high adventure," and the "intellectual stimulation" of space rings rather hollow in the average American's ears.

Public discussion of defense aspects up to now has degenerated into gobbledygook because (1) so much of weaponry is highly secret and (2) the line between myth and reality is fuzzier in space than almost anywhere else. So, while there may be a good national defense case for spending in space, it would be hard to sell in terms the public could understand.

NEED FOR ALLIES

Probably the most forthright, understandable, and candid—and therefore effective—explanation would be couched in commercial and ideological terms. Most Americans would concede the Nation's need for both customers and allies abroad. The explanation might go thus:

The Soviet salesman of commodities might point out with immunity from refutation that:

1. A sputnik is harder to build than an icebox or an automobile.

2. The Russians to date have bigger and better sputniks than the Americans have built.

"So," the salesman might say, "why not try Soviet products for a change?"

A Soviet salesman of ideas (who might or might not be the same individual) could point out with equal immunity from contradiction that:

1. A generation ago the United States led the world in science and technology, and the Soviet Union was an intellectual slum.

2. Today the Soviet Union is markedly ahead of the United States in some fields, equal in others, and gaining in most of the other areas of science and technique.

"We did it in a single generation under our political system," he might say to his uncommitted and ambitious listeners. "Why not try the Soviet way for a change?"

Those who seek a Presidential statement of urgency would have him point out that our prestige in space is important because our pocketbook and political position are profoundly affected by our standing in other nation's eyes.

With such a statement as background, the public could come to grips with the ques-

tion: "Is space really necessary?" Without such a statement, even the modest sums now financing the space work are being spent in a vacuum (no pun intended).

If the program is vital, it is probably worth much more than the $8009-odd million allocated to civilian space work in the coming year. If it is not vital, the money now being spent would probably be better applied to medical research, schools, roads or (as is high on the President's priority list) reduction of the national debt.

Man of the South for 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. DAVIS
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, on December 14, 1959, an outstanding group gathered in Charlotte, N.C., for the purpose of honoring Mr. Norman Atwater Cocke, who was elected "Man of the South for 1959" in the 14th annual poll conducted by Mr. Hubert F. Lee, founder of the South's Hall of Fame for the Living, and editor of the Dixie Business magazine published in Decatur, Ga. Dr. A. Hollis Edens, now president of Duke University in North Carolina, was one of the principal speakers on this occasion. Dr. Edens is a graduate of Emory University in Atlanta, Ga., and also served as vice chancellor of the University System of Georgia in 1947.

Under unanimous consent to extend my remarks, I include Dr. Edens' remarks in tribute to Mr. Norman A. Cocke, "Man of the South for 1959" herewith:

TRIBUTE TO NORMAN A. COCKE, MAN OF THE SOUTH FOR 1959

(By Dr. A. Hollis Edens)

I am pleased to have the privilege of speaking to you for a few minutes about our friend, Norman Cocke, and about the Duke Endowment and Duke University, with which he is associated. Clearly it is not possible within a few minutes to do justice to the subject. I can merely sketch a few thoughts. As a matter of fact, it happens that I have occupied twice before the position I hold tonight in honoring Mr. Cocke. The first occasion was a dinner of appreciation for him in 1953 after he had been made president of Duke Power Co. The second occasion some years later, was at a dinner of Charlotte Duke Alumni and friends honoring him. On these two occasions (many, perhaps most of you, were present at one time or the other), my observations were personal in appreciation of his modesty, his devotion to his profession, his generosity, his genial enjoyment of his friends, his sensitivity to human need, his sense of humor, his capacity for friendship, and his other personal attributes. On one of these occasions I engaged in what was intended to be a bit of friendly kidding about his Virginian ancestry, his honorary doctors degrees, his homemade halo which we were fashioning for him that night and about my relationship to him as one of my bosses.

Tonight, I would like to be entirely serious and speak generally about his relationship to Duke University and to the Duke Endowment, which foundation is such a vital part of the life of Duke University. Indeed, his relations with the two are so close as to be inseparable.

Knowing Mr. Cocke's innate modesty, I am sure that he would say that the work of the Duke Endowment and its impact on the University and on the people of our region is the product of many hands. This is always true of any great accomplishment. But it is also true that guidance and the making of policy over a period of years, in the hands of a few persons, may create the history of a people.

You may recall that James B. Duke designated a group of 12 associates to administer The Endowment when it was established in 1924. It may surprise you to reflect, as I have, on the fact that today, some 35 years later, only four of those original trustees remain active on the Board. They are Mr. George Allen, Mr. Alex H. Sands, Jr., Mr. Bennette Geer and Mr. Norman Cocke. Therefore we may narrow our appraisal of the leadership that has been exercised over a period of some two generations.

The man we honor has participated at the highest level in the administration of Mr. Duke's gift to our people. As vice chairman of the Endowment since 1934 Mr. Cocke has lived daily with the life of the Endowment, has weathered the economic tides, has helped make the necessary adjustments of policy and operation to constant change. In short, it has been his responsibility and opportunity, with a few others, to create all of the history the Endowment has had. To paraphrase Mr. Churchill—rarely have so few men been in a position to do so much for so many.

Now it is clear that the force of the Endowment in our region has contributed to an explosion of learning and healing. This being a political year, let us for a moment take a look at the record.

I have recently examined some of the Endowment's reports which summarize its distribution of income since 1924. I hesitate to quote the figures for fear that my information is incomplete. But the figures show that four educational institutions in the Carolinas have received more than $100 million; that 240 hospitals and 56 orphanages have received more than $36 million; that superannuated preachers and rural churches together have received $5½ million. In all, through December of 1958, the Endowment had distributed and allocated a grand total of $146 million.

The words "grand total" may be taken in their broadest meaning here because the intangibles probably are more important than the dollars. In a sense the Endowment follows men through their lifetimes, assisting them at the critical times, beginning with their education and struggle to maturity, standing ready at the point of illness and crisis and continuing through to retirement. Who can measure the chain reaction that has been initiated? What is the worth of an outstanding professor whose employment or retention is made possible by Endowment support? How can one estimate the number of lives saved in hospitals receiving Endowment aid? What is the worth of human resources developed in orphanages? In essence, then, the Endowment always has been concerned not with dollars, but with people.

Mr. Cocke and his associates also have been pioneers. In 1924 they entered a field where there were no precedents, no established machinery. As has often been said, it is a most difficult thing to spend money wisely. Let me remind you that in the area of hospitals alone, 1924 was a long way from 1959. There were about 6,000 hospital beds in the two Carolinas; today there are more than 20,000.

There was need for advice in maintaining accounting and clinical records; for education and information; there was unnecessary duplication; there was need for uniform business procedures. There was no Blue Cross. The pioneer leadership of the Endowment in these areas and others may be said to have set off many of the lesser explosions that have followed.

Indeed, some maintain that the Endowment's role in initiating what has happened to medical care in the Carolinas has had great influence on what has happened at the national and international levels.

Insofar as Duke Hospital is concerned, it is well known of course that it is the Endowment which has nurtured the young university, has stood at its side through the years and has helped it to grow and mature. It is not for me to claim credit for the university; it is, I believe, obvious, however, that the development of Duke and the other benefiting colleges has altered the face of the southeast and beyond.

The force of fresh ideas, the scope of enlarged services, the very presence of stronger colleges has widened the vision of others and enhanced the progress of us all. Mr. Cocke has seen this happen too and has helped it happen. He has been a member of the Duke University board of trustees since 1947 and its chairman since 1954. In these positions he has stood in a key position from which to observe and to give counsel and support.

I do not know when in the course of time the history of the Endowment and its beneficiaries will be written. I merely hope that it will be. When the story is told those who come after us will be able to understand more fully the dimensions of service rendered by Mr. Duke's legacy as administered by his trusted friends.

We honor tonight one of those friends who has spent his life fulfilling the injunction to make men through the Endowment and Duke University. The record I have sketched is not only a monument to the founder, it is also a living tribute to Norman Cocke himself and of his associates who join us in honoring him tonight as Man of the South.

The Item Veto

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, the merits of the item veto, will be discussed pro and con again this session, and it is my feeling that Congress should deal with this matter forthrightly so that the people who support this great Government of ours through their taxes will be assured that it is not being shunted aside or swept under the rug, so to speak.

There has been considerable interest in favor of the item veto among the people I represent. One of the latest manifestations of that interest was an editorial in the Burlington (Iowa) Hawk-Eye Gazette on January 13. Under leave to extend my remarks, I ask consent that the editorial appear in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

THE ITEM VETO

The Iowa Taxpayers Association rightly has fingered a major culprit in the never-ending growth of Federal spending—the lack of an item veto.

The President must either sign all of an appropriation bill, or toss it out the window

entire. This is what happened to last session's public works measure. Eisenhower objected to a few projects in this bill, but could not eliminate those. So he vetoed, and the result was passage of a new bill worse in most respects than the original.

No excuse can be offered for not providing an item veto. It doesn't happen because of pork barreling. A Congressman with a pet district project, which may have no validity in the national picture, gets it inserted in an omnibus bill, confident that the President must either accept it or veto some necessary appropriations.

This means more money, often foolishly spent. The item veto should be a major goal of the new Congress.

The Liberal of Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, a constituent recently sent to me an editorial from the Shreveport Journal of September 29, 1959, by Bomar Jaymes entitled "The Liberal of Today." This interesting comparative analysis of the liberal of today and the liberal of bygone days is worthy of the attention of every Congressman, it seems to me, particularly in view of the controversies that exist today between those who are known as conservatives and liberals respectively. This article speaks for itself:

AIN'T WHAT HE USED TO BE—THE LIBERAL OF TODAY

(By Bomar Jaymes)

The political liberal of today ain't what he used to be.

He has changed his colors and reversed his field.

The liberals who wrote the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, the Bill of Rights and who fought in the Revolutionary War had nothing in common with the liberals of today.

These wise Colonial forebears believed in human rights and personal liberties, and they pledged "their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor" to the protection of these rights and liberties.

They supported their beliefs with deeds as well as words.

But, the liberal of today professes one thing and then practices something entirely different.

He talks big, loud and long about his dedication to the protection and preservation of human rights and personal liberties.

And then he proceeds to advocate and support legislation that imposes upon the people regulations, restrictions and controls which curb their rights and freedoms.

One of the principal earmarks of today's liberal is the unwavering dedication to the spending of other people's money, disguised as Federal funds. And the bigger the spending, the better he likes it.

He is a confirmed believer in government handouts * * * in a wide variety of government services, in government aids and in so-called government benefits. This is his principal stock in trade.

He professes to believe that a person has a right to enjoy the fruits of his labor. But at the same time, he advocates and supports legislation which consumes a sizable portion of the people's income.

He is dedicated to the principle that the Government has a right to take a portion of a person's income and freely hand it out to persons who did not earn it.

He does not profess this, of course. He merely practices it.

He speaks glowingly of spending billions of dollars of Federal funds for the benefit of the people, when he knows that these Federal funds must come out of the pockets of the people he professes to aid.

He knows that the term "Federal funds" is a deceptive misnomer; that what he is taking about is taxpayers' money, since the Government has no money except that which it takes from the people in the form of direct and hidden taxes.

But the liberal is careful never to mention this. By his words, he leads the people to believe that they can get something for nothing, so long as they get it from the Government.

The liberal of today poses as a great humanitarian dedicated to the promotion of the people's welfare while, at the very same time, he pilfers their pockets by the enactment of heavy tax levies.

The liberal long since has ceased to believe that thrift and economy in government is a virtue to be practiced.

Whenever there is a conflict between thrift and spending, you will always find the liberal on the side of spending.

Deficit spending by the Federal Government does not concern today's liberal. Neither does inflation.

He may publicly profess otherwise, but his actions speak louder and more convincingly that his empty words.

In the past 30 years, the liberal has taken no firm or positive step to curb deficit spending, which is one of the primary causes of inflation.

He goes on his merry way, posing as the people's benefactor. Meanwhile, he appropriates and spends their money for various so-called aids, benefits and services which are calculated to influence their votes, but which actually consume a portion of their income.

The liberal professes to have the interest of the people at heart. However, he has supported a policy of big Government spending which has stimulated an inflationary spiral that has destroyed half of the purchasing power of the dollar in the past 20 years.

He has advocated and supported an agricultural program costing the taxpayers approximately $45 billion since 1932, and currently is costing them upward of $6 billion a year.

In supporting the agricultural program of farm price supports, the liberal has contributed to deficit spending, to increases in the cost of foodstuffs and to increases in the taxes levied upon the income of the people.

The liberal professes to believe in the free enterprise system. Yet he consistently badgers, criticizes and condemns businessmen, particularly the successful ones.

He acts as if he is dedicated to the proposition that the successful should be penalized and the unsuccessful rewarded.

While he poses as an advocate of the free enterprise system, he usually supports socialistic schemes which tend to weaken and penalize the free enterprise system.

A few cases in point: The TVA, the REA, hydroelectric plants, and many other socialistic government-provided services which compete in various ways with taxpaying private enterprises.

The liberal of yesteryear believed that the Constitution guaranteed man the right to work where he pleased, when he pleased, and for whom he pleased so long as he could secure employment.

The liberal of today believes that the right of a person to work when, where and for whom he pleases is a union-granted privilege, not a God-given right.

He believes that wages should go up * * * that the prices of goods and services should go down * * * all at the same time. Yet he knows, or should know, that wages constitute the major cost of producing goods and services and that when wages go up, prices also and inevitably must go up.

The liberal believes that a business or industrial monopoly should be subject to the antitrust laws. But he also believes that an equally big and powerful labor organization should not be subject to the same antitrust laws.

He believes that a monopoly is not a monopoly when it is a labor organization.

The only true and accurate way of judging people, including politicians, is by what they do, not by what they say.

This simple formula reveals the liberal of today in his true light.

He is not a friend of the people, even though he piously poses as their great benefactor.

By his acts, he has been a major contributor to Government deficit spending, to inflation, to a labor movement that increasingly imposes its will upon the Congress and often resorts to coercion and crime to subjugate resisters.

The liberal of today believes in big government, big spending and big deficits, and in the philosophy that you can get something for nothing so long as you get it from the Government.

He does not publicly profess to believe in these things. But a political liberal, like everyone else, must be judged by what he does, not by what he says.

The liberal of bygone days cherished, above everything else, his God-given rights and personal liberties.

He was willing to stand up and fight for these rights and liberties. And he did that time and again down through the glorious history of our Nation.

That is the kind of liberal we need today.

That is the kind of liberal we must have if we are to enjoy once again the rights and liberties envisioned by our Founding Fathers and incorporated by them in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

Do we have in our Nation today liberals of that stature * * * liberals who are willing to say, as did their illustrious forebears, "with a firm reliance on the protection of divine providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor" that these rights and liberties shall not perish?

The moving hand of time eventually will write the answer.

Danger Points to Public Power in 1960

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following speech by Senator CLAIR ENGLE before the Electric Consumers Information Committee Legislative Workshop, Monday, January 18, 1960:

You and I have been working together toward a common goal for a good many years—so I am glad to have this opportunity to appear before the Electric Con-

sumers Information Committee. I want to talk to you a little about electric utility policies and politics. We both know these subjects rather well. I hope that I can add something to your already extensive information on these subjects.

I am glad that this legislative workshop is working in the interest of the consumer. The consumer is the least represented element in our society today. Under this administration, which took over as a businessman's administration, the consumer has been pretty well ignored. The private power companies of American picture the consumer as a downtrodden taxpayer who is systematically being forced to pay two power bills—his own and that of the fellow who gets power from public projects. We know that the consumer is not only a taxpayer but also a ratepayer. He pays the rates set by the utility—a fact which the private utilities choose to ignore and which this administration has not yet discovered.

In the kind of environment we have had in recent years, it is particularly important that the Electric Consumers Information Committee be more active and vigilant than ever. The groups that support your organization are entitled to special commendation. I speak particularly of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, headed by my former colleague in the House of Representatives, Clyde T. Ellis. The American Public Power Association, with Alex Radin, has done fine work. The AFL–CIO has recognized a legitimate interest in the welfare of the consumer. The Farmers Union and the National Grange, as farm organizations, have taken more than ordinary interest in consumer affairs. The Northwest Public Power Association is active and vigorous as was the Hell's Canyon Association during the difficult struggle for that project.

It is necessary for these organizations to keep on the statute books a public power policy that is beneficial to the power consumers of America. These power policies have not received the support of this administration. Congress has been deluged with proposals to water down the laws that make power cheaper throughout the land. Whenever possible the administration of existing laws has been distorted to impair the established national power policy as imbedded in the statute books. So far, none of these laws have been repealed. Sometimes they haven't been executed as they should. But they are still on the books. A Federal Power Commission has been appointed that does not agree with the power policy written by the Congress. The present Federal Power Commission is not interested particularly in protecting the consumer. The Bureau of the Budget has taken a stranglehold on new projects. Federal public power development has been either completely stopped or delayed because the officials in this administration are not in favor of public power.

This will be an active and busy session of Congress. We will have to be adjourned by July 1 or thereabouts to attend the national conventions. In the rush of getting through the appropriation bills and major legislation demands by the administration, it will be necessary for all the electric consumer organizations to be especially alert that some proposal adversely affecting their interest does not get by undetected. There are some matters that will be of particular importance. I will mention them.

First, we may again be faced with a proposal in one form or another involving the so-called "partnership" program advocated by this administration. You will recall that this proposal took specific form first on the Trinity River project in California. Just to refresh your memory: The administration proposed that a private power company be permitted to build the powerhouses on an otherwise completely federally financed project. This would accomplish economy, in the mind of the administration, by saving the cost of the powerhouses to the Federal Government. It is hardly necessary for me to emphasize that the consumers would pay for the powerhouses in any case. In the end, the private power company instead of the Federal Government would own the powerhouses, and the consumer would pay nearly twice as much for the power. This is a costly way of avoiding creeping or crawling socialism.

Last session we defeated the partnership program when the House Interior Subcommittee tabled the bills which would have put it into effect. Congress then proceeded to appropriate $2,400,000 to start Federal construction of the powerhouses. But this isn't enough to firmly nail down the proposition. We will need at least $20 million more for fiscal 1960 to really get these powerhouses beyond the planning and design stage. A California newspaper last week quoted a vice president of the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. as saying: "Our faith in the partnership concept of water and power development is undiminished. We intend to continue our advocacy of this principle on Federal, State, and local projects within our territory of service * * *."

This indicates that the power company hasn't given up. Some effort may be made this year to block the Trinity funds for the powerhouses. Accordingly I welcome the continued attention of your membership to this particular issue.

Another question directly involving public power to the consumer is the proposal to build an intertie line between the Columbia River powerplants and the Central Valley project in California. These are two Federal power systems. This administration now proposes to tie them together with a private line built by a private power company. This scheme, of course, will make the private power company the tollkeeper. A contract was prepared last year to put the proposal into effect, but we stopped it. I am not sure how long it will stay stopped. It is our belief that a Federal line should interconnect the two Federal systems. Power that cannot be used in the Central Valley system or by preference customers can be wholesaled to the private power company on the same basis that nonfirm power from the Central Valley project itself is now sold to the private power company. Let me emphasize that this proposal would not divert power from the Columbia River system for which that system has any need or use, but would provide revenue to that system for kilowatts now going to waste. For the preference customers in California a Federal construction of the intertie is the only method by which their preference can be preserved. In 1951—the 82d Congress—I introduced a bill to provide for a Federal intertie between the Columbia River and the California Central system. The private utilities fought it tooth and nail. Now they are for it, provided they can do it. The economic justification of this intertie has never been in question. The only issue has been whether or not the Federal Government would be permitted to interconnect those two systems. The private utilities defeated legislation to permit that to be done. Now they are for it, provided they can do it. I doubt that the President would sign legislation providing for a Federal intertie. The best we can hope for is to prevent the execution of a contract which permits it to be done by private utilities until after the first of next year—when I hope we will again have a Democratic President.

Third, we want to make sure that none of the pending proposals to wreck the REA achieve the status of law as a part of the last will and testament of the dying Eisenhower administration. The REA can be economized into oblivion by hoisting the interest rates on REA loans or driving the cooperatives toward high-priced money markets of Wall Street. This is clear from the Republican program embodied in legislation pending before Congress. I refer specifically to S. 133 and H.R. 797, among others. At the present time neither of these bills has gotten out of committee, and I hope we keep them there. I suggest that you read the editorial entitled "REA and Tight-Money Policy" in the January issue of Rural Electrification. It points out that the drive to raise REA interest rates is a part of a carefully planned administraiton tight-money policy. The editorial concludes: "As inflation medicine, this policy is poison." There is growing pressure on public power agencies to make them accept higher interest rates. That pressure will be increased during this session of Congress.

The purpose of these administrative and legislative actions is to reverse the national power policy laid down in the REA Act and other Federal legislation. That policy provides for the lowest possible rates for power produced at public dams consistent with the repayment of the cost of the project. It has, further, historically provided a preference to public power for cities, municipalities, public agencies, and irrigation districts. We have not forgotten that when the President was called to give an example of socialism he named the TVA. The Administration has clearly been alined with the private power companies during the past 7 years. This year may be their last chance to get in their licks.

As part and parcel of the effort to cut back public power development, we have been faced consistently in recent years with a no-new-starts policy. This has been dressed up as an economy measure. The projects which produce Federal public power have been special victims of this no-new-starts policy. We authorized some 32 projects last session by overriding the veto of the President of the United States. I am not sure, however, how fast they are going to start because the Bureau of the Budget can impound the money appropriated to build these projects. Some of the more controversial new starts have not as yet been able to get underway.

For example, Yellowtail Dam on the Big Horn River was authorized in 1944 as part of the Missouri Basin program. Congress has repeatedly confirmed its decision with reference to the need for this project. Each and every year for the past 7 years this administration has found new reasons for not going forward. The people of Montana and Wyoming need this project, both for its water and for its power.

There are a great number of authorized smaller Missouri Basin projects which would yield power but have not been started by this administration—and will not be started unless continuous pressure is exercised.

The seven Colorado River States have a vital interest in the power to be developed in the Upper Colorado River storage project. This administration inherited that project from its predecessor—fully engineered and ready for authorization. The Congress authorized this project under reclamation law, including public transmission lines. Now, as soon as the project is underway private utilities are prepared to help the administration economize and save some money. In this case the economy consists of turning over the public power to the private utility companies who would provide the transmission lines. Here again, as in the Columbia River situation, this power would in the process be freed of the preference clause and would be subject to distribution by a private power company.

In summary, we are fighting a defensive battle in Congress and with the administration to retain what we have in the public power policy of this Nation for the benefit of the consumer.

The executive branch has teamed up with the private utility and the banks to make it tough on every phase of public power. Power producing projects have been the victim of the no-new-starts program. Money has been tightened up on REA cooperatives—and the interest rates have been raised. The so-called partnership has been actively pushed to take the Federal Government out of power production at federally built projects. The power preference for public agencies has been challenged in national advertising by the private power lobby—with the cost of the advertising written off as a business expense. The President described TVA as the best example of creeping socialism—and this attitude has permeated his whole administration. This was the most direct and powerful assault on the electric consumer in the past 30 years.

On the whole, we have sustained the attack rather well. We have lost no major legislative battles—no laws have been repealed. Some have been watered down. We have been hurt, but not ruined.

We can fight 1 more year. We will be vigilant and active in defense of the interests of the electric power consumers. And we can look forward after 8 long hard years to a new administration that will support and implement the 50 years of Federal legislation beneficial to the electric power consumers of America.

Minnesota Labor Leader Wants Congress To Prohibit Strikes and Boycotts by Medical Profession

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from R. A. Olson, president of the Minnesota AFL–CIO Federation of Labor, and attached article which appeared in the Evening Star, January 11, 1960:

MINNESOTA AFL–CIO FEDERATION OF LABOR,
St. Paul, Minn., January 18, 1960.

The Honorable JOSEPH E. KARTH,
Congressman, Minnesota Fourth District, House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: You may recall that when I was in your office there were some letters from doctors and their wives urging you to support a law to take care of the racketeers, labor bosses, etc., that were running the unions today.

These letters must have been inspired by someone interested in the complete destruction of the labor movement, as in all of my experience with doctors I have never run across one who professed to know, or care, anything about how labor unions were run. Now they are suddenly vitally concerned about how the poor members of the unions are being taken in by their labor leaders.

We in Minnesota are plagued with a law prohibiting strikes by hospital employees. This law was passed at the instigation of the doctors.

I am enclosing a copy of an article I clipped from a paper in Washington recently. You will notice that the doctors went on strike when the chief of surgery was suspended. When a union threatens strike in any line over an issue such as this, the union is charged with interfering in the prerogatives of management. In hospitals, striking is prohibited by law. These doctors further insist that the administrator be dismissed. We don't even dare attempt to tell employers who to hire to run the joint, but the doctors do. They boycott the hospital so effectively that they will probably have to close, and subject many people to the loss of their hospital and may even risk their lives.

So, Mr. Congressman, I feel that it should be possible to have Congress investigate this case with the object in mind of passing a law prohibiting doctors from going on strike and carrying on a boycott. At the same time, it may be well to investigate the terrific charges and other practices of some of these holier-than-thou gentlemen of the medical profession.

Sincerely yours,

R. A. OLSON.
President.

[From the Washington Evening Star, Jan. 11, 1960]

HOSPITAL STRIFE SPLITS EASTERN SHORE TOWN

CAMBRIDGE, MD., January 11.—Churches in this eastern shore town stayed open yesterday afternoon so residents could pray for an end to the community strife over their hospital.

The question is whether Cambridge-Maryland Hospital will resume normal functions of housing and caring for the ill and disabled, or become a vacated building.

For days this eastern shore community has been stirred by the pulling and pushing over the way the institution is being run.

The bitter battle came to a head December 7 when the directors suspended indefinitely Dr. John Mace, the chief of surgery.

The doctors protested. They want Dr. Mace reinstated. And they want the hospital administrator, Harold Costen, discharged. They contend there is too much interference with the hospital's medical duties.

A boycott by the physicians has slowly emptied the hospital rooms. Last week it was announced the loss was $500 a day. There were indications this couldn't go on much longer.

The protesting doctors declared they would use Cambridge-Maryland for treatment of emergency cases only. There haven't been many of these. Persons needing hospitalization have been taken northward to Easton Memorial Hospital or down the shore to Salisbury's Peninsula General Hospital.

The doctors have to decide by tonight whether they'll reregister as members of the medical staff for the coming year. The hospital directors in a notice said that if enough applied, and were approved, the hospital will remain open.

Should the doctors ignore the deadline and not reapply for privileges, the directors' statement implied the hospital would be closed.

All the doctors indicated over the week end they would reapply.

Today also is the day for election of new members to the 18-man board of directors.

In another development, Baltimore Attorney Hyman Pressman, frequent critic of public officials, today urged Governor Tawes to intercede in the Cambridge-Maryland Hospital dispute to "prevent catastrophe."

In a telegram to the Governor, Mr. Pressman said the threatened closing of the hospital was "an intolerable situation which must be prevented."

In Annapolis a spokesman for the Governor said Governor Tawes had not received Mr. Pressman's telegram and therefore could not comment on it.

Questions About Disarmament

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JEFFERY COHELAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, an article by William Stringer, chief of the Christian Science Monitor's Washington Bureau, raises a number of questions about whether or not the United States is being entirely practical in the disarmament talks at Geneva.

Under permission to extend remarks in the RECORD, I submit this commentary for the attention of my colleagues. I do not wish to suggest that the answers to the questions raised by Mr. Stringer are clear, any more than he does himself. My thought is that these points must be given our most thorough attention:

First. Would underground nuclear testing be as sinister and as technically effective as we have imagined?

Second. Would the Soviets risk the massive international condemnation that would result from violation of an agreement to ban underground testing?

Third. Are there not very real objectives realized in a ban with limited inspection?

The article follows:

STATE OF THE NATIONS—MUST IT BE FOOLPROOF INSPECTION?

(By William E. Stringer)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The first, toddling efforts to achieve a forward march in the disarmament arena are not progressing very well at Geneva. The conference of Soviet, British, and United States negotiators, aimed at achieving an agreed and inspected prohibition on the testing of nuclear weapons, has run into repeated stalemate.

In Washington's official view, this is the fault entirely of Moscow. Other experts, not at the Pentagon or the Atomic Energy Commission, wonder if the United States is being as reasonable and as wise as it might be. Has Washington—administration and Congress—listened too intently to the voice of no accommodation, which is the voice of Dr. Edward Teller?

Certainly the Americans are right in bringing forward new seismographic evidence at Geneva, some of which indicates that it's easier than previously thought to touch off a small underground nuclear detonation—in a round cavern—and disguise it as an earthquake. This is held to render inadequate the earlier American proposal for a system of 180 monitoring stations to detect underground explosions. Washington now wants free inspection of any and all seismic events.

President Eisenhower is aware that the current stalemate gives the Soviets an international test ban without inspection—just what they originally wanted—as long as no power resumes testing. He has condemned what he calls unwillingness on the part of politically guided Soviet experts to give serious consideration to the new seismic data. Unwilling to see the Geneva talks fail, Washington is reported ready to consider a phased ban on nuclear testing: agreement now on tests in the air and at the earth's surface, agreement later on underground tests when better detection methods have been perfected.

Washington's caution is understandable. Congress isn't likely to approve a test-ban treaty where inspection isn't awfully tight. Yet the question needs to be asked: Is this the best that can be done?

Those few who think otherwise make a number of points worth pondering:

1. Will small underground nuclear explosions actually help any nation very much to improve its nuclear arsenal? Actually, one of the few improvements the United States needs to make in its atomic weaponry is the development of a more powerful warhead for its forthcoming solid-fueled, intermediate-range missile the Polaris.

Perhaps—perhaps—by some kind of massive scaledown and computer calibration, a small-bore explosion in a spherical hole can help build a more formidable Polaris warhead, but this kind of testing should really be done in the atmosphere.

2. If Washington thinks the Soviets are stalling on a Geneva agreement, Moscow has reason to think that Washington is stalling. Twice the United States has put forward new inspection proposals; once the Soviets came round to agree to the new techniques. But right away the United States discovered new scientific data and upped its demands. To a suspicious Soviet mind, this looks as though Washington didn't want an agreement.

3. The United States is insisting on perfection in a field where perfection is unattainable. Is the risk that Moscow would attempt an underground test in violation of a treaty very great? "Probably not," is the comment. "The Soviets would need to conduct a series of tests, not a single burst, to amass any usable data. With a series, there is far greater risk of discovery. And think of the massive international condemnation that Moscow would reap, and the perilous new spurt in the arms race that would be touched off, if Moscow sneaked and got caught."

4. Even a limited inspection system would commit Moscow to control and detection centers on its own soil, thereby "opening up" the Soviet Union to a degree—a very worthy objective.

Do these arguments add up to sufficient reason for shifting American policy at Geneva, for taking a "calculated risk" and concluding an agreement based on 180 monitoring stations—perhaps subject to revision as new detection data came to light?

This would not be an easy decision for the President to make. He is certainly not being urged in this direction by nuclear adviser Lewis L. Strauss, nor is Congress by Dr. Teller. Both of them are very "strict constructionists" when it comes to test-ban agreements with Moscow. Perhaps they are right. Yet meanwhile the stalemate continues, and each side charges the other with being unreasonable.

Our Farmer Can Now See a Ray of Hope

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BEN F. JENSEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, as you know, on November 16, last, I wrote President Eisenhower recommending the soil bank withdrawal plan, as explained in my remarks to the House on January 7, at which time I said I would send the plan to many Americans in all walks of life, which I did, and I am now pleased to report that the response and support of that plan has been most encouraging, from Members of Congress and nationwide.

I have just received the following letter from President Eisenhower:

JANUARY 22, 1960.

The Honorable BEN F. JENSEN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR BEN: I have your recent letter regarding the soil bank withdrawal plan, which has been given serious study here. CHARLIE HOEVEN is also interested in this general approach.

A number of people in the executive branch are working actively on this proposal; a position on it will be firmed up shortly. The plan as you have outlined it is quite clear and is well understood and I appreciate your constructive interest.

With warm regard.

Sincerely,

D. E.

Hence, Mr. Speaker, we can now at least see a ray of hope for our farmers for the first time during the past several years—for if this plan is made law, to pay liberally in kind for effectively reducing production of the costly price depressing surpluses, of not only corn and wheat, but also of cotton and tobacco, it will reduce the surpluses-to normal size in about 2 years and will tend almost immediately to stabilize all farm prices on a higher profitable level without added cost to our taxpayers, farmers themselves being substantial taxpayers.

Now we can only hope that President Eisenhower will urge—yes, even demand—that this plan be enacted into law, just as he recommended in his farm speech to Congress on January 9, 1956.

Damon Runyon Cancer Fund Awards to State of Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, the Damon Runyon Fund for Cancer Research has honored me by asking me to present a check for $10,000 to the Children's Orthopedic Hospital in Seattle for cancer research.

This fine institution, as Mr. John H. Teeter, executive director of the fund points out in his letter to me, has received splendid support from the Seattle Variety Club, and the award represents, as he states, recognition of the consistent help given to the fund by show business in the area.

Previously, $132,475 has been awarded by the Damon Runyon Fund to other Washington State hospitals and institutions for cancer research, and on several occasions it has been my privilege to present the ever-welcome checks.

I think it is worthy of note that the Damon Runyon Fund is the only private agency devoting its entire resources to cancer research, and also that all operating costs are paid by the Walter Winchell Foundation, for which I have an equally high regard.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Teeter's communication to me be printed in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Senator WARREN G. MAGNUSON,
U.S. Senate, Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MAGNUSON: We are honored to include among the cancer pioneers you and your former colleague, Senator Homer T. Bone, from the State of Washington.

The original enabling legislation in 1937, by you and your colleagues, created the first Government appropriation for cancer. The original bill (1937) stated $750,000 for a building and $700,000 to start a research program.

Due to the depression, only $400,000 was appropriated, one-half of which was for the purchase of radium. This modest beginning has grown to an allout attack against cancer, embracing the Government's National Cancer Institute, the Atomic Energy Commission, the American Cancer Society, and the Damon Runyon Fund.

The National Cancer Institute appropriation for the fiscal year July 1, 1959–60 was $91,250,000. Of this total $37,068,000 has been ear-marked for research projects.

"The Damon Runyon Fund is the only agency devoting its entire resources to cancer research. There are never any deductions for expenses from contributions to the Runyon Fund. The Walter Winchell Foundation pays all the costs of operating the Damon Runyon Fund.

To date $13,304,788 has been allocated in 999 grants and 446 fellowships in 267 institutions in 48 States, the District of Columbia and 23 foreign countries.

Of this grand total $132,475 has been allocated to the following institutions in the State of Washington:

Sacred Heart Hospital	$5,400
Seattle University	7,000
State College of Washington	10,000
Tumor Institute of the Swedish Hospital	22,075
University of Washington	88,000
Total	132,475

The Fund is also the recipient of 619 bequests by will amounting to over $2,580,000.

Since the introduction of your original cancer legislation, some of your distinguished colleagues have died of cancer. Others now serving in the Senate have come to know cancer personally and have met its challenge with courage and direct action. Your distinguished colleague, Senator NEUBERGER, has by his courage, nailed his banner on the masthead as a cancer fighter.

We wish at this time to announce an additional grant in the State of Washington and ask your assistance in presenting a check for $10,000 for cancer research to the Children's Orthopedic Hospital in Seattle, a project of the Variety Club of Seattle.

The Damon Runyon Fund, cognizant of the consistent help given it by Show Business, is by this grant adding its vote of confidence to a fine hospital in Seattle, Washington—your home State.

Sincerely yours,

DAMON RUNYON MEMORIAL FUND,
JOHN H. TEETER,
Executive Director.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I further ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the RECORD a geographical breakdown of cancer research allocations by the Damon Runyon Fund as of November 30, 1959.

There being no objection the compilation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

DAMON RUNYON MEMORIAL FUND FOR CANCER RESEARCH, INC.

Geographical breakdown of allocations, Nov. 30, 1958

[F—Fellowship; RG—Research grant]

State and institution	Total institutions		State total
Alabama:			
Alabama Polytechnic	1 RG	$3,600.00	
Baptist Hospital	1 RG	7,087.00	
Tuskegee Institute	4 RG	36,925.00	
University of Alabama	1 RG	5,000.00	$52,612.00
Arizona: Arizona State University	1 RG	6,000.00	6,000.00
Arkansas: University of Arkansas	2 RG	15,562.00	15,562.00
California:			
American Cancer Society, California	1 RG	100,000.00	
American Cancer Society, Los Angeles	4 RG	40,000.00	
California Institute of Technology	2 RG	20,000.00	
	1 F	3,600.00	
Cedars of Lebanon Hospital	1 RG	15,000.00	
City of Hope Medical Center	2 RG	18,400.00	
Los Angeles Tumor Institute	4 RG	31,100.00	
Mercy Hospital	1 RG	10,000.00	
Mount Sinai Hospital	1 RG	7,500.00	
Mount Zion Hospital	10 RG	70,000.00	
St. Joseph Hospital	1 RG	5,000.00	
St. Vincent's Hospital	3 RG	15,000.00	
Sansum Clinic Research Foundation	1 RG	10,000.00	
Stanford University	10 RG	106,033.00	
	3 F	12,200.00	
University of California	8 RG	207,870.00	
	14 F	54,468.70	
University of Southern California	2 RG	25,862.00	752,033.70
Colorado:			
University of Colorado	13 RG	165,200.00	
St. Mary Hospital	1 RG	5,000.00	
Veterans' Administration hospital	1 F	4,800.00	175,000.00
Connecticut:			
New England Institute of Medical Research	2 RG	24,000.00	
Yale University	4 RG	65,250.00	
	5 F	18,401.69	107,651.69
Delaware: University of Delaware	3 RG	12,700.00	12,700.00
District of Columbia:			
Children's Hospital	2 RG	12,500.00	
George Washington University	12 RG	106,500.00	
	2 F	7,967.00	
Howard University	4 RG	48,014.00	
National Research Council	10 RG	14,800.00	
Armed Forces Institute of Pathology	2 F	8,400.00	197,881.00
Florida:			
Baptist Memorial Hospital	4 RG	14,105.00	
Cancer Institute at Miami	7 RG	60,300.00	
Florida Southern College	13 RG	44,835.00	
Good Samaritan Hospital	2 RG	10,000.00	
Orange County Memorial Hospital	1 RG	5,000.00	
St. Mary's Hospital	4 RG	20,000.00	
Tampa General Hospital	1 RG	5,000.00	
University of Florida	9 RG	153,000.00	
University of Miami	4 RG	85,100.00	
Winter Park Memorial Hospital	1 RG	5,000.00	402,340.00
Georgia:			
Emory University	3 RG	21,500.00	
Medical College of Georgia	3 F	9,806.25	31,306.25
Idaho:			
St. Luke's Hospital	1 RG	2,000.00	
University of Idaho	1 RG	18,600.00	20,600.00
Illinois:			
Chicago Medical School	4 RG	24,820.00	
Chicago Tumor Clinic	1 RG	25,000.00	
Hektoen Institute	3 RG	32,000.00	
Michael Reese Hospital	6 RG	73,400.00	
	2 F	9,000.00	
Southern Illinois University	2 RG	18,600.00	
University of Chicago	15 RG	341,600.00	
	7 F	28,143.44	552,563.44
Indiana:			
Indiana University	3 RG	34,000.00	
Purdue University	1 F	4,800.00	
Dr. James A. Reyniers	1 RG	1,200.00	
University of Notre Dame	10 RG	223,300.00	263,300.00
Iowa:			
Marycrest College	1 RG	1,300.00	
Iowa State College	2 RG	6,000.00	
State University of Iowa	3 RG	10,800.00	18,100.00
Kansas:			
St. Margaret's Hospital	3 RG	12,000.00	
	1 F	4,000.00	
University of Kansas	3 RG	60,000.00	
	2 F	6,750.00	82,750.00
Kentucky:			
American Cancer Society, Kentucky Cancer Mobile Unit	1 RG	10,000.00	
University of Louisville	10 RG	79,440.00	
Ursuline College	5 RG	9,000.00	98,440.00
Louisiana: Tulane University	4 RG	45,000.00	45,000.00
Maine: Jackson Memorial Laboratory	1 RG	50,000.00	50,000.00
Maryland:			
American Cancer Society, Maryland Division	1 RG	26,000.00	
Carnegie Institute of the District of Columbia	1 RG	1,597.00	
Johns Hopkins University	7 RG	89,400.00	
	9 F	35,361.70	
National Institutes of Health	5 F	20,800.00	
University of Maryland	1 RG	25,000.00	198,158.70
Massachusetts:			
Beth Israel Hospital	3 F	13,250.00	
Boston City Hospital	2 RG	18,300.00	
	6 F	31,378.13	
Boston University	1 RG	4,500.00	
Peter Bent Brigham Hospital	2 RG	20,000.00	
	15 F	67,100.00	
Massachusetts—Continued			
Children's Cancer Research Foundation, Inc.	5 RG	$38,500.00	
	2 F	7,200.00	
Free Hospital for Women	1 RG	5,500.00	
Harvard Medical School	5 RG	39,000.00	
	8 F	40,200.00	
International Congress Clinical Pathology.	1 RG	2,500.00	
Massachusetts General Hospital	7 RG	217,239.00	
	9 F	44,500.00	
Massachusetts Institute of Technology	14 RG	176,528.00	
	8 F	34,200.00	
Massachusetts Memorial Hospital	1 F	4,250.00	
New England Center Hospital	3 RG	16,800.00	
	18 F	77,850.00	
Pratt Diagnostic Clinic	2 RG	7,300.00	
	5 F	19,574.50	
St. Elizabeth's Hospital	1 F	3,600.00	
Scientific Specialties Corp.	4 RG	37,500.00	
Tufts University School of Medicine	14 RG	148,865.00	
	9 F	44,350.00	
University of Massachusetts	1 RG	3,000.00	
Worcester Foundation for Experimental Biology.	9 RG	86,000.00	
Vincent Memorial Hospital	2 RG	31,000.00	$1,239,964.63
Michigan:			
Detroit Institute for Cancer Research	1 RG	25,000.00	
University of Michigan	4 RG	32,084.00	
	3 F	12,600.00	
Wayne University	2 RG	8,490.00	78,174.00
Minnesota:			
St. Scholastica College	2 RG	10,000.00	
University of Minnesota	14 RG	178,500.00	
	12 F	54,700.00	243,200.00
Mississippi: University of Mississippi	1 RG	5,000.00	5,000.00
Missouri:			
Jewish Hospital	1 RG	4,500.00	
St. Louis City Hospital	1 F	4,000.00	
St. Louis University	4 RG	70,000.00	
	1 F	3,600.00	
Washington University	5 RG	59,340.00	
	5 F	19,300.00	160,740.00
Montana: University of Montana	2 RG	16,600.00	16,600.00
Nebraska:			
Creighton University	3 RG	8,300.00	
University of Nebraska	2 RG	20,000.00	28,300.00
Nevada:			
Rose de Lima Hospital	3 RG	25,000.00	
Southern Nevada Memorial Hospital	1 RG	5,000.00	
University of Nevada	1 RG	5,000.00	
Washoe Medical Center	2 RG	10,000.00	45,000.00
New Hampshire: Hitchcock Foundation	2 RG	11,700.00	11,700.00
New Jersey:			
Princeton University	1 RG	1,000.00	
Rutgers University	9 RG	102,307.00	
St. Peter's General Hospital	2 RG	6,500.00	
Seton Hall College of Medicine	1 RG	10,000.00	119,807.00
New Mexico:			
New Mexico Highlands University	2 RG	8,100.00	
University of New Mexico	3 RG	15,600.00	23,700.00
New York State (Excluding New York City):			
Bassett Hospital	1 F	4,250.00	
Buffalo General Hospital	2 F	7,000.00	
Carnegie Institute of Washington	3 F	7,800.00	
Cornell University	2 F	8,700.00	
New York State College of Agriculture	2 RG	8,820.00	
North Shore Hospital	2 RG	14,500.00	
Roswell Park Memorial Institute	5 RG	27,700.00	
	1 F	3,600.00	
Trudeau Foundation	4 RG	38,263.00	
University of Buffalo	3 RG	35,920.00	
University of Rochester	4 RG	53,146.00	
	2 F	12,000.00	
White Plains Hospital	1 RG	5,000.00	235,729.00
New York City:			
Albert Einstein College of Medicine	9 RG	51,900.00	
	2 F	7,800.00	
American Museum of Natural History	11 RG	115,000.00	
American Cancer Society, New York City.	5 RG	880,000.00	
Brooklyn Cancer Hospital	1 F	4,500.00	
College of the City of New York	7 RG	1,650.00	
Columbia University P. & S. and Delafield Hospital.	43 RG	715,720.09	
	24 F	110,380.45	
Committee for Promotion of Medical Research.	5 RG	49,500.00	
Cornell University	2 RG	24,100.00	
	2 F	7,619.15	
Fordham University	4 RG	26,650.00	
Genetic Society of America	1 RG	1,000.00	
Harlem Hospital	5 RG	46,295.00	
Hickrill Chemical Research Foundation.	2 RG	16,600.00	
Jewish Hospital of Brooklyn	1 RG	10,000.00	
Lenox Hill Hospital	1 RG	10,000.00	
Memorial Center, Sloan-Kettering Institute.	64 RG	1,042,792.38	
	86 F	405,166.11	
Montefiore Hospital	3 RG	27,500.00	
	1 F	3,000.00	
Mount Sinai Hospital	9 RG	53,500.00	
	2 F	9,000.00	
New York Academy of Sciences	9 RG	59,022.00	
New York Botanical Garden	2 RG	12,000.00	
New York Medical College	3 RG	25,720.00	

Geographical breakdown of allocations, Nov. 30, 1958—Continued

[F—Fellowship; RG—Research grant]

State and institution	Total institutions		State total
New York City—Continued			
New York University:			
Bellevue	36 RG	$518,967.00	
Washington Square College	12 F	55,200.00	
New York Zoological Society	4 RG	21,300.00	
Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn	7 RG	107,250.00	
Presbyterian Hospital	2 RG	12,954.00	
Public Health Research Institute of New York City	2 F	7,800.00	
Rockefeller Institute	7 F	28,200.00	
St. Catherine's Hospital	1 RG	10,000.00	
St. Clare's Hospital	2 RG	13,000.00	
St. Luke's Hospital	3 RG	12,000.00	
St. Vicent's Hospital	11 RG	96,600.00	
State University of New York	5 RG	40,350.00	
	3 F	13,200.00	
Dr. Louis A. Wolfe	5 RG	21,850.00	$4,675,602.09
North Carolina:			
Bowman Gray School of Medicine	1 RG	9,500.00	
Duke University	8 RG	260,300.00	
	9 F	40,750.00	
University of North Carolina	1 RG	10,692.00	321,242.00
North Dakota: University of North Dakota	3 RG	13,800.00	13,800.00
Ohio:			
College of St. Mary's of the Springs	2 RG	9,100.00	
Institum Divi Thomae	1 RG	5,000.00	
Jewish Hospital Association	1 RG	14,500.00	
Ohio State University	3 RG	19,050.00	
University of Cincinnati	3 RG	29,700.00	
Western Reserve University	2 RG	27,239.24	
	3 F	14,200.00	118,789.24
Oklahoma: Oklahoma Medical Research Foundation	3 RG	40,000.00	40,000.00
Oregon: University of Oregon	7 RG	128,000.00	128,000.00
Pennsylvania:			
Albert Einstein Medical Center	1 RG	10,000.00	
Conemaugh Valley Memorial Hospital	3 RG	17,500.00	
Hahnemann Medical College	9 RG	68,800.00	
Immaculata College	6 RG	14,940.00	
International Union Against Cancer	1 RG	3,000.00	
Institute for Cancer Research—Lankanau Hospital	4 RG	94,060.00	
	2 F	9,000.00	
Jefferson Medical College	3 RG	14,215.00	
	1 F	4,500.00	
Pennsylvania State University	3 RG	24,100.00	
University of Pennsylvania	8 RG	43,739.41	
	22 F	94,748.35	
University of Pittsburgh	3 RG	21,250.00	
	3 F	14,783.55	
Wills Eye Hospital	2 RG	11,300.00	
Wistar Institute of Anatomy and Biology	2 RG	5,800.00	
	1 F	4,800.00	
Pennsylvania—Continued			
Geisinger Memorial Hospital	1 RG	$6,800.00	$463,336.31
Rhode Island:			
Brown University	3 RG	13,372.00	
Providence College	4 RG	28,150.00	41,522.00
South Carolina: South Carolina Medical College	1 RG	5,000.00	5,000.00
South Dakota: South Dakota State College	3 RG	7,000.00	7,000.00
Tennessee:			
Carson-Newman College	2 RG	8,000.00	
Oak Ridge Institute	2 F	8,300.00	
University of Tennessee	3 RG	12,519.00	28,819.00
Texas:			
Martin X-Ray & Radium Clinic	1 RG	5,000.00	
Odessa College	2 RG	2,335.00	
St. Paul's Hospital	2 RG	10,800.00	
Southwest Foundation for Research & Education	2 RG	30,000.00	
	1 F	5,400.00	
University of Texas	1 F	3,600.00	
Southwest Medical School	5 RG	119,450.00	
	2 F	9,600.00	
M.D. Anderson Hospital	6 RG	81,200.00	
	1 F	4,250.00	
Medical Branch	5 RG	19,300.00	
	1 F	4,200.00	295,335.00
Utah:			
University of Utah	2 RG	11,700.00	
	5 F	23,300.00	
Utah State Agricultural College	4 RG	9,200.00	44,200.00
Vermont: University of Vermont	1 RG	5,400.00	5,400.00
Virginia:			
Medical College of Virginia	2 RG	13,700.00	
	2 F	7,600.00	
University of Virginia	4 RG	29,600.00	
	2 F	10,200.00	61,100.00
Washington:			
Seattle University	2 RG	7,000.00	
State College of Washington	1 RG	10,000.00	
Tumor Institute of Swedish Hospital	2 RG	22,075.00	
University of Washington	6 RG	81,000.00	
	2 F	7,000.00	127,075.00
West Virginia:			
Marshall College	2 RG	15,000.00	
St. Mary's Hospital	1 RG	390.00	15,390.00
Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin	7 RG	36,100.00	
	3 F	10,350.00	46,450.00
Wyoming: University of Wyoming	2 RG	5,000.00	5,000.00
Total, United States	1,212	11,732,484.05	11,732,484.05

FOREIGN ALLOCATIONS

Country and institution	Total institutions		Country total
Australia:			
Royal North Shore Hospital	1 RG	$4,000.00	
University of Adelaide	3 RG	14,000.00	$18,000.00
Austria: University of Vienna	1 RG	6,000.00	6,000.00
Belgium:			
Institut Jules Bordet	4 RG	39,300.00	
University of Bruxelles	2 F	9,900.00	
University of Louvain	1 RG	6,000.00	55,200.00
Canada:			
McGill University	1 RG	5,700.00	
	7 F	26,844.65	
Montreal Cancer Institute	3 RG	15,000.00	
	11 F	49,400.00	
Montreal General Hospital	1 F	4,200.00	
New Mount Sinai Hospital	2 RG	5,000.00	
Queen's University	1 F	3,300.00	
University of Alberta	3 F	13,500.00	122,944.65
Chile: University of Chile	2 RG	6,400.00	6,400.00
Denmark:			
Carlsburg Laboratories	1 F	3,600.00	
Fibiger Laboratory	2 F	6,000.00	
University of Copenhagen	3 RG	7,800.00	17,400.00
Dominican Republic: Instituto de Oncologia	1 RG	2,500.00	2,500.00
Finland:			
Cancer Society of Finland	2 RG	10,000.00	
Helsinki University	8 RG	44,000.00	54,000.00
France:			
University of Paris	1 RG	10,000.00	
Institut de Pasteur	4 RG	24,500.00	
Hopital de Enfant Malades	1 RG	3,500.00	38,000.00
Germany: International Rescue Committee	1 RG	$ 00.00	$200.00
Great Britain, British West Indies:			
Cambridge University	4 F	14,400.00	
Imperial Cancer Institute	2 RG	20,000.00	
National Hospital	1 F	5,400.00	
National Institute of Medical Research	1 F	5,500.00	
Post Graduate Medical School	2 F	8,100.00	
Jamaica Cancer Society, British West Indies	1 RG	5,000.00	58,400.00
Ireland: Cancer Association of Ireland	1 RG	10,000.00	10,000.00
Israel:			
Hebrew University	2 RG	20,000.00	
Weizmann Institute	2 RG	35,000.00	55,000.00
Italy: University of Bologna	1 RG	10,000.00	10,000.00
Korea: Seoul National University	2 RG	5,000.00	5,000.00
Mexico:			
Hospital de Enfermedades	5 RG	22,500.00	
Hospital General	1 RG	2,500.00	25,000.00
Norway: Norwegian Radium Hospital	1 RG	10,000.00	10,000.00
Peru: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos	3 RG	14,000.00	14,000.00
Scotland: Royal Infirmary	1 RG	10,000.00	10,000.00
Sweden:			
Nobel Medical Institute	1 F	6,750.00	
Karolinska Institute	1 F	2,250.00	
Radiumhemmet	4 RG	17,000.00	
	1 F	4,000.00	30,000.00
Total, foreign	104	548,044.65	548,044.65

Crisis of the Commuter Railroads: No. 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD J. IRWIN
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, the commuter railroad conditions in the Fourth Congressional District of Connecticut, which I represent in this House, and those of other metropolitan areas have reached the critical point. Dwindling passenger traffic has resulted in shrinking revenues for the commuter railroads which in turn invite disaster while further worsening traffic and financial problems of our major cities. The importance of rail commuter service to a strong economy, to national defense, and to our security warrant the attention of the Congress to problems of the commuter railroads. To help focus attention on these problems, I shall submit a series of articles, statements, and other matter bearing upon the subject. Pursuant to permission granted, I insert into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, a letter published in the Ridgefield (Conn.) Press of January 21, 1960:

REPRESENTATIVE IRWIN REVIEWS COMMUTER PROBLEMS

To the Editors:

I appeal to you as readers of this paper to let me know your views on the New Haven Railroad commuter service problems.

You know the difficulties, indeed you have to live with them. What you want, need, and deserve from the commuter service has deteriorated and nobody knows it better than you.

In the Fourth Congressional District of Connecticut live some of the most talented people in the country. They have proven this in countless business successes and I want to call on them. They can provide invaluable help and insight into the commuter issue to supplement findings from my personal studies and inspections of the railroad's operations.

The overall problem is simple to state: How do you transport some 35,000 persons to New York City in the morning and return them at night with safety and on time. This isn't being done.

A look at highway travel as an alternative emphasizes that it must be done.

To carry the 35,000 commuters, say with car pools of four in a car, would take 8,750 cars—a bumper-to-bumper line from Bridgeport to Greenwich, about 28 miles. Imagine what would take place in Westchester and picture the scene at the New York bridges? Go a step further into the city—traffic experts estimate conservatively it would take more than 50 acres to park the 8,750 cars. Where do you find 50 acres in the middle of New York or near the middle of the city?

Railroad commuter transportation is the only way to do the job.

Now, in my studies of the commuter issue, I have come upon some startling facts. Take the commuter service breakdowns. Railroad officials frankly admitted to me that the trains don't get proper maintenance. For this, they said, every car should have a thorough renovation every 6 years. Motors, running gear, electrical equipment, interior fixtures, seats, windows, and so forth would be inspected and repaired or replaced if necessary * * *.

But the passenger deficit eats up funds, leaving nothing for proper maintenance work, the New Haven authorities claimed. They added that proper maintenance hasn't been given in the past and isn't being given now.

What are the results? You commuters know what the lack of proper care has done to interiors of the cars. The railroad officials confirmed what you have undoubtedly believed—that the breakdowns occur largely because of poor maintenance. For example, it isn't uncommon in bad weather for water to leak into electrical equipment because of bad gaskets and cause short circuits and stall trains. Gaskets, the train officials said, would be inspected and kept in good condition had the trains been getting the 6-year renovation work.

Failure to provide the work has had a cumulative effect. The authorities told me the renovation jobs would normally cost $10,000 per car. Now, they say, it would cost $66,200 for each motorcar and $52,700 for each without a motor to put them in top-notch shape. They said it would be necessary to "remanufacture" the cars.

The New Haven's 100 new stainless steel cars, purchased in 1954, wouldn't need remanufacture but are due this year, under normal circumstances, for the 6-year renovation work. It doesn't look like this will be done.

Breakdowns, in addition to causing distress by resulting in delays, are serious hazards. I cannot overemphasize this. The railroad people at New Haven contend that they aren't hazards. I ask you, what is a breakdown on tracks crowded during the peak commuter hours?

The railroad has installed certain safety devices in its control towers to regulate switches and signal lights. They also have devices to indicate the position of trains in the vicinity of the switches.

But the switches are not automatic. In addition, there are no speedometers in the multiple-unit cars. One engineer told me experience must serve as the engineer's speedometer. I believe there is too much room for human error to regard breakdowns, especially during busy periods, as anything but hazards to safety.

The recent accident at Rowayton proves the point. It was caused by a human error—the engineer of a train coming to the aid of another that had stalled was misinformed by a dispatcher, so the Public Utilities Commission said, as to the location of the stalled train and the result was an accident. It could have been far more serious.

The conditions on the New Haven have an obviously bad effect on morale of the employees. They appear to have little or no interest in promoting the railroad. I believe that better conditions, and some places where the employees work are very depressing, contribute to morale improvement and see employees do a better job.

Railroad management has told us its commuter line deficit wouldn't be anywhere near as bad if taxes weren't so high. This can't be disputed. Last year, for example, the New Haven paid some $10 million in taxes, mostly to New York. About $600,000 of this went to Connecticut in earnings taxes on passenger operations, the management has pointed out, an amount equal to the cost of giving 60 cars the 6-year renovations.

Whether New York, with its tremendous financial problems, could be of much help in the way of tax relief, if any at all, remains to be answered. Tax relief, admittedly however, isn't the only answer.

Fare increases which might be justified in some instances won't put operations back in the black and reportedly tend to drive away commuters—if the increases are applied without improvements in trains and services or even a guarantee that conditions won't get even worse.

There is also a question of equitable taxation—other forms of transportation don't bear proportionately equal tax loads. These other means of transportation also enjoy enormous amounts of financial aid, from local governments and the Federal Government.

The commuter railroad problem won't be answered by massive grants of Federal aid alone. A Federal transportation policy covering the commuter lines is essential.

Railroads are private businesses that must make profits to survive—and they are here to stay. They will increase in importance with the growth of our cities and suburban areas. Answers to the commuter service problems must be keyed to a long-range program for orderly development of good economic mass transportation systems which include highways, air facilities and other means of travel.

Representative DONALD J. IRWIN.

WASHINGTON, *January 15.*

Government Should Set Example

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEO E. ALLEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial, entitled "Government Should Set Example," which appeared in the Rockford (Ill.) Register-Republic of January 21, 1960:

GOVERNMENT SHOULD SET EXAMPLE

President Eisenhower's annual Economic Report to Congress was largely a rallying cry to the Nation for a renewed battle against inflation. He was able to report that the average number of Americans with jobs in 1959 was well above that a year before, that total income went up 5.5 percent during the year, and that the real buying power of Americans gained 2.2 percent.

But the difference between total income and purchasing power shows that the cost of living has also gone up, thus pointing clearly to the importance of a strong fight against inflation. The President, in an effort to get people to think in terms of national solvency, urged industry and labor to exercise self-discipline in cutting prices and keeping wages in line. But the improved efficiency and greater output per worker which are necessary if business is to hold the price line will not come about if the public's interests are ignored in the settlement of labor-management disputes.

The President apparently believes that there can be greater efficiency in the steel industry in the coming months to offset the extra costs of the new contract signed recently with the union. But there are well-founded doubts that the steel price line can be held, in view of the settlement which provides increased wages and benefits during the next 30 months and postpones action on working rule changes which would bring about greater productivity.

A sure-fire approach to the inflation problem would be for the Government to take the lead in cutting costs—a step which was not indicated in the proposed budget for the next fiscal year. The actual increase in nondefense spending in the President's budget for fiscal 1961 is about 5 percent; although 57 percent of total spending will be for major

national security, the $45.6 billion earmarked in this area is actually $82 million less than will be spent this year.

This means that, although the overall spending next year will go up 2 percent, the increase in the nondefense items amounts to 5 percent; it could be higher because the President assumed that Congress will boost postal rates and did not include the $554 million in his budget which would come from that source.

The call for business and industry to hold the price line has been heard frequently. So has the advice to consumers to shop carefully for price and quality. But the Federal Government itself must take the lead in the fight against inflation. The battle against unnecessary spending which was so enthusiastically supported by the public last year must be joined again.

The Simple Question

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include and article which appeared in the Westminster Herald, Westminster, Calif., by the editor and publisher, Mr. Lloyd Thomas, on the subject of the affiliation of teachers with the Communist organizations:

THE SIMPLE QUESTION

(By Lloyd Thomas)

An emotional furor is being whipped up over dismissal of a Westminster High School teacher, Harold Collins. Collins recently refused to answer questions about possible Communist affiliation put to him by trustees of Huntington Beach Union High School District, to which Westminster belongs.

In the smoke of this emotional furor, it occasionally appears that the basic issue is being camouflaged. Further, it appears some of the camouflage may be deliberate. This would be serious because such intent could be only to undermine confidence in our laws, our system of government.

We believe the issue can be reduced to simple terms. We'll try to do it.

The teacher is a citizen, entitled to all the freedom of a citizen under our Constitution. But when a teacher seeks and accepts employment and pay from the public, he assumes obligations to the public beyond those of a non-public-employed citizen. These obligations are clearly spelled out in the education code which sets forth conditions of employment for public school teachers in California. Every teacher is aware of these conditions.

One of the conditions of employment is that teachers must, if asked, give direct answers to questions about possible Communist affiliation.

Two general types of people will refuse to answer such questions: (1) Communists who will neither reveal themselves nor deny Communist affiliation for fear of perjury charges; (2) people who believe that the questions invade their privacy and rights granted under the Constitution, who refuse to answer as a matter of principle.

We can quickly decide that we do not want the first type, the Communist, in our public schools. But what about the second type, the honest person acting from principle?

And here is the point the smokescreen tends to hide; that the condition of employment at issue was not established for frivolous or trifling reasons. The condition—that teachers must answer questions about Communist affiliation—is perhaps the most vital weapon school boards have in the battle to keep communism out of our public schools. So the honest person acting from principle is, in effect, saying to the school board: "My personal rights are more important to me than your need for a strong weapon in the battle against Communist infiltration into public schools."

The only possible answer is that we want neither Communists nor such confused, misguided, or utterly selfish people as the second type in our public schools, where they come in daily contact with young people of impressionable ages.

It is as simple as that.

We have noted through the years that one of the marks of maturity is the ability to respect authority, to obey, to live by established laws, to work and play by the rules. This is harder for some people than for others. In some instances, for some people, it is apparently impossible. And in recent years a few loud groups have arisen to help dissidents who flout the law in the name of principle and freedom. Some of these groups have been active in the Collins case.

All thoughtful citizens must be distressed by the Collins case. It reveals a painful situation. But most painful, to us, is the vociferous help by some of the "principles freedoms liberties" groups which always seems loudest for those dissidents who just don't want to answer that simple question: "Are you a Communist?"

The Federal Minimum Hourly Wage Rate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH J. ADDONIZIO
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. ADDONIZIO. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to call to the attention of the House of Representatives a resolution of the city of Newark, N.J., memorializing the 86th Congress to adopt necessary legislation to increase the Federal minimum hourly wage rate from $1 to $1.25 adopted on January 20, 1960.

The governing body of the city of Newark realize the importance of increasing minimum wages to help boost the purchasing power of the broad masses of the population and support our ever-increasing capacity to produce. It is estimated that 180,000 low-paid workers in New Jersey would be affected by the proposed legislation, with an increase in their purchasing power of $49 million a year. As the resolution points out, the adoption of the legislation would "inure to the benefit of countless thousands of citizens in the city of Newark in the way of increasing their standard of living." This holds true, of course, throughout the country, and I hope that our other municipalities will join with my home city in pressing for early action on the issue.

The resolution reads as follows:

Whereas the passage by the Congress of the United States of the minimum wage law establishing a minimum hourly rate of $1 did much to improve the standard of living among the laboring people throughout the country; and

Whereas during the years since the enactment of that law the cost of living has been increased in very substantial proportions, diminishing the purchasing power of the dollar very materially; and

Whereas the 86th Congress of the United States will be called upon to act upon the passage of a measure to increase the minimum hourly wage rate from $1 to $1.25; and

Whereas the adoption of such legislation would inure to the benefit of countless thousands of citizens in the city of Newark in the way of increasing their standard of living: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Municipal Council of the City of Newark, N.J.:

1. That the Members of the 86th Congress of the United States be and they are hereby requested to support the law to increase the minimum hourly wage.

2. That the Members of the United States Congress from the State of New Jersey be urged to use their best efforts in bringing about the adoption of the new minimum wage law.

3. That a copy of this resolution be forwarded by the municipal clerk of the city of Newark to each Member of the present Congress of the United States from the State of New Jersey.

Line's Busy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I desire to include therein the following editorial taken from the Wall Street Journal of January 20, 1960:

LINE'S BUSY

Mr. Eisenhower, who believes that the States and localities should depend less upon the Federal purse for their needs, twice in recent years suggested that the 10 percent telephone tax be relinquished by Uncle Sam and thus made available to the States. He hoped that the States would then take care of such problems as vocational rehabilitation and water pollution.

The States were happy to have the President make that recommendation, and last year Congress passed a law under which the phone tax will expire on June 30 this year. Governor Rockefeller of New York, who plans a $100 million hike in school revenue for the year beginning next September, had counted on taking over the phone tax to help his school program. Other Governors also had their eye on the tax windfall.

But the President, whose anxiety for a balanced budget and a surplus is well known, somewhere along the line decided Uncle Sam had to retain the tax for another year. So he asked Congress, in his budget message, not to let it expire.

Now we can understand the dilemma of both the White House and the Governors, who from what we hear are keeping the long distance phones busy planning pressures to induce the administration to give up the tax as scheduled. For one thing, if the States took it over it would permit them to increase present services or maybe create new ones without additionally taxing their constituents. But the White House knows that to

relinquish this tax would cut its revenues by more than it wishes now to lose.

But it seems to us that there's another party on this line who's got a right to speak his piece. And that's the taxpayer who has paid his phone tax ever since it was first enacted to help out in World War II—which ended almost 15 years ago.

We wish the taxpayer luck. But knowing that governments, whether Federal, State, or city, look with the same distaste on any suggestion that the taxpayer ought to be allowed to keep a little more of the money he's earned, we're pretty dubious concerning his chances. About all he'll get from our political supervisors will be busy signals and wrong numbers.

Ukrainian Independence Day

SPEECH
OF
HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, whenever freedom is born anywhere on this earth, it should be the pride of freemen to celebrate it. Freedom, like human life, is a precious thing. When it is first born, it must be nourished and protected against its enemies, the harsh realities of power or climate and disease. Often this protection is not enough and the spark of life is extinguished.

Such a tragedy occurred 42 years ago in the Ukraine. When the Czarist empire was in the throes of revolution as World War I ended, the people of the Ukraine established a Republic, in the right of all men created equal to choose their own form of government. The proclamation of an independent, free, and sovereign state was issued by the Rada on January 22, 1918.

While these formalities were in process of expressing the hopes and aspirations of the Ukrainian people, Soviet Communist forces were already in the process of destroying the efforts of democratic government, as they had betrayed the hopes of the people of Moscow and St. Petersburg. In December 1917, the Russians had boken with the Ukrainian Government and set up a puppet People's Republic. The pattern the world has seen so often since and has noticed repeatedly since the end of World War II was followed in Moscow's support to its henchmen, and the Ukrainian People's Republic in the principle of self-determination.

Then followed months of disorganized warfare. Hunger, typhus, and other diseases swept the Ukraine. Eventually the Communists choked out this young nation and by 1920, the Communists had subdued the people.

Despite the long years since the Soviet Ukraine was proclaimed, those who cherish liberty have kept alive the memories and liberties that were nurtured for such a short time on Ukrainian soil. Many Americans of Ukrainian descent look to the day when the Ukraine will again be free to control its own destiny. It is fitting that all Americans pause this week to mourn those who have been the victims of oppression and tyranny.

We honor not only the Ukrainian people who are held prisoners in their own homeland, but also those who have sought new lives in new lands, and who actively contribute to the cultural growth of their adopted homes. It is inspiring to witness how these people struggle against the superior might of Communist Russia in a valiant attempt to preserve their national indentity.

The tragedy of that first abortive attempt to establish a sovereign Ukrainian National Republic is past and familiar history, but it shall never be forgotten. Its commemoration persists as the symbol of the indefatigable spirit of all freedom-loving peoples. The Soviet fiction that the Ukraine is today a free republic is a vain and ludicrous attempt to deceive the world.

The American people share the dream that one day the Ukraine will, in fact, be free and independent. Until that day we must encourage, by words and deeds, the ambitions of these valiant people.

Colorado Attracts Meteorologic Skills

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BYRON L. JOHNSON
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege to represent a district which, because it combines the mountains and the plains, is making a foremost contribution to man's knowledge of weather.

Furthermore, we are gaining additional benefits as they accrue from the interchange of findings and hypotheses by those meteorologists who conduct their research in our one area.

We owe much to these men, for I cannot overestimate the importance of our improving the accuracy of weather forecasts in this country. When poor forecasts result from our inadequate knowledge of the weather, the consequences can be serious to individuals and to the whole economy.

Farmers, in particular, suffer from the weatherman's errors. Oncoming blizzards, when unforeseen, have often cost our ranchers and cattlemen substantial loss of livestock. Certain crops, such as sugar beets, can be frozen into the ground and lost. With advance warning, much loss could be prevented.

Although he is a writer, few men know more about weather and the atmosphere than Roscoe Fleming. Author with Irving P. Krick of the book "Sun, Sea, and Sky: Weather in Our World and in Our Lives"—Lippincott, 1954—Fleming speaks with knowledge of this subject. Other reports of his on atmosphere related subjects have appeared in Science Digest, the Nation, Popular Mechanics, Collier's, and other publications. An article by Roscoe Fleming in the Christian Science Monitor of January 11, notes Colorado's importance in the atmospheric sciences. Capsule accounts of the work of nine research centers are given. All are helping us to get better knowledge of weather.

The article follows:

COLORADO ATTRACTS METEOROLOGIC SKILLS

(By Roscoe Fleming)

FORT COLLINS, COLO.—Colorado quietly is becoming a national center of the sciences dealing with the atmosphere and the weather, and with the vital water supply they produce.

Colorado State University here has announced a new division of meteorology to be headed by Dr. Herbert O. Riehl, one of the Nation's leading meteorologists, and for many years installed at the University of Chicago.

The division will be part of an expanded program dealing with all natural resources related to water, from the clouds that flow over the State to the thrifty disposition of the last drop of water they afford.

The famed hydraulic laboratory of CSU, which has done much work for the United States and foreign governments, will be relocated in the Rockies foothills just west of Fort Collins, in a new $635,000 home.

JETSTREAM BOOK DUE

Dr. Riehl is an authority on tropical meteorology, and is the author of a forthcoming textbook on the jetstream, and the upper atmosphere and its role in weather.

He said he is coming to Colorado partly because it's a joy to live here, and professionally because of the relatively untouched field of mountain meteorology, with the Rockies and the adjoining Great Plains constituting a meteorological province unique on earth.

He will start with general courses for undergraduates and eventually, he hopes, CSU will build a division which will offer both master's and Ph. D. degrees. As a land-grant college, CSU graduates farm, forest, range-management, and watershed-management specialists, to all of whom weather is vital.

SOLAR STUDY CENTER

But Dr. Riehl is only Colorado's latest talent acquisition. Dr. Bernard Haurwitz, formerly head of the department of meteorology, and oceanography at New York University, has removed to Boulder, where he is a member of the staff of the University of Colorado's High Altitude Observatory.

Established only a score of years, this observatory already has taken its place as one of the world's leading centers of sun study, and works closely with another almost as well known, the Sacramento Peak Observatory of the Air Force Cambridge Research Center in New Mexico. Here the world's newest coronagraph is turning out breathtaking pictures of sun phenomena.

INFLUENCE ON EARTH SOUGHT

The high altitude observatory is building a new $275,000 headquarters building in Boulder, which will become a world repository for sun data gathered during the International Geophysical Year. Also it will install in 1960 its own new coronagraph of advanced design at its station on the Continental Divide at Climax, Colo.

More and more its interest is trending into the area of direct solar influence on earthly weather, a field in which Dr. Walter Orr Roberts, its director, has become an authority. In fact, the observatory is almost as much in the weather field as in that of solar physics.

Just across the highway from the high-altitude observatory are the Boulder Laboratories of the National Bureau of Standards, which have accumulated an enormous lot of data on the way the atmosphere works, as

part of its activity in atmospheric radio physics.

GEOLOGICAL OFFICES, TOO

Down this highway a score of miles are the national engineering and research facilities of the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation, which again have an enormous interest in how water reaches the ground, as well as what to do with it after it gets there. One foremost project here is in the field of evaporation-control—preventing stored water from floating uselessly back into the atmosphere.

In Denver also are regional U.S. Geological Survey offices for the study of underground water and stream flow, and the specialists who did much of the preliminary work for Project Plowshare, the first controlled underground nuclear explosion.

Back at Fort Collins, the U.S. Forest Service long has maintained its seven-State research facilities which explore every means of developing and saving water supply that comes from the heavens. Included are selective cutting of forests, obtaining "snow-storage" on the mountains, and many other such devices all of direct interest in the semiarid West. Scarcely less interest is being displayed in other areas which are beginning to feel the pinch of water scarcities.

There are other public institutions which do work in the same general fields, also, such as the Denver Research Institute of the University of Denver. And there are private weather-specialists such as Dr. Irving Krick, who maintains a private forecasting and weather modification company with headquarters in Denver.

There is a new era of interest in weather coming, and Colorado is ready to help lead the region, and the Nation, into it.

Ukrainian Independence Day, January 22

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the Ukrainian people have fought valiantly for their unquestioned right to freedom and independence. Their devotion to such a noble and righteous cause is recognized by the whole free world, and perhaps that is one reason why all free peoples, particularly the people of this country, feel so intensely about the sad fate of the Ukrainians in their homeland.

For centuries these sturdy and stout-hearted people have struggled, often against forbidding and insurmountable odds, for their freedom. In 1918 they attained their long-cherished national goal: they proclaimed their national independence on January 22, 42 years ago. Then for a brief period of about 2½ years they were free. But the forces of oppression and destruction were lurking around them even then; the bloodthirsty troops of the Red army were on the march. Late in 1920 they invaded the Ukraine, occupied it, and put an end to all forms of freedom there. During almost 40 years of misery and suffering some 42 million Ukrainians have been oppressed and enslaved under Communist totalitarian tyranny.

Today on the observance of Ukrainian Independence Day, the peoples of the free world, and of course we in this country, rededicate ourselves to the responsibilities that are ours as free people.

Quality Education Requires Local Support

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, a 4-percent increase in the public school enrollment in my State of Washington as compared with a year ago has meant that the classroom shortage and kindred problems of my school administrators is continuing.

In Seattle the disproportionate growth in certain sections far above the general trend of an exploding population has brought on especially acute situations with resulting oversized study classes coupled with unsatisfactory portable and temporary school housing.

By public support at the polls on February 9 a special tax levy for Seattle schools could alleviate the problem, but with continual statements of those favoring Federal legislation such as the Murray-Metcalf bill, the voters are apt to ignore the urgency of school needs in favor of Federal aid. A voter could well argue why make a local sacrifice if Uncle Sam is going to solve our financing problem?

I have been urging for a long time that the Federal Government preempt certain sources of revenue to the States so that the States could meet their own educational needs as they see fit and thus avoid the danger of Federal control of education. However, with a school bill reported out of the House Labor and Education Committee and considering the organized pressure on Congress to enact school legislation at this session, I realize that my responsibility at the moment concerns the provisions of a Federal bill and I must assume that a school bill may be considered soon.

Therefore, I urge that any aid, if we do have a bill, be limited so that no funds can go to any school unless there is an actual proven need. The following letter is from a man who has devoted his life to education. Here is the sound thinking of a dedicated friend of our schools and an authority on Federal-State relationship in the school field:

STATE OF WASHINGTON,
SCHOOL EMERGENCY CONSTRUCTION COMMISSION,
Olympia, Wash., January 20, 1960.

Hon. THOMAS PELLY,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PELLY: Bills have been and are being intorduced in Congerss for Federal aid to schools, especially for school building construction. It is noticed that the bills getting the greatest support favor Federal aid to States regardless of their financial need for it. Such a plan violates the real argument for Federal Aid, which should be only for the States that can demonstrate they are unable, due to lack of local funds, to maintain an adequate school system.

The State of Washington gives State aid for school building construction to a school district only after a careful study shows it is unable to provide adequate funds itself. The State aid in districts will vary from zero to 90 percent. The plan has worked splendidly and has been given overwhelming support by the Legislature. The standards set up make it easy to operate.

The strength of the American school system rests on its local support and administartion. The day the Federal Government grants a wholesale plan for school aid to States regardless of their needs, local interests is bound to lessen—which will be most unfortunate for the schools.

Very sincerely,

THOMAS R. COLE,
Chairman, State School Building Commission.

Deliberately Slanting the News

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MERWIN COAD
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, Mr. M. B. Crabbe, editor of the Eagle Grove Eagle of Eagle Grove, Iowa, and I do not offen agree on matters regarding politics. But Mr. Crabbe has recently exposed a situation regarding the unethical and dishonest intent of Time and Life magazines for which he should be commended. I want to take this opportunity to congratulate Mr. Crabbe and state that I wish more editors would look objectively about the farm problem and what is happening to our farm families than there are at present.

The article follows:

[From the Eagle Grove (Iowa) Eagle]

DELIBERATELY SLANTING THE NEWS

This writer dropped his Time magazine subscription about a year ago after 15 or more years of reading the publication. We did so because in every instance that Time covered a subject on which we had certain knowledge the Time article was so slanted and colored that the total picture they created was entirely wrong.

We now have further proof that we were correct in not being able to trust them for an unbiased account of a situation covered in their columns.

Time was one of two magazines that contacted extension directors in this area for help in getting special farm pictures they wanted.

The picture they wanted was not to be of the bountiful harvest we have enjoyed nor of a typical farm scene. They wanted a picture of a large pile of corn going to waste while the farmer lived on Government subsidy.

Of course Time editors as well as Midwest residents know that corn piled in the yard is not corn going to waste. It is the corn being fed to livestock. And we have corn piles in the farm yards every year. There are more of them and they are bigger this year but it is not a unique situation for 1959 alone.

However the Time article intended to show the corn going to waste while the farmer lived high on a Government subsidy.

A second big city slick paper magazine Life also contacted extension directors in this area asking for help in getting pictures of farmers who drive big cars (Cadillacs, Lincolns, Buicks, etc.) belong to country clubs, spend winters in Florida or California and have piles of corn and cribs of corn that are paid for by the Government.

We want to compliment Aaron Bowman and the other extension directors who refused to give these photographers help in lining up their slanted pictures.

Had they been looking for typical farm situations or had they wanted to tell a true farm story it would have been different. But they were not even starting on the program objectively nor were they by their own admission attempting to find a true account of the farm story. They were starting out to get a picture story that would give city readers an untrue picture of the farmer and his problems.

World Peace Through Law Held Idle Dream

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article which appeared in the January 4, 1960, issue of the Los Angeles Times on the subject of the Connally amendment:

WORLD PEACE THROUGH LAW HELD IDLE DREAM

An address by Vice President NIXON last April before the Academy of Political Sciences and the announcement in November by the President that he intends to urge Congress to repeal the Connally amendment have focused attention upon a serious constitutional issue.

Without the Connally amendment, the United Nations Charter would never have been ratified. Now, leftist radicals are seeking to bring about the repeal of this amendment. A national clique of lawyers led by Attorney General Rogers, has influenced both Mr. NIXON and the President to support a policy that can lead only to world government and the surrender of our national sovereignty.

World peace through law may be attractive to some from the standpoint of phrase making, but the slogan is too visionary and illusive to represent a workable idea.

World government and enforcible world law are unreal slogans in an age when the East and the West are separated by insurmountable barriers of thought. Ours is not a world in which the Christ-idea and the anti-Christ can be brought together to coexist in harmonious relations.

To bring about peace through world law, there must first be a meeting of minds between the Communist and non-Communist countries as to what world law means.

The organized American bar, which has so scathingly opposed many court decisions which have greatly aided our Communist enemy, would certainly not approve of vesting unlimited power in a world court on which we would have but one member and on which a majority of the members would be Communists sitting in the garb of justices.

Have we considered what, if any, attention would be given to our principles of constitutional government if we should decide to submit questions of internal and domestic policy to an international court on which Communists would be in the majority?

It would be error on our part to repeal the Connally amendment of 1946 and surrender to an international court, a product of the United Nations organization, the right to decide complaints based on treaties, which might not be subject to the jurisdiction of such a court.

Under improper judicial interpretation, our country has moved from the original concept of federalism ever closer to a centralized state working to destroy American federalism. Under American leadership, federalism is the only device by which our political institutions can be kept.

Centralization of power in a world court would upset our constitutional balance and destroy all local self-government. A study of Roman history illustrates the fallacy of attempts to convert our federal republic into an American empire and participant in some form of world government.

W. JEFFERSON DAVIS.

LA JOLLA.

School Legislation Chances Are Good

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, in an article in the January 17 issue of the Washington Sunday Star, George W. Oakes has done an excellent job of pointing out the choices which confront us in meeting the crisis in our classrooms.

We can vote for Federal grants or for a 20- to 30-year bond proposal which is unsound, uneconomic, and unavailable to many of the districts which need it most.

As Mr. Oakes says:

Administration approval and enactment (of meaningful education legislation) may depend on whether Vice President NIXON'S political influence outweighs both President Eisenhower's economy-mindedness and Minority Leader HALLECK'S opposition to a school bill.

Mr. Oakes' article follows:

SCHOOL LEGISLATION CHANCES ARE GOOD

(By George W. Oakes)

As Congress faces the election, passage of meaningful education legislation for school construction and college housing appears favorable.

Administration approval and enactment may depend on whether Vice President NIXON'S political influence outweighs both President Eisenhower's economy-mindedness and Minority Leader HALLECK'S opposition to a school bill.

The Democratic congressional leadership seems to have decided that only a Federal grant program for school construction can and should pass this session. If it should be vetoed, then the Democratic leaders believe they will have a popular issue to present to the voters during the campaign.

The major education debate will shortly begin in the Senate where the McNamara bill, S. 8, was reported by the Labor and Public Welfare Committee last September. This provides for a Federal expenditure of $1 billion in grants over a 2-year period to build a total of 50,000 classrooms. Federal funds would be made available to the States on a matching basis on the basis of per capita income, school-age population and the State's own school financing efforts so that the neediest local school districts should benefit the most.

THE FINANCIAL ISSUE

The fundamental conflict between the Democrats and the administration is over the issue of how to finance the needed classrooms.

Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Flemming has reported that there is a current shortage of 132,400 classrooms and that we are losing ground in our efforts to overcome the classroom shortage because the number of schoolchildren is increasing. He estimates that the number of pupils enrolled in excess of normal classroom capacity rose from 1,850,000 in the fall of 1958 to 1,883,000 last fall.

In addition, he has pointed out that State and local bond sales tend to be concentrated in only a few States.

The administration proposal provides for a 20- to 30-year school construction bond issue floated by local authorities. The Federal Government and the States would share the debt service charges. The Democrats argue that such a program would mortgage our grandchildren to meet current needs in the face of rising school requirements during the period of the proposed bond issue. Estimates show that the total elementary school attendance will increase by 13.4 percent in the years from 1958 to 1965 while the increase at the secondary level will be 47 percent for the same period. By 1980 it is estimated that the present school age population, 5 through 17, will increase 60 percent from 41.8 to 67.7 million students.

LIKELIHOOD OF COMPROMISE

The Democrats are not likely to accept any compromise which, to meet the administration's financial views, involves bond issues by local school districts. Such a proposal, they believe, relieves the Federal Government, best able to finance classrooms, of the major share of the burden and places it on the States and local communities who are least able to afford it. In addition, they point out that additional debt service charges might well cause States and local communities to reduce teachers' salaries.

The Democratic view is that more classrooms will be built sooner and at a lower total cost even if another year's wait is required to enact a big Federal grant program.

Present indications are that Congress is not likely to approve Federal funds for teachers' salaries. The chief proposal for this purpose is the Murray-Metcalf bill which, in amended form, was reported by the House Education Committee last year. It provides $1.1 billion of Federal grants a year for 4 years to be used at the discretion of the States either for school construction or teachers' salaries.

The Senate Democratic leadership is convinced that opposition to Federal money for teachers' salaries is so great, particularly in the House, that it would impair the chances of any school bill this session. Most Republicans and many Southern Democrats who would accept Federal funds for classrooms rebel at their use for teachers' salaries.

AMENDMENTS SEEN

Although amendments will be introduced in the Senate to include teachers' salaries, Democratic leaders will attempt to beat them down in order to avoid endangering school construction through bitter debate on the highly controversial teacher salary issue.

There are two other amendments which Senate Democrats fear will stir the religious and racial issues, which in past years have

beaten school construction bills. One is the amendment to provide $75 million of Federal loans for private school construction involving parochial schools. The other is the Powell-type amendment to deny Federal funds to segregated schools. However, it is believed that the Senate liberals will be able to block this more serious threat because they realize that such an amendment would, if passed, end all chances for a school construction measure.

One reason why Senate Democrats think that a classroom building might not be vetoed is that if enacted this session, its financial impact probably would not occur until 1961 when there may be a budget surplus. Also, it is argued that Vice President NIXON might well consider the administration veto to be a handicap to him in the coming campaign.

On the House side, Democratic supporters for education will wait to see what action is taken by the Senate. If the Senate should reject teachers' salaries, then House Democrats will probably concentrate on school construction. The chief hurdle will probably be to get the bill approved for floor debate. If the Rules Committee should fail to report it, then attempts will probably be made to obtain a discharge petition, which one leading Democratic Congressman says has now become fashionable.

Time for a Showdown on Farm Prices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD G. McINTIRE
OF MAINE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. McINTIRE. Mr. Speaker, for long we have been seeking a solution to the farm problem without very much success. The January 16 issue of the Packer carries an editorial commenting on a proposal submitted by Dr. George W. Luke, a Rutgers University farm economist. I commend this article to the attention of my colleagues.

In the same issue of the Packer appeared an article on the potato chip industry. This is indeed interesting, for it illustrates very graphically how one processed food has been expanding its markets and, in effect, chipping in to chop down on potato surpluses.

The articles follow:

TIME FOR A SHOWDOWN ON FARM PRICES

A Rutgers University farm economist says it is high time that all sides of the food industry sat down and considered what's happening to farm prices in this country.

Dr. George W. Luke, chairman, agricultural economics department, Rutgers, says the serious downward slide of farm prices will go from bad to worse if something does not happen to halt the trend.

The farm economist, especially concerned over the state of affairs with agriculture in the northeast, says:

"In the northeast, where urban influences are overwhelming, it is a difficult uphill battle for farmers to establish their viewpoint within our economist system. As a result, it has been most difficult to establish reasonable values for the labor of the farmer in an economy in which all other sectors are enjoying great prosperity."

Dr. Luke made these observations at a farm policy forum January 5 at the Rutgers College of Agriculture campus, New Brunswick, an affair which drew more than 100 farm leaders and spokesmen for the farming industry in the State.

In Dr. Luke's opinion, the chainstores, the executives making chainstore policy, the big buyers for the chains, the policymaking spokesmen for processors, canneries, and other big factors; in fact, all important links in the food industry, would do well to get together with producers to examine the farm price situation.

"Farmers can't go it alone." Dr. Luke continued, "We need above all the cooperation of all within the food industry to get better incomes. Perhaps the most logical approach to our agricultural problem, if farmers are to maintain any measure of control over it, is to get together with everybody in the food industry and discuss the problems that confront us in the future."

Dr. Luke made no suggestions on just how the various groups of the food industry—chains, processors, buyers, wholesalers—could be induced into meeting on the problem. But he is certain that the need is urgent.

"The pass-it-back-to-the-farmer attitude," he said, "has prevailed too long. Sellers have found it easier to push back added costs on to the farmers rather than pushing them ahead to the consumer."

This practice, according to the Rutgers farm expert, was at the root of today's farm price problem.

Dr. Luke's talk noted that today farm net income was reaching new lows with the falloff of 15 percent in 1959 against 1958, and with the farmers purchasing power now the lowest in 19 years.

If the industry will not consider the farmers' plight in terms of price and income, said Dr. Luke, "then danger signals may very well lie ahead."

"If we do not do this, an agricultural program may develop which not only rigidly controls the farmer, but there may be strict controls on the final sellers of that particular product, so that no one in the food industry in the future will be exempt from controls by government," he warned.

Dr. Luke stated that, despite great production efficiencies which have benefited the consuming public, "per capita income on farms has not kept pace with per capita income earned in other sectors of the economy. This is despite the fact that a considerable amount of agriculture has been controlled over the last 20 years. Farm policies which cannot get at price and income matters within agriculture, which really are the ultimate indicators of the well-being of farm people, will not be accepted by agricultural groups in the next decade."

"Farmers should not be expected to play the roll of Good Samaritans forever," said the Rutgers economist. "Economic progress at the expense of exploitation of American farmers is inconsistent with equality and justice within that economic system."

Farm prices have continued low, he said, even though great technological changes have occurred in the past decade in farming, providing food abundance through increases in production efficiency.

"What farmers want—what the economy needs—is a new policy for agriculture. Many of the old farm programs have made a real contribution to agriculture in the United States. Other programs have failed to achieve their goals. Despite all the activity of the last 20 years, we still are confronted with the finding of a solution to better farm income and better prices for northeastern agriculture."

Dr. Luke spoke before a meeting considering marketing orders and marketing agreements for New Jersey and whether orders could be expected to help growers. In this respect, he made this point: New Jersey agriculture does not produce or have enough control over the supply of any one commodity so that producers could control in a way "that they can affect prices by a quality control program."

Therefore, he said, "if any program is to work in New Jersey agriculture where marketing agreements are to be imposed or market orders utilized, its success will depend upon the cooperation of other States producing the same commodity. Without their cooperation, without regional participation in any of these programs, we will fall short of our primary objectives."

BOOMING POTATO CHIP INDUSTRY

A $50 million increase in potato chip sales in 1960 was predicted here at the close of the 23d annual conference of the Potato Chip Institute International at the Netherland-Hilton Hotel in Cincinnati.

George R. Johnson, general sales manager for the film operations of the packaging division of the Olin Mathieson Chemical Corp., in making this prediction, noted that in 1959 sales were more than double those of 1950. His company, a major producer of packaging materials, sells large amounts of cellophane to potato chippers throughout the United States. It has just completed an analysis of sales trends in the potato chip industry.

Within the next 10 years, potato chips will be a billion-dollar-a-year industry, double present sales totals, Mr. Johnson declared.

Reasons for the past growth and optimism for the future, the analysis revealed, lay in changed living patterns and population increases. Increased TV viewing has meant greater consumption of snacks, such as potato chips. More leisure time, with added opportunities for picnicking and recreation, has further increased demand.

Advertising and promotion by the potato chip industry, Mr. Johnson noted, have played a role in making potato chips a year-round food instead of the summertime edible they were formerly.

Forty-second Anniversary of Ukrainian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, January 22 was the 42d anniversary of Ukrainian independence in the 20th century. It is, however, far more than just a solemn commemoration for a latter-day event. It justly is emblematic of the solidarity and dedication of a people who had established their own government and society on the rich western steppes when Europe was still in the Dark Ages, centuries before William the Conqueror commanded his armies to cross the channel and assault the Saxon strongholds in England.

The Ukrainian struggle for independence and self-determination today springs from the ages-old tradition of a proud people who have never relinquished their dream despite decades of suppression and adversity.

Those of us who are free call out to you who are in bondage, "Do not despair. We are striving to create a world where justice and peace shall prevail, when once again we shall welcome you as brothers in the legions of the free."

America: The World's Good Samaritan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES J. DELANEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include "America: The World's Good Samaritan," an address delivered in Rome, on October 13, 1959, by His Eminence Francis Cardinal Spellman, on the occasion of the centenary of the founding of the North American College.

AMERICA: THE WORLD'S GOOD SAMARITAN

(Address of His Eminence Francis Cardinal Spellman on the occasion of the centenary of the founding of the North American College, Rome, October 13, 1959)

"The sun never sets on American charity." This, dear friends and brother alumni, is a statement made in the United States only 2 months ago by Archbishop Joseph Gawlina, Ordinary for Poles in exile. "I am myself an exile who has traveled around the world," the Archbishop continued, "and therefore I am able to speak as an expert when I say that America is a living symbol of Christly charity—for the American Nation has taken upon herself the tremendous responsibility of feeding, clothing, and caring for the sick, the starving and suffering, the destitute and exiled of the world."

And just a few weeks earlier during his visit to America, Cardinal Ottaviani declared that "the United States is the hope of the church throughout the world." His Eminence also spoke as an expert, for as Pro-Prefect of the Supreme Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office, Cardinal Ottaviani is profoundly aware of the grave and grievous problems of the church in the entire world.

Yes, our beloved America, generously and mercifully sharing her blessings with her burdened brothers has become the world's good samaritan—"symbol of Christly charity to the world's bereft and exiled." "Hope of the church throughout the world."

Each time there is a retelling of the tale of the samaritan who was moved with compassion for the despoiled and half-dead traveler on the wayside between Jerusalem and Jericho, a special aspect of its meaning is highlighted—that normally there was no contact between the people of Israel and the Samaritans. Their beliefs were at variance. Their centers of worship differed as between the Jerusalem temple and the temple atop Mount Jerizim. Longstanding and strong ill feeling separated them. Only the call of charity could create a bond between the members of two such groups separated by so wide a gulf.

Over the centuries charity has reached across barriers of culture, and even the chasms of hatred, to bring to life the reality of love of neighbor. But never before has the call of charity come from so many and such far distant places of human anguish. The route of today's samaritans runs not alone from Jerusalem to Jericho, but crisscrosses the world, spanning seas, crossing mountain ranges, following rivers, traversing jungle trails, winding its way along the paths of villages and the roads of towns as well as the pavements of great cities. Among the constant travellers are the people of our Nation born less than two centuries ago from out of yearning of men for a society in which each, as a child of God, could live in freedom, in peace, and in mutual respect. Moved with compassion for those who have been despoiled and lie helpless at the roadsides of the world, we have been ready to bind up the wounds of peoples with whom our only bond is one of pure charity, based on the fact that the sorrowing and suffering were children of God, and our brothers.

Accepting the role of good samaritan toward the peoples of other nations is a role so new that many refuse to believe that in peacetime the people of one country should or could help to bear the burden of another country. And there are many who flatly deny that there can be anything but self-interest which could impel one nation to become good samaritan to another nation. Alliances of mutual aid and action in time of war are understandable—but in such alliances each nation involved is usually warding off a real danger to itself. The world became accustomed to the might of America in a war which unleashed forces of destruction never before imagined. To some it does not seem to be equally understandable that, when hostilities were over, America returned to her traditional task of placing her resources at the service of the needy and dispossessed, and employed her productivity and energy in a worldwide battle against famine, pestilence, homelessness and want.

The origins of America's role as good samaritan lie in the very nature of her first beginnings. They lie in the backgrounds as well as the beliefs of her peoples—peoples from many different lands who became one—not in an ethnic oneness but in the unity of a shared blessing. This unique national role can be traced to those concepts of God-given rights and responsibilities upon which America's form of government was conceived.

America's first settlers from the outside were refugees from religious and political persecution. There has hardly been a wave of persecution or oppression in the world that has not broken in some measure on the shores of our United States. Its most recent settlers have been from those groups of people who, in the wake of World War II were driven from their native homelands—displaced persons from the countries of Eastern Europe, many of them spokesmen for the Church of Silence; the expellees of German origin; the small but significant stream of Asian refugees; the flood of Hungarians who streamed out of a nation battered into physical submission by the tanks and arms of an empire of slavery and death. The primary concern of the United States of America has always been, and I pray it shall ever be, the inviolable dignity of man, especially he who must stand alone, unprotected against violent, godless forces that threatens to crush him.

God's magnificent largess has left America with a huge store of surpluses of foods and fibers, a condition experienced by few nations in history, since, up to now, people could not produce much more than they could consume. It is this background, these abundant blessings of God that have enabled America to give such stupendous help to the governmental aid programs since World War II. All of us here know the nature of the Marshall plan and the extent and scope of the American foreign-aid programs. We know too how tremendous have been the educational, medical, and other humanitarian benefits provided by the great American philanthropic foundations of Ford and Rockefeller.

We know of the economies that have been stabilized through American help—roads, dams, mills, factories, and even entire industries that have been built with American aid. We know also that the focus of these economic aid programs has been and still is shifting from those areas which have now recovered from the ravages of the Second Great War to those less-developed lands of the free world whose standards of living are comparatively low and whose opportunities, ambitions, and goals remain largely unrealized.

Every year new foreign aid legislation is passed by the Congress of the United States in the name of the American people. The billions of dollars thus voted—$1,700 million to India alone—for economic aid overseas represent a personal contribution by every working American, who through his taxes assumes part of the burden of want, of sorrow, of unfilled hopes that lies so heavily on the people of poorer lands. By willingly taking on this burden, the American, whatever his belief, is putting into action the glorious concept of St. Paul: "He that had much had nothing left over, and he who had nothing had no want." Thus, each American becomes an individual Samaritan, making it possible for his America to be Good Samaritan to the world.

This action of our Nation has met with puzzlement and incredulity by those who unjustly ascribe ulterior motives of economic imperialism to our efforts, for never in the history of civilization has any country offered to help so many at such great cost to itself—asking so little in return. It is a shock to many of our friends when they visit the United States to learn that we are not merely giving away our surpluses, but are truly sharing our necessities, and that the burden of taxation for foreign aid falls heavily on our working population, as does the weight of our national debt.

Not so well known are the significant people-to-people programs conducted under the auspices of the voluntarily supported agencies of the American people. Since World War II there has arisen a unique partnership between the American Government and the voluntarily supported oversea aid agencies. Government and people-to-people agencies draw from the same enormous stores of American abundance, and work side by side to deliver refugees from exile, to relieve human misery, and to feed, clothe and nurse the countless needy of many far and foreign lands in the hope and effort that they may be enabled to return to self-sufficiency.

Of such voluntary agencies, there is one with which I am intimately familiar and of which I am immensely proud. I refer to the worldwide work of Catholic relief services—National Catholic Welfare Conference, the official oversea relief agency of the Bishops of America. This organization of American Catholics which, among others, evolved out of the agencies of World War II has, since its inception in 1943, shipped around the world more than two and a half million tons of relief supplies valued at three quarters of a billion dollars. Last year alone the agency shipped to 51 countries more than 1 billion pounds of foodstuffs, clothing and urgently needed medicines valued at $800 million. Included in these totals are the products of American abundance—including grains and dried milk—which are made available without charge to voluntary agencies, like Catholic relief services, which serve people on the basis of need alone, without reference to race, creed, caste, politics or any other factor. Here is a united effort of international charity by a religious organization which I believe is without parallel in the annals of the Church.

In the journeys I have made to nearly every country of the globe I have had ample opportunity to see at firsthand the vast amount of good that is being accomplished by this huge program of voluntary aid that has attracted to itself so much in the way of government and intergovernmental assistance.

When in 1954 the Geneva Truce Agreement divided Vietnam at an arbitrary boundary at the 17th parallel, Catholic Relief Services—NCWC was the only American agency with a program of relief in that country torn by occupation and an everlasting war. The President of Vietnam dispatched a cabled appeal to the agency's

headquarters in New York begging for help for the refugees already pouring out of the northern provinces. The gripping story of their flight into exile, many on frail rafts through the open sea to be picked up by American and French troopships, is too well known for me to repeat it. Theirs was a flight for their faith into freedom.

In response to the plea of President Diem, Catholic Relief Services wrote a glorious chapter in the history of the charity of the church in those early days of the new republic of South Vietnam. Almost overnight, the American Bishops' Agency set up a network of emergency feeding stations to help the neediest of the 860,000 refugees who fled southward. The agency made available to them brickmaking machines to help establish their villages. Funds for the rebuilding of churches, schools, and community centers for these highly literate and gifted people were channeled in record time to hundreds of new communities. Cooperatives and little industries were established. Soon a new life had begun for these courageous exiles in the cleared jungle areas of free Vietnam.

During the height of the flight of the Vietnamese, I was invited aboard a vessel bringing hundreds of weary refugees from the Tonkin area. When they started out, they might perhaps have gone to mass and then taken to the road singing hymns—since exile often began like a pilgrimage. But the long marches, the waiting in the crowded refugee shelters of Hanoi, the passage on the jampacked open deck, had utterly exhausted these heroic people. Many of them were lying on the deck helpless and sick. Their lot could be eased only if compassionate hands were to be held out to them. And they were. America had once again been good Samaritan to a nation in her gravest hour.

In Hong Kong, a million Chinese refugees managed to keep alive from day to day only by incredible industry and ingenuity. These proud people who have fled to Asia's doorstep of freedom to escape tyranny, must beg for their daily rice. In front of them they often have their credentials carefully lettered, "I am from Shanghai. I am here as a stranger. Help me to keep alive." Catholic Relief Services sent shipment after shipment of usable clothing, so that the Chinese exiles, beggared by the cruel fate that overtook the mainland, would be decently clothed. Then followed housing projects to replace the tin and paper huts that crawled up the 19 hillocks around the city.

Government funds were channeled through the agency to provide safe shelter for thousands of families. Rehabilitation projects were begun, including weaving, textile and garment making. In order to supplement the diet of families who work from dawn to dark and even then cannot fill the family rice bowl, Catholic Relief Services brings to Hong Kong shiploads of flour and cornmeal donated from U.S. Government stocks, and then processes them into noodles so that they can be cooked on the tiny fires of the one-room huts of the exiles.

When torrential rains and landslides in Hong Kong demolished their shacks and swept away their meager belongings, more than 11,000 refugees were left without shelter or food. Fifty tons of American relief supplies—food, clothing, medicines, and household goods—were delivered promptly by the aircraft carrier U.S.S. *Shangri-La* to aid these thousands of destitute families. This disaster, which occurred at the beginning of this World Refugee Year, dramatized the plight of Hong Kong's million poverty-stricken refugees from Red China, and the tireless and merciful work of the Maryknoll Priests, Brothers, and Sisters throughout the refugees' world of loneliness, sickness, misery, and want.

When the worst flood in 50 years with its 5 days of continuous rains inundated half of Formosa, Catholic Relief Services sent 700 tons of dried milk, flour, and corn meal into the stricken areas. Again the Maryknoll missioners helped to lessen the anguish of survivors, cared for the sick, fed and housed the homeless. They carried out their Mission of Mercy made possible by the good Samaritan—their own beloved America—America whose soil was sanctified by the blood of early missionaries who first raised the cross in our land. In turn American blood has been poured out in other lands, and we already have an American martyrology.

Our sons and daughters, with the full encouragement of their Catholic parents, have gone to the four corners of the missionary world. Prayerfully, pridefully we recall that 7,000 men and women from America have left their native land and are presently serving under the missionary banner of Christ—Jesuits, Franciscans, and Passionists, Dominicans, Redemptorists, Vincentians, and Missionaries of La Saletts, Columbans, Fathers of the Divine Word, Religious of the Holy Cross, Salesians, White Fathers, Oblates, and a litany of other religious congregations—hundreds of them already buried in simply marked graves in Africa, Asia, Oceania, Latin America, and the frozen north.

We Americans are a practical as well as a charitable people, and we know that missionaries and missionary institutions cannot exist on air. There is a continuing and constantly increasing need for money. How then are the American Catholic people supporting the missions of the world? A few months ago the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith announced that it would distribute to the missions the sum of $17 million. At the same time the Society of St. Peter the Apostle announced that it would contribute $3 million to seminaries in mission areas.

Where did this money come from? Approximately 70 percent was contributed by American Catholics, exclusive of their donations given to the missions of the Oriental Church. Last year the Propagation of the Faith Society in the United States contributed $10½ million toward the support of our missionaries. And Catholic Relief Services contributed a hundredfold more than this to assist the missionaries in their providential ministry, attested by thousands of expressions of gratitude from missionary priests and religious from all parts of the world.

In addition to the places already mentioned that have been aided by the Catholic relief organization, there is still another pocket of misery that I have visited, and which haunts many of us by its seeming insolubility—the mass of pitiful refugees around the Holy Land. In Jordan and packed into the tiny Gaza Strip, there are still close to a million homeless Arabs. From the barbed wire areas that mark new boundaries, they stand and stare at the villages that were once their homes, the fields they once tilled in the rhythm of the seasons, the groves they once tended. They are caught up in a tragedy of history which they do not comprehend, for in those lands are the persecuted of many nations who come out of the valley of the shadow of death and see now only the brightness of the fields and groves.

Through the Pontifical Mission for Palestine, American Catholic aid in the form of medicines, food, and clothing comes to the tents and barracks of the Arab refugees, but the bread of their exile is exceedingly bitter, and a seething discontent permeates their encampments.

Catholic Relief Services carries on its varied works of mercy in 61 countries, notably in Korea that tragically disordered and most victimized of nations; India with its millions of refugees; the hard-pressed countries of South America; the regions of Africa emerging into freedom and the challenges of the modern world. The roll call of countries in which America is serving as a samaritan reads like a gazetteer of the free world.

Since we are gathered in Rome it may be of interest to outline the extent of the cooperation of Catholic Relief Services with the Pontificia Opera Assistenza, the charitable organization begun after the last Great War by His Holiness, Pope Pius XII, and presently sponsored by Pope John XXIII. Since World War II, this organization has developed a charitable network that extends into the most remote villages of the Basillicata, Calabria and Sicily. It is the agency that strengthens the humane element in every forward step of the Italian social system.

During the period from July 1, 1959 to June 30, 1960, Catholic Relief Services will ship to Naples 100,000 tons of foodstuffs and clothing for free distribution in its program of assistance for approximately 7 million men, women and children. From the North of Italy to the southern tip, in Sicily and Sardinia, children in summer camps, play centers and schools, tenant farmers and hired hands in agriculture, the underemployed and war veterans, as well as every single professor and every individual seminarian in every regional seminary will receive, as supplementary rations, products made of the flour and dried milk shipped by Catholic Relief Services as a gift from the American people. In addition to supporting these programs of foreign aid, Catholic Relief Services, with the assistance of resettlement committees organized in every diocese in the United States, has assisted in the resettlement of more than 300,000 refugees and uprooted persons.

A monumental work of charity such as this might be in danger of passing over the difficult works of mercy needed to help the special individual. Just one of a thousand instances of compassion and help for an individual will serve as an example. It was brought to the attention of the American Bishops' agency by the Caritas of Chile. The face of a 10-year-old boy had been almost obliterated by a fall into a charcoal burner, and yet miraculously he lived. The indistinguishable mass of burned flesh remaining after this tragic event was composed of hardly more than two slits for the youngster's eyes, two tiny holes for the nostrils that were no longer there, and a tiny opening for a mouth.

What would—what could—his future be, this faceless youth, the sight of whom caused even the nuns entrusted with his care to blanch?

Could the agency of the American bishops help? It could. It did.

The child was flown to New York and the services of two of America's leading surgeons were enlisted. The largest Catholic hospital in New York City agreed to provide hospital and convalescent care for the boy for as many years as necessary. That was little more than a year ago. Already 14 operations have been performed, and while more are anticipated, the child is well on his way to becoming an accepted member of society, and the eventual success of his surgical treatment is assured. The route of the good Samaritan truly, in this instance, extended from Chile to New York.

This agency which reaches out to rescue and heal one of God's afflicted as well as the multitudes, is basically supported through an annual collection in every Catholic parish in the United States on Laetare Sunday. During Lent, little children in the thousands of parochial schools absorb a dawning concept of the mystical body through donating the money saved by their Lenten sacrifices to the needy of the world. The blessed money of the children often reaches as high as one-fifth of the receipts of the entire col-

lection. Its program likewise commands the support of American Catholics each Thanksgiving, when they are asked to "give thanks by giving" their clothing, blankets, and shoes to those in want overseas. More than 100 million garments have been collected during the past 10 years, and next month America's Catholics will again respond to a similar appeal under the leadership of their bishops and priests. Thus America shall be enabled to continue in her providential mission, helping and healing those hapless, often heroic, peoples caught in the measureless immensity of human miseries that characterizes our times.

However, as long ago as 60 years, America was called the providential Nation by a great patriot and great priest, the archbishop of St. Paul. "I have called America the providential Nation," said the fiercely American Archbishop John Ireland, "for even as I believe that God rules over men and nations, so do I believe that a divine mission has been assigned to the Republic of the United States. That mission," the archbishop continued, "is to prepare the world, by example and moral influence, for the universal reign of human liberty and human rights. America does not live for herself alone, the destinies of humanity are in her keeping."

That, dear friends, is our wondrous, free, and blessed country: "Symbol of Christly charity to the world's bereft and exiled." "Hope of the church throughout the world"—America, the world's good samaritan.

I'm From New Jersey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, we of New Jersey are fortunate in many ways, but we are particularly fortunate in having a journalist who appreciates the rich variety of scenes in the Garden State. Mr. John T. Cunningham of the Newark News has, since 1948, written more than a million words about New Jersey. His stories, feature series, and books have described our industry, our forests, our farms, and seashore, the people who came from other nations to settle in New Jersey, the meadows that still stretch out like a low jungle within a few miles of Manhattan, and many, many other corners of the State.

In the January issue of the National Geographic, Mr. Cunningham proudly proclaims in a copyrighted article that "I'm From New Jersey." His article is further testimony to the undeniable fact that the Garden State has far more to see than many persons realize. In terms of historic and beautiful sites, variations of origins among its people, and in contribution to the industrial power of the Nation, New Jersey offers much to everyone who lives or visits within her borders.

I am informed by the Public Printer that the article will make approximately 4⅔ pages at a cost of $378. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I'M FROM NEW JERSEY

(By John T. Cunningham)

Each day hundreds of thousands of visitors speed across New Jersey's narrow waist, their visits usually last exactly as long as it takes train or automobile to run between New York City and Philadelphia.

Few tarry, but they think they see New Jersey: a factory-lined flatland, characterized by smokestacks, steel rails, and express highways. Such a land is easy to forget.

REPORTER COVERS A STATEWIDE BEAT

Occasionally Jerseymen encounter these visitors, say in New England, where great numbers of New Jersey people go each summer in search of change and quiet. The casual question, "Oh, you're from Jersey?" can put the Jerseyman on guard; he is uneasily aware that the other probably means no compliment.

I know. As a native of New Jersey I used to find myself constantly on the defensive—explaining, for instance, whence the nickname "Garden State." I usually failed, because I, too, knew little of the real New Jersey.

Then; one April day in 1948, the State became for me a full-time job. To my surprise and delight I found the land beyond the railroad tracks well worth the knowing.

It was this simple. My newspaper, the Newark News, assigned me to write a series of articles on New Jersey's history and vitality. Now, some 350 articles and a million words later, I'm still at it—and I'm not on the defensive.

The years have taken me across every one of New Jersey's 7,836 square miles, through hundreds of factories, across thousands of acres of farmland, into the offices of 30 college presidents, and along 130 miles of Jersey shore in every season of the year.

I've seen giant machines spew forth beer bottles and bridge cables, and I've watched painstaking fingers make a gold brooch. I've seen corn picked under floodlights at 4 a.m., and I've seen Miss America crowned at midnight. I've been with muskrat trappers in the lonely Salem County marshlands, with trackwalkers in the crowded Hudson County railroad yards, with an orchid grower inspecting his seemingly endless hothouses in Middlesex Borough, with farm boys driving cows homeward on deserted Sussex County roads.

Giant trucks hem me in on the superhighways, but I know country lanes that lead to mountains and back roads that end at Atlantic beaches. Along these roads I've seen maple trees tapped for sirup in the spring, blueberries plucked in summer, cranberries harvested in fall. If I despair at weekend traffic, I try to remember the New Jersey has been a pathway for 300 years, one of the most strategic, most fought over, of the Thirteen Colonies in the Revolution.

Certainly I neither scorn nor dismiss the familiar view of New Jersey from a train window. Those smoking factories, freight-clogged rail yards, and crowded highways all add up to economic importance, even if they obscure the fact that off beyond eye's view there is both quaintness and charm for the finding.

Visitors who cross New Jersey by air see some of its 2 million acres of forestland. Invariably they exclaim: "Why, it's a beautiful State. I wouldn't have believed it had so much space"

New Jersey's personality still is difficult to spell out, even for one who knows it as well as most men know their backyards. Actually there are two Jerseys, in fact, if not in name: "north" Jersey and "south" Jersey—as dissimilar as day and night.

North Jersey is a land of low mountains and dairy farms, commuter towns and lake-dotted forests, bubbling trout streams and rivers dashing down to sea over boulder-strewn beds.

South Jersey, in contrast, is flat truck-crop farmland and ocean-front vacation land, covered in its central core by nearly 1,900 square miles of pine wilderness. From these Pine Barrens cedar-colored streams meander slowly east, west, or south, heedless of direction, ignorant of time. Through these same pines, and scarcely seeing them, speed millions of July and August vacationists headed for the Jersey shore.

Differences go deeper than topography. They go as deep as the New England Puritans who first arrived as colonists in 1665 and left behind in many north Jersey towns a heritage of New England-like village greens and tall church spires. Or as deep as the Quakers who built the scores of brick homes still standing in much of south Jersey after 200 or more years.

Between north and south slants a 15-mile-wide corridor on a diagonal between New York and Philadelphia, holding more than three-fifths of New Jersey's 5,740,000 residents. Here are some 60 percent of the State's 12,000 factories, most of its 500 industrial research laboratories, and all but 6 of its 38 colleges and universities.

Away from that teeming, often frenetic, strip is the New Jersey where I find escape—sometimes as simply as knocking at the doors of the past.

MORRISTOWN WORSE THAN VALLEY FORGE

My family and I often go back to relive Morristown's striking role in the American Revolution. Twice General Washington led his weary troops to this colonial town for winter quarters. A casual glance at a relief map shows why: At his back Washington had hills filled with iron ore for munitions; before him he had the natural earthworks of the Watchung Mountains.

The American Army first found sanctuary in the town in January 1777, after victories against heavy odds at Trenton and Princeton. Washington returned in the winter of 1779–80 at a time when fortunes ebbed even lower than the despair of Valley Forge. Long afterward, Washington's biographer, the late Douglas Southall Freeman, wrote:

". . . the winter of 1779–80 at Morristown and Jockey Hollow was a period of far worse suffering than the corresponding months of 1777–78 at Valley Forge.

"This evidence is not going to upset tradition . . . though one finds it somewhat perplexing to know why the hunger and shivering of Morristown have been so nearly forgotten while the miseries of the gloomy camp on the Schuylkill are known to every child in the fifth grade."

DID MOLLY REALLY BRING A PITCHER?

Dr. Freeman was pessimistic; Morristown isn't forgotten. Each year more than half a million people visit Morristown National Historical Park. Nor is the brilliant episode at Trenton on Christmas night, 1776, a faded thing.

Washington had little reason to expect success that night. His army on the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware River was ragged, hungry, cold, low in morale. The Hessians in Trenton were comfortable, perhaps too comfortable. The Americans crossed the ice-clogged river, marched nine miles over snow-covered roads, and struck the dazed Hessians at dawn. Then, victory won, the troops marched north and crossed the icy stream back into Pennsylvania.

But Washington wasn't always cold in New Jersey. In the Battle of Monmouth both sides suffered as much from summer temperature as from enemy fire.

The savage sun brought to the fore an American heroine of legendary proportions—Molly Pitcher. Molly busied herself bringing water to the parched soldiers, and when her soldier-husband John fell, she took his place

at the cannon and blazed her way into immortality.

Was there a Molly Pitcher? There was: her name was Mrs. Molly Hays. Did she carry water? Probably. At least it was hot enough, and I've been shown two spots where "she dipped her pitcher."

New Jersey's Revolutionary War significance hinged on its location between the vital ports of New York and Philadelphia. That placement is still of utmost significance. New Jersey is an industrial State of top importance—only six States turn out more goods annually—and that importance is in large measure due to those nearby cities, offering both markets and unexcelled transportation facilities.

Industrial variety is almost endless in New Jersey. I've seen jewelry and machine tools and beer and sharkskin leather goods made in Newark. I've watched filmy nightgowns and workaday shirts being sewed in Paterson, sulfa drugs packed by the hundredweight in Bound Brook. My tours have carried me through Trenton plants making dolls and exquisite china and brake linings and light bulbs.

In a single day I saw in Camden the making of soups and aircraft carriers, pen points and electronic brains. I've toured giant petroleum refineries in Bayway and Perth Amboy and copper refineries in Middlesex County. I've stood by machines rolling off adhesive tape by the mile near New Brunswick.

What does New Jersey make? Pipes, snuff, cigarette paper, cigars. Wall-to-wall carpeting, linoleum, electric trains, bowling balls. Hot dogs, automobiles, television sets, suspension bridges, soap, sulfuric acid, airplane motors. Perfume, rocket engines, sewing machines, kitchen sinks, and yachts.

Recently, before a high school assembly, I said, "We make just about everything—from lipstick to explosives." The teenage audience laughed—on the premise, I suppose, that lipstick and explosives aren't far apart at all.

WHOLE WORLD SIRED THE JERSEYMAN

But there was seriousness when I talked of another facet of New Jersey: the many countries that from the start have contributed their sons and daughters to this State. Rare is the New Jersey gathering, junior or senior, where widely different nationalities are not represented.

The Dutch first gave the region attention, when Henry Hudson in 1609 sailed his *Half Moon* up the river that bears his name. Soon after, on lower Delaware Bay, the Dutch and the Swedes and Finns vied for supremacy. They vied in vain; by 1664 the English gained control of the entire colony. They named it New Jersey after the island of Jersey in the English Channel.

German ironworkers came before the Revolution. English and Scotch arrived in Paterson by 1800 to make the machine shops hum. The Irish built the railroads and canals between 1830 and 1860, and another wave of Germans came at the same time to make wine in south Jersey and beer in Newark.

Others arrived through the years: from England and France and Italy to make Paterson's silk, from Armenia to make Freehold's carpets and rugs, from Scotland to make Kearny's linoleum. They came from Switzerland to establish in Union City a schiffli-loom embroidery industry, and from the Slavic countries to be the muscle of Jersey's ceramics industry.

During World War II displaced persons came to work at Seabrook Farms near Bridgeton, including Estonians from Europe and Japanese-Americans forced to evacuate their west coast homes. Many of the Nisei returned to California at war's end, but hundreds of Japanese families stayed on.

COLLEGE COMES TO THE CHICKEN COOP

The story of the small business and professional men who fled persecution in both Russia and Germany and started chicken farms in Cumberland, Monmouth, and Ocean Counties is especially intriguing. A poultry specialist at the Rutgers University College of Agriculture introduced me to their story:

"They knew nothing about poultry. They figured that if a man could make a good living out of a thousand laying hens, he could make 10 times as good a living out of 10,000—just as in making suits or overcoats."

Poultry experts were appalled. Until then the best advice had been to limit flocks to 2,000.

Many of the newcomers succeeded despite their ignorance. Rutgers helped them—by giving poultry lectures in foreign tongues and by translating poultry bulletins into several languages. Thanks to these people's daring, chickens and eggs today account for a third of all New Jersey farm dollars.

With M. A. "Mac" Clark, veteran Monmouth County agricultural extension agent, I visited several of the refugee chicken farmers. On one farm we caught an aromatic whiff of chicken cooking in the kitchen. Mac sniffed appreciatively.

"That's a wonderful smell," agreed the farmer. "In the old country when you smell chicken cooking, it means one of two things—either somebody is sick, or the chicken was. Here, is nothing; chickens are healthy—and so are we."

Settled among the refugee chicken farmers near Farmingdale in Monmouth County are New Jersey's most recent newcomers, the Kalmuks, direct descendants of western Mongol tribes who fought against the all-conquering armies of Genghis Khan.

How pitifully true is the word "Kalmuk," meaning "remnant" in their language. Today the known world population is only 135,000, and some 250 of them live on the 30-acre Kalmuk tract near Farmingdale.

"REMNANTS" BECOME GOOD JERSEYMEN

I came to know Freewood Acres' Kalmuks through a pleasant-faced, stocky young man wearing a sweatshirt on which the faded words "American University" were imprinted. His smile revealed splendid white teeth as he introduced himself: "I'm Alexey Ivanchukov, chairman of the Kalmuk Society in the United States."

The sweatshirt? "That's my kid brother's; he's a senior at American University, in Washington, D.C.," he explained. "I'm attending Columbia."

Alexey proudly showed me through the little Buddhist temple his group built 4 years ago. The brilliant colors of ceiling hangings and altar decorations made the interior glow even in the light of flickering candles. A solemn priest fingered his prayer beads near the altar. He paused to smile hospitably as Alexey presented me, but he did not speak.

"Please sign the guestbook," my guide urged as we left the temple. I did—directly beneath the names of three visitors from Calcutta, India, who had been there the day before.

Outside the temple with its centuries-old traditions, I could hear the roaring symbols of the 20th century as automobiles sped to and from the Jersey shore on crowded U.S. Route 9. A late-model car stopped. Alexey leaned through the window to remind three pretty Kalmuk girls of a picnic on Saturday.

A priest walked slowly around the temple exterior, revolving a prayer wheel. The elders strive mightily to preserve their Buddhist teachings, and many young people, such as Alexey, seek to help them.

Materially, the Kalmuks are doing well. Americanization is everywhere: in late-model cars, in TV aerials atop ranch houses, in gum-chewing, teenaged Kalmuk girls reading movie magazines, in little boys playing marbles, and in a lay leader wearing a faded college sweatshirt like any other college boy home for the weekend.

The Kalmuks and all these other varied peoples have found room in tiny New Jersey—and it is tiny, a fact impressed on me by a visitor from California.

"Why," she said, "I think San Bernardino County could hold all of New Jersey."

I went to an encyclopedia. She was right. San Bernardino could hold all of New Jersey—and have room left over for Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Delaware.

WATERFALL BUILT A CITY

I usually take visitors through the north Jersey forest and lake country. To make the contrast between well-known industry and little-known upland charm most striking, we drive to Garrett Mountain above Paterson.

Here the Watchung Mountains dive precipitously to the plain. At this fall line the Passaic River plunges 70 feet down through a rocky gorge. The furious power of Passaic Falls prompted Alexander Hamilton to found Paterson in 1791 as America's first planned industrial city.

Paterson grew by the falls, following a path of recurring boom and bust. Cotton, railroad locomotives, silk, airplane motors—each of these has dominated the city in turn. Now hundreds of small industries hum in the old brick factories that once gave Jersey's third-largest city an all-eggs-in-one-basket economy.

Paterson always attracted men of vision. Samuel Colt manufactured his first revolver in the Paterson Gun Mill in 1836. Eccentric schoolmaster John Philip Holland sent his first submarine on a trial voyage in the Passaic River in 1878. In Paterson's West Side Park the *Fenian Ram*, Holland's successful 31-foot submarine built for the Irish Fenian society in 1881, today rests as a monument to the inventor.

After its tumbling fall at Paterson, the Passaic becomes placid again, eager to serve the hundreds of industries clustered along its banks as it winds to a quiet merger with the salt waters of Newark Bay to the south.

But let's face it, a person quickly can get his fill of industry. We leave for the nearby Ramapo Mountains, scarcely less wild today than they were in the days when Revolutionary War outcasts found a haven there.

Halfway up from Oakland, the Skyline Drive takes a curve. Ahead, a raccoon leads her brood across the road, letting a mere autoist know that her kind was there first.

RATTLERS ROAM THE RAMAPOS

I stop the car. Wilderness surrounds us. Off to the southeast, some 20 miles away, the skyscrapers of New York seem to grow out of the trees between. My guests scramble to pick the daisies among the boulders. That's not wise: I remember the advice of the guide who first took me through the Ramapos.

"Place is full of rattlers and copperheads," he said. "Stick to the roads."

We pick no daisies. Instead, our car rises to where the drive dips down to the west. Patches of deep blue in the valley below dot the hardwood forests.

These wooded highlands, where streams run clear and cold, give water to several north Jersey cities. That closest patch is Wanaque Reservoir, 7 miles long and capable of supplying 85 million gallons of water daily.

Reservoirs are numerous because water is everywhere in these highlands. The very names of rivers make it evident that the Indians knew them, too: Musconetcong, Passaic, Raritan, Pequannock, Pequest.

Dozens of lakes snuggle in glacier-built pockets. The largest is called Hopatcong,

loosely interpreted as "honey water of many coves."

Lake Hopatcong, only 6½ miles long, has so many coves and inlets that the shoreline winds some 35 miles. In summer the white wings of sailboats dot the surface; in winter iceboats skim the frozen lake. Scores of ice fishermen cluster in River Styx Cove. Dense woods close in on the lake; from the air it is a sapphire in a setting of green.

Loftiest spot in New Jersey is High Point, close to where New York and New Jersey touch borders. At 1,803 feet, High Point perhaps rates as little more than a foothill to a Colorandan, but it is rugged and steep enough to test neophyte mountain climbers.

The Appalachian Trail runs down the backbone of the Kittatinny Mountains between High Point and Delaware Water Gap. At Sunrise Mountain, a craggy ledge easily reached by automobile, we hikers on wheels can park and, by walking a few paces, get a magnificent view.

Sunrise Mountain looks eastward across the Kittatinny Valley, a region of lush dairy farms. Harry Dorer, retired Newark News photographer who talks about New Jersey the way really boastful Texans talk about Texas, first took me to Sunrise Mountain.

"Wonderful, wonderful," Harry said, as he always does. "Look at those barns. You know, Sussex County has more cows than people, and that's good."

PEOPLE AT LAST OUTNUMBER COWS

Whether it's good can be debated, but from Mr. Dorer's viewpoint, the county has slipped. The latest figures show more people than cows in Sussex, by several thousand head. Nevertheless, life still revolves around milking time. Often I've waited while sun-tanned farm boys or girls drove cows barnward across the road in late afternoon.

Between the Kittatinnys and the Delaware is a land few outsiders visit, a fertile land of independent folk. There I go whenever I seek a leisurely pace and a measure of self-sufficiency. There, near villages like Flatbrookville and Wallpack Center, men still trap and hunt and gather in country stores to swap yarns beside wood-burning stoves.

Joe Taylor, of Columbia, considered a kind of Paul Bunyan among trappers along Big Flat Brook, has led me through the area. Joe is an intelligent, articulate State trapper whose job is to catch beavers and deer and muskrats and raccoons in areas where they aren't wanted and to transfer them alive to spots where they are welcome.

One fall day Joe showed me how he traps foxes. We walked down a woods road where foxes run seeking food. Joe knelt down, carefully placed a trap and lure, expertly sprinkled dirt to conceal the trap.

He looked up. "Did you know most foxes are right-footed?" he asked.

"No," I replied doubtfully.

"Yup. I put a little scent on the right side of the trail and the trap on the left. While Mr. Fox digs for the scent with his right paw, he puts his weight on his left—square into the trap."

Little things like that escape the beginner. Little things like that also make a day with Joe Taylor something for which I will return to Wallpack Center at every chance.

Three centuries ago Dutch miners came down this valley and mined copper at Pahaquarry in the Kittatinnys. They lugged their ore overland to what is now Kingston, in New York State. Some authorities claim that the Old Mine Road, built in the mid-1600's, was the first true highway in the United States. The old copper mine is still open, though today it is part of a Boy Scout camp.

OLD MINES STILL YIELD "BLACK STONE"

Those Scouts hear Indian tales of the days when the country was young, when the Delaware River took on the rocky Kittatinnys and wore them down. That victory gave an everlasting gift to scenery: the Delaware Water Gap, a thing of beauty, where the river twists betwen craggy, tree-covered slopes.

In days long past the north Jersey mountains near Dover served ironmasters; more than 200 iron diggings were worked after the first "black stone" was mined in Morris County about 1710. Weeds now choke the entrances of all but a few of the mines. Still, more than a million tons of ore is extrated each year; mines at Mt. Hope and Mine Hill go down more than 2,700 feet—two of the deepest mine shafts in the East.

A million tons of iron ore is as nothing to the needs of New Jersey industry. Actually, the State's natural resources cannot begin to satisfy Jersey industry's enormous appetite. Transportation is the greater equalizer, the link in the beginning with sources of raw materials and the link in the end with markets the world over.

New Jersey relies on its outlets to the sea. Docks jut into the Hudson River at Jersey City, Hoboken, and Weehawken, calling for trade in rivalry with the docks of New York, just a river width away.

Wharves as far up the Delaware as Camden likewise lure ocean ships. Heavily laden hulls supply the State's many chemical plants.

Three plants, two in Perth Amboy and one in Carteret, provide a third of the Nation's copper refining capacity. The basis of this major New Jersey industry is simple: copper concentrates come in by boat; the refined metal goes out by barge.

On a visit to one of the plants, I heard constant talk of "byproducts" in the copper concentrates. "Byproducts?" I asked.

"You know," said a spokesman, "gold, silver, platinum, iridium. Things like that."

Totals generally are closely guarded secrets, but I learned that in 1958 one Middlesex County plant recovered gold and silver worth $36 million. Byproducts, indeed.

SALT MARSHES FEND OFF A CITY

Traffic in Jersey's industrial corridor probably is unrivaled. The New Jersey Turnpike alone carries a million vehicles a week. Between New Brunswick and Jersey City runs some of the heaviest rail traffic on earth.

Fortunately, nature left a great open area for maneuverability—the Jersey Meadows, 30,000 acres of scarcely conquered swampland within full view of skyscrapers in both New York City and Newark.

Once the bottom of a glacial lake, the Meadows now are flooded daily by changing tides. Sedges 7 feet tall wave like a green lake in summertime, turning to crisp, dry stalks in winter. Billboards scream the merits of New York hotels and Broadway plays. Beneath them, muskrat trappers roam.

The Meadows are ringed now with industry tied to hundreds of rail sidings. Transportation pulls out all the stops at Port Newark, which only 50 years ago was muskrat marshes and garbage dumps. Sea, truck, railroad, and air facilities meet at the port.

Similarly, transportation accounts for the industry of Jersey City, Bayonne, Hoboken, Elizabeth, Linden, Rahway, and half a dozen other cities within 10 miles of Newark. It accounts, in substantial measure, for Newark's unquestioned position as the financial, business, and industrial heart of the State.

Newark is the nerve center of Essex County, where nearly a fifth of all New Jersey people live. Founded 296 years ago, the city eyes the future; more than a billion dollars in public and private funds has been committed since 1955 to build a new Newark.

COLOSSUS OF BAUBLES AND BEER

Newark boasts that it is unmatched anywhere for the variety of its manufactures—a claim not easy to prove or to disprove.

Much of the production goes on in ancient buildings, many containing 10 or more small industries. Some 300 types of goods are made in the city, from delicate electronics instruments to gaudy plastic toys, from electrical machinery to chemicals, from leather to paint.

Out of the welter of products, I know Newark industry best for two things—gold jewelry and beer.

Just as Providence, R.I., is noted for its costume jewelry, so Newark is recognized as the center of the country's fine gold jewelry manufacture. Few realize this, even in the city, because most of Newark's work is done in unprepossessing old buildings along the railroad tracks.

Once Newark jewelers stamped "Paris" or "London" on their wares. Such guile is no longer necessary. "Newark" in the trade today carries just as much assurance of quality.

Consider, too, Newark's beer.

The city's big breweries always smell good to me, reminiscent of hot bubbling cereal. The cereal in the highly burnished copper cookers ultimatly winds up in 6 million barrels a year of Newark-made beer and ale—making Newark a Milwaukee of the East.

Six million barrels is a lot of brew. One day a white-haired brewmaster fixed that firmly in mind for me. He turned to me as we stood by a bottling line in P. Ballentine & Sons, a Newark brewery since 1840.

"Offhand, now, do you know how many glasses of beer there are in 6 million barrels?" he asked. I shook my head.

"About 3 billion glasses," he replied.

"That's startling!" I exclaimed.

His blue eyes twinkled. "Positively staggering, you might say," he responded dryly. Obviously I wasn't his first straight man.

Newark's foaming eminence answers one of two questions put to me by a foreman in a Bridgeton glass factory. We stood by an automatic bottle-blowing machine in the Owens-Illinois Glass Co. plant, where hundreds of thousands of bottles of jars are made daily.

This hot July day the hissing, clattering machines pounded out beer bottles. Molten white metal dropped into molds, machines clanged, and beer bottles streamed out. My face must have shown my awe. The foreman spoke up:

"I stand here myself for 5 minutes and wonder where all the bottles go. Who in the world drinks all that beer?"

I could tell him that millions of bottles go to Newark. But who in the world drinks all that beer I still don't know.

Jersey industry, I discovered, thinks nothing of production in millions. Take, for example, the Joseph Dixon Crucible Co., of Jersey City, across the Hackensack and Passiac Rivers from Newark. A pioneer in writing implements, the company turns out more than a hundred million pencils a year.

SPINACH PICKERS AND TICKLY BENDERS

New Jersey seems much longer than its 166-mile length. Cape May Point is on the same latitude as Washington, D.C.; High Point is qu a line with New Haven, Conn. Hence, on an early November day when spinach is being plucked in Cumberland County, Sussex County boys may be running tickly benders—footraces—on the first ice of north Jersey's lakes.

Occasionally I get the feeling that New Jersey is really a northern State with a southern accent, a feeling most keen when I delve into the State's role in the Civil War.

One-third of New Jersey is below Mason and Dixon's line (or where the line would be if it extended from the Maryland-Pennsylvania border to the Atlantic). That sets a tone, but the reasons why New Jersey twice refused Abraham Lincoln full support go deeper. The State had been a major sup-

plier to the South, and its political leanings were heavily Democratic—and thus antiwar.

Princeton University was known in the 1850's as the northernmost of the southern universities. After Fort Sumter, the students split almost evenly between Blue and Gray.

The first time I toured Nassau Hall, Princeton University's 200-year-old administration building, Dan Coyle of the university's staff stopped me in front of a panel honoring Princeton's 70 Civil War dead. "Fascinating thing," said Dan. "Thirty-five of them were Union, thirty-five Confederate. That tells as much as anything about how things were here during the war."

GHOST TOWNS HIDE AMID THE PINES

North and South merge in the Pine Barrens, about 1,900 square miles of little-used south Jersey pine and scrub oak growth.

Botanical literature of the Pine Barrens tells of trees and flowers seldom found south of New England growing side by side with trees and flowers rarely found north of the Carolinas. I have seen, for one, the delicate southern yellow orchis in the barrens, 250 miles north of its normal habitat.

Few get to know this frontier, covering nearly a fourth of the State. Broad highways slice its dense walls of trees, and along those highways speed millions of people bound to or from the Jersey shore. Rare is the traveler who struggles up the narrow side roads to its ghost towns. It's just as well; those sandy tracks can be as treacherous as a country lane after a blizzard.

A few natives still lead the simple life deep in the thickets. They gather sphagnum moss in the cedar swamps, pick and gather laurel and pine cones, or sometimes cut a load of pulpwood. They find their markets where they can, and they leave other people alone, asking only to be left alone in turn.

On one trip to the Pine Barrens I heard of Asa Pitman of Mount Misery, "Rattlesnake Ace" he was called, because he caught and sold rattlesnakes for a living.

Ace had a story which merits—and gets—much retelling. "The missus and me had just got into bed," said Ace, "when I hear a noise in the garrett. My snakes was loose. I shook the missus and we went up there in the dark and all. Had a devil of a job gettin' 'em all back without hurtin' none of 'em."

The Pine Barrens call me back at all seasons of the year. Especially is this true, however, in the spring, when there is a richness of bloom and beauty, and in Indian summer, when chattering birds harvest wild berries and seeds amid fall foliage.

On such a bird-chattering day I ventured into the Barrens to look at the Wharton tract—95,000 acres of State-owned forestland northwest of Atlantic City. Joseph Wharton, the Philadelphia "nickel king" who once controlled America's supply of that metal, began putting the big tract together in the 1870's. He hoped to use the area's water for Philadelphia, but New Jersey law thwarted that ambitious plan. In 1954–55 the State bought the land to protect the water rights of its citizens.

Joseph J. Truncer, general manager of the Wharton tract for the State Department of Conservation and Economic Development, waited for me at Batsto, the old village of early ironmasters and glassmakers. When I arrived, Joe was carefully sorting a pile of recently acquired blacksmith tools and fittings. His face shone like a small boy's at Christmas; with such equipment Donald Streeter, a veteran blacksmith from Vineland, has fitted out the blacksmith shop almost as good as old.

BOG IRON SMITHY ECHOES THE PAST

"Batsto is from an old Indian name, Baatstoo, meaning 'bathing place,'" Truncer told me. First it housed the ironmakers who smelted the bog iron ore—a variety of limonite—from the nearby swamps and streams. Later, when that industry died, glass blowers occupied the settlement.

Batsto's Mansion, or "big house," still stands on the hill. "We'll preserve it as a reminder of how people lived years ago," Truncer said as we walked toward it.

Between the big house and the company store I noticed a walk with flagstones of odd sameness. I said as much.

Truncer laughed. "Those flagstones are pieces cast from bog iron," he said. "They used it for everything—including headstones in local cemeteries."

Forty miles of canoe streams twist through Wharton tract. On those streams—the Mullica, the Batsto, and Wading Rivers—there is rare peace and quiet, despite the fact that only minutes away motorists jam the highway between Camden and Atlantic City.

Truncer bounced me over a woodland road in a much-abused jeep, heading for a meander in the Mullica. Only canoeists, tract wokers, natives—and an occasional writer—ever reach the spot. There we watched the river moving slowly seaward through the bayou. The dark, rippled water looked like highly polished mahogany.

GARDEN SPOT OF THE GARDEN STATE

My route lay west to Hammonton, where spring turns the landscape into a sea of peach blossoms and where, in July, Italians throughout the East gather to celebrate the Feast of Our Lady of Mt. Carmel. Hammonton is on the edge of a broad arc north and west of the Pine Barrens, an arc in which the soil is rich and deep.

This is New Jersey's garden spot of the Garden State, a region cutting across parts of 10 counties. Here is a land that produces fruits and vegetables for markets and packinghouses from the time the first tender dandelions are cut in March until the late spinach is plucked in November.

Color always brightens this garden. In the spring the fields are green with asparagus shoots and yellow with lettuce. June brings rich strawberry color, and, as that fades, the brilliant yellow of tomato blossoms glows on hundreds of thousands of vines. Always there is color: the blue-black of the eggplant, the rich crimson of the pepper, the delicate pink of the peach.

Farming is big time in south Jersey. Plantings are so widespread and harvests so vast that a sizable army of migrant workers must move into the State every summer. Twenty thousand migrants compose the army; half of them are flown from Puerto Rico to New Jersey in a giant airlift between the island and south Jersey airports.

Jersey farming reaches its apex at Seabrook Farms near Bridgeton, one of the Nation's largest mechanized vegetable gardens. The giant concern processes crops—both its own and those of contract farmers—from 41,000 acres, a fourth of New Jersey's total vegetable acreage.

The mechanization at Seabrook Farms is hard to believe. Machines do almost everything: Dig beets, slice off spinach, pluck ears of corn, thrash peas and lima beans from their vines. Crop-dusting planes sweep over enriched fields, tilled by 75 tractors. I'm especially fond of south Jersey in August and September, when long lines of trucks, piled fantastically high with baskets of tomatoes, rumble endlessly over darkened streets on the way to canneries in a dozen towns.

Aromatic spices and herbs fill the damp night air to make a visitor sleep well—or, if he doesn't like catsup, to make him see red.

Far and away the largest tomato user is the Campbell Soup Co. Campbell was founded in Camden in 1869; today the company has plants in nearly a dozen States and in Canada, England, and Italy.

EXECUTIVES DOUBLE AS FOOD TASTERS

Politely turning aside questions on production statistics, Campbell constantly stresses quality. Each day Campbell plants throughout the country speed samples of their output to Camden by air. Each day the samples are tasted by experts, who often are joined by company brass in a longstanding company tradition. If the slightest flaw is detected, out goes the faulty item.

Campbell influence in tomato growing is widespread. An executive told me that "half the tomatoes grown for processing in the United States today can be traced to our research."

Agriculture remains vital in south Jersey, but since World War II industry and home development are rapidly encroaching upon this land once reserved solely for crops. The pace has picked up markedly since completion of the New Jersey Turnpike in 1952.

Some of the industry has jumped clear across the Pine Barrens to locate close to the shore, a prime illustration being the new multi-million-dollar plant of Lenox China Co. in Pomona, near Atlantic City.

POTTERS LEARN WHAT THE POLISHERS DO

Lenox maintains its old plant in Trenton, where Walter Scott Lenox began making fine china in 1889, but in the Pomona installation, opened in 1954, a cup or saucer takes less time to make. Stepped-up operations mean no lessening of quality. However, the long one-story building spreads out its intricate operations so widely that the company sometimes wonders if the front end of the building knows what the back end is doing.

One morning H. Norman McCullough, Pomona plant manager, showed me through the huge plant—through the mounds of raw materials, past the spinning potters' wheels, by the long lines where hands molded the green clay.

We watched the china being fired and then skillfully decorated. As I handled a finished plate it seemed a far cry from the unsightly raw materials.

McCullough smiled. "You've discovered something that worried us," he said. "We know that the people who are working with the messy green clay can't have a clear idea of what they are working toward unless we show them. That's why we have a constantly changing exhibit in the cafeteria—to tell everyone along the way that what he is doing is a part of making fine china."

South Jersey has not had to wait until now to claim diversified industry. For years the area has boasted of production "from pen points to battleships." That would be Camden, home of Esterbrook pens, and the New York Shipbuilding Corp.

CAMDEN: FROM PENS TO PROUD SEA GIANTS

Rare is the middle-aged American unacquainted with Esterbrook points; the company made 325 million of them in the peak year of 1919. Now in its 102d year, Esterbrook still makes millions of carbon-steel points for worldwide distribution, but the bulk of production is in fountain pens, including hundreds of thousands of desk pen sets.

If Esterbrook deals in numbers, however, the New York Shipbuilding Corp. specializes in bulk. When I stopped by the shipyard at Camden, the first vague outlines of the huge carrier *Kitty Hawk* were taking shape in a deep, specially built graving dock. Far below, men swarmed like ants over the giant steel skeleton, affixing great steel plates with precision.

A shipyard is a place of many sights and a place to test a man's endurance. I hustled for hours after my long-legged guide as we climbed up and down and across the long

ways—each 850 feet long, the only covered ways of such size in the country.

One held the beginnings of a submarine. Nearby, a merchant ship was only days from launching.

Eventually we reached the drafting room. As far as the eye could reach, men sat under fluorescent lights working at drafting tables.

"How big is this room?" I asked.

"Oh, about an acre or so," my guide said offhandedly, as if all industries had "an acre or so" of draftsmen.

SCIENCE WORKS TOMORROW'S WONDERS

Painstaking research and planning builds ships in Camden. Such research is a New Jersey hallmark, the State's link with tomorrow's industrial production. Roughly a tenth of the country's industrial research laboratories are located within the State's borders.

Research activity is especially intense at Princeton, partially because of the university's noted graduate school and partially because of pure scholarship at the Institute for Advanced Study.

Founded in 1930 through a $5 million grant from the Bamberger family in Newark, the institute has become an acknowledged gathering place for the world's top thinkers. It awards no degrees and holds no scheduled classes. Its work centers in two broad areas—mathematics and historical studies.

Poet T. S. Eliot wrote part of his play "The Cocktail Party" at the institute, and Arnold Toynbee worked there on his 10-volume "A Study of History." In all, some 4,000 publications have been partly or completely produced at the institute, including works by Noble Prize winners.

Another famed New Jersey institution is the Bell Telephone Laboratories on a hilltop at Murray Hill, one of the world's largest industrial research laboratories.

Naturally Bell research concentrates on communications—on such things as telephone handsets, wire, and telephone poles—but it knows few bounds. Out of Murray Hill has come basic work in synthetic crystals. There, too, was developed the transistor, which won its three-man team of perfecters the Noble Prize in physics in 1956.

NICKEL PLAYS EDISON'S FAVORITE TUNE

Organized research in Jersey began in 1876 when Thomas A. Edison and his team opened a laboratory at Menlo Park. Edison received patents for 300 items developed at Menlo Park, including the incandescent lamp and the phonograph, before he moved to West Orange in 1887. That West Orange laboratory, now part of the National Park System, is open for all to see.

Visitors can listen to an Edison jukebox (a nickel in the slot produces music), hear his favorite recording of "I'll Take You Home Again, Kathleen," and see his original movie equipment. Nearby stands a reproduction of his "Black Maria," the tarpapered movie studio that pivoted to face the sun and give insensitive films of Edison's time the greatest possible amount of light.

Edison's desk is just as he left it at his death in 1931, crammed with thoughts and ideas. The cot where he napped so sparingly is in a corner. A model of the original incandescent lamp stands on the desk. Significant is Edison's chemistry laboratory, where before his death he had extracted rubber from goldenrod.

Chemical research meant Edison was abreast of a phenomenon of the 20th century: the incredible rise of the American chemicals industry. Nowhere has that rise been more marked than in New Jersey, where chemicals manufacture has as many branches as an untrimmed crabapple tree.

Representing more than a billion dollars annually in the State's economy, the industry centers in Hudson, Essex, Union, and Middlesex Counties. Most noteworthy, however, is the E. I. du Pont de Nemours Chambers Works at Deepwater in semirural Salem County, near where the New Jersey Turnpike approaches the Delaware Memorial Bridge by the banks of the Delaware River.

Du Pont began the Deepwater plant in 1917 and risk $43 million in 10 years without a cent of profit. "Deepwater, for sure," grumbled stockholders. "There's no bottom to the need for money." But today Deepwater prospers as one of the largest chemical plants in the Western Hemisphere.

Edison's work stimulated early electronics production in New Jersey, and World War II bounced it high. Electronics manufacturers are found now throughout New Jersey, but the largest of all is Radio Corp. of America, with division headquarters in Camden and branches at 40 other sites throughout the State.

RCA's beginning involved an enterprising machinist, one Eldridge R. Johnson, of Camden, to whom Emile Berliner brought a talking machine in 1896. It sounded, Johnson wrote, "like a parrot with a sore throat," but he became interested "as I had never been interested in anything before."

So interested, indeed, that he founded the Victor Talking Machine Co. in 1901. Receipts totaled a tidy $100,000 the first year; then, as Johnson relieved the machine's sore throat, income rose astonishingly to about $1 million by 1905—a jump of 900 percent in 4 years.

Today nearly 20,000 men and women work for RCA in the Camden area. Production at this original site no longer includes "talking machines" or phonograph records, but instead ranges from pocket-size two-way radios to mammoth electronic computers, which anyone with the need and $1 million or so in ready cash can buy.

In looking ahead, RCA has not turned its back on its heritage. The famous old trademark of Nipper with an ear cocked to "his master's voice" still stands in the tower of one of the buildings where it has served as a landmark for nearly 60 years.

Much of RCA's future will derive from its neatly landscaped David Sarnoff Research Center in Princeton, where such things as the electron microscope, an atomic battery about the size of a matchbox, and a solar battery to harness the sun are being perfected.

HUMAN TIDES FLOOD THE JERSEY SHORE

Sooner or later most Jerseymen—be they north or south, factory workers or farmers or researchers—go to the Jersey shore. There they become part of a throng from all over the land.

What the visitor seeks he can find at some 60 resort towns along the New Jersey coast. If he wants bustling boardwalk life, tense with noise and excitement, he goes to Atlantic City, Asbury Park, Long Branch, Point Pleasant, Wildwood, or a dozen smaller resorts.

If he wants comparative quiet, perhaps even a bit of Cape Cod or Newport atmosphere, that's available in a score of locations—Cape May, Avalon, Stone Harbor, Long Beach Island, Bay Head, Sea Girt, Deal, Spring Lake, Ocean Grove, to mention a few.

Nearly a quarter of all Jersey shore visitors find their way to Atlantic City. I prefer a quieter spot in summer, any of half a dozen Cape May County resorts. In winter, quite the other way, I like Atlantic City very much.

That's because Atlantic City knows how to entertain. Nothing is too big, nothing is too small, for the city of amusement. All fall and winter, when other resorts hibernate, Atlantic City stays alive, catering to every species of conventioneer doctor, lawyer, labor leader, industrialist, policeman, legionnaire.

Atlantic City impresses me by its ability to take the crush of a crowd, then recuperate and leave no outward sign that anything unusual has happened. Last fall I sat with 300,000 others in specially erected boardwalk bleachers to watch the Miss America Pageant parade. We dropped papers, tossed away programs, shelled peanuts, let gum wrappers fall.

Late that night, as I walked to my hotel, the crowd had vanished, leaving behind only its debris. Crews of workers moved silently through the night, putting the boardwalk to rights. By morning nothing remained to indicate that even an early-morning bather, much less a huge crowd, had passed that way.

Miss America symbolizes Atlantic City's devotion to promotion. As Miss Ada Taylor of the Claridge Hotel once put it to me:

"We live on ocean, emotion, and constant promotion."

After seeing earlier pageants via TV, I didn't know if I could enjoy this continuing bit of seashore folklore (it has been going on since 1921). But I did.

Three preliminary nights dragged, true, but as the finals moved to a close in the tremendous auditorium on Saturday night, the emotional atmosphere heightened. A blase New York newspaperwoman leaned over toward me as stately Miss Mississippi walked alone down the runway, the newly crowned Miss America of 1959.

"By gosh," said the writer, almost in amazement at herself, "she really is a queen."

BEAUTY OF MANY SORTS CROWNS JERSEY

Miss America is beauty to be remembered year in and year out. But the man who takes the trouble to discover New Jersey finds inspiration in many other things as well.

He finds it in the big oyster fleet which sails at dawn each day in season from Bivalve into Delaware Bay. His imagination is quickened by tramping across the Salem County marshes, where trappers each year bag tens of thousands of muskrats. He thrills to the sight of herons and egrets coming home against the setting sun to roost in the holly trees at Stone Harbor's sanctuary. Certainly he finds beauty in the north Jersey orchid greenhouses, where more than 2 million orchids blossom annually. Many a young Texan or Californian has taken a bit of New Jersey with her to her first ball.

Traveling back-country roads can bring a man to Hope, Harmony, and Tranquility, all close together in the hills of Warren and Sussex Counties—and those three villages are as pleasant as their names would imply. Equally, however, a man can find double trouble in Ocean County, although the cranberry bogs bordering the village scarcely deserve the ominous title.

There are always surprises in New Jersey—and at times it takes an outsider's viewpoint to bring the lesson sharply home. Driving through the State with B. Anthony Stewart, chief photographer for the National Geographic, I told him of New Jersey's reputation for breeding fine thoroughbred horses. He seemed interested, but not impressed: he had photographed Kentucky's blue-grass country.

One golden September day Tony Stewart and I went down to the Helis Stock Farm in Jobstown, northeast of Mount Holly. Miss Peter Cole, field secretary of the Thoroughbred Horse Breeders' Association of New Jersey, took us across the 1,500 acres of pastureland and showed us stables with stalls for more than 200 horses. We saw a half-mile covered track where horses can be raced year round. Outside, white fences contrasted handsomely with lush green grass where brood mares and colts nibbled. I liked it, being a New Jersey enthusiast, but

Tony Stewart needed only to react with polite professionalism.

Instead he said softly, "I've seen horse country in a dozen States, but not like this."

New Jersey never seemed better.

The World Bank Loan to the United Arab Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1960

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, a few days prior to this date I received a communication from Mr. Morris Kraines, president of the St. Louis Council of the American Jewish Congress, which I feel deserves to be included in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the information of all Members of Congress. It deals with the matter of the loan recently extended by the International Bank to the United Arab Republic for the purposes of making improvements in the Suez Canal.

I am, of course, very much aware of the fact that the International Bank is not an agency of the U.S. Government. Thus we are not in a position to dictate its policies or decisions except as we can influence our own Government's representation to the Bank to seek in turn to influence the Bank's policies. Nevertheless, I am also aware of the fact that in one of his recent press conferences, the President himself referred to the World Bank as, in effect, an instrument of Western policy. This very much raises the question of what free world policy really is on this question of illegal discrimination in the use of the Suez Canal.

Mr. Speaker, I submit for the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and for the attention of the Congress the communication I received on this matter from Mr. Kraines, as follows:

ST. LOUIS COUNCIL, AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS,
St. Louis, Mo., January 7, 1968.

The Honorable LEONOR K. SULLIVAN,
U.S. Representative,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE SULLIVAN: It was disheartening to read that the World Bank has decided to grant a $56 million loan to the United Arab Republic. Though the bank has claimed that its decision was determined by strictly economic factors, it is the feeling of the St. Louis Council of the American Jewish Congress that the political effects of the loan far transcend those of the economic.

Extending a loan to the United Arab Republic, at this time, represents an encouragement of dictatorial irresponsibility, as well as a negation of American policy as enunciated by President Eisenhower in 1957. At that time, President Eisenhower said that if Egypt attempted to blockade Israeli shipping through the Suez Canal, it would be dealt with firmly by the "society of nations." Since then numerous attempts have been made, largely by the UN, to deal with this problem, and for a while it seemed as if some kind of agreement had been reached by Mr. Hammarskjold and Nasser. However, Nasser's recent actions have belied those efforts.

Granting aid to a country which brazenly reneges on its own promises to the U.N. and and which stubbornly remains indifferent to its obligations for peace, will inevitably be interpreted by totalitarian nations as a green-light to lawless actions, as well as a symbol of the undecisiveness and weakness of democratic nations. The World Bank's purpose should rightfully not serve as a political sledgehammer, but neither should it serve as a de facto subsidization of international aggressiveness.

We certainly recognize the need for peace and prosperity in the Middle East and support wholeheartedly attempts to achieve it. For that reason, we urge that a policy be adopted along the lines of the 56 U.S. representatives, who a few weeks ago sent a joint telegram to the President of the World Bank. We believe the State Department should continue its opposition to the illegal blockade of Israeli shipping, and should also urge deferment of the loan until the United Arab Republic guarantees unrestricted freedom of passage for the shipping of all nations. There is sufficient precedent for such action—for example, in 1955, the bank refused a loan to Nasser for the Aswan Dam until he settled the sharing of the Nile with Sudan. Similarly, in 1957, the United States froze Egypt's assets in the United States when the matter of reimbursing Suez stockholders was in question.

In short, we respectfully urge you to do whatever you can to reaffirm our traditional American policy of justice and peace in the Middle East.

Sincerely yours,

MORRIS KRAINES,
President.

Interest Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, on permission to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I wish to call attention to an editorial which appeared in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of January 13, 1960, entitled "Politics and Interest Rates." It is as follows:

POLITICS AND INTEREST RATES

President Eisenhower's renewed request for legislation lifting the 4¼ percent interest-rate ceiling on long-term Government bonds does not promise to fare too well in Congress. Some Democrats, notably Representative CHESTER BOWLES, of Connecticut, are already urging that the request be rejected again, as it was last summer. Their reasoning does not seem too persuasive to us, and we hope the Democratic leadership will think twice before accepting it.

Mr. BOWLES appears to agree with the administration that the interest ceiling should be raised. But he says it should not be raised until major reforms in other phases of monetary policy can be put into effect. To authorize higher interest rates on long-term bonds now, he says, would tie the hands of the administration taking office next January—"an administration which we hope and expect will hold a more dynamic view of America's economic future."

One can agree with Mr. BOWLES on the need for a more imaginative approach to the problem of accelerating economic growth, but it is hard to follow him when he argues in effect that the interest ceiling should be lifted only by a Democratic administration.

The Democrats expect to make a campaign issue of high interest rates, but that is not a sound economic reason for turning down the President's request. As a matter of fact, whether Congress grants or rejects the request will have very little to do with the total cost of carrying the national debt.

Keeping the ceiling at 4¼ percent does not mean keeping the interest rate down. It only means that the Treasury must issue short-term securities, on which the ceiling does not apply, instead of long-term bonds, for which there is no market at the present limitation. A slight increase in the long-term rate might actually permit the Treasury to borrow at a lower cost than it now must pay for short-term paper on which it has to offer more than 5 percent.

Short-term securities create a maximum inflationary potential, long-term bonds a minimum one. If it is desirable to shift some of the national debt into the latter category, as it is, and has been for some years, then there is good reason to lift the ceiling now rather than to await a new administration.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, as is my practice every Monday, I put my newsletter in the RECORD so that my colleagues as well as others who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD may know my views if they are so disposed.

The budget message is of great interest to all of us. For my part, I decided to write the President a letter of commendation well deserved, as my newsletter for this week:

WASHINGTON REPORT BY CONGRESSMAN BRUCE ALGER, JANUARY 23, 1960

THE PRESIDENT:
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Good for you. Having studied your budget message, I feel compelled to write you this letter. Moreover, I believe that a majority of Dallas citizens would join me in these thoughts. Undoubtedly numberless others throughout the land feel the same.

Yours is no easy task. We all know that. Presenting and preparing a year's budget for our National Government is tough, but hardly more so than a long list of difficult things that, by law, we require you as President to do. On top of the all important military expenses, there are countless Government functions that must be paid for.

Besides recommending action, you have to assemble, from all branches of Government, estimates of what it will cost to carry out the laws Congress has passed. Congress may than accept or ignore your recommendations, but the chances are that you will be blamed for any inaction by Congress, as often as not by the very Congressmen responsible. Worse yet, many of our people simply do not understand the respective functions of the Congress and the President.

In addition to the necessary expenses, there are endless numbers of costly pet projects that Congressmen, pressure groups, and individual citizens think are needed right

now. It's easy for any of us to lose sight of basic objectives and the overall picture. You, of course, must not. It's easy for some to figure that the other fellow's needs are not so important as their own. Easy too, to demand some particular, even worthwhile, spending project—"after all, it doesn't cost much"—without fitting that demand into the whole nationwide framework. In fact, it would probably be hard for many people to realize just how much restraint, self-discipline, and willpower it takes to withstand the pressures for greater spending when preparing the budget. Maybe, over the years, that's why the Government often spends more than it takes in.

Well, we of Dallas, want to compliment you and to encourage you in the statesmanlike attitude toward spending shown by your budget message. You have offered us a balanced budget. You have suggested that we pay down the debt, tipping our hats to our children who will inherit it. You ask us to look forward to the possibility of a tax cut, if we follow this responsible course you have charted.

To do this, you have chosen to delay your request for some of the money for Federal building that is under way throughout the Nation. So, the shoe is pinching us in Dallas. We have high hopes for our Federal building conceived and based on sound economic principles. We expected speedy construction. Now it will be delayed since no money is provided in the current budget, beyond buying the site and preparation of plans, which are going ahead full speed.

Perhaps it would be expected by some, even demanded, that we now solicit you to include the funds necessary for immediate construction of this building, justified by persuasive arguments. It would be easy to forget the national picture and just demand this admittedly worthwhile project.

However, sober consideration and understanding of Federal spending is not new to the people of Dallas. We have on other occasions declined to request Federal aid when we might have had it under the law. From time to time, as a Representative, I have voted, in the name of Dallas people, against boondoggle bills, even when it meant voting against some Dallas project included in a bill. We were prepared then and are now to be self-disciplined and responsible in our attitude toward Federal spending.

It is possible that in this moment of history, under your leadership, responsible people everywhere will rally around your sensible economic course. We, in Dallas, hope so. Surely, it is not too much to ask that we delay some construction, however worthwhile, to accomplish the objectives of sound fiscal policy. We know that it is time we got our house in order. We must not spend more than we take in. We must cut our debt. We should reduce the tax burden on our people.

We cherish our freedoms as dearly as any generation of Americans ever did and we know to what degree they may hinge on our maintaining a sound dollar. Hence, we demand only what we have a right to demand—sound money management.

In a larger sense some may even feel, as I do, that we are at a turning point in history. We should count the blessings of a free society and turn decisively and resolutely away from the false charms of a regimented planned economy resulting from crushing taxation and the big spending that occasions it.

We're behind you and want you to stand firm while we face up to the economic facts of life. Thank you, Mr. President.

Sincerely,

BRUCE ALGER,
Member of Congress.

South Dakota Cities Work Together

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE S. McGOVERN
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, most Members of Congress have at one time or another found themselves caught between the competing claims of two or more cities for the location of a Federal installation within a particular State. Ordinarily, local self-interest takes precedence over the welfare of the State as a whole in such controversies.

It was thus most refreshing to those of us in the South Dakota congressional delegation when one of our chief cities threw its influence behind the efforts of a smaller South Dakota city relative to a proposed relocation of a Federal agricultural experiment station.

Some time ago a Senate study recommended the relocation and upgrading of the experiment station presently located at Newell, S. Dak. Rapid City has been mentioned as a possible site for the station. Yet, when a delegation of Newell citizens called on the Rapid City Chamber of Commerce, they were met with a friendly suggestion from Rapid City that they join with Newell in efforts to keep the experiment station at its present location.

Because of this kind of cooperation and unity between the two cities and with the enthusiastic support of the State's congressional delegation, it now appears that the proposed relocation of the station will be dropped. The Newell station needs additional budget support, however, to do the expanded work that is needed. Here again strong backing from the entire State and its representatives will help bring this to pass.

I include at this point a fine editorial from the Rapid City Journal of January 19, 1960, commenting on the cooperation between Newell and Rapid City:

[From the Rapid City (S. Dak.) Journal, Jan. 19, 1960]

TAKING THE BIG VIEW

Rapid City's view of the big picture impressed some men from Newell recently. If more residents of the Black Hills and the adjacent West River area including all the communities will look at the big picture we can have a solidarity of interest which can be even more impressive.

Jealousy and antagonism between the Black Hills communities swells and diminishes through the years. We can be closely knit for common causes, then discover division where one town is thought to have an advantage.

The internecine warfare isn't necessary. We all should work for the general good of our area—there is a community of interest.

The editor of the Valley Irrigator at Newell, F. Lyn Gladstone, commented on the action by Rapid City businessmen:

"Cooperation between the big city and the small town is not only possible, but practical and worthwhile, a Newell delegation noted at Rapid City where they received wholehearted and friendly support in the current effort to save and secure increased appropriations for the U.S. Newell Field Station.

"As was hoped, the Newell delegation reported, it was the joint thinking of both the Agricultural Council of the Rapid City Chamber of Commerce and of those from here that the economy of the use of existing facilities should be a primary consideration.

"However, it was Rapid City's view of the big picture which most impressed those from here.

"Rapid City businessmen realize that efficient use of water on the Belle Fourche irrigation project, prevention of soil erosion on Pennington county ranches and use of shelterbelts to stop soil blowing on fields near Ardmore affect the economy as much on the main street of their own city as well as of Newell, Wall or Hot Springs.

"Just as completion of the surfacing of U.S. 212 has brought more business into the Black Hills with no loss to Rapid City, they realize that establishment of a new business in Belle Fourche or Custer means nearly as much to Rapid City as to those towns themselves; and, conversely, that loss of a business in Nisland or Hermosa would also be an economic loss for the area's principal distribution center.

"In the drive to retain the Newell Station and also to secure increased appropriations (its operating budget has remained unchanged for many years while farm operating as well as all other costs have increased tremendously) to expand agricultural research there. Newell will now solicit the support of other communities.

"—And, for economic benefit to all of South Dakota, southwestern North Dakota, northeastern Wyoming and southeastern Montana, there is no reason why the Newell Station cannot be designated the research center of soil and water conservation research in Region V such as that proposed in Senate Document 59 which is an appraisal of such research needs for all of the United States."

The jealousy which shows among the towns in the Black Hills arises from complacency in most instances. The threat that Newell would lose the big experimental station brought reaction and some community action for Newell and the neighbors.

No community needs to sit back and gripe. What have you got? Sell it to yourselves first and then sell it to the neighbors and explain your problems and the programs.

United we stand.

Ukrainian Independence Day

SPEECH
OF
HON. JAMES A. BURKE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, 42 years ago the centuries-old hopes and aspirations of the Ukrainian people were realized, and their national independence had become an accomplished fact. They had proclaimed the establishment of the Ukrainian Republic on January 22, 1918, and at last, by asserting their inalienable right of self-determination, they had become masters of their fate. Unfortunately that was for a very brief period only, for by the end of 1920 their republic was no more. They were robbed of their freedom and brought under the heavy heels of Soviet Russia's Communist totalitarianism.

Today, after almost 40 years, some 42 million helpless, innocent but stout-hearted and liberty-loving Ukrainians

are suffering under Communist tyranny in their beloved homeland. On the celebration of the 42d anniversary of their Independence Day, I wish to assure them that they have millions of cordial and sympathetic friends in the free world, and, of course, in this country, who hope and pray for their freedom.

Fair Trade: Inflationary for All

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert in the RECORD an editorial from the Los Angeles, Calif., Times of December 11, 1959, regarding the fair trade legislation pending before this session of Congress. This article reflects the uniform and unanimous newspaper editorial sentiment in opposition to such measures. If this legislation is enacted it is estimated it will cost consumers $10 billion per year. Every Government agency has recommended its defeat, because passage would mean pro tanto repeal of the antitrust laws.

The editorial follows:

FAIR TRADE: INFLATIONARY FOR ALL

Under the guise of fair trade, price-fixing of retail goods is being agitated again at the Federal level. If one or another of the bills which Congress will consider next session is passed, it could cost the average family another $250 a year—$10 billion in all.

Already the proponents of fair trade have advanced bills in both Houses of Congress.

ARGUMENT ADVANCED

The argument in favor of fair trade or retail price-fixing is that the manufacturer, dealer, and consumer have a common interest in setting a retail price that cannot legally be undercut by cutthroat competition. If big retailers, such as discount houses, undersell smaller dealers, runs the argument, the latter will go out of business; then the survivors can raise prices and stick the consumer; moreover, small business might disappear, and with it a cornerstone of our economic system.

In contrast, those against fair trade contend that the greatness of America is based on free enterprise and competition. They recall that the original State approach to this problem, made in California, was a depression baby in 1931, to help preserve small business. Under the present booming economy they see no competition that would put too many manufacturers or dealers out of business. In fact, the survival of competitive shopping as we know it depends upon heading off the bills in Congress. It also calls for re-reversing the situation in the many States whose legislators have yielded to minority pressure while the majority ruled by unconcern.

THE COSTS ARE HIGH

The most compelling reason to rise against this many-pronged fair-trade campaign is found in the survey that showed how much price fixing would cost us immediately. The primary targets are H.R. 1253, now in the House Rules Committee, following hearings pushed by Representative OREN HARRIS, Democrat, of Arkansas, chairman of the House Commerce Committee; and S.R. 1083, its counterpart, which is due to come up in the next session before the Senate Commerce Committee. The only Californian on either group is Senator ENGLE, Democrat.

Thirty States have fair-trade laws. The peak was reached in 1953, when 45 States had fair-trade laws or price-fixing statutes binding even upon retailers who had not signed price agreements with manufacturers.

The nonsigner clause was the salvation of the fair-trade movement. Showing up first in a 1933 amendment in California, the clause binds every retailer to sell a brand at a designated price, even though the manufacturer had signed a price-fixing contract with only one retailer in the State.

By 1938 the clause was on the books of 45 States, and Congress had passed the Miller-Tydings Act. The latter exempted fair trade from the Sherman Antitrust Act.

From 1938 to 1951, opposition to fair trade stemmed mainly from supermarket operators and department stores. Along with discount houses, they were involved in most of the court cases testing fair trade. By 1951, fair trade was almost ended, after nonsigner clauses had been declared unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court.

Nevertheless, in 1952 Congress passed the McGuire Act, over vigorous opposition including the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice. Now all States are permitted to bind retailers to fair-trade prices whether retailers agreed to them or not.

CHOICE LIMITED

Since 1953, however, State courts have declared the nonsigner clause invalid. That is the burden of bills now before Congress. Under them, manufacturers would be able to stamp retail prices on their brand merchandise at the factory. No retailer could sell this brand for less. No longer would the consumer have a choice between higher prices with extra retailer services or lower self-service prices.

Even under wartime price administration there were differences recognized in price-fixing between stores with smaller volume than others; prices were generally lower when the volume was higher.

But if many consumers are asleep to the danger of price-fixing, the organizations that speak for them are alert. Much of the Nation's press, Vice President NIXON, the President's Council of Economic Advisers, the Federal Trade Commission, the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, and Justice, the Bureau of the Budget, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the AFL–CIO Executive Council, and the National Association of Consumer Organizations are against fair-trade laws.

PRESENT DANGER

The danger is that the 1960 session of Congress will be so bent on adjourning early that the obnoxious bills may be passed without adequate hearings or public attention.

That was the situation in 1952. President Truman, who had commendable reservations about fair trade, nevertheless had to sign the District of Columbia appropriations bill with the McGuire bill as a rider in order to get money to run the capital.

More grassroots consumer attention is needed.

Garrison Diversion Unit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. QUENTIN BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Minot Daily News, Minot, N. Dak.:

BIG CONTEST LIES AHEAD

It is the history of reclamation projects throughout the Nation that none of them was born without a lot of labor pains and we now know that the Garrison diversion project is to be no exception.

The Bureau of the Budget, all powerful as it is, came up this week with its report on the project, listing objections but leaving the door open for the Department of the Interior, which approves and supports, to do so in Congress.

While obstacles have been raised, it goes without saying that North Dakota's congressional delegation and the reclamation leaders in North Dakota have no intention of surrender.

Perhaps all the time too many North Dakotans have been too optimistic. What now has happened will awake those who have taken the diversion project for granted, and they, too, now will shoulder arms.

A military man might describe the situation as needing a regrouping of the forces for a new assault—and most certainly this is going to be done, and Congress is the battleground.

Or maybe it should be said that a skirmish has been lost, or an advance has been stopped. But the war isn't lost.

North Dakotans and our friends in the Midwest and elsewhere know the Garrison project is sound and will benefit the State and the Nation. Some of the objections constitute a short-range view, not a long look as has to be taken at such an undertaking with its multitude of benefits.

There always have been objectors, even to the things which have made the Nation great, more powerful, and economically strong, as will the Garrison project when it becomes reality. Fortunately, there always are others, and North Dakota possesses them in goodly numbers, who don't know the meaning of the word "quit."

One thing for which North Dakota can rejoice—the report has finally been released by the Bureau of the Budget after one of the most exasperating delays ever encountered.

It will soon be in the hands of Congress where committees are conversant with the issues involved and where moral obligations will, we hope, be recognized.

Young Man of 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Wilkes-Barre (Pa.) Record of January 20, 1960:

YOUNG MAN OF 1959

We salute Frank J. O'Connell, Jr., Wyoming Valley's "Outstanding Young Man of 1959." This title in recognition of leadership through community service was bestowed upon him last night in Hotel Sterling at the 14th annual distinguished service award dinner sponsored by the Greater Wilkes-Barre Junior Chamber of Commerce.

O'Connell has demonstrated leadership ability in many community service fields—educational, youth, charitable, civic, religious, and political.

Last year alone he helped reorganize the Kingston Boosters Club; initiated the placement of March of Dimes containers in taverns throughout the valley; worked diligently on the endowment fund drive committee for construction of the Catholic Youth Center; and served on the Convention Committee of the Greater Wilkes-Barre Chamber of Commerce, a committee responsible for getting five major conventions for Wilkes-Barre.

He is presently serving as an executive board member of the Wyoming Valley Council of Scouts and captain of the Camp Acahela development fund drive.

His leadership ability was recognized last May when he received the nominations of both parties in his bid for election as councilman in Kingston. He received the largest write-in vote and was the youngest man in the borough's history to become elected to that position.

O'Connell has given many man-hours of devoted support and service to Little League Baseball, United Fund, Advance Gifts Division, West Side Catholic High School, Kingston Borough Ambulance drive, St. Michael's Industrial School, Kingston Centennial, Wilkes-Barre Sesquicentennial, Kingston Businessmen's Association.

Other affiliations include Boy Scout Troop 154 committeeman; American Legion Post 395; VFW Post 283; Knights of Columbus, Council 309; Elks; member of the Fourth Degree, Bishop Hafey Assembly, Knights of Columbus; Main Street PTA; Independent Hose Co. volunteer; Franklin Club; King's College development board; Greater Wilkes-Barre Chamber of Commerce.

Ukrainian Independence Day

SPEECH
OF
HON. SAMUEL S. STRATTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, we Americans have always cherished our freedom and have demonstrated on many occasions that we are even prepared, if necessary, to die for that freedom. Because we cherish freedom so much for ourselves we also deeply respect the desire of other peoples to be free, and as a nation we have long since established it as one of our fundamental principles that we are always prepared to support and to defend other countries which are fighting for their freedom.

Today, January 22, commemorates the anniversary of the independence of the Republic of the Ukraine, which was created on January 22, 1918, exactly 42 years ago. We know the long struggle which the Ukrainian people put in to win this freedom and to lift from their backs the yoke of Czarist Russian oppression. Time and again the Ukrainian people fought for their independence; and 42 years ago today they believed they had finally achieved it.

Alas, that freedom proved to be all too short lived. In the space of a little more than 2 years the Ukrainian people were once again subjected to tyranny and despotism at the hands of their new Communist oppressors.

However, Mr. Speaker, the fight for freedom on the part of those who long for it and who have once tasted it never dies out. Just as we in this country must forever remain vigilant and strong in order to preserve the freedom which we have succeeded in winning, so the people of the Ukraine have continued over these long years to keep alive in their hearts and minds the ultimate objective of freedom to which they are so strongly committed.

Today all Americans, I know, join with the 42 million Ukrainians who are still under the domination of Communist tyrants, as well as with thousands of Ukrainian-Americans, in not only commemorating this anniversary of Ukrainian Independence Day, but in reaffirming our conviction that as Americans we stand beside these people in their fight for lasting independence and again pledge them our support, with the renewed hope that the day will not be far off when this freedom will truly be achieved.

Ukrainian Independence

SPEECH
OF
HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, 42 years ago, on January 22, 1918, the Ukrainian Nation was born and was welcomed by all freedom-loving people as an independent state. Sadly, the hope that this young Republic would enjoy a prosperous future was shattered when, 2 years after celebrating its birth, the Ukrainian National Republic was destroyed and its people were subjugated by Communist Russia.

It is fitting that we in America take time to reaffirm our spiritual affinity for the brave souls who have kept the hope of Ukrainian freedom alive. It is particularly appropriate that we join with our Ukrainian friends in saluting the memory of Stepan Bandera, leader of the Ukrainian Nationalist Organization who was killed by Communist agents in October of last year. A devoted patriot, Stepan Bandera fought both Nazi and Communist tyranny as these successive waves of oppression washed over his beloved homeland. After the war with Nazi Germany ended, he brought leadership and funds to partisan armies which gallantly fought to carve a free Ukraine out of the confusion at war's end. It was Nikita Khrushchev who was assigned by Stalin to suppress the embattled Ukrainians and, in 1949, he finally succeeded. But Stepan Bandera never abandoned his lifelong dream of an independent Ukrainian state. He continued until his death to devote his whole energy and strength to the cause of liberation for his country and her people.

The fate of the Ukrainian Republic, the subsequent enslavement of the Ukrainian people and the murder of their leaders should serve as a tragic warning to any nation that would look to Soviet Moscow for friendship. Similarly, the unrelenting struggle of 40 million Ukrainians against Russian domination stands as proof, once again, that the spirit of freedom cannot die even in those areas which have been under the Communist head for more than a generation. It is my sincere hope that the flame of freedom which continues to glow in the hearts of the Ukrainian people shall light a new Ukrainian Independence Day in the not too distant future.

Forty-second Anniversary of Ukrainian Independence

SPEECH
OF
HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, today marks the 42d anniversary of the independence of Ukraine—independence which was hailed by the Ukrainian people as final deliverance from oppressive and cruel Russian domination.

For 300 years the people of Ukraine have steadfastly struggled against tyrannical enslavement. With a limitless love for their homeland, a burning desire for freedom and political independence, and unswerving faith in the ultimate achievement of their goal regardless of how great the sacrifice to attain it, the Ukrainian people have relentlessly sought to end domination of Ukraine by foreign oppressors and to establish their nation as a free and independent state.

The first opportunity to realize their dream of independence came to the people of Ukraine in 1918 at the close of World War I, and on January 22, 1918, Ukrainian leaders proclaimed their national independence.

This marked the formal and official restoration of the independence of the Ukrainian nation.

Freedom, however, could be held only for a brief span of 2 years by the people of Ukraine, and in 1920 Ukraine was attacked by the Russian Communist forces, overrun by the Red army in a fierce and bloody struggle, and incorporated against the will of the Ukrainian people into the Soviet Union.

But the hardworking, industrious, and courageous people of Ukraine have not accepted Russian domination, and the desire for freedom burns bright in their hearts.

The people of the United States join with the people of Ukraine this day and with those of Ukrainian descent in the United States and throughout the world in prayer on this anniversary of the independence of Ukraine for the ultimate liberation of Ukraine from Soviet enslavement.

Forty-two million Ukrainians are held in bondage in the largest captive non-Russian nation in the U.S.S.R. and behind the Iron Curtain. The plight of

these people is a matter of grave concern to the people of the United States who are dedicated to the principle of individual liberty and national freedom, and to the people of all the nations of the free world.

On this 42d anniversary of the independence of Ukraine, it is our sincere hope that the day of liberation for the Ukrainian people may be close at hand, and that the independence of Ukraine may be reestablished.

Surplus Property Disposal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, October 7 of last year TelePrompTer Corp. conducted for the Department of the Army an experimental closed-circuit television auction of surplus Department of Defense materials. The results of this auction are worthy of the attention of this House as this system may offer one way of improving the return to the Government on the sales of its surplus materials. The Department of Defense alone has some $26.7 billion in salable surplus property, according to the report of the Committee on Appropriations on the 1960 Department of Defense appropriation bills, and an increase of return, however small—even 1 or 2 cents on the dollar—on this property would be of real economic significance.

This auction was conducted simultaneously in six cities, with bidders in each city competing not only with one another but with those in the other cities. Goods for sale were being offered from three locations, making a nine-station circuit to serve this sale. The obvious advantage of this system is that it permits a larger number of potential buyers to enter the bidding for the goods on sale, it expands the market and thereby the competition for these goods.

Goods of an acquisition cost of $2,614,000 were sold in this auction for $534,556, a return of 20.5 cents on the dollar. The overall average for Defense Department surplus sales is in the range of 3 to 5 cents; an estimate of the materials in this sale, including heavy machinery, clothing, and marine engines and machinery, put their likely maximum return at 15 cents. The auction ran for over 8 hours without interruption for technical failure.

As a member of the newly-created Subcommittee on Defense Procurement of the Joint Economic Committee, I find these figures quite interesting. This one experiment, of course, does not prove this as the way in which to dispose of all surplus property, but it does justify further experimentation with it. I would also raise the point that this process might better be turned over to the General Services Administration which, with its experience in the field and its charged responsibility in disposal of surplus Government property, would be best qualified to make use of it.

In connection with the last statement, I would like to enter a partion of a letter of evaluation of this sale written to me by the Honorable Franklin Floete, the Administrator of the General Services Administration:

DEAR MR. CURTIS:* * * The subject sale was conducted by the Department of the Army as an experiment deisgned to test the effectiveness of this medium in DOD surplus selling. The sale was planned as a departure from traditional, conventional Government sales methods, with a view toward attracting new buyers through a mechanic to broaden market appeal. General Services Administration personnel observed the sale at all property and selling locations.

The contractual services rendered by the TelePrompTer Corp. were efficient and in keeping with good professional standards. It should be reported that the attendance of 479 buyers distributed between 6 viewing locations was less than anticipated, but was adequate to produce spirited intercity competition among bidders. The sale provided valid experience concerning the types of property suited and the geographical and market considerations which are involved in televised selling.

A preliminary evaluation of the test indicates that the application of television to sales of Government property must be limited to select situations. Additional testing may be required before a reliable, conclusive evaluation can be completed.

One important consideration in planning future uses of televised broadcasts is the heavy cost attending the transmission service and equipment.

Sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN FLOETE.

It Is Perilous To Forget the Crimes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial entitled "It is Perilous To Forget the Crimes" by the distinguished journalist, Mr. Phil Slomovitz, editor and publisher of the Detroit Jewish News, in that fine newspaper.

The article very well sets out the grave danger of racial and religious bigotry:

[From the Jewish News, Jan. 22, 1960]

IT IS PERILOUS TO FORGET THE CRIMES

Our people would do well to study the editorial opinions that have appeared in newspapers throughout the world in protest against the reemerging Nazi spirit that has been in evidence not only in Germany but in communities throughout the world.

The unanimity with which Christians have condemned the psychopaths, referring to them as sick minded and deluded, is heartening. It offers encouragement that rationally minded and clear-thinking people can not condone hate and vandalism, no matter where they occur.

Deploring "the work of malcontents and ne'er-do-wells" and the fact that "there seem always to be a few who wish to make the Jews the scapegoat of their miseries, and their sick minds strive to spread poison in all directions," the Boston Catholic weekly, The Pilot stated:

"Christians should examine their consciences, search their hearts, and analyze the society that can produce incidents of this kind so soon after all the world learned the lessons of depravity practices by the Nazis against the Jews. Certainly we can believe that the present actions are the work of a small group of troublemakers who hope to gain notoriety, and we know, too, that decent people in every land abominate their hate-mongering. But even a few people of this type are already too many."

We were especially impressed by the scholarly editorial in another Catholic magazine, Commonweal, which stated, after a review of the "Specter of Nazism":

"There can be no question of forgiving, of course. It is not for us to forgive. But it is perilous for us to forget. We must remember, as we have not remembered, and so must the German people, as they have not. For only if we admit its existence can we hope to exercise the evil which took such hold of men. What happened in those decades? How did it happen? Why? These are the questions we must face. German and non-German alike, not for the sake of blame and accusation, but to save ourselves now."

It is not only Munich and Vienna and Berlin of the 1930's and 1940's that must not be forgotten. We cannot possibly forget the poisons that emanated from Dearborn and Royal Oaks in the 1920's and 1930's. There still are among us people who believe that they are imbued with a great spirit when they preach a "forgive and forget" policy. No sane person would propagate vengeance or retaliation, but students of history surely must agree that in order to prevent the recurrence of massacres the memories of the past must not be erased. The neo-Nazis of the present time are proving the truth of it. Commonweal emphasizes it anew when it declares that it is perilous for us to forget.

That is why it is so distressing to know that when the neo-Nazis, for a number of years now, since they had begun to be conscious of a reemerging German military power, had begun to ridicule the historical fact of the murder of 6 million Jews by their fuehrer, there were too few to set them straight and to prove anew—as if proof anew were necessary—that the wholesale massacre by the Hitlerites is a tragic historical fact.

That is why it is equally distressing now to read in accounts in Commonweal and the New York Times that 5 million Jews were murdered. Even the unbiased already have bargained down a million souls in the record of Nazi genocide. And the record is so vital if the shame and the crime of nazism is to remain a rejection of genocide for all time to come.

Too many of those who now condemn the resurgence of nazism were available when, for more than a decade, Arab propagandists, among them many Christian supporters, were maligning Jews and Israel, as they still do. That poison, too, had left its mark and undoubtedly contributed toward the current international wave of hatred against Jewry.

We retain confidence that anti-Semitic manifestations, or the frequent reappearance of haters against Catholics, Negroes and others, are passing phases in the life of a people or of many peoples. But even the minutest evidences of bigotry call for repudiation, and it is good to know that the rejection of hatred in the press is the general policy of the majority of the peoples everywhere. It is the guarantee of nonrecurrence of such atrocities that we strive for, and there is heartening evidence now that people of good will, among all faiths, are ready to work together, recognizing that it is perilous to

forget the crimes of the past, and that it is humanity's duty, remembering the tragic events in history, not to permit the gory head of bigotry to raise itself anew.

Meanwhile, regrettably, the causes for concern are mounting. Instead of keeping the records open for public perusal, it has become difficult, if not impossible, for newspapermen to study the backgrounds of Nazis who now are again powerful in West Germany. The United States is a party to such censorship, and it is deplorable that public opinion should thus be stymied by the withholding of facts.

In a letter to the New York Times, Robert Major expresses the view that the Nazis are rather moderate and restrained, in the light of what had transpired previously. But he accuses the press of having failed to report earlier Nazi demonstrations and he points out:

"When the Nazi Reich collapsed, its propaganda was moved to other centers and continued there: Austria, England, Sweden, the United States, and Argentina, among other countries. These governments do not hesitate to fight so-called smut and pornography—even if written by Aristophanes, Voltaire, Mark Twain, Joyce, or Lawrence. They also attempt to exercise control over certain types of imported political literature. But faced with instigations to race hatred and mass murders, these countries observe the rule of absolute freedom of thought. Sweden, for example, in 15 years has been unable to check the flow of the literary productions of Aberg and the Malmo group."

There can be no doubt about the correctness of the latter claim. That one of the freest countries in the world—Sweden—should be the headquarters for an international anti-Semitic organization is an indication of a weakness in democracy to tackle the tragedy of anti-Jewishness.

Thus, with hatred in evidence in the hearts of many people, a hatred that developed into an international flame in the past few weeks, no amount of vigilance is sufficient; and we need not worry about memories of bigotry: the anti-Semites quite evidently are seeing to it that we will have no occasion to forget it because they have no occasion to end it.

Ukraine Anniversary

SPEECH
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, very frequently throughout the years this House is called upon to observe the anniversary of independence or to celebrate the birthday of the Government of some great people now behind the Iron Curtain.

On Friday, January 22, it will be the 42d anniversary of the independence of Ukraine. It is a great nation of 42 million people destined to be free by the Almighty, earnestly and ardently desiring freedom in its heart, prepared to protect and foster democratic institutions and freedom of the individual, and yet violently dragged behind the Iron Curtain, its millions of people compelled to live under the oppressive heel of a godless, military dictatorship.

Whatever may be said in the high councils of state, or by those who like smaller nations to be merely pawns in a great international game, the plight of Ukraine, like that of many other nations who have had their liberties cruelly suppressed by the Soviet, must be of greatest concern to every believer in the free way of life.

This great nation, born in freedom, consecrated time and time again by the blood of its sons shed to preserve that freedom, could never under any circumstances, acknowledge that denial of freedom to Ukraine or any other nation desiring it, could be morally, ethically or politically justified.

The power and terror of modern missilry may deter those who might be disposed to make war. But the Marxist conspiracy, so long as it operates under the principles upon which it is established, and the program which it has set out to follow, insures nothing but an indefinite, uneasy, restless peace.

The theory behind this tactic is that if it is continued long enough and persistently enough, universally enough, that, in time, the forces of Democracy will weaken from economic inanition or sheer moral and physical collapse and leave the world to communism. This is one of the tragic fallacies of Marxism.

I could never bring myself to believe that the human race or at least that portion of it committed to free institutions could ever fall so low in moral strength and courage as to surrender the great free heritage which has been responsible for a western civilization based on freedom and for history's most fabulous progress.

Is the fiber of the American people being weakened? Is their morale being undermined by propaganda, by promises of an easy life? I do not believe so. I think that as long as this world lasts there will be Americans—and they will constitute a great majority—who will be willing to fight and die, if necessary, to preserve the fountainhead, principles and shrines of human liberty that exists here in this great country of ours.

But we must be resolute; we must be determined; we must be more tough-minded in our attitude than ever before. If we follow the tempting pathway of appeasement, we will be lost forever and our great Nation will follow the same course as other great nations and majestic powers of world history which allowed strength, plenty and abundance to dull their morale and weaken their purpose to preserve their government.

A great scholar wrote me recently and I shall never forget what he said. It is worth repeating here. "I am not worried about the courage of the American people," he said. "I feel that our country's chief danger lies in its own careless heart." This great thinker was right, we cannot afford to be careless in our heart about our freedom. Certainly we must have the courage, come what may, to defend it.

Let us therefore, pledge to the people of Ukraine, and other subject peoples held captive in cruel bondage, our sincere sympathy for their plight and our desire and intention to do everything in our power to open again for them the pathway to freedom and justice.

Gettysburg—Heritage or Horror

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES M. QUIGLEY
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. QUIGLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I would like the privilege of inserting in the RECORD an editorial from the Harrisburg (Pa.) Patriot of last Thursday, January 21, in which the need for cooperation among all Americans in both their private and public capacity, and at all levels of local, State, and National governments is stressed if our national shrines are to be preserved from commercial desecration. This editorial highlights the recently formed Gettysburg Battlefield Preservation Association, an organization of private citizens constituted to bend its collective efforts to save the Gettysburg battlefield from the fate of unrestrained commercialization.

The editorial also raises the question about what the State government in Pennsylvania, and the local Adams County and the Cumberland Township officials are doing to protect the battlefield site. The editorial follows:

PRIVATE-PUBLIC TEAMWORK NEEDED TO SAVE SHRINES

In 1958, more than 20 million persons visited historical shrines maintained by the National Park Service. They went to see the battlefields and other places that have figured in the remarkable development of a raw, new world into a powerful, respected nation.

In a shocking number of cases what they see are cheap souvenir stands and housing subdivisions crowding right up to the edge of Government-owned land.

Pennsylvanians need go no farther than Gettysburg to see the process at work. If any spot in America should be treated as sacred soil it should be this place where one of the most decisive and bloody battles in our history was fought; where Lincoln uttered his few words that have become a classic article of faith in democracy. Yet the main highway through the battlefield is lined with motels and souvenir shops. Tracts all about the national park stand in danger of becoming "tourist traps."

Whose duty is it to protect our historical shrines from commercial encroachment? Conrad L. Wirth, Director of the National Park Service, says it should be a joint venture by Federal, State, and local governments with private organizations and individuals chipping in.

As far as Gettysburg is concerned, this appears to be the only way that the battlefield can be protected adequately. The last session of Congress came through with a $450,000 appropriation to buy land but tied up the funds with the stipulation they be used only to get property that has already been commercialized.

The Gettysburg Battlefield Presevation Association has come into being to help fill the gap left by this rather shortsighted Federal legislation. It has incorporated for the purpose of raising funds to buy land in danger of commercialization. Already several thousand persons have sent contributions to the organization's headquarters in Gettysburg.

The Federal Government and private individuals are doing something toward preserving Gettysburg. What about the State

government? And officials of Adams County and the townships about Gettysburg? It would seem that both the Commonwealth and the local officials have a strong duty to protect the area. Airtight zoning laws by the localities and cooperative purchases of land by the State would plug up the gaps.

As the National Park Service points out in a recent buletin, more and more people are discovering history. The growing numbers of visitors to places such as Gettysburg is a big reason for the threat of commercialization. It would be tragic if this rise in the public's appreciation of a rich American heritage should become blunted by quick-buck artists.

I would also like, Mr. Speaker, to insert my testimony given today before the Interior Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, in which I think I point out that all of these local officials are at least making an effort to solve the problems which exist at Gettysburg. I believe, Mr. Speaker, my testimony makes it quite clear that we are still a considerable distance from a solution but as of the moment, I do believe that everybody involved deserves a big A for effort.

It's been my experience that when I am in the Gettysburg area I am asked "Why doesn't Congress do something about the battlefield?" And when I am in the Congress I find myself being asked "But isn't the problem at Gettysburg a local one?" I would suggest, Mr. Speaker, that if preserving the Gettysburg battlefield as a sacred shrine is a national problem it is one that cannot be solved by the Congress or the National Park Service without the full and complete cooperation of all of the local governmental units as well as the local citizenry. By the same token, if the preservation of the Gettysburg battlefield is, in fact, a local problem, it is a problem that cannot be solved by the efforts of the local citizenry and the local governmental officials without the help and cooperation of the National Park Service and the Congress.

In the interest of solving this problem rather than placing the blame for a lack of a solution, I join with the editorial writer in urging private and public teamwork until a satisfactory answer is finally reached.

My testimony follows:

TESTIMONY BY THE HONORABLE JAMES M. QUIGLEY, DEMOCRAT, PENNSYLVANIA, ON THE INTERIOR DEPARTMENT APPROPRIATION FOR 1961 BEFORE THE INTERIOR SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MONDAY, JANUARY 25, 1960

Mr. KIRWAN, members of the committee, I appreciate this opportunity to testify on the Interior Department, and more specifically the National Park Service, appropriation for fiscal 1961.

Quite specifically, I am here to speak about the Gettysburg National Park which, as many of you know, is located in my district. I think perhaps the best service I can perform is to bring this subcommittee up to date concerning what has happened at Gettysburg since last year.

Without trying to open any old wounds or expressing my own opinion, which varies somewhat with my next statement, let me point out that a minor furor was raised in the Gettysburg area when, last year, Congress as much as said that Gettysburg should protect its own future with zoning and that Adams County, in which the battlefield lies, could help preserve the Nation's shrine by preserving its own holdings there.

Once the understandable disappointment over lack of immediate Federal funds disappeared, Gettysburg and its friends began to work, slowly but in earnest. The second battle of Gettysburg which started with skirmishes in the public press settled down to a serious long-range attack of the problem on four separate fronts. Those attacks are local action with planning and zoning, nationwide action with a privately sponsored fund-raising campaign, executive action in the form of a proposed land exchange and, I hope, further congressional action with appropriations.

Surveying the battlefield front by front, let me tell you about the status of zoning first. Admittedly, as of this moment Gettysburg and the adjacent jurisdictions are still some distance from passing an effective zoning ordinance as stipulated by Congress last year in giving an appropriation for the battlefield. Legally it takes time to set up an effective plan for the future, but I would like this committee to know that the steps have been started. A temporary setback ordinance has been passed by Cumberland Township, which encompasses approximately 95 percent of the battlefield. The enactment of this ordinance was in the nature of a hold-the-line action.

The Fels Institute of the University of Pennsylvania has begun work under a contract approved by the Housing and Home Finance Agency. A comprehensive growth plan for the future will be presented to Cumberland Township in the near future, a plan which I feel certain will contain protection for the battlefield.

Now let me say that I think Gettysburg, which incidentally has its own planning commission, and Cumberland Township, and perhaps Adams County, will eventually all enact planning and zoning laws. They will do this not because of the battlefield, nor because Congress would like them to do so, but because people generally are beginning to realize that planning for the future is the only way to protect their own investments and provide for an orderly development of their communities.

The second front is actually under the command of a military man. It is a front which has received the least publicity thus far and may in the long run do the most good. This is the Gettysburg Battlefield Preservation Association whose president is Maj. William M. Haller, currently stationed at Fort Meade. This group was founded last August and incorporated last month with its nucleus among students of the Civil War. This group has already raised a sizeable amount of money and its forthcoming national campaign should raise a great deal more. Its sole aim is to preserve the battlefield in the best way possible, aiding either with mony or land donated to the National Park Service. Here is a group of dedicated citizens who are in the forefront of urging congressional action, yet at the same time they are putting their money where their mail is by following up their letters to their Congressmen with their own donations to the Battlefield Preservation Association.

Then, within the Park Service itself, I'm happy to report that there is in the process of formulation a possible exchange of some historically less valuable property presently owned by the Federal Government for some historically very valuable property owned by Adams County. Just to digress here a moment, may I insert into the record of these hearings the county commissioners' statement of their dilemma in which they find themselves unable to legally donate their land to the Government, much as they possibly might like to do so. I might add they have a further dilemma in that they also have hopes of gaining some money from land sales to help pay for their new and much-needed county home for the aged. And this is where a land swap might help out a great deal. Further, it would satisfy one of the congressional complaints that the Park Service has enough land already. However, I must point out that there is just a limited amount of land that is suitable for swapping and for this reason I would not suggest that a land swap is the full and easy answer to the problem.

The commissioners have thus far been patient, and in their way cooperative men. They have delayed their final actions as long as possible. But this year they must either swap or sell or give up the idea of a new county home. This is why I sincerely hope that the idea of a land swap may be approved soon. And approvals aplenty it will take—like congressional and county court action after the Park Service and the commissioners agree.

On the fourth front I can only hope that you gentlemen will respond to the needs of history and a growing appreciation of the Civil War.

Last year when Congress set aside $450,000 for this purpose it said the money could be used at Gettysburg and Manassas provided they met the stipulations of the Congress. Unfortunately for Gettysburg, Manassas has enacted what is considered to be an effective county zoning ordinance which the Park Service is urging them to make even stronger. Thus there is the probability that all of the money may be used there, for it is in keeping with both the spirit and the letter of the law.

Gettysburg is moving in that direction, successfully, I think on three fronts. I sincerely trust that you gentlemen will provide the fourth front by giving the Park Service the necessary money so that the Federal Government can do its fair share in this worthwhile public effort.

Congress Is the Culprit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, in an attempt to make some political hay some of our erstwhile candidates for high office are delving into all manner of departmental operation to see what tidbits they can uncover to place before the electorate and thus enhance their chances for election.

They seemingly make these great exposés without considering that they perhaps had a hand in any abuses which they are anxious to bring to light and deplore.

The grain storage investigation is a case in point, and in this connection, I ask consent to place in the Appendix of the RECORD, an editorial from the Burlington (Iowa) Hawk-Eye Gazette, which places the responsibility in this matter exactly where it belongs—with the Congress itself. The editorial follows:

CONGRESS IS THE CULPRIT

Investigating Senators have been told that some grain elevator operators are making profits as high as 167 percent in storing surplus grains for the Government.

One witness has testified that it cost him less than 7 cents a bushel to store the Government grain, and he receives almost 17 cents a bushel for safekeeping it. This nets him a return of almost 150 percent on his investment.

Additionally, the fast tax writeoff he has been permitted on new storage facilities has worked to his advantage. And the tacit guarantee that his bins would be kept filled makes his operation almost riskproof.

There is no occasion to dispute the statements made by these witnesses before a congressional committee. The best proof possible of their accuracy is the mighty wave of new elevator construction throughout the Plains States in recent years.

But neither is there any reason to criticize the elevatormen for making the killing they have. They have not played fast and fancy with the Government. Rather, the Government has dropped these nest eggs into their laps.

This committee is not exposing the grainmen but Congress itself. On the evidence, Congress has cost the Government millions by authorizing the high storage charges, the full bins, and the tax writeoffs it has.

Insurance Coverage for Astronauts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, at the start of this session, I introduced a measure that would authorize the National Aeronautics and Space Administrator to procure insurance in the amount of $100,000 on each of the astronauts participating in the Mercury man-in-flight program. I did so in recognition that financial reward plays little part in the determination of the young volunteers from our services for this flight, but also in the feeling that this country owes something more than words to back up and support them.

Since that time it has been brought to my attention that a service publication, the Army-Navy-Air Force Journal had discussed the need of such insurance coverage for volunteers on tested missions. This editorial appeared while Congress was in recess, but I request that it now be reprinted in the RECORD.

The journal suggested that the Defense Department and NASA should sponsor such extra coverage. These agencies will have an opportunity to express their opinions on H.R. 9316 and I hope that they find merit therein. Certainly, as an expression of the feeling of people who are close to service life, I believe the editorial entitled "Insurance Coverage for Servicemen's Families" shows that there is a need for this type of coverage.

The editorial follows:

INSURANCE COVERAGE FOR SERVICEMEN'S FAMILIES

The Department of Defense and the National Aeronautics and Space Agency should join in asking Congress to vote legislation which would authorize special insurance coverage for families of service people who volunteer for aircraft test and space missions.

The journal reported last week the concern of space program officials that highly qualified members of the Armed Forces may be reluctant in the future to volunteer for duties which will make them noninsurable by commercial companies at premiums which they can afford to pay.

Some formula needs to be devised whereby the Federal Government would provide extra coverage for such persons or perhaps help underwrite private insurance policies.

Men who volunteer for duty as test pilots or as astronauts should be free of worry that, in event of accident, their families will be denied insurance coverage available to others in uniform. We think Congress would be sympathetic to a space insurance legislative request jointly sponsored by the Pentagon and NASA.

Why America Can't Win the 1960 Olympics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter of transmittal from one of my constituents, Mr. J. T. Mayock, of Forty Fort, Pa., with which he forwards an article from the American Weekly of January 17, 1960, written by Mr. Irving Jaffee, on the prospects of the United States winning the winter Olympic games at Squaw Valley, Calif., February 18 to 28:

JANUARY 17, 1960.

Congressman DANIEL J. FLOOD,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: The Reds are all set to clobber us in the coming Olympics and then claim it as a great victory for their way of life. And it will be mighty effective propaganda particularly among the so-called underdeveloped countries as well as in all parts of the world.

And it will be, of course, hypocrisy because of the subsidies granted outstanding athletes by the Soviet Government. It would be like pitting Notre Dame which has a good team against the Baltimore Colts which is also a good team. The Irish would get clobbered. They are just not in the same league. Amateurs are amateurs and pros are pros.

Remember how Jim Thorpe was forced to give back all his Olympic medals because they found he had received a few bucks for playing baseball one summer. The Russkies can just laugh up their sleeves at our strict standards.

In order to offset or counteract the Reds we should first denounce their paid amateurs and then suggest that since Russia insists on sending professionals to compete against amateurs let the competition be opened to all—amateur and professional alike.

This must be done before February 18 when the winter games open at Squaw Valley, Calif., so that the issue doesn't sound like one of those "we-wuz-robbed" or "sour-grapes" complaints.

I am aware that the games have no official status and that it's not nation competing against nation in the true tradition of Olympic games but rather as individuals and teams against individuals and teams. But we're not dealing with gentlemen subject to twinges of conscience but we are dealing with a ruthless and power-hungry ideology which must be fought on all levels of endeavor.

I am enclosing an article which speaks on this subject more eloquently than I. It is not a new idea, of course, but the issue has never been raised on a loud, international level. Maybe the time has come.

Sincerely,

J. T. MAYOCK.

WHY AMERICA CAN'T WIN THE 1960 OLYMPICS
(By Irving Jaffee)

While you're reading this article, the strongest, most fearsome army of athletes the world has ever known is being trained for the 1960 Olympic games. Unfortunately, it belongs to the Soviet Union. This awesome juggernaut makes its first appearance in the winter games at Squaw Valley, Calif., February 18 to 28. Then it will steamroller into Rome on August 25 for the summer games.

The Reds are treating the Olympic games not as a sporting event but as a major battle in the cold war. They are out to prove communism produces better athletes than the capitalists.

The Reds didn't even enter the Olympics till 1952. Afraid a loss would disgrace the Soviet State, they waited until they could make a decent showing.

They were losers in 1952 and controversial winners in 1956, but now the Bear is strong and cocky. Every sports victory he scores will be hailed as if it were a territorial conquest.

To build this army the Commies have drafted athletes from every walk of Russian life. A Spartakiada—national sports meeting—is held in a 100,000-seat stadium in Moscow where players are selected for most of the teams. Once picked, they go through a grueling training program.

We patted ourselves on the back when we topped the Reds in 1952, but the monster Russian sports plant was only in its embryo stages. Since then it has grown to an enormous size. They're closing in on us all the time—even in our forte, track and field. They study our tricks, improve on our techniques and are devoted athletes.

Being a former Olympic competitor and presently coach of some of America's Olympic speed skaters, I am most acquainted with what we must beware in the winter games. Let me warn you—it looks like the United States is in for a beating.

Russia will surely clobber us in men's and women's speed skating, ice hockey, all of the endurance ski events and ski jumping. The only competition we can hope to win is figure skating, because the Reds haven't taken it up seriously yet.

What the world will see at Squaw Valley will be the culmination of Russia's 8-year winter sports plan. Since 1952 the Communists have trained thousands of speed skaters, skiers, and hockey players. These athletes do nothing but compete for the glory of the state. If one breaks a record, he is rewarded as a "master of sport." This entitles him to a prize of from 15,000 to 20,000 rubles, a lucrative job connected with sport, a home, and preferential treatment for his children. The same holds for athletes in Red satellites.

Miroslava Nachodska, the Czech figure skater, is a good example. She was ostensibly employed by her government as a "recreation adviser" with the Czech Army construction engineers. She admitted she paid only rare visits to her office. Her income was 900 crowns monthly for her job and 600 crowns as an achievement award for her skating. Her total income was more than the engineers received.

Not only does the Russian Government pay high for its athletes, it also provides them with the best equipment, at no cost. There are 400 Olympic-size skating rinks and 10,000 registered speed skaters in the Moscow area

alone. In New York City there are only two publicly supported artificial rinks, and the city refused to build a third until a philanthropist donated $300,000 for it. How can we match the Russians without facilities?

Some of our athletes could be easy gold medal winners if they had half a chance to train as the Russians do. Take Don McDermott, of New Jersey, our best speed skating prospect. Don builds houses during the day so he can go to college at night. His Olympic workouts are held from 11 at night till 1 in the morning. The Government does nothing to make the grind easier for him. I should know; I have coached him since 1950. Can you imagine a Russian skater going through a grind like that?

I know, overall, we have never done much in the winter Olympics. But in 1932 at Lake Placid I won the 5,000- and 10,000-meter speed skating events and Jack Shea won the 500- and 1,500-meter events. And Eddie Eagan, who later became New York State Boxing Commissioner, was on our championship bobsled team and we were second to Canada in hockey.

Believe me, we won't do that well in 1960, because this country restricts itself to a more honest interpretation of the amateur code than the Russians, who just laugh at it and win.

Take my own case. I won at St. Moritz in 1928 and Lake Placid in 1932. But I had to make a living, so I was forced to turn pro before I really hit my peak. This happens to many of our prize athletes. In Russia I would have been given a phony job in a state factory, and kept on the team.

I have painted a bleak picture for the winter games because I want to be honest. I am happy to say, however, our prospects for the summer games are brighter. We are still tops in men's track and field, and that's the cornerstone of the modern Olympiad, not the minor sports and women's events which have fattened Russia's scores in the past.

But Russia will make a determined effort to overtake us in even this stronghold this year. Five years ago they didn't have a pole vaulter who could reach 14 feet. Now they have a guy who does 15 feet. They're coming at us like that all down the line. And they're improving faster than we are. Who would have thought the Russians would beat our pole vaulters or set a hop-step-jump record against us, as they did in the big dual meet in Moscow in 1958?

I wish I could say that the Russkies are the only out-and-out pros in the Olympics, but I can't. Most of our boys and girls are pure quill amateurs, but we're not exactly 100 percent ourselves.

Quite a few of our "amateurs" are on college scholarships strictly because of their athletic talent. And we have "amateur" basketball teams like the Phillips Oilers who, in reality, are paid to play basketball. But let's be fair to ourselves. College athletes who flunk their exams are tossed out of school, and even the Oilers pay their way, public relations-wise, for a dollar-conscious private company—not an official Government agency with unlimited funds and a strictly political aim.

In fact—though Avery Brundage would have hung me if he'd known it—I was subsidized by a group of brokers on the New York Curb Exchange while training for the Olympics. I only worked a couple of hours a week, and practiced the rest of the time. My family couldn't afford to subsidize my training. Like hundreds of other Olympic candidates who come from modest homes, I was forced to be a hypocrite. But eventually, as I have pointed out, I had to turn pro.

You may ask, how come Russians who pull that openly are amateurs, while any of our boys who get caught are disqualified? Well, each country sets its own amateur standards—and all other countries accept that. A Red "amateur" gets away with legal murder compared to ours.

Our officials don't seem to know—or care—that sports have become part of the cold war. I say they've got to wake up.

There is a solution, as bold as the first sputnik—just stop kidding ourselves and drop that old-fashioned term "amateur." Why not let pros, as well as amateurs, enter the Olympics? No more our amateurs against their professionals. Instead, a fair match among every nation's champions—paid or unpaid—in the best Olympic tradition.

In international politics, we battle the Russians on a mature and realistic level. Why should be be ostriches in that important propaganda tool, the Olympic games?

The National Debt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE BROCK
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, primary concern for our fiscal responsibility does not entirely rest with the membership of the Congress nor does it rest in the hands of the bankers and the investment brokers of the Nation. Indeed, there are many other Americans, in all walks of life, who feel this responsibility in a measure also rests on their shoulders as well. Our increasing national debt, with the tremendously increasing annual interest charges, affects people of all classes—in the places they feel most—the pocketbook and the ofttimes meager budget.

They naturally look to the Congress, as their representatives, to solve this problem of the mounting national debt, to do something immediately and constructively regarding reduction of the staggering load. They cannot understand our methods of fiscal juggling, as well as our failure to set aside each fiscal year a given amount of income toward reduction of the debt and interest. They cannot understand why we have to try and spend every cent of increased national income, even before it reaches the Treasury.

One such person has written me explaining his position with respect to this aggravating problem. He is Dr. Ivan M. French, who conducts the Wahoo, Nebr., Medical Clinic. I believe that his message is worth reading and reflecting upon in this era of record high governmental financial transactions.

May I, therefore, under leave to extend my remarks, commend to your attention the views expressed by Dr. French:

WAHOO CLINIC,
Wahoo, Nebr., January 19, 1960.

Representative LAWRENCE BROCK,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BROCK: With Congress again in session it seems worthwhile to advise you of my feelings on current legislation. Although I do not know specifically the various bills that will be taken up in this Congress my primary concerns lie in the direction of fiscal responsibility.

I would define fiscal responsibility as living within one's income and if one has been forced to contract debt using at least one-fourth of one's income to retire that debt and not to be thinking of Utopia until one's present debt was retired.

In regard to Utopia which appears to mean socialization I think that if we conduct our fiscal policies in a safe and sane manner we will not need to worry about socialization.

I would like to go on record and say that it appears to me that much of the irresponsibility in Government and by the individuals in our electorate is directly due to three things: one, the withholding tax which makes the average wage earner feel that it is his employer who is responsible for the large deductions from his check; two, graduated taxes which makes the average wage earner feel that he is not paying his share of Government schemes but that his slightly more fortunate neighbor is paying for these schemes, and, three, social security and other do-good schemes which takes the worry and disgrace of improvidence away from some people who might otherwise still cling to the traditional American ways of thrift and hard work which made our country great.

I trust that these few observations will be of some help to you as you vote upon the multitude of bills which will come before the next Congress.

If they can meet the test of sound fiscal policy, meaning living within our current income at the same time that we use a minimum of 25 percent of current income to pay off past obligations, and if they fit within the policies which made our country great, i.e., individual responsibility for self and family, then I am for them. If, on the other hand, they fall within the classification of any possibility of not living within our income or decreasing individual responsibility for self and family, then I am opposed.

Need I name specific bills?

Can you really get something for nothing? Can the other fellow always pay your way and if he could is it the function of our Government to encourage this sort of thing?

Sincerely yours,

IVAN M. FRENCH, M.D.

Ukrainian Independence Day

SPEECH
OF
HON. CHESTER E. MERROW
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Speaker, on January 22, 1918, 42 years ago, the Ukrainians established their independence. This day marks a great historic event and although the Ukrainians were able to maintain their national independence for only a short period of time, it is fervently hoped that the day will come when they will regain their freedom. It is fitting that we pause on the 42d anniversary of Ukrainian Independence Day to observe this great event.

We extend our best wishes to the people of Ukrainia and express the hope that the time will come when they will regain their independence.

Happy and rare is the lot of those nations that can enjoy their national in-

dependence for a long unbroken period of time, and still happier are those who did not have to struggle against forbidding odds for its attainment. The Ukrainians, one of the largest ethnic groups in eastern Europe, and among the most sturdy and stouthearted fighters for liberty and freedom, have not been fortunate in this respect. Centuries ago they lost their national independence. They regained it in 1918, only to lose it again in 1920.

For the 42 million Ukrainians who have been suffering under Soviet totalitarian dictatorship for 40 years, and who still long for their freedom, the 2-year happy, but short, period of liberty was the most memorable and unforgettable years in their modern history, for then they enjoyed their freedom in their homeland. Today those of their kinsmen who are fortunate enough to live in the freed world celebrate their 42d Independence Day. I am glad to join Ukrainian-Americans in the commemoration of this historic and memorable anniversary.

A Farmer's Views

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR A. KNOX
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. KNOX. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, a letter I have received from Mr. Howard Hillier, of Dafter, Mich. I do this so all Members of Congress will be aware of my constituent's views on the farm program.

The letter follows:

DAFTER, MICH., *January 5, 1960.*

DEAR SIR: Because of the strong response to the soil bank program, the present administration would be led to believe it is a success.

We speak only of northern Michigan and our Chippewa County of northern Michigan where there were more applications then could be accepted, we understand. We do not grow any of the so-called basics, namely, corn, cotton, wheat, peanuts, rice, and tobacco. Farmers in northern Michigan, and I believe it takes in the northern half of the counties of southern Michigan, have made their livelihood from dairy and beef cattle, raising their own oats, hay, some wheat for home needs, and also a little flax. Never was there a surplus of anything here but second-grade hay. Last year was the only year there was enough local oats produced without having some shipped in by elevators, this crop almost a complete failure. Most farmers grew more hay than was needed for home feeding and of course this was offered for sale. Some that was good quality brought fair returns at one time, but second-grade hay was hard to place even at a bargain.

Ten years back the area was a thriving agricultural area with farms averaging in size from 160 acres to probably 300 acres some which was not all tillable due to bushland. As time went on and the sharp increase in labor, wages, farm machinery, and repair, together with freight rates almost doubling in the past years put the small family-sized farm with its back to the wall with an income so small it didn't meet the necessities of life. It is our belief the small family-sized farm is the salt of our Nation and should have some protection for their survival. We operate one ourselves and have records to show the net profit about one-quarter of the workingman and most of these farms being equipped with $10,000 worth of machinery. There never was any surpluses only second-grade hay, but nature usually provided for that where there was a drought somewhere. If hay was carried over 1 year it would go the next, but not at profitable prices due to above stated: high labor, machinery, and freight rates. It just can't be entirely blamed on railroads as high labor costs forced them to it. Now read where some of them are in financial distress.

When the opportunity presented itself to sign with the soil bank where they could receive near the high bracket from $12 to $14 an acre, it surely was an inviting proposition. It gave them as much or more than if they worked it under present conditions. Who does not take something for nothing? It also released them to go and get another off-farm job bringing in a double income, while some laborer who had depended on work from operating farmers for years were out of a job and income.

It is not our intention to condemn the program in its entirety as agriculture needs a program as well as the many other industries which receive Government help. But speaking for northern Michigan only, we would like to see a constructive program that would build a future. As we understand the intended nature of the program was to reduce the amount of the commodity offered to the point where the price of what was available would be forced up. That would be good if it would work, but the originator of that idea does not understand the resistance of the American consumer. Too high prices sometimes drives a commodity off the market with no takers. Consumers find other substitutes to take care of their needs or do away with the operation that used the commodity, its price being too high. Again, we emphasize, not the producer's price but high labor, machinery, and freight costs makes it prohibitive on distant markets at a high figure. That is now where the farmer who desires to keep his operation going needs some help. Some who do not want to see their farms go wild to weeds and no cultivation and would rather operate than let it stand idle if they can survive until—if and when—normal times return again. Our farmers who are in the soil bank realize and admit it is no good for this area, but with the money being thrown around why not get it. An off-farm job can be secured part time or enough so they can draw unemployment benefits in winter months and the inactive farm also bringing in a year-round income. Why can't something be done for the operating farmer so he can survive these inflation times until normal conditions return again? Say, an acreage subsidy of $10 in northern Michigan. Forced short supply to make high prices is going to defeat itself in the end.

It is the belief of many that all subsidies should be done away with to lighten the burden on the taxpayer. After reading a pamphlet recently issued by the Government Printing Office, "History of American Subsidies," showing so many different businesses getting subsidies, agriculture would be discriminated against if they shouldn't receive one; also high support prices, the high storage costs, Government controls on acreage planted, and return to free market. It is our belief, and many others, that it would make a better way of life and higher living standard for all classes of American people as some necessities are priced that they cannot be afforded on the average, income family table. Butter is one instance. There is more oleomargarine used now due to the fact butter is priced out of reach. Many other items are also priced out of reach of the average, income family.

It is pretty near as wide as it is long, as we see it. Every handout you get, the Government has to bring in revenue in the form of tax to meet the expense. But a lot of us do believe an acreage subsidy to all farmers, doing away with all controls and supports, leaving the amount produced in the hands of the producer to regulate it to market demands, will straighten itself out in the end. Yes, it might bring lower prices but isn't the American public entitled to a higher standard of living by being able to buy the needed necessities of life; that is, if the farmer receives enough to put him on paying basis. As farmers ourselves, we believe an acreage subsidy of $10 an acre would give him security if some years prices were low. If we would just stop to realize these surpluses are a blessing which could be taken away from us any time. Waste and misuse of the land I fear will bring us punishment.

One more item and that's all. We surely would like to see the farms preserved for the next generation and unless something is done the weeds are going to take over. Some land bank farmers clip their meadows which keep the weeds from spreading so rapidly; others don't and it will grow up into a young wilderness. When the time comes that it will have to be restored, it will be costly. They cannot be called back into operation over night. It will have to be plowed twice to restore it to grass land. It is estimated it costs $20 an acre to plow, prepare the seedbed, sow fertilizer and grass seed for an acre of land in this area. It would take three years to put it back to normal. No individual farmer will be able to afford it and will be another Government expense to restore. It's high time for some deep thinking when the lawmakers convene in the next session of Congress.

It is the belief of many that if the Government would give the farmer an acreage subsidy for security and return to free markets, he would gage his production to what the market would take and still be secured with income necessary to survive. But at the same time he would retire 25 percent of his tillable acres to weed control every year by spraying, the next year another 25 percent out of production and treated for weeds. In the matter of around 5 years he would be around his farm and have it built up to meet the emergencies that are bound to come. We'll not always be blessed with productive years if history repeats itself. It would be a constructive program and not a destructive one as the soil bank now is. We mention this northern Michigan area again, but expect all areas probably are pretty much the same.

There is no better spender than the farmer when he has the money. He employs a lot of seasonal help which helps out the economy. With farms out of operation he is out looking for employment himself which further burdens the now hurting labor market. There are many other sidelines that tie in with farming. When farmers are in full operation it makes prosperous times by higher employment. It all adds up to the fact that everything has to operate to make prosperous times for everyone.

When you lawmakers meet this session of Congress, it is hoped you can come up with a constructive farm program that will benefit all in all areas. It's going to be costly from both angles, but to keep everyone operating and keep the Nation strong is what we all should strive to do, forgetting the political side of it and working to the best interest of all.

Since starting this letter, the writer has had the opportunity to talk to one of our

local men who is employed with the soil bank statewide at an attractive salary. In our conversation, I asked him what he thought of these uncut weedy meadows. His answer was he didn't like them but the Conservation Department was stepping in asking that they not be cut to make game cover for wildlife. He also admitted in 2 or 3 years these uncut meadows would grow up to such coarse stalks a mower couldn't cut them and eventually would have to be grubbed out. He hasn't his farm in the soil bank, but stated if he had he would request it be clipped to keep it green. When inquiring from him the possibility of the restoration and cost of these farms that are out, his answer was, "Yes, I know, no individual farmer could do it. It will be up to the Government to finance it." The Government finances it out then finances it back in. Isn't that a little too much for good government? In our suggestion for some program that would help the operating farmer also, his answer was that is what a lot of people want. We like to hear people's opinion on it. He said at their meetings no one seems to take the objective until after the meetings then have some complaints. When asked his opinion about an acreage subsidy, he believed $10 an acre was more than the traffic could bear. If a figure between $5 and $10 could be arrived at, it might be considered. Also he spoke favorably of every farmer retiring 25 percent of his cultivated acreage each year to weed control. This should work as much acreage out at the present soil bank. But he did speak of the cost of policing a policy like that. He stated the present plan is policed for the air. A farmer getting a deal like that shouldn't need policing, but it should be handled successfully by each individual township supervisor at a very little extra cost.

He also stated it wasn't the intention of the soil bank originators that it would turn out as it has—making ghost towns of some communities, overloading the labor market, working hardships on some and more prosperity on others. If in these high infiltration times this acreage subsidy would be enacted it would make the farm attractive enough to keep the farmers on the farm and leave labor the jobs, making better economy for everyone. Also there would be a loud howl if acreage control and high support prices on the basis were to be eliminated. It seems to be the opinion of many it is the only way production will be geared down to consumptions needs and at the same time the farmer protected by the acreage subsidy. Also there might be a resistance from other classes of people that the farmers would be getting a subsidy. Is it any different to subsidize other business listed on the pamphlet, "History of Government Subsidies," or the tax-free unemployment benefits labor gets when laid off a seasonal job? We hope some constructive program will be worked out that will help all lines and not just a few corporation farmers. The small family farm has to have some help to survive.

Yours very truly,

HOWARD HILLIER.

Federal Lamb Grading

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. O. C. FISHER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include a letter to the editor of the Washington Post which appeared in that paper on January 13, 1960. It was written by our colleague the gentleman from California [Mr. MILLER]. I commend it to your reading, because it contains some sound advice on an important subject. It is good food for thought. The letter follows:

UNGRADED LAMB

Your January 9 editorial on lamb grading is worth some comment. I imagine all of us feel the need for proper quality standards of all food products. In this day and age, the individual is helpless to do the job himself.

However, it may as well be noted that such standards, unintentionally, of course, are very frequently of no help and may actually harm the consumer. In the case of lamb, prime grades now require prescribed amounts of fat along the back-lining of the animal.

This surplusage must be paid for by the consumer though it is no possible use to anyone. To feed the lamb up to grade requires keeping past its prime, into the second year. This is not young lamb at all. So, as a result of lamb grading we pay added costs which serve no purpose, and we lose out in flavor, and delectability.

This general thesis can be extended to other agricultural products. It is easy to see the imposition of unnecessarily high grading standards as an instrument of monopoly and high price structure. The farmer takes the rap because his good product is turned down at the plant unloading dock as below standard.

Witness what is happening in the fruit industry, peaches, apples, pears. Consumers share the costs of this restrictive wastefulness with the farmer; only the middleman gains.

This is the other side of the grading coin. As our society becomes wealthier and feels it can afford restrictive practices which are wasteful, we do not seem to comprehend that the added costs are ours.

CLEM MILLER.

Real Estate Is Emphatically Not Being Condemned to Death—A Leader in the Real Estate Industry From Pittsburgh, City of Urban Renaissance, Looks With Vision at Urban Renewal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, today in Washington during a panel discussion under auspices of National Association of Real Estate Boards Stanley W. Arnheim, former president of the Real Estate Board in Pittsburgh and a leader in the real estate industry in that city which I am privileged to represent, had some enlightening things to say about the private property owner and urban renewal.

To the often posed question "Is real estate being condemned to death?" Mr. Arnheim answered a resounding no.

Mr. Arnheim's remarks were factual and informative. They drew upon Pittsburgh's leadership in urban renewal and urban redevelopment to present, in down-to-earth terms, the benefits of urban renewal as measured by new jobs, new business and increased local tax revenue.

Problems of property owners in an area scheduled for redevelopment were not overlooked in Mr. Arnheim's remarks and neither were their solutions.

He told how displaced residents found new housing better than they had ever known before—one-third of these people in public housing and two-thirds in private homes with resultant benefit to the private real estate and building industries.

These remarks are doubly important now, early in a session which I hope will see more obligational authority authorized for urban renewal and more public housing units authorized for construction. This is why, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the remarks of Mr. Arnheim and commend their reading to all of my colleagues:

IS REAL ESTATE BEING CONDEMNED TO DEATH?
(By Stanley W. Arnheim, Pittsburgh, Pa.)

OWNERSHIP PROBLEMS IN URBAN RENEWAL AREAS

The city of Pittsburgh, which is my hometown, has undoubtedly established itself as one of the foremost cities of the Nation which have tackled the problem of urban redevelopment. I don't think any city has received as much favorable publicity in as many national magazines as has Pittsburgh for the amazing job we have done in rebuilding our city.

For a town sick unto death from floods, smoke, slums, blight, hardening of traffic arteries, inadequate parking facilities and a consequent utter and complete lack of civic pride we have emerged into one of the glittering new cities of the Nation with clean air, no flood problems, a reduction (but not elimination) of slums, a dazzling network of new roads, glistening skyscrapers, smart new apartments and hotels, public parking garages and a citizenry bursting their buttons in price as they tell visitors "Look what we've done in Pittsburgh."

This reformation in what people used to refer to as the "Smoky City" was due not to just one single phenomena but to several. High on the list of effective agents, however, was the urban redevelopment program. In just 10 years this redevelopment program has instilled a new spirit in the community, a sense of pride, of participation, of belief in the future of Pittsburgh as a place for living, for working and for private investment. I must answer the question asked in the title of this panel discussion, "Is Real Estate Being Condemned to Death?" with a resounding "No." For Pittsburgh it has been the resurrection, not the death, of real estate values.

Let me point out several things which urban redevelopment has accomplished in the past 10 years and which, if properly approached in your city, will produce similar results:

1. A total of 266 acres (1 percent of the city's buildable area) has been recaptured from the grips of blight and decay and restored to usefulness; 500 acres more are currently in the mill.

2. In a city that had experienced no substantial new real estate investment for nearly a quarter of a century, almost $200 million in private funds have been spent within the boundaries of eight project areas. Nearly 90 percent of the new construction is taxable.

3. Hundreds of new job opportunities have been provided and thousands more have been preserved. In Gateway Center alone nearly 15,000 workers will be employed by the large

corporations which are located in those buildings. Payrolls will exceed $100 million a year. What a beautiful way to be condemned to death.

4. Downtown has been strengthened enormously. The Gateway Center and Lower Hill developments provide a solid launching platform for the future growth of the central business district. This is not to say that Pittsburgh has no central business district problem. We have very critical ones but with redevelopment plans there is hope for their solution. Without redevelopment it would be a hopeless task.

5. Tax returns to the city, school and county have been doubled and tripled in the effected areas. The 23 acres around Gateway Center produced almost a million dollars a year more taxes in 1958 than did the entire 59 acres from which Gateway Center was carved before the project was undertaken. And this was before the new Hilton Hotel and Gateway No. 4 was built.

6. Redevelopment has caused the relocation of 2,556 families, nearly all into better housing than they formerly occupied. Almost a third went into public housing and two-thirds into private housing, whether sales or rental.

7. Independent of the program of the Pittsburgh Parking Authority, redevelopment has created more than 3,800 off-street parking spaces in once-congested areas.

8. Redevelopment has been a tremendous stimulant to the construction industry. Thousands of skilled craftsmen and laborers have been employed on redevelopment job sites and thousands more have helped produce the materials required for construction.

Do these suggest that owners of property in Pittsburgh, whether or not in the project area, have suffered?

If this picture of redevelopment is so bright and rosy, why then are we here talking about real estate being condemned to death? Is there another side to all this? A less attractive side? Certainly there is. Redevelopment is not a painless process and many families, business proprietors and real estate investors have felt a few pangs of physical and financial discomfort as this has been going on.

The three biggest problems facing owners in renewal areas seem to be these:

Problem 1: Once an area is reported under serious study for redevelopment, whether or not it has been officially cited for taking, it is quite possible that tenants may relocate immediately rather than face sudden eviction at some future date. New tenants are then difficult to find to replace them. This depends very largely upon whether this is a commercial, industrial or residential area. It is doubtful if this is as serious a problem in the residential district as it is in the industrial and commercial area where it is expensive for new tenants to start operations and consequently there is less likelihood that the outgoing tenant will be replaced. In residential areas, however, this is not as serious a problem and vacancies are frequently blamed on the urban renewal plan that existed in like quantity before the plans were announced. But the problem is none the less a real one. Until the actual time of taking, a vacant property is a financial drain.

Problem 2: Both tenants and owners are reluctant to make major improvements to property except those of emergency character because they are not sure how long they will be in the property to benefit from these improvements. Failure to maintain these properties adds to the deterioration of the neighborhood which again reduces values. This is a real problem but the fact remains that if most of the properties were not rundown and neglected, with a high vacancy factor, there is little likelihood that the area would have been considered as an urban renewal project in the first place. The authority is frequently made the whipping boy for owners and tenants who would not have done this work anyhow. On the other hand there are many valid examples of people who are stymied in their plans for improving their property by the vagaries of the redevelopment process. This is to be regretted. One must point out, however, that when the property is finally taken it is the value at the time of taking that counts, not what it was when the project was first announced. If, during this interim period, improvements will increase a property's value commensurate with the cost of the improvements, there is no reason why the owner should be reluctant to make them.

Problem 3: Once the exodus starts, values decline more rapidly so that when actual condemnation takes place owners are likely to receive less for their property than they might otherwise have received. This factor depends again upon the time element involved but it is my opinion that most property owners receive from condemnation at least as much as they would have received from a private sale and all too often they receive a great deal more.

These are the three major but certainly not the only problems facing the owners of property in a redevelopment project. You may be thinking of others which you have experienced, such as the inability of owners to find adequate substitute quarters for the market value of their present property or the time element involved in moving to new quarters before their property is taken and razed. These are not to be minimized but I don't believe these come under the scope of the problem I have been asked to discuss. The solution to the three other problems lies in the realm of speeding up the takeover process and the shortening of the period between the announced study and the final takeover. It is important that every effort be made by Urban Redevelopment Authority officials to improve this situation. The problems do not suggest, however, that urban redevelopment is being overdone.

Let me also point out that not all properties in an urban renewal project are condemned, the buildings razed and the land reused for other purposes. In many projects there are sections in which owners may retain their property if they rehabilitate them in conformance with the overall planning for this section. Financing for such remodeling is available and the return on the revitalized property should justify the improvements. Here real estate men who are specialists in property management have the greatest opportunity to serve their clients by analyzing the potential highest and best use of the property and its possible operating profit after the rehabilitation.

To return to the title of this panel discussion, "Is Real Estate Being Condemned to Death?" I must conclude that at least in my humble opinion the answer is definitely "No." Quite the contrary, in most instances property owners have been thrown a lifeline just before going down for the third time in the sea of economic distress. For every hurt that the urban renewal process has caused through the unfortunate time lag between the announcement and the final taking, thousands of property owners who have been trapped with their life savings in these declining areas have been provided a fair price for their investments and enabled to make fresh starts in other neighborhoods.

No community can afford to stand still. To ignore decay is to court disaster. Urban Redevelopment offers every segment of a community, its owners, its tenants, its merchants and industrialists and, not the least, its realtors a golden opportunity to improve their status by neighborhood rebirth. The difference between economic life and death is not a mandate of an Urban Redevelopment Authority, it is a choice to be made by the citizens.

Scranton City Council Again Urges Congress To Pass Area Redevelopment Legislation at Present Session

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

CITY OF SCRANTON, PA.,
January 19, 1960.

DEAR DAN: Scranton has again placed its legislative support behind your bill for area redevelopment.

We have forwarded about two score copies of the attached resolution of our city council to prominent congressional and national leaders seeking their influence in pushing through the present Congress an adequate bill.

Regards to your office.

Cordially,

JAMES T. HANLON,
Mayor.

RESOLUTION FOR EARLY ADOPTION OF THE FEDERAL AREA REDEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

Whereas news reports indicate the possibility of early consideration of the Federal area redevelopment program by the Congress; and

Whereas leadership in the House of Representatives have given assurances that the Flood-Douglas bill now held by the House Rules Committee would be reported to the floor; and

Whereas Mayor Hanlon and this council have passed similar resolutions and memorials during recent sessions urging adoption of this same legislation; and

Whereas area conditions today reflect the same level of unemployment present during the past decade; and

Whereas regional economic conditions, particularly since the Knox mine river disaster almost 1 year ago, are more aggravated; and

Whereas the area redevelopment program offers, in addition to needed industrial development financing, several other assistance programs, provide for public works and improvement to cities such as Scranton; and

Whereas the chronic labor surpluses of Scranton and similarly situated regions demand substantial effort on the part of the Federal Government to supplement and expand local community improvement programs such as have been manifest in Scranton and other communities: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Scranton City Council, That this important message be laid before the 2d session of the 86th Congress to petition this Congress to pass at the earliest moment the Federal Flood-Douglas bill; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to Congressman STANLEY A. PROKOP and DANIEL J FLOOD, Speaker SAM RAYBURN, Floor Leaders JOHN MCCORMACK and CHARLES HALLECK, and Rules Committee Chairman HOWARD SMITH; and be it further

Resolved, That informational copies of this resolution be laid before the President of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower, Vice President Richard Nixon, Senators Joseph S. Clark, and Hugh J. Scott, Secretary of Commerce Frederick Mueller, Secretary of Labor James Mitchell, and Gov. David L. Lawrence.

JEROME E. PARKER,
President, Scranton City Council.
JAMES T. HANLON,
Mayor, City of Scranton.
FRANK DESARRO,
City Clerk.

JANUARY 13, 1960.

Forty-second Anniversary of the Independence of Ukraine

SPEECH
OF
HON. ROY W. WIER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, the history of the people of Ukraine is a long record of a determined struggle for freedom which has won the respect and admiration of liberty loving people in all parts of the world.

After the collapse of the Russian Empire in 1917, these people seized their chance to form a national republic. The Bolsheviks in Ukraine were disarmed, and as a consequence of these two acts the Bolshevik government declared war. They set up a puppet government in Kharkiv which did not in any way represent the Ukrainian people, and proceeded to invade their country under the leadership of a Russian in command of a Russian Army. By force of arms as well as the activity of the fifth column, the people of Ukraine were forced to accept Soviet rule.

The Ukraine is still known as the granary of Europe and it contributes more to the Soviet empire than any other country behind the Iron Curtain. Its agricultural production is one of the highest in the world, even though handicapped by inefficient Soviet methods, and it is one of Europe's richest and most highly developed industrial countries. Its coal and metals production amounts to more than 80 percent of the entire Russian output. In addition, it has the best railway system in the U.S.S.R., important oil wells, hydroelectric plants, and is heavily industrialized. The people of Ukraine are thrifty, hard working and highly individualistic, and they have kept up a long and determined resistance to the forced collectivism of the Red regime.

Ukraine has a population of over 40 million people, and is the largest non-Russian country dominated by the Soviets. Its value and importance as a production center cannot be overemphasized, and the spirit of its people in their continuing fight for liberty cannot be too much praised and admired. It stands as one of our most important and natural allies in the eventual destruction of Soviet imperialism. Its place as a sovereign and equal partner in the mutual construction of free Europe must be assured if the foundation of permanent peace among freedom loving nations is to be impregnable.

The indomitable will of the Ukrainian people to achieve national freedom still survives in undiminished strength, despite the toll of the millions of lives taken by the Russians in purges, mass murders, and manmade famines. Its rich traditions and culture, centuries old, are still alive and continuing to grow, regardless of the attempted destruction of its religion, science, and learning by its Soviet rulers.

Let us do all we can to aid these valiant people in their efforts to throw off the scourge of the Russian regime and its attempts to force them into communism. The strength and power of their unbending determination and passion to become a sovereign, free, and independent nation, deserves all the help and encouragement we can give them.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

REPRESENTATIVES WITH RESIDENCES IN WASHINGTON

OFFICE ADDRESS: House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

[Streets northwest unless otherwise stated]

Speaker, Sam Rayburn

Abbitt, Watkins M., *Va.*
Abernethy, Thomas G., *Miss.* 6278 29th St.
Adair, E. Ross, *Ind.* 4000 Mass. Ave.
Addonizio, Hugh J., *N. J.*
Albert, Carl, *Okla.* 5115 Allen Terrace
Alexander, Hugh Q., *N. C.*
Alford, Dale, *Ark.*
Alger, Bruce, *Tex.*
Allen, Leo E., *Ill.* University Club
Andersen, H. Carl, *Minn.* 4000 Mass. Ave.
Anderson, LeRoy H., *Mont.* 911 Beverly Dr., Alexandria, Va.
Andrews, George W., *Ala.* 3108 Cathedral Ave.
Anfuso, Victor L., *N. Y.*
Arends, Leslie C., *Ill.* 4815 Dexter St.
Ashley, Thomas L., *Ohio*
Ashmore, Robert T., *S. C.*
Aspinall, Wayne N., *Colo.* The Towers Apts., 4201 Cathedral Ave.
Auchincloss, James C., *N. J.* 113 S. Lee St., Alexandria, Va.
Avery, William H., *Kans.*
Ayres, William H., *Ohio*
Bailey, Cleveland M., *W. Va.*
Baker, Howard H., *Tenn.*
Baldwin, John F., Jr., *Calif.*
Barden, Graham A., *N. C.* 2601 Woodley Pl.
Baring, Walter S., *Nev.*
Barr, Joseph W., *Ind.* Tulip Lane and Glen Mill Rd., Rockville Md.
Barrett, William A., *Pa.*
Barry, Robert R., *N. Y.* 3019 Normanstone Drive
Bass, Perkins, *N. H.*
Bass, Ross, *Tenn.*
Bates, William H., *Mass.*
Baumhart, A. D., Jr., *Ohio*
Becker, Frank J., *N. Y.*
Beckworth, Lindley, *Tex.*
Belcher, Page, *Okla.*
Bennett, Charles E., *Fla.* 1530 38th St. SE.
Bennett, John B., *Mich.* 3718 Cardiff Rd., Chevy Chase, Md.
Bentley, Alvin M., *Mich.*
Berry, E. Y., *S. Dak.* 118 Schotts Court NE.
Betts, Jackson E., *Ohio*
Blatnik, John A., *Minn.*
Blitch, Iris Faircloth, (Mrs.), *Ga.*
Boggs, Hale, *La.*
Boland, Edward P., *Mass.*
Bolling, Richard, *Mo.* 3409 Lowell St.
Bolton, Frances P. (Mrs.), *Ohio.* 2301 Wyo. Ave.
Bonner, Herbert C., *N. C.* Calvert-Woodley
Bosch, Albert H., *N. Y.*
Bow, Frank T., *Ohio.* 4301 Mass. Ave.
Bowles, Chester, *Conn.*
Boykin, Frank W., *Ala.* The Washington
Brademas, John, *Ind.*
Bray, William G., *Ind.*
Breeding, J. Floyd, *Kans.*
Brewster, Daniel B., *Md.*
Brock, Lawrence, *Nebr.*
Brooks, Jack, *Tex.*
Brooks, Overton, *La.* 4413 46th St.
Broomfield, William S., *Mich.*
Brown, Charles H., *Mo.* 3723 N. Oakland St., Arlington, Va.
Brown, Clarence J., *Ohio.* Alban Towers
Brown, Paul, *Ga.* Boston House
Broyhill, Joel T., *Va.*
Buckley, Charles A., *N. Y.*
Budge, Hamer H., *Idaho*
Burdick, Quentin, *N. Dak.*
Burke, Frank W., *Ky.*
Burke, James A., *Mass.*
Burleson, Omar, *Tex.* 2737 Devonshire Pl.
Byrne, James A., *Pa.*
Byrnes, John W., *Wis.* 1215 25th St. So., Arlington, Va.
Cahill, William T., *N. J.*
Canfield, Gordon, *N. J.*
Cannon, Clarence, *Mo.*
Carnahan, A. S. J., *Mo.*
Casey, Bob, *Tex.*
Cederberg, Elford A., *Mich.*
Celler, Emanuel, *N. Y.* The Mayflower
Chamberlain, Charles E., *Mich.*
Chelf, Frank, *Ky.*
Chenoweth, J. Edgar, *Colo.*
Chiperfield, Robert B., *Ill.* 1713 House Office Building
Church, Marguerite Stitt (Mrs.), *Ill.* 2122 Mass. Ave.
Clark, Frank M., *Pa.* 3735 Gunston Rd., Alexandria, Va.
Coad, Merwin, *Iowa.*
Coffin, Frank M., *Maine.*
Cohelan, Jeffery, *Calif.* 5708 Nevada Ave.
Collier, Harold R., *Ill.*
Colmer, William M., *Miss.*
Conte, Silvio O., *Mass.*
Cook, Robert E., *Ohio.*
Cooley, Harold D., *N. C.* 2480 16th St.
Corbett, Robert J., *Pa.*
Cramer, William C., *Fla.* 6714 Joallen Dr., Falls Church, Va.
Cunningham, Glenn, *Nebr.* 4920 Yorktown Blvd., Arlington, Va.
Curtin, Willard S., *Pa.*
Curtis, Laurence, *Mass.* 3314 O St.
Curtis, Thomas B., *Mo.*
Daddario, Emilio Q., *Conn.*
Dague, Paul B., *Pa.*
Daniels, Dominick V., *N. J.*
Davis, Clifford, *Tenn.* 4611 Butterworth Pl.
Davis, James C., *Ga.*
Dawson, William L., *Ill.*
Delaney, James J., *N. Y.*
Dent, John H., *Pa.*
Denton, Winfield K., *Ind.*
Derounian, Steven B., *N. Y.*
Derwinski, Edward J., *Ill.*
Devine, Samuel L., *Ohio*
Diggs, Charles C., Jr., *Mich.*
Dingell, John D., *Mich.*
Dixon, Henry Aldous, *Utah.* 1817 N. Quinn St., Arlington, Va.
Donohue, Harold D., *Mass.*
Dooley, Edwin B., *N. Y.*
Dorn, Francis E., *N. Y.*
Dorn, W. J. Bryan, *S. C.*
Dowdy, John, *Tex.*
Downing, Thomas N., *Va.*
Doyle, Clyde, *Calif.* 3877 30th St. N., Arlington, Va.
Dulski, Thaddeus J., *N. Y.*
Durham, Carl T., *N. C.* The Lee House
Dwyer, Florence P. (Mrs.), *N. J.*
Edmondson, Ed, *Okla.*
Elliott, Carl, *Ala.*
Everett, Robert A., *Tenn.*
Evins, Joe L., *Tenn.* 5044 Klingle St.
Fallon, George H., *Md.*
Farbstein, Leonard, *N. Y.*
Fascell, Dante B., *Fla.*
Feighan, Michael A., *Ohio*
Fenton, Ivor D., *Pa.* 3725 Macomb St.
Fino, Paul A., *N. Y.*
Fisher, O. C., *Tex.* Calvert-Woodley
Flood, Daniel J., *Pa.* The Congressional
Flynn, Gerald T., *Wis.*
Flynt, John J., Jr., *Ga.*
Fogarty, John E., *R. I.* 1133 House Office Building
Foley, John R., *Md.*
Forand, Aime J., *R. I.* 4108 Dresden St., Kensington, Md.
Ford, Gerald R., Jr., *Mich.* 514 Crown View Dr., Alexandria, Va.
Forrester, E. L., *Ga.*
Fountain, L. H., *N. C.* The Westchester
Frazier, James B., Jr., *Tenn.* Fairfax Hotel
Frelinghuysen, Peter, Jr., *N. J.* 3014 N St.
Friedel, Samuel N., *Md.*
Fulton, James G., *Pa.*
Gallagher, Cornelius E., *N. J.*
Garmatz, Edward A., *Md.*
Gary, J. Vaughan, *Va.*
Gathings, E. C., *Ark.* 6377 31st Pl.
Gavin, Leon H., *Pa.*
George, Newell A., *Kans.*
Giaimo, Robert N., *Conn.*
Glenn, Milton W., *N. J.* Arlington Towers, Arlington, Va.
Goodell, Charles E., *N. Y.* 3842 Macomb St.
Granahan, Kathryn E. (Mrs.), *Pa.*
Grant, George M., *Ala.* 4801 Conn. Ave.
Gray, Kenneth J., *Ill.*
Green, Edith (Mrs.), *Oreg.*
Green, William J., Jr., *Pa.*
Griffin, Robert P., *Mich.*
Griffiths, Martha W. (Mrs.), *Mich.*
Gross, H. R., *Iowa.*
Gubser, Charles S., *Calif.*
Hagen, Harlan, *Calif.*
Haley, James A., *Fla.*
Hall, David M., *N. C.*
Halleck, Charles A., *Ind.* 4926 Upton St.
Halpern, Seymour, *N. Y.*
Hardy, Porter, Jr., *Va.*
Hargis, Denver D., *Kans.*
Harmon, Randall S., *Ind.*
Harris, Oren, *Ark.* 1627 Myrtle St.
Harrison, Burr P., *Va.*
Hays, Wayne L., *Ohio.* 1323 Barger Drive, Falls Church, Va.
Healey, James C., *N. Y.*
Hébert, F. Edward, *La.* 26 Cockrell St., Alexandria, Va.
Hechler, Ken, *W. Va.*
Hemphill, Robert W., *S. C.*
Henderson, John E., *Ohio*
Herlong, A. S., Jr., *Fla.*
Hess, William E., *Ohio*
Hiestand, Edgar W., *Calif.*
Hoeven, Charles B., *Iowa.* 100 Maryland Ave. NE.
Hoffman, Clare E., *Mich.* 100 Maryland Ave. NE.
Hoffman, Elmer J., *Ill.*
Hogan, Earl, *Ind.* 5211 Flanders Ave., Garrett Pk., Kensington, Md.
Holifield, Chet, *Calif.*
Holland, Elmer J., *Pa.*
Holt, Joe, *Calif.*
Holtzman, Lester, *N. Y.*
Horan, Walt, *Wash.*
Hosmer, Craig, *Calif.*
Huddleston, George, Jr., *Ala.*
Hull, W. R., Jr., *Mo.*
Ikard, Frank, *Tex.*
Inouye, Daniel K., *Hawaii*
Irwin, Donald J., *Conn.* The Coronet
Jackson, Donald L., *Calif.*
Jarman, John, *Okla.*
Jennings, W. Pat, *Va.*
Jensen, Ben F., *Iowa.* 2120 16th St.
Johansen, August E., *Mich.*
Johnson, Byron L., *Colo.*
Johnson, Harold T., *Calif.*
Johnson, Lester R., *Wis.*
Johnson, Thomas F., *Md.*
Jonas, Charles Raper, *N. C.*
Jones, Paul C., *Mo.* 1111 Army Navy Dr., Arlington, Va.
Jones, Robert E., *Ala.*
Judd, Walter H., *Minn.* 3083 Ordway St.
Karsten, Frank M., *Mo.*
Karth, Joseph E., *Minn.*
Kasem, George A., *Calif.*
Kastenmeier, Robert W., *Wis.*
Kearns, Carroll D., *Pa.*
Kee, Elizabeth (Mrs.), *W. Va.* Albemarle House, 4501 Conn. Ave.
Keith, Hastings, *Mass.*
Kelly, Edna F. (Mrs.), *N. Y.*
Keogh, Eugene J., *N. Y.* The Mayflower
Kilburn, Clarence E., *N. Y.*
Kilday, Paul J., *Tex.* 3507 Albemarle St.
Kilgore, Joe M., *Tex.* 4848 Upton St.
King, Cecil R., *Calif.*
King, David S., *Utah.*
Kirwan, Michael J., *Ohio*
Kitchin, A. Paul, *N. C.*
Kluczynski, John C., *Ill.*
Knox, Victor A., *Mich.*
Kowalski, Frank, *Conn.*
Kyl, John, *Iowa.*
Lafore, John A., Jr., *Pa.*
Laird, Melvin R., *Wis.*
Landrum, Phil M., *Ga.*

Appendix

Mr. Sam's Dream

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CARL ALBERT

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, a very interesting article on the Sam Rayburn Library at Bonham, Tex., appeared in the Sunday, January 24, 1960, issue of Oklahoma's Orbit, Sunday magazine section of the Daily Oklahoman, Oklahoma City, Okla. It was written by a resident of my district, Dr. Bernice Norman Crockett, a member of the staff of Southeastern State College, Durant, Okla.

Under unanimous consent, I include this article in the Appendix of the RECORD, as follows:

MR. SAM'S DREAM

People in this section of the United States who do not have the time or the opportunity to visit the National Capital, with its libraries, museums, archives, and Halls of Congress, have access to a representative collection of like Americana in the Sam Rayburn Library at Bonham, Tex. The library was opened to the public October 9, 1957, with a standing-room-only attendance Proof that the interest evidenced in such a project in the south central part of our country is genuine and sustained is available in the visitors' books, which show more than 12,000 signatures.

A veritable shining palace—the Georgia white marble of which the building is constructed has a definite glow—this beautiful building is constructed along classical lines. It tops the summit of a softly rising knoll on U.S. 82 four blocks west of Bonham's downtown business district and gleams a Texas welcome that cannot be denied. Here, on a 4.3-acre tract, the library faces the highway which passes the Rayburn home a short distance to the west. A one-story structure with full basement, the library is constructed of concrete and steel, faced with marble.

Contents of the library produce even greater enthusiasm with its treasure trove of thousands only-one-of-its-kind of historical papers and documents, original pieces of furniture from the halls of Congress, identical duplication of the Speaker's rooms, original portraits and paintings, objects of art and hundreds of mementoes from the life of one man—SAM RAYBURN, and the life of a nation—the United States.

In the case of the Sam Rayburn Library, one sees the culmination of a long cherished ideal and dream. When, where and how Mr. SAM'S dream of a memorial library first began is—like most dreams—surrounded by any number of stories and legends. The one with the most popular appeal, and probably the one which is most accurate, is described in the dedication issue published by the Bonham Daily Favorite.

One sees SAM RAYBURN as a 10-year-old boy, astride a long fence on a Fannin County farm, deciding to enter politics just as soon as time and opportunity permit. As one of a family of 11 children, educational advantages were hard to come by for the ambitious young dreamer. It was probably the deprivation of books and opportunity for an education which furnished the youngster with the determination to sometime be able to provide for other young people some of the advantages which were denied to him.

There was little taught in the way of politics and government in the little one-room Flag Springs School where SAM got his elementary education. There were more than a hundred boys and girls enrolled and only one teacher. Small wonder the most important bit of equipment was an ample supply of fresh bois d' arc switches. Nor did the East Texas Normal, which SAM entered with only $25 for expenses, have much in the way of library. The desire to sometime be of service to his fellowman was the dream which carried Mr. SAM through the completion of a college education. The first year in college he got his board on credit, ringing the bells and making the fires for his tuition.

"I swept the public schoolhouse for enough money to pay for my washing. When I finished there, I afterward went to the State university," the dedicated young man told voters in a campaign speech for Congress in 1912. The same dream of service sustained him through term after term in the office of Congressman for the Fourth District of Texas. His efforts to improve conditions for the people of his district, extended to his entire home State, and became national in scope.

As he continued in public service, Mr. SAM'S files and his accumulation of material on political and governmental history became increasingly abundant. It became so abundant, in fact, that it became quite a job of preservation and storage, since much of the material he was collecting was both unique and irreplaceable.

Probably the idea for a library and a museum arose because of this need for housing for papers which trace the history of the United States. Realization of a way to accomplish such an endeavor came in 1948 when Mr. RAYBURN won the $10,000 award given by Collier's magazine to the Nation's outstanding Congressman. This money provided funds for buying the 4-acre plot in the west side of Bonham.

When word got around that Mr. SAM proposed starting his new library, donations began pouring in. The permanent record book, prominently displayed in the main reading room, lists the names of more than 8,500 individuals and firms who sent money that Mr. SAM'S dream might at last come true.

Come make a quick tour of Mr. SAM'S library. We will pause at the big double doors, not only because it takes a bit of muscle to pull them open, but to stop and stare with awed delight at the spectacular beauty of the chandelier which hangs in glittering majesty in the Speakers' room. It is hard to decide which way to go first; probably we should go to our right, across the beautifully paneled foyer and into the main library and reading room.

Here, the floor-to-ceiling window on the east furnishes much light and beauty for this room. From it part of the town of Bonham is visible, almost down to the town square. The window looks out on the location of a proposed formal garden which is to be developed in memory of Miss Lucinda Rayburn, Mr. SAM'S sister, who served as her famous brother's hostess for many years until her death in 1956. An exquisite object of art and antiquity which one sees immediately upon entering the main library stands centered on the first shelf of books one comes to—it is a 3,000-year-old Grecian urn, which was presented to RAYBURN in 1949 by the Grecian Government.

In this room are shelved encyclopedias, almanacs, world books, Bibles, and histories. There are histories of nations of the world and Toynbee's Study of History. There are histories of France, England, Germany, Russia, Asia, Palestine, the Philippines, Korea, Hawaii, Africa, India. There are the American Historical Association reports and the American heritage collection.

The Rayburn Library has about 5,000 books at present. Also in the main library are histories of political parties, women's suffrage, the Constitution; there are the American State Papers, the history of coinage, three or four shelves of Texas history, and an entire top shelf given over to histories of the various States. Another tier of books includes sets of books on all the Presidents of the United States, from George Washington to Dwight D. Eisenhower.

More than half the shelves in the reading room are filled with the records of Congress. Journals of the Continental Congress cover the time from 1774 through 1789, while the period from 1789 through 1824 is covered by the Annuals of Congress. From 1824 up to 1835 is covered by the Congressional Debates, while the period from 1835 up through 1873 is covered by the Congressional Globe. These forerunners of today's CONGRESSIONAL RECORD are brought up to date by a complete set of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD from 1873 up to the present.

The Rayburn Library has about a hundred autographed—to RAYBURN—copies of books, headed by Winston's Churchill's "History of English-Speaking Peoples," and Carlos P. Romulo's "Crusade in Asia." President Eisenhower's book, "Crusade in Europe," is autographed: "For Mr. SAM RAYBURN—Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives and veteran legislator of 45 years. With warm regard from his friend, Dwight Eisenhower." The date is March 6, 1957.

In "Memoirs," by Harry S. Truman in his "Year of Decisions" is written: "To the Honorable SAM RAYBURN with affectionate regards and with highest appreciation of his friendship and service as the greatest Speaker the House ever had, from Harry Truman."

A copy of Wendell Willkie's "One World" is inscribed: "Although we have disagreed much, I have admired you much."

There is still the most beautiful room in the library to visit, the library office which is an absolute duplicate of the Speaker's Capitol office, from the pattern on the tile floor to the vaulted ceiling. The mantle in this room was in the House of Representatives for 92 years. It was acquired by RAYBURN for the library during the 1950–51 remodeling program at the National Capitol.

The exhibit room demands far more time than a casual visit will allow: displays enclosed in glass cases show many of the mementoes Mr. SAM has collected during his more than 50 years of public service. Degrees, gavels, the former by the dozens, the latter by the hundreds, are accompanied by explanatory notes. Silver trays

bearing the signatures of famous men inscribed to Mr. SAM; plaques, plates, cups, figurines, statuettes; the contents of this room reflect the life of a man who has served many.

There is also the first set of books Mr. SAM ever bought, the first present he ever gave his mother, as well as family pictures and papers which show the family man as well as the public servant. Two other items in this room stimulate great interest. One is the white marble fireplace mantle which once graced the Adams Room of the White House. During the White House remodeling, the renovation commission presented the mantle to the library. Above the mantle hangs a recently completed oil portrait of Miss Lu as she appeared during the last of her social appearances as her famous brother's hostess.

The basement houses many more interesting items, among them some of the seats from the Representatives' rooms in the Capitol. The row of four seats is used for a settee for visitors (they are so inadequately cushioned that one wonders why Congressmen occupied them for any great length of time). They have a shelf underneath each chair to hold the Member's papers, and a push button by each seat which was used to summon pages.

In the basement one finds the vault, and here, according to H. G. Dulaney, librarian, is the heart of the library. The vault contains 18 steel filing cabinets filled with the Speaker's official and personal papers which he has collected from the administrations of Woodrow Wilson to President Eisenhower. Also included in this collection are the year-by-year case files, which contain Mr. RAYBURN's correspondence with his constituents in his congressional district, and a second set of files which contain papers related to legislation, politics, national and international affairs. These papers will be made available for scholarly research.

Sunday is the heaviest day of the week where visitors are concerned. There are sometimes as high as 200 visitors a day. The library is open Monday through Friday from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. On Saturday it is open from 1 to 5 p.m. and on Sunday from 2 to 5 p.m.

On October 9, 1957, the date of the dedication of the library, the first name inscribed in the visitor's book was that of Harry Truman, Independence, Mo. The second name was Bess W. Truman.

It reads like a rollcall of the States, this visitor's book.

Ever so often there would be a little comment added after the signature. One visitor wrote: "This is worthy of you, Mr. SAM." Another said: "We are proud of you." An Oklahoman, not to be forgotten, stated: "We like you in Oklahoma, too." One visitor just wrote one word but it really was accurate: "Beautiful."

The Intracoastal Waterway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the story of the development and the future of the Gulf Intracoastal Waterway is one of the most significant chapters in the history of the growth of our transportation service.

Mr. Dale Miller, executive vice president of the Intracoastal Canal Association of Texas and Louisiana, knows as well as any man the past and the future of the Gulf Intracoastal Waterway.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix to the RECORD an excellent speech on this subject which Mr. Miller made at the last annual convention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress here in Washington in 1959. His address was entitled, "The Intracoastal Waterway."

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE INTRACOASTAL WATERWAY

(By Dale Miller, executive vice president, Intracoastal Canal Association of Louisiana and Texas, at the annual convention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D.C.)

I admit to some misgivings in accepting this place on your program, being aware of the omniscience of my audience on the subject of water transportation. But the circumstance that my remarks are to be confined largely to the Gulf Intracoastal Waterway gives me some confidence to address you, because with that particular topic I feel at home, in a rather literal sense. We have been products of the same environment, and I have moved within the orbit of its destiny since I was a child in the small community of Corpus Christi, where the principal vessels in those years, except for a few shrimping boats, were the canoes which we youngsters fashioned from barrel staves and canvas.

I want to talk to you a few minutes today about this Gulf Intracoastal Waterway—a navigation facility which has become perhaps the most remarkable artery of transportation in America. I want to talk to you about what it is, what it does, and what it hopes to become. It is a story which goes back a great many years to a time when that crescent of the Gulf from the Mississippi to the Rio Grande was largely a vast and untrammeled wilderness.

It would perhaps be ungallant to refer to the gulf coast in the early years of this century as a wilderness, because certainly its inhabitants were as enterprising then as they have been since. But it is nevertheless true that when the Intracoastal Canal Association was formed in the little community of Victoria on August 8, 1905, much of the vast coastal region in Louisiana and Texas was not far removed from the primitive. For miles along the farflung coast of Texas little could be seen but sage and cedar and mesquite, and life consisted principally of rattlesnakes and jackrabbits and occasional paisanos, with accents of civilization supplied here and there by vaqueros and scattered herds of longhorns.

Indeed, only the audacious optimism which characterizes the frontier could have inspired the document which originated from the little cowtown of Victoria in 1905. "A representative convention" was called, "agreeable to the desires of a great many public-spirited citizens * * * for the purpose of discussing the feasibility, plans and final construction of an intercoastal canal." Terming this proposed canal "a necessary adjunct to the rapid development of the greatest country in the world," this clarion call declared: "This canal will give all the section of country adjacent to same the advantage of direct communication by water with all our deep water ports, and in addition thereto will extend the same advantages to the tributaries of the canal (in Texas), and all the rivers and bayous in Louisiana, and also the great Mississippi River and all its tributaries, which spread over the country like a great hand laid over the face of the United States."

It is apparent, from the rather grandiose phraseology of this call, that no bridle restrained the vivid imagination of these brash adventurers. Indeed, many subscribers to Texas and Louisiana newspapers who read that clarion call could be forgiven if they wondered whether the whole business was some form of mass delusion induced by the heat of a Texas summer. For the idea of digging a ditch 700 miles long through virtually a coastal wilderness no doubt seemed appalling, if not incredible, to many of them.

But the convention was held, scores of prominent citizens traveled long distances to attend, and so contagious was the enthusiasm generated at the meeting that the movement immediately attracted vigorous and widespread support. The drive set in motion at that convention was not only sustained but accelerated. In the following year the meeting was held in Lake Charles, which actually brought Louisianians into active participation for the first time, since their plans to attend the Victoria meeting the year before had been thwarted by a quarantine imposed by a yellow fever epidemic.

I shall not delineate the herculean problems of the ensuing years, the many moments of despair and the occasional times of elation, the bitter tastes of defeat and the fleeting nectars of victory. But the program withal began to burgeon and prosper. Within a few years certain segments of the waterway came into existence, initially at depths of 5 feet and bottom widths of 40. Within less than 10 years from the date of its organization the association had made substantial progress toward the achievement of its early objectives.

As the years went on, however, it became evident that these disconnected segments, while accommodating local traffic, could not realize their full potential until they were integrated into a single system. During those years association leaders experienced considerable difficulty in persuading Congress to evaluate the waterways, not in terms of the circumscribed local benefits developed by each segment, but rather in terms of the benefits of through transportation which would result from their integration into a national transportation system. The position of the association ultimately prevailed, and in the River and Harbor Acts of 1925 and 1927 the Gulf Intracoastal Waterway was authorized as a continuous navigation facility extending from the Mississippi to Corpus Christi, with a depth of 9 feet and a bottom width of 100.

Then began the long and arduous task of bringing to realization the objectives which had been authorized. Rights-of-way for distances of hundreds of miles had to be obtained free of cost under the auspices of the association; changes of route were frequently necessary to accommodate local conditions; appropriations were not always forthcoming, and when they were the funds were often inadequate. It is impossible to describe the difficulties which were encountered, but as the years went on the authorized waterway, 9 feet deep and 100 feet wide from the Mississippi to Corpus Christi, became an accomplished fact.

Long before this project was constructed, however, it became evident that it would succeed to a degree far in excess of the predictions of its supporters. It was authorized by Congress on the expectation that it would develop approximately 5 million tons of commerce a year, but that figure had been exceeded even before through transportation became possible for the first time, and when the canal eventually reached its terminus at Corpus Christi, near the outbreak of

World War II, it was carrying in excess of 17 million tons of commerce a year.

Though the Intracoastal Canal had already established its value to the country's peacetime economy, it was during the Second World War that it made its greatest contribution to the welfare of the Nation. The war was scarcely 6 months old when Congress passed the Mansfield bill, which authorized increasing the depth of the Intracoastal Canal to 12 feet and its bottom width to 125 feet, and extending it beyond Corpus Christi to the Rio Grande. This work went forward during and after the war, and on June 18, 1949, a memorable date in the annals of water transportation, the main channel of the Gulf Intracoastal Waterway was completed to the Mexican border. More than 28 million tons of commerce were moving over the waterway by that time, and that tonnage continued to grow.

Meanwhile, construction on the canal extended eastward from New Orleans through coastal areas of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and western Florida. The Mississippi River crossroads soon became congested with barge traffic, and the association moved promptly to develop new projects to accommodate the growing commerce. The new Algiers lock was designed to relieve the overburdened Harvey lock at New Orleans. And an improved direct route from Morgan City to Port Allen is now under construction, with a modern lock opposite Baton Rouge to provide new access to the Mississippi. Thus the Intracoastal Canal system, extending and expanding to keep pace with the rapid development of the gulf coast, remains responsive to the needs of the dynamic region it serves.

As we look back today, over this long span of years, we cannot fail to be deeply impressed by the results which have been achieved. What has been created is the most remarkable transportation facility in America—a protected inland waterway extending more than 1,100 miles from the west coast of Florida to the Mexican border—a waterway which is now transporting approximately 48 million tons of commerce more than 8 billion ton-miles a year, a waterway which has been adjudged the most beneficial waterway in the United States.

An official study undertaken by the Corps of Engineers for the Appropriations Committee of the Congress disclosed that the Gulf Intracoastal Waterway has achieved the phenomenally high ratio of benefits to costs of 14.8 to 1, by far the highest in the Nation. In other words, the savings in transportation costs accruing to the users of the Intracoastal Canal amount to $14.80 for every dollar expended by the Federal Government in the entire cost of construction, maintenance, and operation of the waterway. This study further disclosed that the benefit-cost ratio for all our inland waterways amounted to an average 3.17 to 1, and the ratio for the 12 major waterways with which the Intracoastal Canal was compared amounted to an average of 7 to 1. The savings in transportation costs brought about by the Intracoastal Canal amount to $83 million a year, and that figure, for a single year, exceeds all the money appropriated by the Federal Government for the construction of the waterway throughout all the years of its existence.

The metamorphosis which has been wrought in the gulf coast country in recent years defies description. Little of the past remains in that vigorous and productive region to evoke nostalgic reminiscence of those early years. Massive oil refineries, chemical factories, lumber mills, cotton compresses, shipyards and dry docks, sulphur plants, grain elevators, and many other industries too numerous to mention have risen from the sage and chaparrel to create what is today America's most astonishing industrial frontier. Spires of steel and stone, symbols of progress, rise from the coastal plains; derricks shoot up from the cottonfields and the muskrat swamps, standing like colossi athwart the lethargy of the past. A great new empire is in the making.

What has happened, of course, has been the result of the union between the beneficence of nature and the ingenuity of man. Rich natural resources are being converted to useful implements of the human society. But there, as anywhere else, the motivating force of civilization is transportation, without which the interchange of goods and services which constitutes civilization would not be possible. To a degree not often paralleled in other sections of the Nation and the world, water transportation in particular has influenced the transition of the gulf coast country from a sprawling frontier to a bustling industrial and agricultural commonwealth. Nine of the Nation's 15 largest seaports from the standpoint of tonnage now are claimed by the gulf coast, and through them all, coursing its busy way and concerting their economic growth, extends the Intracoastal Canal—threading its silver path through the bayous and the plains, across the rivers and down the lagoons.

It is characteristic of the American spirit to look to the future rather than to the past, to pursue a vision yet unfulfilled rather than to bask in the glow of a dream come true. So the energies of our association are now being directed toward a vast future program which is no less inspiring and challenging than that which motivated the aspirations of the little band of pioneers who met together in Victoria so many years ago. We are developing for navigation the principal streams tributary to the canal along the gulf coast, thus extending the benefits of water transportation into the rich hinterlands. We are developing more access channels outward to the gulf. We are creating bypasses, alternate routes, and other improvements to enhance the value of the waterway. Just as the early proponents of this waterway persisted in viewing the proposed canal not as an isolated and provincial facility but as an integral part of the inland waterway system of the Nation, so do we regard the completed main channel as a framework upon which to build a greater transportation system in the future.

There is another major objective, yet to be realized, which should challenge us all—the opportunity to bring the Atlantic seaboard and the gulf coast into a compatible commercial relationship which it has long needed but still has not fully attained.

The Gulf Intracoastal Waterway extends for more than a thousand miles from the west coast of Florida to the southern tip of Texas, while the Atlantic Inland Waterway of similar dimensions and distance extends from the east coast of Florida to Trenton, N.J. Taken together, therefore, they would constitute a national transportation facility extending more than 2,000 miles along the eastern and southern seaboards of the United States. But they cannot be taken together, of course, because midway along that vast distance is a gap which must yet be closed—the gap across northern Florida. The method of closing this gap through the construction of the cross-Florida barge canal has been approved by the Corps of Engineers and authorized by Congress, but no funds have been provided to initiate construction.

This barge canal, by connecting the existing waterways along the Atlantic and gulf coasts, would effect substantial savings in the transportation costs of a wide variety of commodities, as well as in the movement of dredging and construction equipment, and in the seasonal migration of many commercial craft. And not to be overlooked are the recreational benefits which would accrue from the joining of these waterways into a single system. The use of pleasure boats is greatly increasing, and the cross-Florida canal would stimulate this type of recreational travel from the northeastern area to the picturesque border of Mexico.

Regardless of the commercial and recreational benefits to be derived from the cross-Florida barge canal in time of peace, the unanswerable argument for its construction is its importance to our Nation in time of war. When this project was authorized by Congress in the early months of World War II, hundreds of American lives had already been lost within sight of the coast, as tanker after tanker, and freighter after freighter, became a flaming prey of enemy submarines. Hundreds of ships were lost, and cargoes too precious to be evaluated even in the millions of dollars—and why? Because no safe passage across Florida existed for the barges laden with vital war materials which otherwise moved in a protected inland waterway virtually within sight of the catastrophes at sea. Now, with war clouds still hovering over the earth, and with the submarine menace in the next war much more serious than that in the last, let us not be the victims again of too little, too late.

Another important objective in the years ahead—one which is fascinating to contemplate—is the extension of the Intracoastal Canal beyond the Rio Grande and down the Mexican coast to Tampico and Vera Cruz. This is a project which has long been discussed. In fact, the Mexican Government had an official observer at the first meeting of our association in Victoria in 1905. The coastal terrain of Mexico, so similar to that of Texas, is conducive to the construction of such a waterway, and certainly the economic benefits to be derived by both nations from such an important transportation facility would be considerable. I am sure you will be interested to hear that we have received word from the Mexican Government that the initiation of construction on this project is anticipated this year.

So this busy complex of navigation facilities along the southern perimeter of the Nation—which is the Gulf Intracoastal Waterway and its connecting channels and tributary streams—is fairly bursting at its extremities—to the east, with the connection across Florida; and to the west, with the extension down the coast of Mexico. Already a part of the vast waterway system of the midcontinent area of the United States, it will someday, become the heart of by far the longest waterway in all the world—an international intracoastal canal reaching from the northeastern area of the United States deep into southern Mexico, more than 3,000 miles away. It is a fascinating prospect to behold—and the opportunity to achieve it is a challenge which confronts us all.

The Policeman's Lot Remains Unhappy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE M. WALLHAUSER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. WALLHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, recently there has been some discussion concerning the use of peepholes in post offices. In this connection, on January 20, 1960, there appeared in the Washington Post an article written by Bill Gold, which seems to aptly describe the

necessity for such procedure. Mr. Speaker, I ask permission that this article be inserted in the RECORD.

The article follows:

THE POLICEMAN'S LOT REMAINS UNHAPPY

(By Bill Gold)

You have to stop and listen when a Congressman rises in the House of Representatives and charges that our Government is using the big brother tactics that George Orwell described in 1984. Representative KEN HECHLER, Democrat, of West Virginia, actually waved a copy of the book at his colleagues this week as he denounced the use of peepholes in post offices. He had just found out about them.

Actually, however, those peepholes have been in use for some 85 years, and they are largely responsible for the enviable reputation for honesty that the Post Office Department has earned. No postal worker can ever be sure whether an inspector is watching him.

Representative HECHLER thinks this is spying, and that it is reprehensible for the Government to pry into a worker's privacy. My opinion is that a postal worker's right to privacy in personal matters does not extend to his discharge of official duties. The right of privacy with which we ought to be concerned here is that belonging to the user of the mails. We must take reasonable precautions to guard against tampering with the mails, or even the temptation to do so.

This is the strength of the present system. The peepholes are not secret. Postal workers know that they are being watched, and I would guess that most of them have clear consciences and aren't the least bit troubled about it.

I am as opposed to police state methods as the next man, but I do think we ought to keep straight as to which are the cops and which the robbers, and with which side our sympathies lie.

As Gilbert and Sullivan reminded us, "When constabulary duty's to be done, the policeman's lot is not a happy one." Let's not clobber the guy who is trying to protect our interests.

America's Cruelest Racket

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, today the miracles of science and the opportunity for better living are extending the lives of our citizens.

Currently, there are nearly 16 million persons in the country over 65 years of age. Of these, more than 14 million—including over 320,000 in Wisconsin—are receiving benefits under the social security program, as well as others obtaining benefits under private and other retirement plans.

Today, we are faced with the task of further improving the economic outlook for these folks in the mounting age brackets—many of whom have not had an opportunity to lay away a "nest egg" for retirement.

Unfortunately, there are still racketeers and confidence men who attempt to make easy prey of these folks—to steal from them even their modest incomes.

Recently, a new racket has been uncovered. In essence, it goes like this: confidence men, posing as Government representatives, attempt to swindle social security beneficiaries—including oldsters, widows with children and disabled shut-ins—out of portions of their benefits under the social security program.

Under the guise of Federal agents, they demand "refunds" for alleged overpayments, and utilize other tactics to deprive beneficiaries of their checks.

The racket has become so widespread that the Social Security Administration has had to set up its own investigating branch to deal with the hoaxers.

A major way in which such cruel, inhuman rackets can be stopped, of course, is by public education; that is, alerting citizens to such unscrupulous tactics by confidence men. Authorities, too, must make a real effort to crack down on this insidious racket.

The January 24 issue of Parade, in the Washington Post and Times Herald, carried an article entitled "America's Cruelest Racket," outlining the techniques of the swindlers in this nefarious program.

I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICA'S CRUELIST RACKET—UNMASKED: A HARDHEARTED SWINDLE THAT FATTENS ON FEARS OF THE NEEDY TO THE TUNE OF THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS

(By Sidney Margolius)

BALTIMORE, MD.—Hundreds of Americans have been fleeced by the Nation's newest, cruelest, and—until now—least-known racket. And the danger menaces millions.

In many parts of the United States, glib confidence men posing as Government representatives have been sweet-talking social security beneficiaries out of their badly needed payments. Pathetically, the swindlers' special prey have been those who can least afford to lose money. Chief among their victims have been confused oldsters, widows with children, and disabled shut-ins.

In Alexandria, Va., recently, for instance, two men who said they were social security agents visited a widow the day her check arrived. They told her she had been overpaid and demanded a refund to the Government. The frightened woman signed over her check to them as part payment and even offered to take out a mortgage on her house to pay the rest.

In other cases, beneficiaries have been relieved of as little as $5 and as much as $300. Sometimes the representatives outfit themselves with fake Government credentials. Others work in pairs to lend each other authority. One even wore a badge labeled "U.S." However they cloak themselves, these swindlers heartlessly fatten on frightened Americans with little income and a gnawing fear that even that will be taken away.

The new racket is so widespread and so successful that the Social Security Administration here has set up its own investigations branch to deal with hoaxers. More swindles were reported in 1959 that in 1958. Chances are the number will increase. Nearly 14 million Americans now receive social security, and the number is growing. Since many of them are both trusting and confused about social security laws, they could be easy pickings for confidence men. Some, the Social Security Administration believes, have been swindled already and do not even realize what has happened.

Although there are some local—and ingenious—variations, most of the swindles fall into six main categories:

The refund gimmick, in which the beneficiary is told he has been overpaid and must return money to the agent. One imposter working the Indianapolis area was able to persuade beneficiaries to hand over as much as $282 each to settle overpayments. Previously he had used the same scheme in St. Louis.

The bonus offer, in which a person is promised extra payments in return for a fee. In Nashville, Tenn., a con man promised beneficiaries $500 apiece if they first paid $60 to the agent to help veterans. The vets' fund was short of money, the agent explained.

The loan to the Government hoax. Beneficiaries are told social security is short of money (a persistent fear with beneficiaries) and must borrow from them temporarily. In one case in Shelbyville, Ind., a con man got $214 from a widow with this argument. He told her that changes in the law entitled her to more money, but because of the fund shortage she would have to loan money to social security to get it.

DOCTOR'S FEES ONE WATCH

The phony physical examination: Beneficiaries are persuaded to take—and are charged for—a physical examination in order to continue getting payments. One cruel hoaxer in the Midwest used this spiel to prey on terrified recipients of disability benefit. Posing as the social security doctor, he even sold them medicine and persuaded them to discard medicines they already were using. In one case, he demanded a $12 fee from a disabled man, then took the man's watch as security for an additional $84 fee.

The magazine subscription racket, believed to be originated by one young man in Indiana: He told beneficiaries they would receive larger payments if they subscribed to a social security magazine. He collected as much as $15 apiece before he was recently caught.

The inspection team approach, usually used by two men working together: The fake inspectors visit elderly people to learn if they are getting social security. If the answer is yes, the inspectors demand a payment—in one case, it was $110—to continue payments. If the answer is no, a fee is requested "to become a beneficiary for the rest of your life."

HAVE YOU BEEN SWINDLED?

One enterprising operator in Lenoir, N.C., even established his swindle on a mail-order basis. He sent letters to people getting disability payments, advising them that they were "required by Government law to sustain a lifetime benefit at the Disability Security Main Office, Birmingham, Ala." A fee of $25 was demanded to be sent to Security Board, Box 54, Lenoir.

Social security administrators believe there may be other variations still unknown because many victims have not reported them. Some victims may be reluctant to admit they have been bilked. The rest still are not aware of it. If you pay $25 to make sure your benefits continue, and the checks keep coming, you may not realize you've been swindled. Or if you refund an overpayment, and get no more dunning letters, you may assume that the record now is straight.

Both Federal and local governments are doing their best to stamp out the racket. In addition to the Social Security Administration's investigators, the FBI handles cases where Government checks are involved. But authorities say the only real protection

against swindlers is self-protection. If you are receiving social security payments, you should follow these steps in dealing with agents who turn up at your door. Or if your parents or members of your family benefit from social security, you should pass along this advice:

1. Demand official identification from anyone who claims to be a social security representative. Actually this in itself is not enough protection since con men often are canny enough to fake identification.

2. Check with the local social security office by phone to make sure a representative approaching you is not a fake.

3. Have a witness if possible. One operator never returned for a fee he'd been promised because he observed a relative listening to the conversation. Another was caught because a neighbor, hearing the conversation through her apartment wall, tipped off investigators.

4. Use the mails for social security dealings. Occasionally, a social security beneficiary is overpaid, usually if he is working on the side and earns more than the limit on such earnings. But requests for refunds in these cases usually are by letter. Only if correspondence bring no result would a legitimate social security representative call. But even then, you are within your rights to mail the refund to the local social security office.

NO CASH, NO JEWELRY

5. Do not give cash, jewelry, or checks made out to individuals to anyone purporting to represent the Social Security Administration. A legitimate representative would not accept cash or jewelry. And he would insist that checks or money orders be made out to the Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Payments.

6. Notify the Social Security Administration, or police authorities, if you believe you have been swindled. Only by full reporting of all swindles can the Government learn the real scope of the racket. Unfortunately, if you have been swindled, you'll have to foot the loss yourself. Uncle Sam won't replace the money in spite of your good faith.

WHY THE RACKET SUCCEEDS

The real reason the racket has spread is that many beneficiaries don't understand the basic nature of social security themselves. They confuse it wih State welfare payments, which are based on need. Social security benefits are based on your average earnings during your working life and are fixed by law as firmly as the ground under your feet. There is no way to get an increase because you need more money, or 'by cultivating a representative's good will. If you think you are entitled to more, the local social security office will recheck your benefit—and at no cost to you.

Nor is there any shortage of social security funds despite beneficiaries' chronic worry about the prospect. Social security benefits are financed by taxes, never by loans from beneficiaries. Nor is there any way to get social security benefits if you didn't work long enough in covered employment, of if your husband wasn't sufficiently covered.

The potential proportions of social security racketeering are immense. Almost every American family now is covered by social security, payments already total $10.3 billion a year, and there are potential victims on every block. Your own folks will be eligible for payments some day, and so will you. All may be easy pickings if they don't guard themselves against bunco men who prey on public misunderstanding of social security laws.

The Missile Gap

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the New York Times, Friday, January 22, 1960:

THE MISSLE GAP—HARDHEADED APPRAISALS SUPPORT GATES IN OPTIMISTIC PICTURE OF U.S. DEFENSES

(By Hanson W. Baldwin)

Moscow's claim yesterday of a 1¼-mile circular error in a 7,766-mile rocket flight caused raised eyebrows but no excitement in the Pentagon.

The first of a number of Russian missile shots into a new impact area in the central Pacific, whether or not it was as accurate and as successful as the Russians asserted, is unlikely to influence materially the vigorous and aggressive presentation of the administration's defense policies just initiated.

Secretary of Defense Thomas S. Gates, Jr., Gen. Nathan F. Twining, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Under Secretary of State Livingston T. Merchant tipped the administration's hand in their opening testimony in Congress this week.

Their composite testimony totaled, in the opinion of some Congressmen, the rosiest picture of the U.S. defense posture presented to Congress for a long time. The balance of military power is still heavily in our favor, Secretary Gates said. Even a Soviet surprise attack with all available missiles could not eliminate our nuclear retaliatory capability.

THE MISSILE GAP

Mr. Gates even cast considerable doubt on what has come by dint of constant repetition to be accepted as a fact by many in the Nation; a missile gap between the United States and the Soviet Union in the next few years. He indicated that if the Russians produced intercontinental ballistic missiles at our present maximum estimate of their potential capabilities they might have a moderate numerical superiority in the next 3 years. But the United States has many other nuclear weapons systems, which, collectively, tip the balance of deterrent power heavily in our favor.

This is an election year. The Democratic opposition is already attempting to make a campaign issue out of the deficiencies in our military posture and is emphasizing particularly the alleged missile gap. The Republican administration, on the other hand, has been aroused and stung by the opposition attacks. The President, in particular, is known to have been greatly angered by the criticisms voiced in "The Uncertain Trumpet," a book recently published by Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, U.S. Army, retired, who completed 4 years as Army Chief of Staff last June. The President's mood, particularly about defense matters, is typified by his recent heated response to a somewhat pointed news conference question about defense:

"I've spent my life in this, and I know more about it than almost anybody I think in the country."

Is, then, Mr. Gates' testimony rhetoric, the opening guns of the defense in an election year; or is it solidly based on factual appraisal?

A COMPOUND ANSWER

The answer to this question is almost certainly compound. Mr. Gates has too much integrity—he is a public servant who is no politician and owes no man anything—to give other than his honest opinion. But he is aware, as is the White House, that the Pentagon case has not been put skillfully or forcefully in the past.

The administration feels that the public image of relative American weakness that has been created—partly by Communist propaganda, partly by undoubted Communist achievements, partly by the special pleading of the individual services, partly by opposition criticism, partly by inept administration presentations of our strength—is grossly exaggerated. Mr. Gates, therefore, is certainly determined to put his best foot forward, not only for domestic political reasons but also because he is keenly aware that a strategic deterrent is no stronger than the enemy thinks it is.

But at the same time his optimistic statements are based on hardheaded comparative appraisals of our own and of Soviet strength. The Secretary spoke of new intelligence estimates of Soviet missile strength, which he described as very significant.

These estimates were not made public, but in an explanatory conference later, the Secretary got on to slippery ground when he admitted that the new estimates took into account what the Russians intended to do in missile production, rather than, as in the past, merely estimating their capabilities.

In the intelligence field this issue of intentions versus capabilities is one of the oldest of pitfalls, and many experts have come a cropper by trying, in effect, to read the enemy's mind.

Nevertheless, the new intelligence reports do include an estimate of current Soviet long range missile strength and of current Soviet missile production that, in comparison with our own current status, is by no means discouraging.

Oregon Seacoast National Recreation Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an informative article from the Oregonian of January 22, 1960, by Malcolm Bauer, associate editor of the Oregonian, analyzing the bill proposed by Governor Hatfield dealing with the Oregon Coast National Seashore Park, as well as with my own revised bill of last November proposing legislation to authorize the park.

Mr. Bauer's article will supplement my speech in the Senate January 25, when I introduced, by request, Governor Hatfield's bill and explained some of my own observations with respect to it.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SEASHORE ISSUE IN COMPROMISE STAGE
(By Malcolm Bauer)

There are significant differences between the Oregon Coast National Seashore bill drafted by the State committee on natural resources, with Governor Hatfield's approval, and other legislation on the subject pending in Congress. The latter includes bills sponsored by Senator NEUBERGER and by the Eisenhower administration.

The most significant new feature of what may well be called the Hatfield bill is its reception in the area of the proposed National Seashore. The Western Lane Taxpayers Association, of Florence, organized for the express purpose of opposing the earlier proposals, has embraced the new draft as entirely reasonable. It would appear, therefore, that the principle of a National Seashore on the Oregon coast has general acceptance. The issue thus moves from a stage of conflict into the more constructive one of compromise.

Following are points among those that will have to be settled:

The Neuberger bill provides an alternative of life tenancy for owners of private residential property located within the boundaries of the National Seashore. The Hatfield bill would extend this privilege to owners of commercial properties, with the provision that, to be maintained in the area, they must be, in the view of the Secretary of the Interior, compatible with the purposes of the act.

The Hatfield bill would provide for Federal payments in lieu of taxes to the affected counties, school districts, and other taxing districts over a period of 25 years. In each of the last 20 years, the payments would be reduced by 5 percent. This schedule is drawn directly from the provisions of the act that created Grand Teton National Park in Wyoming, but it is much more liberal than other such agreements. This is one for the Budget Bureau to chew on.

The Hatfield bill would require administration of the National Sheashore to conform to rulings of the Oregon Water Resources Board and Oregon laws on water use and fish and game management. Officials at both State and Federal levels are inclined to be sensitive about overlapping authority in such areas.

The Hatfield bill would require the consent of the agency concerned for the transfer to the National Seashore of any Federal or State lands. This points to a natural area of compromise. But there appears to be no good reason for the omission of provisions such as those included in the Neuberger bill to permit the Federal Government to agree on exchanges of property with owners in the area. Such provisions would provide a solution for timber and tree-farm owners.

A major objection to the earlier legislation would be removed by the adoption of the idea that the area's limits be specified by legislation rather than by administrative direction. Uncertainty over the exact boundary lines is a basic source of opposition on the coast. It is not at all certain that either Congress or the national administration would look kindly on the draft's provision that both the Governor and the Legislature of Oregon would have veto power over any subsequent extension of the boundaries. But it is not unreasonable to hold that State authorities should have some word in such a matter, say, as the subsequent inclusion of Sea Lion Caves, which the State is now considering for possible acquisition.

It is no more than fair that the Federal Government should, as provided in the Hatfield bill, bear the costs of relocation of U.S. Highway 101 if that should be made necessary to developing the National Seashore.

As for a small point, the name suggested in the draft bill—Oregon Coast National Recreation Area—is more descriptive than the earlier Oregon Dunes National Seashore Area. It has become apparent that National Park Service authorities are interested more in the fresh water lakes than in the dunes as a resource for recreation.

Unfortunately, in election year, the process of legislative compromise—even on the subject of recreation—cannot escape undertones of partisan politics. Thus it may be that a dispassionate consideration of the major differences will not be possible until the next session of Congress, although this should not be necessary if public, rather than political, considerations get first call.

Baring Reveals 1958 Highway Spending Binge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER S. BARING
OF NEVADA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. BARING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a copy of my speech that was recently broadcast in the Reno, Nev., area relating to the 1958 highway spending binge. The speech follows:

BARING REVEALS 1958 HIGHWAY SPENDING BINGE

Friends and citizens of Reno, I have been invited to address you on a subject of vital interest to not only you who are concerned with the routing of the Interstate Highway through or around your city, but to all of the people of this country who have been taxed to support the most gigantic program ever undertaken by our State and Federal Governments or, for that matter, by the governments of any country in the world.

I refer, of course, to the construction of the Interstate Highway System under the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956, implemented by the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1958. The integrity of our Federal Government has already been impaired by reckless highway spending. Back in 1954 it was estimated the Interstate System basically would cost $23 billion. This estimate was revised to $27.6 billion in 1955. Now the program has been revised and the estimate raised to $39.9 billion to complete 40,000 miles in the System.

Several months ago a special committee of the House of Representatives was formed and authorized to investigate the Nation's highway program. The committee hired Walter May, former FBI agent, as its top counsel. It also hired Carmine Bellino, John Konstanty and Sherman Willse. You may recall these names. They were the investigators who produced sensational evidence before the Senate Rackets Committee. The committee was appointed by House Public Works Chairman CHARLES A. BUCKLEY, Democrat, of New York, in the wake of bitter House dissension over passage of the one-cent-a-gallon increase in the gasoline tax. I might say here that the President has announced he will demand an additional one-cent-a-gallon hike in gasoline tax at this session of Congress.

During 1958, in the name of recession, Federal spenders abandoned the highway pay-as-we-go policy and gorged themselves on authorizations and allocations, knowing full well they were exceeding the ability of the trust fund to meet the bills. In a plea to the Secretary of Commerce, under a provision of the Highway Act which requires that the Secretary make a new estimate of the Federal highway program situation in all its aspects and report its findings and recommendations to the Congress immediately after it convened in January of 1961, Senator BYRD described our present situation as the morning after the 1959 binge. He said that: "No one involved with the suspension of the highway pay-as-we-go policy or the exploitation of the suspension can escape blame for what was done * * *. Our great highway programs were never before precipitated into such an inexcusable mess. The trust fund was broke and the integrity of the Federal Government was impaired. State highway programs all over the country were seriously disrupted and threatened with chaos." Senator BYRD is Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee and he wrote Secretary Mueller in his official capacity.

Those, ladies and gentlemen, were his exact words, but he said more. He said: "It would be unfortunate if some States, seeking more Federal dollars for less State money, yielded to the temptation to divert their funds from 50–50 ABC roads to 90–10 interstate projects. Do you remember when the Bureau of Public Roads rejected the plan submitted by Huston Mills, as then head of the State highway department, because it could not support the department's request for 90–10 Federal assistance to build railway underpasses? Do you remember Mr. Mill's public statement that followed? It was to the effect that there was more than one way to skin a cat and that these underpasses would be built with funds diverted from the primary and secondary road systems. Let me again read the Senator's quotation, "It would be unfortunate if some States, seeking more Federal dollars for less State money, yielded to the temptation to divert their funds from 50–50 ABC roads to 90–10 interstate projects."

The Senator reminded Secretary Mueller that rights-of-way acquisition costs are proving to be a tremendous item, running to billions of dollars, in the interstate program. The temptation to grab land, hike prices, and profiteer is inherent in such a multibillion-dollar, multiyear, 90–10 program. And there is the possibility of collusion and fraud, he said.

There is a growing feeling of concern throughout the Nation because of the reckless spending of billions of dollars of taxpayers' money. Members of Congress share this concern and as a Member of Congress I, too, am very much concerned. No one person is responsible for the curtailment of highway construction in Nevada. No one person is responsible for the curtailment of highway construction in every State in the United States. The slowdown came possibly as the result of trying to anticipate requirements too far in advance and the building of whole systems too fast on borrowed money. The barrel was empty, and in order to meet the crisis Congress had to enact legislation to temporarily divert funds from our general revenue to the highway trust fund and to temporarily increase our gasoline tax.

The program will continue and Nevada will receive its fair share of Federal money to complete its segment of the Interstate System. There has never been a time that highway construction could not have moved forward in Nevada, linking urban areas over undisputed sections. There is no legitimate reason why a disputed section of highway through the Reno area, less than 20 miles in length, should hold up construction of the

entire highway system across Nevada. I think it is quite significant that this section involved the acquisition of some $30 million worth of property, boosting the entire cost of the section to close to $50 million.

In its column "Heard Around City Hall," the New York World-Telegram and Sun said: "Robert Moses' $2 billion block-busting highway program for New York City may become the prime target of a Federal investigation now being made into the Nation's huge Interstate Highway program. President Eisenhower himself said this week he was concerned over growing complaints that the nationwide program was shot through with waste and that too much money was being spent for highways within cities rather than for linking those cities."

Have I been wrong in charging reckless Federal spending? Let me read you from Secretary Mueller's reply to Senator BYRD. He says: "The events of the past year have taught many of us a great deal about highway problems, and have shown us the need for more thoughtful consideration of the fundamental background of highway policy. * * * During the past year, as you have observed, our man problem was to get out from under the chaos resulting from the Federal-aid Highway Act of 1958, an act which suspended provision for 'pay-as-you-go' financing and which raised authorizations for highway aid far beyond the revenue capacity of the highway trust fund." He went on to say: "We cannot afford to allow another such highway crisis. To avoid another such affair we must bend every effort to improve the direction of highway policy and to revamp the entire system of financial management.

As you know, I have been critical of the Bureau of Public Roads in their highhanded methods. I charged the Bureau with influence peddling in connection with the Verdi Route J selection. This charge was definitely supported by the Blatnik investigating committee. Now listen to what the Secretary had to say on the subject: "It cannot as in former years, be considered exclusively the affair of one committee in each House, or of one bureau in the executive branch. Highways and Federal highway expenditures touch the fiscal policy of the Nation in a major way, they touch the basic formulation of budgets and appropriations, and they affect our national transportation policy as well as our whole manner of national living. * * * In the administration, highway policy has claimed an increasing share of the attention of the Secretary of Commerce, the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, the Secretary of the Treasury, the White House staff, and the President himself."

Yes, ladies and gentlemen, the job was too big for the Bureau of Public Roads and it bogged down under its own weight. I am proud that I have been able to represent the expressed interests of some 85 percent of the people of Reno in their opposition to the Third Street routing. You, who stood firm in your opposition to such flagrant and unwarranted expenditure of millions of dollars for elaborate geometric highway design over your city, are to be congratulated. You and other people all over the United States are primarily responsible for bringing these matters to the attention of the Congress and even to the President. It is because of your efforts that the Secretary of Commerce now admits that highway policy cannot be formulated by a single bureau, but rather it is the concern of the entire Department as well as the Bureau of the Budget, Treasury Department, and the White House.

The Department of Justice has informed me that highway violations have to its knowledge occurred in Arkansas, Georgia, Illinois, Missouri, Tennessee, and Texas. Criminal prosecutions are pending in these States which involve allegations of fraud and conspiracy. Senator BYRD pointed out to the Secretary of Commerce that: "Witnesses took the fifth amendment more than 200 times in Senate hearings on landgrabbing on only a few projects in one State."

I fervently hope that the special committee of the Committee on Public Works will make a complete and thorough investigation of the entire highway program which will result in the fulfillment of a sensible Interstate Highway System moving traffic between urban areas as intended.

I hope there will be an investigation of the Bureau of Public Roads from stem to stern, and that controls will be placed on that Bureau to limit any recurrence of the 1958 fiasco.

I am hopeful that the Bureau's 1958 approvals of elaborate geometric interchange designs and expensive superstructure planning will be reviewed and that within the overall efficiency program Third Street selection of the Interstate System in the Reno area will be killed forevermore.

Recognition for the Italian-American War Veterans of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, on March 25 of last year I joined with my distinguished colleague from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE] in sponsoring S. 1531, to provide that the Veterans' Administration recognize representatives of the Italian-American War Veterans of the United States to present their cases before the VA. This measure would give a congressional stamp of approval to this outstanding organization and would provide its agents the opportunity to appear before VA rating boards in behalf of its members on various matters.

I am extremely hopeful action will be forthcoming in this session on this measure, which is presently pending before the Senate Finance Committee. The great interest of the Italian-American War Veterans in this bill is reflected in the resolution adopted at their 24th annual national convention, which was held in Fall River, Mass., September 4–7, 1959. I ask unanimous consent that the resolution adopted by the convention be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION SUBMITTED BY DEPARTMENT OF RHODE ISLAND

Whereas during the past 10 years the Italian American War Veterans, Inc. of the United States have repeatedly sought national recognition by the Congress in order to permit its representatives to appear before VA rating boards in behalf of its aggrieved members, and for other purposes; and

Whereas failure to grant such recognition has proven to be a formidable deterrent to our growing and dynamic veterans organization; and

Whereas Senate bill 1531, cosponsored by U.S. Senator JOHN O. PASTORE, of Rhode Island, and U.S. Senator KENNETH B. KEATING, of New York, has been introduced in the 86th Congress and will, if enacted, confer long-sought national recognition upon the Italian American War Veterans of the United States: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Italian American War Veterans at their national convention held in Fall River, Mass., September 4–7, 1959, do urge the Congress to enact Senate bill 1531 into law, be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the majority and minority leaders in the House and Senate; to Senators JOHN O. PASTORE and KENNETH B. KEATING; and to the national adjutant for incorporation in the 1959 ITAM Vets National Convention.

General MacArthur Observes 80th Birthday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON L. SHORT
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Speaker, today marks the 80th birthday of General of the Army Douglas MacArthur. There will be greetings from all over the world as the general observes the occasion in New York City.

General MacArthur is possibly the most decorated soldier in history. He has been described as a hero of St. Mihiel, Bataan, Corregidor, New Guinea, Manila, and Inchon.

As we pause to observe the birthday of this great American, we might well contemplate his contribution to another event—the signing of a 10-year mutual cooperation and security treaty by President Eisenhower and Japanese Prime Minister Kishi. The treaty removed remaining traces of Japan's former occupation status, and in effect will bring that country into alliance with the United States as an equal partner.

The treaty signed last week was in effect another tribute to the general. The conduct of the occupation by General MacArthur, during which time he completely revised and reoriented a former Japanese warlord government toward democracy, and the high principles to which he adhered during the transition, are marked by the huge measure of good will the United States enjoys in that country today. General MacArthur did not enter Tokyo as a vengeful conquerer, but as a partner in rebuilding a country battered both materially and spiritually by war.

History may someday record that the manner in which General MacArthur conducted the occupation of Japan was his greatest contribution to the country he has served so well.

It seems particularly appropriate to call attention to these facts about this outstanding American today on his 80th birthday observance.

President's Committee on Government Contracts—A Career Break for Non-Whites

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, the sixth report to President Eisenhower from the Committee on Government Contracts, which was made public by the White House on December ber 27, is important to all of us who are determined that there must be no discrimination in the employment of workers who perform on Government contract projects.

The significance of this committee report has been widely recognized during the last 2 weeks by the Nation's newspapers and periodicals. An example of this attention is found in a full page article in the January 2, 1960, issue of the national magazine, Business Week, which I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A CAREER BREAK FOR NON-WHITES—EXPECTED SHORTAGE OF SKILLED LABOR IN THE 1960'S IN PUTTING MORE PRESSURE ON THE GOVERNMENT AND ON PRIVATE INDUSTRY TO INTEGRATE MINORITY GROUPS INTO WHITE-COLLAR JOBS

J. W. Adams, a production worker at Lockheed Aircraft's Georgia division at Marietta, believed that he was being discriminated against because of his color. He, therefore, filed a complaint with the President's Committee on Government Contracts.

The company, which has a long record of employing members of minority groups, was mildly astonished. It immediately transferred Adams to the position of illustrator in a formerly all-white department. What surprised the company, perhaps, was the fact that Adams took a 22-cent-an-hour pay cut to get the new job.

The career change made by the 32-year-old Negro may become more typical over the next decade as employers scramble for trained people among workers falling in what sociologists call the prime working group—those between the ages 25 and 44. Here's where most shortages will occur in the 1960's.

New strategy: Labor force statistics also show that job opportunities in manufacturing are dwindling as openings increase in service, finance, and Government.

The Committee on Government Contracts, which polices Government contracts to insure equal employment opportunities, has decided to gamble on these trends within the labor force. This week it announced a new strategy for the 1960's, emphasizing the integration of minority groups into white-collar positions. CGC is doing this despite the fact that most Government contractors are in manufacturing.

Preview: Here's what the committee believes is in store for employers over the next decade:

Companies increasingly will have to tap minority groups for resources hitherto chocked off because of discrimination. Many minority group members are working at jobs that do not fully utilize their skills.

The committee's annual report to the President comments that employers who look only for male white workers under 45 will be in trouble in the next decade. These workers will not be available in the numbers required.

Employers will be faced with unusual recruitment and training problems. The American economy, the committee reports, will need an increase of nearly 50 percent in professional and technical occupations, 80 percent in proprietors and managers, 25 percent in the clerical and sales force, 23 percent in numbers of skilled craftsmen, and 25 percent more service workers. The increase projected for semiskilled workers is only 15 percent and no increase is foreseen for laborers.

To supply the demand, employers will have to depend upon the very young as well as older workers, says CGC. The larger part of a projected expansion of 13.5 million workers over the 1960's will consist of workers under 24 and workers over 45. Of this group, a growing number will be nonwhite. Census estimates on the composition of our labor force in 1968 show a very high proportion of Negro men under 20 and over 45. Negro women of all ages have a higher participation rate in the labor force than white women have.

The nonwhites are likely to have less training, especially in the needed skills. Recent Census Bureau data show 80 percent of white children between 14 and 18 are attending high school while only 65 percent of Negro children in the same age group are enrolled.

Employers must act to break through the barriers of custom by initial placements in positions traditionally denied to Negroes. White-collar jobs, the committee notes, have never been readily available to nonwhites. For example, in 1959 only 23,000 Negro women were in sales positions, as compared with more than 1.5 million white women. Fewer than 200,000 Negro women held clerical jobs, in contrast to nearly 6 million white women.

Change comes slow: To change this picture means a lot of slow, hard work. A serious shortage of certain skills, of course, might speed up the process—if Negroes with the right sort of training are available.

CGC, established in 1953 by Executive order of President Eisenhower, is charged with the responsibility for monitoring the standard clause in all Government contracts forbidding discrimination in employment on Government projects on the basis of race, color, religion, or national origin.

Its progress is difficult to measure. Some critics have charged that the committee did little until recently to enforce the no-discrimination clause in Government contracts. In 1957, the committee instituted a compliance survey program. It was both a way to check up on discriminatory practices and a means for applying pressure for a change. For example, the 1958 survey turned up 33 plants that employed no Negroes. These were subjected to special surveys and required to make monthly progress reports on their hiring and upgrading practices.

In 1958, the committee made its first study of the compliance survey program. The picture it painted was dismal, indeed. Few Negroes were found in white-collar jobs, in skilled work classifications, or in apprenticeship or on-the-job training programs. The committee also found that employment practices in plants of multiplant corporations were frequently at variance with the nondiscriminatory policy set down by the home office.

Breakthrough: This year the compliance surveys began to pay off. The committee reports a fair measure of progress. Ironically, the recession provided an off-beat confirmation of the committee's work: In 115 major plants surveyed in 1958 and 1959, total employment dropped 4 percent. However, the decrease of 1.1 percent in the Negro work force was proportionately less than in the total work force. Also, Negro white-collar employment was approximately one-third higher than in 1958.

Other breakthroughs recorded in the committee's report to the President include: Discriminatory items were eliminated from preemployment applications; discriminatory specifications were cleaned out of job orders; written statements of a nondiscriminatory employment policy were included in company regulation, handbooks, house organs, and collective bargaining agreements; recruitment sources were broadened to include minority group schools and employment agencies servicing minorities.

More Opportunities: CGC feels that its emphasis on "direct negotiations" with major contractors in order to get employers to initiate hiring of Negroes in jobs traditionally denied to nonwhites is successful. However, much more remains to be done.

Negroes still find it difficult to enroll in apprenticeship and on-the-job training programs where exclusionist practices frequently prevail. CGC hopes more young Negroes will seek, in continued schooling, skills they will need.

In the future, the committee hopes to supplement these efforts with more pressure on educators, vocational guidance counselors, and employers to see that Negro youth gets wider opportunities for training to fit them for the jobs opening up in the 1960's.

Citizen George Clayton Appointed to Fifth Term as a Member of the Jefferson County Jury Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, in seeking to inspire citizenship, we often cite records of famous statesmen and popular heroes. Just as inspiring to me and to many of us are stories of little recognized public citizens who day to day make valuable contributions toward the building up of their own communities.

Such a story is that of my constituent, Mr. George W. Clayton, of Birmingham, who was recently appointed to a fifth consecutive 3-year term as a member of the Jefferson County Jury Commission.

The enclosed editorial appearing in the Birmingham News, January 20, 1960, lists the very excellent reasons for his being appointed to this position by the last four Governors of the State of Alabama:

GEORGE CLAYTON'S VALUED EFFORT

An accurate gage to a community's welfare and progress is more often found in the civic contributions of its interested citizens than through professional services, citizens such as George W. Clayton, recently appointed to a fifth consecutive 3-year term as a member of the Jefferson County Jury Commission.

Efforts of Mr. Clayton have made the Jefferson County jury system a model for other States and counties, with continuous screening to keep off the rolls the names of

those convicted for crimes. He was also instrumental in juror pay being raised to $6 a day.

His contributions to the civic welfare of the city have been memorialized with North Birmingham's George Clayton Park, but additional appreciation through appointment to a fifth term to the Jury Commission is fitting. Governor Patterson through his action endorsed the opinion held by every Alabama Governor since Chauncey Sparks. Jefferson County concurs wholeheartedly and only wishes it had more citizens like George W. Clayton.

Alcalde Editorial Asks, Is Texas Losing the Battle for Brains?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, it has long been my belief that one of the greatest wastes of natural resources in our Nation has been our failure to more fully develop the brainpower of our young people. An extremely provocative and powerful editorial on this question of education, with emphasis on my home State of Texas, has been written by Jack Maguire, executive director, for the Alcalde, the University of Texas alumni magazine.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, the editorial entitled "Is Texas Losing the Battle for Brains?" from the January 1960, issue of the Alcalde.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IS TEXAS LOSING THE BATTLE FOR BRAINS?

(By Jack McGuire)

Trained mind power is being recognized increasingly as not only the Nation's greatest asset, but also as the fuel for its well-being, growth and security.

There is some question, however, as to whether Texas is yet aware of the critical importance of educated men and women to Texas industry, to Texas business, to Texas people.

Brainpower mattered to Texas' past economic boom. It will matter even more in the years ahead. No industrial machine as dynamic and as demanding as Texas' is can continue to run at full speed for many years without a constant supply of new and great ideas to feed it. And there is evidence that the Texas economy now is beginning to slow down largely because of the State's miserliness in providing for the colleges and universities that produce the brainpower new industry must have.

Texas has many colleges—several big, some rich, none really great by national academic standards. Texas also has, as one of its prime natural resources, more than 1 out of 20 of all the college students in the United States. Only California and New York have bigger percentages. However, Texas still hasn't recognized a fact which both California and New York have proved. That higher education brings in far more dollars in wages and salaries than it costs in taxes.

How?

Colleges and universities—really outstanding ones—attract good faculties and good students. The stimulating research opportunities they provide help retain within a State the brains required for economic growth and for the enrichment of the cultural life of the State. They draw laboratories and laboratories draw industry. And industry means more jobs.

This was demonstrated by San Diego, Calif., a few years ago when the city gave free land to General Dynamics Corp. to build an atomic age laboratory. The industry, however, wanted an assured source of brainpower, so the city and the company together went to work to get a full-fledged graduate school of the University of California located nearby.

As a result of this kind of cooperation between business and higher education, 16,000 new jobs have been created at San Diego in the Convair Division of General Dynamics. Other industry, attracted by the research opportunities and the wealth of highly trained people available, is locating in San Diego. During the next decade, San Diego expects to add 100,000 to its population and create 30,000 new jobs—all because it can offer an outstanding, adequately supported institution of higher learning.

And what is happening in Texas?

"The slowdown in Texas (industrial) expansion, now rating articles in national publications like Business Week, is tied to its treatment of education," says the November 16, 1959, issue of the Texas Businessman. "Today's new growth industries—electronics, missiles, etc.—pass by Texas, chiefly because brains are scarce. There is no big reservoir of talent. Cause: A general niggardliness toward support of higher education."

"Every budget for 10 years has been balanced in Texas at the expense of higher education," the Businessman article goes on. "This is Texas' cumulative deficit. In the area of the mind, Texas' niggardliness is showing up, hurting."

The need for growth in higher education which must accompany population and economic growth cannot be met by closing the door to increasing numbers of students. Neither can it be met by altering the principles nor lessening the quality of the institutions most eager to meet the challenge—those institutions that are supported by taxes.

The problem can be met only by massive support of the citizens, and the determination that quality will be maintained as numbers are increased. Such massive support must come largely from increased taxes—and Texans soon must decide whether or not they are willing to pay such an increase.

"During the next century," Dr. James Bryant Conant said when he was president of Harvard, "university education in this Republic will be largely in the hands of the tax-supported institutions. As they fare, so fares the cultural and intellectual life of the American people."

How Texas fares in the future depends on brains. And whether we begin to win, or continue to lose, the battle of brains depends on how much we're willing to invest now in the institutions that are our primary source of brainpower: the tax-supported colleges and universities.

Texas is lagging today in the battle for brains. It need not. And it won't, once Texas realizes that so long as it tries to buy first-class education at cut-rate prices, a second-class economy is the inevitable result.

Aid for Senior Citizens

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT E. COOK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. COOK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I should like to insert a letter from Mr. Theodore E. Martins, a resident of the 11th Ohio District. Mr. Martins is typical of many of our senior citizens needing assistance which would be available under revision of our present social security laws. His is an eloquent plea for help which in all consciousness must be heard and heeded.

The letter follows:

CHARDON, OHIO, *January 14, 1960.*

ROBERT E. COOK,
Congress, United States.

DEAR SIR: I would like to have had the opportunity to have talked with you on various topics which are of great importance to all citizens of our grand country.

I am retired and have only my security check to cover all expenses and living. In the first place, I am unable to do any work because of a very bad case of progressive osteoarthritis in my left side, so have no income except my small security check. During the 10 years since I retired, we got a 7-percent increase, while cost of living has gone up all of 50 percent. I have had to give up treatment for my arthritis for lack of funds, and am having to get along on two skimpy meals a day.

My case is typical of hundreds of others. In 1939, my first wife became sick and for 6 years had one operation after another, hospital and doctor bills and nurses almost all the time and finally passed away in 1947.

When she was taken sick we had to dispose of our business and had over $16,000, which had planned for our retirement. After she was finally laid to rest, I had spent $8,000. Then after being single 3 years, I married again in 1950. Everything went along just fine for 2 years, then she had a very bad heart attack and was hospitalized for months. Shortly after she got over that she had to have an operation for goiter which almost cost her her life. Then in 1956, she was operated for cataracts on both eyes and was hospitalized for months. She just got over that and had her sight when in January 1957, she again had a heart attack, which was fatal.

I found myself left with just $575 of the original $16,000 when she was put away in her final resting place, and here I am all alone with a small cottage and a mortgage of $2,500, paying $40 a month, and I have taxes and insurance on top of that, so you can readily see how hard it is for me, as I am not able to do any work. I belong to the Townsend Plan Club, and find about 75 percent of the 500 members are similar to my case, not because of wrong living or negligence but victims of circumstances beyond their control.

I think it is a degrading thing for our rich country to treat the aged people the way our Government is doing. It is about time something is done to help our own and not so much in foreign countries.

We, in the various clubs, are going to try to determine who in Congress are working for and voting for some relief for our aged

people and vote for them regardless of party politics.

Hoping to hear from you on this matter that I may report to my and other clubs, I am very sincerely,

Yours,

THEODORE E. MARTINS.

The Government Corporation in the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. L. BARTLETT

OF ALASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, the summer 1959 issue of Public Administration contained an article entitled "The Government Corporation in the United States," which was written by Harold Seidman, who is Assistant Chief of the Office of Management and Organization, U.S. Bureau of the Budget. The article has found a wide reading audience, and because it is the statement of an expert on a subject of interest to every Member of Congress I ask unanimous consent that it be included with my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD.

Notwithstanding the fact that the Government Printing Office advises me that the cost will be approximately $263.25, I ask unanimous consent that the article may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE GOVERNMENT CORPORATION IN THE UNITED STATES

(By Harold Seidman)

(Mr. Seidman is Assistant Chief, Office of Management and Organization, U.S. Bureau of the Budget. His authoritative general survey of the Public Corporation in the United States illustrates some of the difficulties of translating American terminology and practice into British, particularly when shades of meaning are so important as they are in the case of the precise status of a public corporation. In general the "United States," when not used geographically, can, in this context, roughly be translated as the Crown, and "agency" and "bureau" as Ministry and central department. It should also be remembered that "incorporation" and "corporation" usually refer to the limited liability company in the United States.)

A true and complete understanding of the American constitutional system cannot be obtained from a literal reading of the 7 articles and 22 amendments which constitute the written Constitution. Understanding of the "living constitution" requires thorough knowledge of both the written document itself and the body of judicial interpretations, customs, and traditions composing the unwritten constitution. Similarly a realistic appraisal of the U.S. agency known as a Government corporation demands something more than an analysis of pertinent statutory provisions. Indeed, there are no general Federal laws defining the nature, authorities, and immunities of Government corporations. The failure to recognize that the U.S. Government corporation is in large measure a product of precedent, as reflected in the provisions of charters enacted by the Congress, judicial interpretations, traditions, public, agency, and congressional attitudes has led to widespread misunderstandings both in the United States and abroad.

The Government corporation is now the most common form of organization for U.S.-owned public enterprises. The corporate device gained full respectability when President Truman laid down the criteria for the use of Government corporations in his 1948 budget message.[1] President Truman stated:

"Experience indicates that the corporate form of organization is peculiarly adapted to the administration of governmental programs which are predominantly of a commercial character—those which are revenue producing, are at least potentially self-sustaining, and involve a large number of business-type transactions with the public. In their business operations such programs require greater flexibility than the customary type of appropriation budget ordinarily permits. As a rule the usefulness of a corporation lies in its ability to deal with the public in the manner employed by private enterprise for similar work."

There are at present 13 active wholly owned Government corporations, namely, the Commodity Credit Corporation, Federal Crop Insurance Corporation, Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation, Virgin Islands Corporation, Federal Prison Industries Corporation, Export-Import Bank, Public Housing Administration, Federal Housing Administration,[2] Panama Canal Company, Tennessee Valley Authority, St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation, Development Loan Fund, and Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.[3] There are, in addition, 26 mixed-ownership Government corporations, namely, the Federal National Mortgage Association,[4] the Central Bank for Cooperatives, 12 Banks for Cooperatives and 12 Federal Intermediate Credit Banks. Government-owned capital in the Federal Land Banks and the Federal Home Loan Banks has been retired and these have become privately owned institutions subject to Government regulation and supervision.

Acceptance of the Government corporation as an administrative device has had little, if any, ideological implications in the United States. Public enterprises are utilized primarily to encourage, support, and strengthen private entrepreneurs, not to replace them. Government corporations provide assistance to agriculture, commerce, and industry through loans and insurance, operate international utilities such as the Panama Canal and St. Lawrence Seaway, and construct and administer facilities required for the protection and exploitation of certain natural resources. Except in wartime, the Government has rarely engaged in large-scale manufacturing, mining, or other industrial enterprises.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

The U.S. Government corporation did not emerge full blown in its present form, but evolved over many years from efforts to devise a Government agency which would be fully accountable to the President and the Congress, but possess sufficient operating and financial flexibility to conduct efficiently new types of Government business enterprises first undertaken in World War I and since greatly expanded. All of these enterprises had certain distinguishing characteristics which clearly set them apart from the general run of Government programs: (1) the Government was dealing with the public as a businessman rather than a sovereign; (2) users, rather than the general taxpayer, were to pay for the cost of goods and services; (3) expenditures necessarily fluctuated with consumer demand and could not be predicted accurately or realistically kept within annual limitations; (4) additional expenditures to meet increased demand did not in the long run increase the net outlay from the Treasury; and (5) operations were being conducted within areas in which there were well-established commercial trade practices. Experience demonstrated that enterprises with such characteristics could not be managed effectively under an administrative and financial system designed to control totally different types of governmental activities.

The first solution was to charter Government corporations under the general incorporation (company) laws of the States and the District of Columbia which prescribed forms of organization and financing not particularly well adapted to a public body. While this device provided necessary flexibility, it created new and equally difficult problems. Considerable doubt existed concerning the propriety of subjecting a Federal instrumentality to the provisions of State law. Furthermore, most existing controls to assure public accountability were abandoned without providing satisfactory substitutes. Sporadic attempts were made by the Congress and the Comptroller General to apply traditional budget and audit controls to Government corporations, but the results were such as to discourage further efforts along these lines.

The Government Corporation Control Act of 1945 represents the first official recognition by the Congress both of the need for a new type of Government institution tailored to the requirements of business programs and for a new type of controls over such institutions which would assure accountability without impairing essential flexibility. The purpose of the act was not, as is apparently widely believed, to convert Government corporations into Government bureaus. Indeed, when it enacted the law, the Congress expressly recognized that "the corporate form loses much of its peculiar value without reasonable autonomy and flexibility in its day-to-day decisions and operations. The budget and financial controls imposed upon the Government corporations should not deprive them of this freedom and flexibility in carrying out authorized programs."[5]

Despite the dire predictions of some commentators that the Control Act would eliminate "the features which have made Government corporations useful instruments for enterprise purposes,"[6] the Government corporation as an institution has been strengthened rather than weakened. Corporations are no longer regarded as more or less the illegitimate offspring of wars and emergencies, but have been admitted into the family of public institutions. Since the enactment of the Control Act, the Commodity Credit Corporation, Export-Import Bank, Federal National Mortgage Association, and the Virgin Islands Corporation have been reincorporated under Federal charters and the following new corporations created: Panama Canal Company (1950), Federal Facilities Corporation (1954), St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corp. (1954), and the Development Loan Fund (1958). The Development Loan Fund was incorporated at the express direction of the Congress, which held the view that a Government corporation would provide "the most effective arrangements for administering a long-range development loan program." Proposals to incorporate the Alaska Railroad and the Washington airports are now under consideration.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN AGENCIES AND CORPORATIONS

While admittedly the Congress could confer the powers normally granted to a Government corporation, except separate legal

Footnotes at end of speech.

status, upon a noncorporate agency, it has been rarely willing to do so. To call an agency endowed with all the powers of a corporation by some other title would serve no useful purpose and result only in confusion. On the other hand, the identification as Government corporations of a separate class of agencies with certain common characteristics distinguishing them from traditional agencies has served to (1) promote public understanding, particularly on the part of businessmen familiar with the corporate form of organization; (2) facilitate the development and application of controls specially adapted to business-type enterprises; (3) make possible the application of uniform standards with respect to payment of interest, reimbursement of costs, etc.; (4) eliminate the necessity for enumerating specific exemptions to general statutes or departmental regulations, which should not be made applicable to corporations as a class; and (5) combat the normal bureaucratic tendency to force all agencies into a common mold, regardless of their special needs and requirements.

The distinguishing attributes of a U.S. Government corporation have been in no-wise significantly altered or impaired by the Government Corporation Control Act. These may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. Legal status: As a body corporate a Government corporation has a separate legal personality distinct from that of the United States. A corporation, therefore, does not enjoy the traditional immunity of the United States from being sued without its consent and can sue and be sued in its own name. Property can be acquired in the name of the corporation without automatically involving the complex body of statutes applicable to the acquisition and disposal of U.S. property. A corporation can also be authorized to borrow money in its own name without directly pledging the credit of the United States.

2. Authority to make expenditures: A corporation is usually given power "to determine the character of and the necessity for its expenditures, and the manner in which they shall be incurred, allowed, and paid." A corporation is thus exempted from most of the regulatory and prohibitory statutes applicable to the expenditure of public funds, except those specifically applicable to Government corporations. Although subject to audit their expenditures are not subject to the disallowance power of the General Accounting Office.

Corporations regard the exemption from regulatory and prohibitory statutes and GAO disallowance authority as one of the most important sources of corporate flexibility. Without such an exemption corporate transactions could always be overturned by the GAO. On the other hand, the absence of disallowance authority is believed to account in large measure for continued GAO opposition to Government corporations.

3. Financing: A very great part of the difference between a corporation and an agency arises from the method of financing its operations. Except for those which have revolving funds, agencies are generally financed by direct annual appropriations from Congress and, in the absence of specific statutory authority, unobligated appropriations may not be carried over from one fiscal year to another. Any revenues derived from traditional agency operations must ordinarily be turned over to the Treasury.

A corporation's funds are generally derived from such sources as capital appropriations, which are not subject to fiscal year limitations, revenues, and borrowings from the Treasury or public. Unguaranteed obligations issued to the public are not subject to the statutory limit on the public debt. Except for the Public Housing Administration (contributions to local housing authorities), Federal Crop Insurance Corporation (administrative expenses), and TVA and Virgin Islands Corporation (nonrevenue programs), no corporation receives annual appropriations.

The principle is now generally accepted by the Congress and the public that a Government corporation should, so far as practicable, operate on a self-sustaining basis and recover through user charges all costs of its operations, including interest, depreciation, and the cost of services furnished by other Government agencies, even though there are notable exceptions such as the Commodity Credit Corp. There has been considerable resistance, however, to applying this principle to noncorporate agencies, including those financed from revolving funds, on the grounds that these are no different from traditional Government services properly chargeable, in whole or in part, to the general taxpayer. Opposition to the incorporation of such agencies as the Washington National Airport and the Rural Electrification Administration represents, in fact, opposition to making these agencies self-supporting.

4. Budget: Mixed ownership Government corporations, except the Federal National Mortgage Association, are not subject to any form of budget control. Wholly owned Government corporations are, however, required by law to present business-type budgets which the Government Corporation Control Act provides shall be plans of operations with due allowance for flexibility. A business-type budget includes the usual corporate financial statements together with estimates of operations by major types of activities, administrative expenses, borrowings, and any capital funds which are to be returned to the Treasury. A corporation seeks congressional approval of its budget program as a whole, unlike an agency which requests specific appropriations. Congress is authorized to limit the use of corporate funds for any purpose, but it has rarely chosen to do so, except for administrative expenses. In essence, the business-type budget provides for a qualitative rather than a quantitative review of proposed corporate expenditures.

Under the provisions of the Budget and Accounting Procedures Act of 1950, a noncorporate agency may be required to include business-type financial statements, comparable to those of Government corporations, in its budget presentation. The inclusion of business-type financial statements in a budget does not, however, require the Congress to review and approve the budget in the same way as those submitted under the Corporation Control Act. When an agency is financed from annual appropriations, the business-type statements merely supplement its budget request which is treated in the same way as any other appropriation. The gross expenditures of normal agencies, even though they may have substantial receipts, are classified as budget expenditures. Only the net expenditures of wholly owned corporations and revolving funds are classified as budget expenditures, while those of mixed ownership corporations and trust funds are excluded altogether.

5. Audit and accounts: The Comptroller General is required to make an annual audit of all Government corporations "in accordance with principles and procedures applicable to commercial corporate transactions." A commercial-type audit does not contemplate a review of the legality of each item of expenditure, as does the usual Government audit. The Comptroller General's authority is limited to reporting his findings and recommendations to the Congress for such action as it may deem appropriate.

The Comptroller General has conceived of his audit responsibilities in very broad terms. According to the Comptroller General, "the purpose and scope of the activities engaged in by the agency, the manner in which they are to be conducted, and the extent of the agency's authority and responsibility"[7] all properly fall within the scope of an audit. No hesitation has been displayed in dealing with highly controversial policy issues. Audit reports on the Panama Canal Company, for example, have urged congressional action on such diverse matters as merger of the Panama Canal Company and Canal Zone Government; recovery of interest paid during construction; price policy; cost-recovery formula; and transfer of Canal Zone Postal Service to the Post Office Department.

Information furnished by the audit reports has been of great value not only to the Congress, but also to the President and the corporations concerned. But while the Congress, as well as the corporations, have given great weight to the Comptroller General's recommendations with reference to accounting and systems of internal financial control, they have been considerably less receptive to those recommendations primarily concerned with policy, organization, and management. As a result audit reports in recent years have tended to be much slimmer than the early reports and more modest in their recommendations. Thus the Audit Report on the Virgin Islands Corporation for 1958 contained 22 pages compared with 53 pages for the 1947 audit.

The Comptroller General may make a "comprehensive audit" of noncorporate Government enterprises. A comprehensive audit in many respects resembles a commercial audit, but it also includes a review of the legality of individual items of expenditure. The Comptroller General has the authority to prescribe the principles, standards, and related requirements of accounting systems for noncorporate agencies, but this authority does not extend to corporations.

6. Personnel: Employees of Government corporations are considered to be employees of the United States. Where there is a need for special flexibility in hiring and dismissing employees and establishing wage scales, however, Government corporations may be exempted from some or all of the laws applicable to Federal employees. The Panama Canal Company, Tennessee Valley Authority, Virgin Islands Corporation, banks for cooperatives, and Federal intermediate credit banks are all excluded, in whole or in part, from the applicability of the Classification Act and civil service laws. The personnel systems established by these corporations do not, however, differ significantly from those of other Government agencies.

7. Management: A board of directors was once considered an indispensable attribute of a U.S. Government corporation, due largely to the fact that State incorporation laws generally require the establishment of boards of directors elected by the stockholders. Boards of directors persist in many varieties and forms, but the trend is toward single administrators or single administrators and advisory boards, particularly when the corporation operates outside the areas of banking and finance. The Congress recommended that the Board of Directors of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation be replaced by a single administrator because the board arrangement had resulted in diffusion of responsibility. It was noted that existence of a five-man board of directors had made it possible for individual members to avoid, obscure, or dilute their responsibilities by passing the buck from one to another.[8] Much the same line of reasoning was used to support the vesting of management of the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation in a sin-

Footnotes at end of speech.

gle administrator. Other corporations or quasi-corporations with single heads are the Public Housing Administration and Federal Housing Administration.

The Tennessee Valley Authority, Export-Import Bank, and Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation have full-time boards of directors. The Home Loan Bank Board also serves as the board of directors of the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation. The Federal Crop Insurance Corporation, Virgin Islands Corporation, Panama Canal Company, and Federal Prison Industries have part-time boards of directors composed of both public officials and private individuals. The Commodity Credit Corporation, Federal National Mortgage Association, and Development Loan Fund have inhouse boards made up exclusively of Federal officials. The banks for cooperatives and Federal intermediate credit banks, which are mixed-ownership corporations, are managed by part-time boards consisting of five directors elected by borrower associations and two directors appointed by the Government.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTABILITY

A. H. Hanson has noted that despite the significant differences from country to country in the legal provisions prescribing the relationships between ministers and public enterprises under their supervision, "the substance of the relations prevailing between ministers and enterprises is determined much more by convention than by law, and that there is a tendency for the convention in one country to be not strikingly dissimilar from that in another." [9] Mr. Hanson's observation is confirmed by American experience. Questions concerning the allowability of different types of parliamentary questions, and ministerial responsibility have, of course, no relevance under the U.S. constitutional system. But the basic issue is the same: How can organizational arrangements and supervisory relationships be established which will assure consistency in Government policy and public accountability without impairing the flexibility necessary for the effective conduct of a public enterprise?

The U.S. approach to the control of Government corporations has been guided by two basic principles: (1) controls should be general, not specific; (2) controls should be positive, not negative. U.S. Government corporations are subject to far fewer controls over specific actions than are public corporations in many other countries. Advance Presidential or ministerial approval is ordinarily required only when a specific action, such as the promulgation of toll rates for the Panama Canal or St. Lawrence Seaway, is likely to involve questions of national and foreign policy. The Treasury has authority to approve the public issue of securities by Government corporations, but it has never utilized this authority to interpose the Treasury's judgment on the need for financing. This authority has been employed solely to coordinate corporate borrowing with Treasury public debt operations so as to avoid costly competition. A requirement for advance Presidential or ministerial approval of such corporate functions as the fixing of rates and prices, appointments, training programs, annual reports, etc., is extremely rare. Controls are not concerned primarily with assuring compliance with applicable laws and regulations. The principal objective is to make certain that the Government and the corporations follow consistent policies and fully support each other in the accomplishment of their mutual endeavors.

RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE EXECUTIVE

Executive power is vested by the U.S. Constitution exclusively in the President. As Chief Executive, the President is responsible and accountable to the people for the conduct of the entire executive branch, including Government corporations. Consequently, limitations cannot properly be placed on the President's general authority to direct and supervise Government corporations.

Not since Mr. Arthur E. Morgan, the first Chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority, has a director of a wholly owned corporation atempted to challenge the President's overriding authority. Mr. Morgan insisted that he was solely responsible to the Congress, not to the President, and refused to answer questions asked by President Franklin D. Roosevelt.[10] When President Roosevelt removed Mr. Morgan from office, his action was sustained by the courts. Mixed-ownership corporations, however, have from time to time asserted at least a degree of "independence" from both the President and the Congress, and, on occasion, have openly opposed Presidential policies.

Most important is the President's authority to appoint and remove the directors or administrators of Government corporations. Directors and administrators of wholly owned corporations are appointed either by the President or, in a few instances, by the head of the executive department charged with immediate supervisory responsibility. Control over appointments is calculated to assure general sympathy with and support of policy objectives established by the President.

Continuing Presidential supervision is provided mainly through the budget process and clearance of proposed legislation and legislative reports. In the course of the annual budget review, the President, and the Bureau of the Budget acting on his behalf, have an opportunity to scrutinize what corporations have done and what they plan to do and to make such policy decisions as may be appropriate. Each year the President's budget message to the Congress reflects major policy decisions concerning corporate programs. The 1960 budget message, for example, proposes significant changes in the method of financing the TVA and the Federal National Mortgage Association and modifications in the programs of the Federal Housing Administration and Commodity Credit Corporation.

All executive agencies, including corporations, are required to submit legislative proposals, proposed reports to the Congress and testimony on legislation to the Bureau of the Budget for advice as to its relationship to the program of the President. The legislative clearance process is a comparatively little known but extremely effective device for coordinating executive branch policies and exercising presidential supervision.

Direct White House intervention in the day-to-day operations of a Government corporation, while not entirely unknown, would be regarded as most unusual. The President meets infrequently even with the directors of such corporations as the TVA, Export-Import Bank, and Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation who report directly to him. Presidential directives are almost always in relation to matters which affect a broad national interest.

As a general rule, the President looks to the heads of executive departments and agencies for immediate direction and supervision of Government corporations. Corporations are generally made subject to supervision by the department head responsible for the functional area in which the corporation is operating. In the case of the Panama Canal Company and the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation, the corporations are subject to the direction and supervision of the President, or the head of such agency as he may designate. The President retains the power to adjust supervisory arrangements in the light of changes in program emphasis and executive branch organization. When the St. Lawrence Seaway passed from the construction stage to operations, the President shifted supervisory responsibility from the Secretary of Defense to the person with major concern for transportation policy, the Secretary of Commerce. In the case of other corporations the supervisory official (minister) is designated by statute.

Designation as supervisor carries a dual responsibility. It imposes a duty not only to oversee corporate operations, but also to represent the corporation before the President and in the Cabinet and other high policy councils on issues which may directly affect the corporation's interests. So-called independent corporations have paid a high price for their independence by being deprived of an effective voice in the formulation of national policy.

There are significant differences in the relationship of department heads to corporations under their supervision and to the department's constituent bureaus. The special status of Government Corporations has been consistently recognized by exempting them in reorganization plans or other laws transferring the functions of subordinate bureaus to department heads. The supervisory minister cannot abolish a corporation or transfer any of its functions to other departmental constituents, as he can do in the case of most bureaus under his direction. A corporation is thus assured a greater degree of continuity within the limits on succession specified in its charter.

While the words "direction and supervision" can be defined in a legal sense, the substance of supervision defies precise analysis and definition. Department heads seldom supervise corporations by issuing written orders or directives. Informal advice may under some circumstances, however, be as persuasive as a written order backed by the authority of law. The degree of influence exercised by a supervisory minister varies considerably and depends in large measure on his own interests and the impact of corporate activities on other programs under his supervision. The limits of supervisory authority are dictated more by sound management principles than by law. The President has emphasized in delegating supervisory authority that responsibility for detailed management is vested in the corporation.

Mixed-ownership corporations present a distinct class of supervisory problems. As an Assistant Director of the Bureau of the Budget testified before the House Committee on Government Operations, these corporations have "claimed a vested and irrevocable right to the four freedoms—freedom from financial control by the Congress, freedom from budget review by the President, freedom from independent audit by the Comptroller General, and freedom to use Federal funds." These enterprises have demanded all of the privileges of a public agency without being willing to accept the responsibilities. For this reason establishment of any additional mixed ownership corporations is contrary to established executive branch policy. President Eisenhower has recommended amendments to the Government Corporation Control Act which would abolish the present distinction between wholly owned and mixed ownership Government corporations and apply financial control to all corporations which possess authority to use Federal funds, regardless of whether there is some private ownership of capital shares.

RELATIONSHIP WITH THE CONGRESS

Relationships of wholly owned Government corporations to the Congress do not differ significantly from those of other executive departments and agencies. The corporate character of the agencies does not in any way restrict the constitutional powers of the Con-

Footnotes at end of speech.

gress to investigate, appropriate money from the Treasury, and legislate. The Congress has never hesitated fully to exercise its powers with respect to Government corporations.

Corporations come under the jurisdiction of three or more standing congressional committees: the Committees on Appropriations and on Government Operations and the legislative committees concerned with the corporation's area of operations. The most continuing relationships are with the Appropriations Committees which review and pass upon a corporation's annual budget program. Audit reports are submitted to the Government Operations Committees which may call corporations to account for deficiencies reported by the Comptroller General. Both the Government Operations Committees and the legislative committees possess authority to investigate corporations. Each of the standing committees is assisted by a profesional staff in performing its functions and, when necessary, can bring in outside expert consultants to advise it on technical problems.

In many respects the annual sessions with the Appropriations Committees resemble a board of directors' meeting. While some of the hearings are perfunctory, others delve into every aspect of corporate management and operations. The significant conclusions reached by the committee are more likey to be reflected in the committee report, which even though it has no force of law is not lightly disregarded by executive agencies, rather than in formal action on the budget. The House Appropriations Committee in 1953, for example, severely criticized the Panama Canal Company for its "dalliance" in establishing adequate reserve funds.[11] In 1955 the committee took exception to the Company's plan to abandon the Panama Railroad and requested that action be deferred until the legislative committee had had a full opportunity to review the proposal. The Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries employed a former official of the Pennsylvania Railroad to study the railroad operations and, based on his findings, recommended that the railroad be reorganized, not abandoned.[12] The Company complied with the committee's recommendation. On some controversial issues, such as increasing toll rates, the Appropriations committees and the legislative Committees, which have different missions and clienteles, may express strongly divergent views with the result that the Corporation is free to choose its own course of action.

Congress has at times used its investigatory powers with telling effects. The Tennessee Valley Authority, Commodity Credit Corporation, Reconstruction Finance Corporation, and Federal Housing Administration have all been the subjects of full-scale congressional investigations. A Senate investigation of the R.F.C. in 1951, for example, disclosed many instances of favoritism, influence, and inefficient business practices and led directly to a complete reorganization of the Corporation.[13] Congressional investigations have been one of the most important instruments in securing much needed corporate reforms.

Corporate autonomy has never been interpreted in the United States to include independence from the Congress. Within the scope of its constitutional powers, and as a separate and coequal branch of Government, the Congress must be and is supreme.

CONCLUSIONS

The Government corporation as such no longer arouses strong emotions in the United States. It has ceased to be the symbol of both the evils of Government in business and the virtues of business efficiency and organization in Government. The Comptroller General has maintained his traditional opposition to the use of corporations, except for the most compelling reasons, because in his view they weaken essential congressional controls. But, in general, the corporation has gained acceptance as a legitimate and appropriate form of Government organization.

---

[1] Has all characteristics of a Government corporation except separate legal personality.

[2] Classified as mixed ownership in Government Corporation Control Act, but now wholly Government owned.

[3] Classified as wholly owned in the Government Corporation Control Act, but now mixed ownership.

[4] H. Doc. 19, 80th Cong., pp. M57-M62.

[5] S. Rept. No. 694, 79th Cong.

[6] C. Herman Pritchett, "The Government Corporation Control Act of 1945," the American Political Science Review, June 1946.

[7] S. Rept. No. 861, 83d Cong., "Audit Reports of Government Corporations and Agencies," p. 12.

[8] S. Rept. No. 76th, 82d Cong.

[9] A. H. Hanson, Public Enterprise, I.I.A.S., Brussels, 1955, p. 193.

[10] S. Doc. 155, 75th Cong., 3d sess., p. 105.

[11] H. Rept. No. 450, 83d Cong.

[12] H. Rept. No. 2974, 84th Cong., 2d sess.

[13] S. Rept. No. 76, 82d Cong.

Airmen Servants

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK KOWALSKI
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. KOWALSKI. Mr. Speaker, under the able chairmanship of the Honorable MELVIN PRICE, of Illinois, a special subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee has been studying the utilization of military manpower.

One of the fields under study involves the use of enlisted men as personal servants by ranking officers.

The current issue of the Air Force Times, a highly respected military publication, has an editorial on this subject which urges that the assignment of enlisted men as personal aides be ended.

The editorial does not agree entirely with the position I have taken, but its conclusions are similar to mine.

I congratulate the Air Force Times on taking such a strong position and I trust that its considered recommendation will be adopted by the Air Force.

Following is the text of the editorial from the January 23 issue of the Air Force Times:

AIRMEN SERVANTS

We doubt that the use of enlisted men as servants is as bad as Representative FRANK KOWALSKI paints it, although he may have a point. The retired Army officer turned legislator (a Connecticut Democrat) has been hammering away at the services on the servant issue, charging instances of enlisted men washing dishes, bathing the dog, taking orders from generals' wives, etc.

As for household service being demeaning, as the lawmaker declares, a good many servicemen don't agree. There are many people who doubtless rank it several cuts above such more accepted details as latrine orderly and KP.

However, the real question, it seems to us, is not whether the enlisted aide jobs are degrading, but whether the military services can afford to use men in them and in certain other support areas.

If recruits with high IQ's and technical aptitudes are available in numbers, is it good management to assign them to jobs which use only a portion of their talents? This might also include jobs as drivers, fire fighters, open mess specialists, or in various other backup jobs. A good many of these posts might better be filled by civilians.

It's the full use of the men's capabilities that appears as the important issue, one the services should continually explore (particularly during the present period of severe military manpower economy).

Let's, as KOWALSKI demands, eliminate the enlisted aide jobs, or many of them, and allow military leaders to hire civilian domestics with an appropriate allowance the Government would have to provide. The need for military bosses to have a personal staff is entirely justified.

Substituting civilian domestics for military aides, in addition to being more in line with the maximum-use-of-military-manpower drive, would also render the services less vulnerable to public ridicule and criticism.

Resolution of the New York Chapter of the Associated General Contractors of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a resolution of the New York Chapter of the Associated General Contractors of America be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. The resolution urges Congress to take whatever action necessary to carry out the construction of the Federal Interstate Highway System as contained in the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1956 and as scheduled for completion in 1972.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ASSOCIATED GENERAL CONTRACTORS OF AMERICA, NEW YORK STATE CHAPTER, INC.,
Albany, N.Y., January 22, 1960.

The Honorable KENNETH B. KEATING,
The U.S. Senate
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: The following is the resolution adopted by our organization which represents more than 200 highway contractors who build and reconstruct roads in New York State:

"The New York State Chapter, Associated General Contractors of America, at its 34th annual meeting, December 14–16, 1959, urges the Congress of the United States to take whatever action necessary to assure the construction and completion of the National System of the Interstate and Defense Highways in accordance with the statement of policy contained in the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1956, which expressed the intent of Congress to bring the system to a simultaneous completion in 1972."

We appreciate your interest in this vital matter in the past and hope you will continue to consider this problem in future legislative deliberations.

Very truly yours,

LOUIS G. BLACKHALL,
Managing Director.

Views on the Steel Strike Settlement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, Mr. William Norman Hall of DeLand, Fla., has written me regarding the steel strike settlement, and has expressed the wish that his views might be brought to the attention of my distinguished colleagues. In compliance with his desire, I ask permission for his letter to be printed in the RECORD so that other Members of Congress may have the benefit of his views.

The letter follows:

DELAND, FLA.,
January 19, 1960.

Hon. A. S. HERLONG,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN HERLONG: I, for one, am sorely disappointed with the manner in which the steel strike was settled, and the part played by the Government in the settlement. The "confab" was held on a Sunday p.m. (in desecration of the Sabbath day) in secret without representation from the group of the rank and file of the American citizens numbering something like 60 or 70 million people and with absolute disregard for the interests of that larger group. The group of steel workers whose unreasonable demands were granted numbers only about half a million, and the group of steel executives is comparatively small.

The workers did not need a raise. Before the strike they were getting about $25 per day; now their wages will be close to $28 per day—more than the average salary of professional men. It is more than I received as civil engineer after 50 years of experience, some of it in responsible charge. I had to go through college. Steel workers do not necessarily have to be high school graduates.

No doubt, the employers, the steel mills, will again, as they have done heretofore, "pass the buck" to their customers in the way of increased steel prices. They say there will be "no immediate" increase in steel prices. The term "no immediate" is more or less relative. It may mean "next month" or "next year" or it may mean not until after the next presidential election. It's a safe bet that there will eventually be increased steel prices leading to increased prices for practically everything else, giving another boost to the dreaded inflation spiral, the brunt of which will have to be borne, not by the steel workers and not by the steel executives, but by that larger group, the rank and file of our population, as has been done heretofore.

The steel workers based one of their claims upon the fact that the steel mills had been making high profits and could, therefore, afford to "divy up" with the workers and increase their already high wages. But if that was the case the workers should have brought pressure to bear upon their employers to reduce the price of steel and they should have been willing to leave their wages where they were or even to take a slight reduction in wages. In this way they would have performed a public service, and would have deserved commendation from the public, and, very likely, a let-down in the inflation spiral would have resulted—all of us would have been benefited.

One effect of the steel strike settlement, biased as it was, will be the encouragement given to future strikes and threats of strikes. The railroaders, the longshoremen and others will step forward with the "me too" attitude. More strike trouble looms ahead unless something drastical is done.

I believe practically everybody wanted a strike settlement but not a one way biased settlement—the kind that took place, aided and abetted by the Government—rather the administration. And the Government in this case was represented by Vice President NIXON and Secretary of Labor Mitchell. It's safe to predict that both of them will have "lost feathers from their caps."

So, now, the need for labor reform legislation—the kind that will curb or prevent strikes—is more imperative than ever; and such legislation should be enacted during the early part of this session of Congress.

Very sincerely yours,
WILLIAM NORMAN HALL,
Editor, Volusia Star.

Position of American Legion on Loyalty Oaths

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article appearing at page 2 of the National Legislative Bulletin for January 15, 1960. This bulletin, as is well known to Senators, is an official publication of the National American Legion, which is distributed to Legionnaires throughout the United States.

The article, prepared by Miles D. Kennedy, national legislative director of the American Legion, includes excerpts from a speech by National Commander Martin B. McKneally, which eloquently explains the Legion's reasons for supporting the loyalty oath requirement in the National Defense Education Act of 1958.

Recent newspaper reports would seem to indicate that this issue will be the subject of discussion once again in the Senate, and I feel that the clearly enunciated position of the American Legion will, no doubt, be of interest to the Senate.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION ACT AND ITS LOYALTY PROVISIONS

In 1958 Congress enacted the National Defense Education Act—Public Law 85-864. The basic purposes of the act are set forth in its section 101, as follows:

"SEC. 101. The Congress hereby finds and declares that the security of the Nation requires the fullest development of the mental resources and technical skills of its young men and women. The present emergency demands that additional and more adequate educational opportunities be made available. The defense of this Nation depends upon the mastery of modern techniques developed from complex scientific principles. It depends as well upon the discovery and development of new principles, new techniques, and new knowledge.

"We must increase our efforts to identify and educate more of the talent of our Nation. This requires programs that will give assurance that no student of ability will be denied an opportunity for higher education because of financial need; will correct as rapidly as possible the existing imbalances in our educational programs which have led to an insufficient proportion of our population educated in science, mathematics, and modern foreign languages and trained in technology.

"The Congress reaffirms the principle and declares that the States and local communities have and must retain control over and primary responsibility for public education. The national interest requires, however, that the Federal Government give assistance to education for programs which are important to our defense.

"To meet the present educational emergency requires additional effort at all levels of government. It is therefore the purpose of this act to provide substantial assistance in various forms to individuals, and to States and their subdivisions, in order to insure trained manpower of sufficient quality and quantity to meet the national defense needs of the United States."

While the act also authorizes grants and loans to States and educational institutions in keeping with its entire scope, our discussion is based upon the student loan provisions only. In brief the act authorized appropriations of $295 million for the period ending June 30, 1962, to be allotted for the purpose of making loans to students who are otherwise qualified to pursue education in an institution of higher learning. They must be in need of the amount of the loan for educational purposes; be capable of maintaining good standings in the courses of study and, have been accepted as full-time students at such institution. The loans are available to undergraduate as well as graduate students.

Loans of $1,000 per year for a maximum of 5 years are available. Repayment is made over a 10-year period which commences 1 full year after student ceases full-time educational pursuit at an institution of higher learning. The interest rate is 3 percent but interest does not begin to accrue until 1 year after leaving school. The Federal Government provides $9 of each $10 loaned, the remaining $1 being matched by the institution.

Before loan benefits can be had under the act, a student must comply with the loyalty requirements set forth in section 1001(f) of the act, quoted below:

"SEC. 1001(f). No part of any funds appropriated or otherwise made available for expenditure under authority of this Act shall be used to make payments or loans to any individual unless such individual (1) has executed and filed with the Commissioner an affidavit that he does not believe in, and is not a member of and does not support any organization that believes in or teaches, the overthrow of the United States Government by force or violence or by any illegal or unconstitutional methods, and (2) has taken and subscribd to an oath or affirmation in the following form: 'I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of America and will support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States against all its enemies, foreign and domestic.' The provisions of section 1001 of title 18, United States Code, shall be applicable with respect to such affidavits."

OBJECTIONS TO LOYALTY PROVISIONS

It came as a great surprise to most Americans when they learned that a mere handful of the elite among educators raised such strenuous objection to the loyalty requirements of the act that it became an issue in the U.S. Senate. A bill was offered which would amend the act by striking from it the loyalty requirement. Debate waxed hot and

heavy, and it was only through the efforts of a determined group of Senators that the amendment was temporarily delayed, at least, by recommitting the bill for further study. This was accomplished by a narrow margin.

Recently, two of the important educational institutions in the so-called ivy league withdrew from the program because of the loyalty provision. Regents of a prominent Big 10 midwestern university have also announced their intention to do likewise.

Recent developments give strong indication that the proposal to amend the National Defense Act by removing the loyalty provision will again be brought before the U.S. Senate.

How does the American Legion regard the loyalty provision? Let's take a look at what our national commander, Martin B. McKneally, has to say about it. When you have read his cogent remarks we think you will want to send a note to your Senators asking them to vote against abandonment of the loyalty provisions of the National Defense Education Act.

"A question of much moment before the American people is the one concerning what is called the loyalty oath.

"The American Legion, by resolution of its 1959 convention, supports the loyalty oath provision of the National Defense Education Act. It does so on this theory: The National Defense Education Act is a part of the enactments of Congress providing for the security of the United States and as such those receiving benefits under it are special persons, they are singled out as special beneficiaries for a special reason and as such their loyalty to the United States and their freedom from the taint of disloyalty is properly an issue.

"To read the debate on the Kennedy-Clark bill which sought, at the last session of Congress, to repeal the section of the act which required every student-beneficiary to sign an affidavit to the effect that he does not believe in and is not a member of and does not support any organization that believes in or teaches the overthrow of the United States Government by force or violence or by any illegal or unconstitutional means is to take an exercise, a lengthy exercise in evasion, begging the question and missing the point. One would think that loyalty to the sovereign state is the exaction of an onerous, burdensome thing to the average American. One would think that subversion was not the Communist business. One would think that freedom, in this desolate age, was not dying all over the world. One would have to conclude that the great States that have been overthrown, since 1945, were not helped to disaster by certain disloyal citizens within their boundaries. The fact of the matter is that loyalty is an issue and the United States must be protected against disloyalty.

"The fact of the matter is that those of us who support this affidavit, and have ourselves taken such an oath gladly, find in it no reflection on our integrity and our loyalty. When we insist upon our position we are disdained as anti-intellectual and as descendants of those who called for a religious test in the Middle Ages. This is specious nonsense.

"A man's traffic with his God is a personal affair and is answerable in a forum over which we have no control. Treason to one's country is another story. A tightly organized society such as our own, exists by virtue of certain understandings, certain compacts: man to man. We are all participants in it and every man is affected by the deeds of his fellows. This principle is indeed part of the tradition of the common law. For instance, I must so use my property that it does not do injury to my neighbor. I may speak freely but I may not expect my freedom to extend to me the right to shout fire in a theater and thereby cause panic and injury to my fellows. Freedom, indeed, is a qualified thing. I cannot in any case commit injury to my fellow citizens without penalty. This is purely a social responsibility and its violation throws me out of step.

"Treason or betrayal of the common good as constituted in a duly authorized way is an act which violates the responsibility of one citizen to another. The average American is unable to follow the tenuous reasoning which identifies a religious test in the Middle Ages with a loyalty affidavit of today, except insofar as it identifies he loyalty oath with something admittedly bad for the purpose of destroying it.

"I have said to you that around the world in this age of brainwashing technique and indoctrination, loyalty is in issue. 'With every dawn,' Camus tells us of our time, 'masked assassins slip into some cell.' Murder is the question before us.' This is the solemn keynote of our time. Shall we fail to heed it? According to the overanxious reasoning of certain college presidents? And in this connection it is worth noting that the hearings in the Senate catered to the opponents of the loyalty oath and entertained not a voice in support of it. It is interesting to further note that not one student voice was heard. After all this bill provides for a relationship between Government and student, and these university boards and presidents who have withdrawn their institutions from it have deprived thousands of American youths of the personal benefits of this program and the benefits to the Nation, by summary action based upon unsubstantial reasoning may charge us with anti-intellectualism (and I am not sure what that term really means) but I do know this: they inspire me with no great admiration for their position.

"The battle against communism is a struggle for men's minds and in this struggle we shall not win by the mounting confusion of words that surround great issues. It has been argued that if the loyalty oath is to be included in a security measure then it should also be included in a farm subsidy law. This is in effect to say that a farmer raising corn is in the same position as a man working in the field of molding men's minds. Let us recognize that teachers and intellectuals occupy an exalted place in our society. They are the ones to whom we look for leadership and for light in this complex world. In short it may be said that they are the ones upon whom we ordinary people must ultimately depend. Are we asking more than they are willing to give in requiring this simple affirmation of loyalty to our country? Surely, no one in his right mind interprets this as a slander or a reflection upon them as a practical proposition. Teachers operating under the New York school system have been taking such an oath for years. No one has thought less of them for taking it.

"Now the subject of this discourse has been in defense of the loyalty affidavit and opposed to the reasoning used in an effort to defeat it. I would give the opponents of the loyalty oath a large measure of credit if they would base their case on the fact that the oath has little practical use in protecting the Nation against subversion instead of trailing off into vaporish, thin skinned expressions of injured pride. Perhaps it is nothing more than a symbol of loyalty. Is symbolism bad? When a man tips his hat to a lady, he uses a symbol of respect; his head bowed in prayer is a symbol of his reverence. His use of the term 'His Excellency,' to a Governor, is a symbol of his submission to the authority of the law. Are these bad? Do we think more of a man if he fails to observe them? The loyalty oath is probably nothing but an expression of devotion to one's country in this day of its darkest peril. But even if this is all that it is, who can deny that such an expression does some good? I have said to you that the battle of communism is one for the minds of men. It must be fought in the classroom.

"But the battle against communism must also be fought on the level of faith, not only across the plains of economic and scientific achievements. Communism proposes that life is material and a man is a product of nature with no purpose, no will, and no soul. This is a harsh doctrine but because they have succeeded in dressing it up with appeals to ideals and equality, they have succeeded in winning in many instances, the battle for the heart and the minds of men. Ours is a society and a system based upon ideals. Our job as Legionnaires is to keep the eyes of all Americans focused on the ideals of our country and our job as Americans is constantly to translate the image of America abroad in terms of its ideals.

"We as members of the American Legion must keep alive the spirit of patriotism, love of country. This is our challenge. To those who have grown listless in their appreciation of individual freedom and the great gift of citizenship in this country let us constantly recount their blessings. They are neatly summed up in a passage written by a refugee—one who came to these shore from Herr Hitler's concentration camps and eventually became a citizen of these United States. He wrote:

"'I am an American citizen, a member of the greatest fraternity on earth, the brotherhood of free men because a million American citizens have died and millions have suffered in the wars of our Republic. I have greater freedom than any other citizen of any other nation in any other period of mankind. I have greater freedom to work, to worship, to love, to learn and to play. Mine is the freedom to compete, to invent, to save, to invest, to create, to promote, to own. I have freedom to choose, to join, to vote, to speak, to travel, and to walk erect with head high. I am free to be my own self as an individual human soul. I am free to glorify God'."

MILES D. KENNEDY,
Director.

A Bill To Authorize the Award of the Congressional Medal of Honor to the Four Chaplains

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, I am reintroducing my bill, H.R. 5089 of the 85th, to award the Congressional Medal of Honor to the four chaplains who gave their lives in the sinking of the *Dorchester*.

These brave men of God—Chaplain George Fox, Chaplain Alexander Goode, Chaplain Clark Poling, Chaplain John Washington—displayed faith and courage of a kind which will always remain a challenge and an inspiration to every American.

Their sacrifice was not only one far above and beyond the call of duty; it was a lesson in the essential brotherhood of Americans and the unity of our separate faiths.

The award of the Congressional Medal of Honor can add nothing to the nobility

of their act, or to the greatness of their sublime sacrifice.

But surely this is the least which Congress can do in recognition of this example of selfless devotion to God and country.

Mr. Speaker, unfortunately, no action was taken on this bill in the 85th Congress. I ask the House to act on this bill now as a fitting and proper tribute to the heroes of the *Dorchester*.

Withholding Tax Can Be Repealed by Simple Majority Vote

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DALE ALFORD
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. ALFORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include an article, volume 6, No. 1, issue of the Dan Smoot Report published in Dallas, Tex., entitled "Withholding Tax Can Be Repealed By Simple Majority Vote."

The article follows:

WITHHOLDING TAX CAN BE REPEALED BY SIMPLE MAJORITY VOTE

(By Dan Smoot)

Ultimately, the senseless squandering of public funds requires higher taxes on the people. How can you prevent rebellion against taxes when they reach such heights that many workers have to pay out more for Federal taxes than for either of the three essentials of life—food, clothing, or housing?

Roosevelt found an answer to this baffling question too: Beardsley Ruml and Henry Morgenthau told him about the withholding tax: force a man's employer to collect the tax before the employee gets his salary check. This does a number of things.

It places the stigma and the expense of tax-collecting on employers rather than on Government; and it eliminates popular complaint against high and rising taxes, because workers do not fully realize that taxes are high and rising.

A man doesn't have to save and manage so that, at the end of the year, he can give Government 25 or 40 or 50 percent of his earnings for the whole year. All of that has been done by the employer, at the employer's expense. The average worker pays little attention to the Federal income and social security taxes taken out of his paycheck. He quickly adjusts himself to the net amount he gets each payday. If that is not enough, he and his family resent the employer, not Government. They do not demand lower taxes: they demand higher wages.

Withholding tax can, indeed, make taxes pleasant. Internal Revenue Service schedules require employers to deduct (more often than not) more taxes than the employee owes. At the end of the year, Government sends the employee a rebate—a bonus, bigger, in millions of cases, than any bonus the employer ever gives. Thus, beneficent Government gives back to workers a portion of the money which employers took away from them.

Of the 61 million (approximate) Federal income tax returns filed for the year 1958, about 36 million claimed a refund from the Government for overpayment.

Many harsh inequities result from the withholding tax system. It would not do—politically—to make wage earners pay taxes as they go, while permitting self-employed persons to wait until the following year to pay their taxes; but there is no way to withhold a tax from someone who does not get wages. Solution? Make self-employed persons anticipate their income for the year, and pay their tax in advance. That's what people who are not on salaries have to do. If business is better than they guessed it would be—that is, if the estimated tax which they pay in advance for a given year, turns out to be less than they finally have to pay for that year—they are fined for having guessed wrong. If their estimate is wrong in the other direction—that is, if they overpay their tax in advance—they merely get it back without interest, 3 or 4 months after the end of the year.

Every year, thousands of small businessmen have to dig into working capital (thus making growth of their business impossible, often making it difficult for the business even to hold its own) or borrow at interest to pay Federal taxes on income that has not even been made yet. Federal taxes force many small businessmen into bankruptcy in years when they suffer a slump in business—because they must pay, during a year of business losses, Federal taxes estimated on the basis of a previous year when there were profits.

The number of taxpayers who are thus painfully conscious each year of the harshness and weight of Federal taxes is, however, relatively small.

WHAT TO DO ABOUT IT

Some employers, who bear the responsibility and expense of collecting the withholding tax and who know that the growing tax load will ultimately crush all vigor and freedom out of our economic system, have tried various ways of making their employees aware of the taxes withheld from their wages.

For example, in 1957, Mr. Walter Knott, founder and owner of the famous Knott's Berry Farm, Buena Park, Calif., began the practice of enclosing a letter with the W–2 Form which he must send each employee at the end of the year. Here are excerpts from Mr. Knott's letter:

"* * * Your W–2 Form * * * tells you the amount we have been required to hold out of your earnings for income tax during 1957. This entails considerable cost. We did not ask for this job nor are we paid for it, nor are we even thanked for it. * * *

"The amendment to the Constitution which made this tax possible was passed in 1913. This law was conceived in immorality because it was the plan to soak only the rich, and there were only a few of them, and they had few votes. Then, the top bracket was only 6 percent, but now the top bracket takes 91 percent of that same rich man's income.

"But here is the joker—when you give the politician the immoral privilege of taxing the rich man's income, soon he is not satisfied with this and is taxing yours, too. While this started out with taxing the rich 6 percent, now the lowest income people are paying 20 percent.

"And more than 80 percent of the total of this so-called rich man's tax is paid by the people whose income is under $6,000 per year. So while the first intention was to 'soak' someone else, we are all paying the penalty now.

"Let's go to work and repeal this thing. Do I hear someone say, 'Where would the Government get the money to run on without the income tax?' Last year the Government took in, in round numbers, $72 billion; $33 billion of this came from personal income tax. This left $39 billion from other sources, which is just the amount that President Truman spent in the most expensive peacetime year of his administration. If we could do with that much then, we could now. * * *

"Every time the Government takes more of our income and does more things for more people, all over the world, it gets bigger and more autocratic, and we, the people, get more regulated, regimented, and less able to do for ourselves. I can prove this. The very fact that the Government makes us take this money out of your wages proves that they do not trust you to manage your own affairs any more; otherwise, they would let you handle your own money and pay it at the end of the year.

"We would be infinitely better off with less government, and the only way we will ever have less government is to take away the money they do not need and are wasting.

"This is your money I am talking about. Look at this enclosed slip and think what you could have done with this money if we could have left it in your check.* * *"

Other employers have tried other methods; and they all do some good, but nothing would have the quick and startling effect that repealing the withholding tax would have.

A man with two deductions who makes $5,000 a year can adjust himself to the $12.80 withheld for Federal income tax each week. But let him take that money home each week and put it to the uses which his wife will help him find for it; and then, at the end of the year, let him and his wife face the problem of raising $665.60 to pay their Federal income tax.

This would undeniably create chaos for the tax collectors. It would cut down on the Government's tax revenue, and it would produce millions of tax delinquents, but it would set the American people on the road to recapturing control of their own Government. If, at the end of 1960, every taxpayer in America had to face the problem of paying the Federal Government the total income tax imposed on him that year, we would find a substantial crop of politicians in the next election year campaigning on a platform to repeal the income tax amendment.

We cannot restore our constitutional Republic until we force the Federal Government to live by the Constitution. We cannot force it to do that until we take the excess money away from the Washington spenders. We cannot do that until we repeal the income tax amendment; and we cannot repeal the income tax amendment until millions of Americans become so painfully aware of Federal taxation that they demand repeal of the whole immoral system.

The best way to start is to demand that Congress repeal the withholding tax. This could be done at any time by a simple majority vote in House and Senate.

Ukrainian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM A. BARRETT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, today many hundreds of millions of people are suffering under Communist totalitarian dictatorship. In the Soviet Union alone there are more than 200 million who are forced to endure the almost unbear-

able yoke of the Kremlin tyranny. And among these unfortunate millions the Ukrainians have borne the brunt of Russian communism. These brave and patriotic Ukrainians have known freedom for only a very short time during the last 300-odd years of their history. That was during the years 1918–20.

Before the end of the First World War the czarist autocracy collapsed in Russia, and this startling event afforded the opportunity for the Ukrainians to regain their freedom. They seized upon the occasion and proclaimed their national independence on January 22, 1918. Unfortunately for the Ukrainians, and for their friends everywhere, that independence lasted for only a short time. In 1920 the country was attacked by the Red Army, was overrun, and the independent Ukraine passed into the pages of history books. Soon the country was incorporated into the Soviet Union, and to this date it remains chained to that union.

There in their homeland 42 million sturdy and stouthearted Ukrainians lead a miserable life. Like prisoners held behind the veritable Iron Curtain, they are deprived of all forms of freedom, and cannot even celebrate their independence day.

We of the free world, and in this great Republic in celebrating the 42d anniversary of that memorable event, hope and play for their deliverance from Communist totalitarian tyranny.

Mr. Gates' Quick, Wise Move

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, the Secretary of Defense, Mr. Gates, recently determined that either he or his Deputy Secretary will hereafter meet with the Joint Chiefs of Staff whenever they are considering matters upon which they are in disagreement, or upon which disagreement is developing.

On December 29, 1959, Mr. Gates issued a memorandum to this effect to the Joint Chiefs of Staff—a document that is certain to become one of the most historic papers ever prepared in that Department.

The Secretary's action has been widely hailed, and correctly so, as the most important single step ever taken by any Secretary of Defense to insure both effective military planning and strengthened civilian control of our vast military effort.

An editorial appearing in the San Diego Union on January 14, 1960 entitled "Mr. Gates' Quick, Wise Move," is typical of the widespread favorable response that has been prompted by the Secretary's mature act of firm leadership. It highlights the vital importance of the Gates JCS memorandum, as it has come to be called, to the need for sound military planning under strong civilian control.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, that this perceptive comment on Mr. Gates' action be printed in the RECORD and commend it to the attention of all Members.

The editorial follows:

MR. GATES' QUICK, WISE MOVE

Defense Secretary Thomas S. Gates, Jr., has taken the punch out of any congressional move this year to reorganize the Defense Department.

Moreover, he has pulled the props out from under Gen. Maxwell Taylor's complaint that the Defense Secretary is isolated and sealed away from what really goes on in the Pentagon.

Mr. Gates a few weeks after his appointment to the top civilian defense post wisely issued a directive aimed at snuffing out any interservice disputes. The Secretary instructed the Joint Chiefs of Staff to report to him immediately if interservice trouble should break out.

If Mr. Gates can't settle an argument with the help of the Joint Chiefs, he proposes to take it to the White House where the President will be the referee in accord with the intent of the National Defense Act.

Mind you, rivalry among the Armed Forces is natural and reflects pride of service, provided it doesn't get out of hand.

The Secretary's unprecedented directive has a manifold aim, not the least of which is to throttle Pentagon family squabbles before they get started.

The Gates directive appears to be the most promising move so far in the direction of sound decisionmaking in U.S. military policy since the Defense Department was created in 1947 under the Armed Forces Unification Act. It reflects his long experience as a military man and as an administrator.

The Defense Department and its Secretary were to have brought the services together into a more closely knit organization. It not always has worked out that way. The Department, instead of acting in the role of an overseer, has burgeoned until it now is a bureaucracy of formidable proportions in its own right. This has made it difficult sometimes for the Secretary to administer his own department and still keep an eye on the other services.

Mr. Gates' directive means that for the first time a Defense Secretary formally assumes full personal responsibility for civilian leadership in top-level policy decisions. The Defense Department was designed to make this possible. And it makes certain, too, that in reaching these decisions he will have given consideration to the views of all his military advisers—the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps.

The Secretary leaves no door open for the professional critics of the Pentagon, most of them in the Congress. Nor can the claim of General Taylor, the retired and unhappy Army Chief of Staff, have any validity now that Mr. Gates has moved in swiftly to settle arguments within his official family.

Bomb Explosions on Passenger Airplanes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, the Orlando (Fla.) Junior Chamber of Commerce, which has the largest membership of any city jaycee group in the world, is deeply concerned—and I share its concern—over recent incidents involving bomb explosions on passenger airplanes. Under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD I offer a resolution adopted by the board of directors of the Orlando Jaycees, as follows:

Whereas the Orlando Junior Chamber of Commerce has always been intensely interested in measures providing greater safety for the citizens of the community, State and Nation, and

Whereas safe, efficient passage by public airline to and from Orlando is vital to the continued growth and development of the community and the State of Florida, and

Whereas there have been numerous airline crashes caused or apparently caused by the explosion of bombs carried aboard planes by passengers, and

Whereas the faith of the people in public air transportation is being impaired by such events: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Orlando Junior Chamber of Commerce go on record as recommending to the aviation industry, the Civil Aeronautics Board and all in authority in the field of aviation, that some method of inspection of the baggage and persons of all airline passengers be promptly adopted and used to prevent such tragedies; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, Members of both Houses of Congress of the United States, members of the Civil Aeronautics Board, presidents of all the airlines in the United States, the presidents of all companies selling insurance at all airports, and such other persons and organizations as may be deemed appropriate.

Bryce Harlow Named ROA Citizen of Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. BYRNES
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article from the February issue of The Officer, the official publication of the Reserve Officers Association of the United States, entitled "Harlow: Minuteman of 1960."

The article pays well-deserved tribute to Bryce Harlow, Deputy Assistant to the President for Congressional Affairs, who has been named 1960 "Citizen of the Year" by the Reserve Officers Association.

Recognition of the contributions made by Bryce Harlow to his country is long overdue. Quietly and efficiently, he has performed outstanding service both in the legislative and executive branch, and, in each, he has played an important if little publicized role in working out sound solutions to the problems of our day and bringing them to fruition.

I have had the honor to work closely with Bryce Harlow, as have many other Members of the House, and I know they

all join me in congratulating him on the high honor he has received from his fellow officers.

The article follows:

HARLOW: MINUTEMAN OF 1960—CITIZEN OF THE YEAR AWARD GOES TO A "LITTLE GIANT" WHOSE RECOGNITION AS A PATRIOT NO LONGER CAN BE DENIED

(By Col. Jesse B. Stuart)

Usually, when one considers the likely candidates for high office and high honors, the image of a "giant" comes into mind.

This great American weakness for glamour, this continuing invitation to delusion by idols with feet of clay, may plague us down through the future years.

But in 1960, ROA has named for its "citizen of the year" one who, by common standards, has claim neither to glamour, high office, nor giant physical stature.

I first met Bryce Harlow in General Marshall's office in 1943. He was—and is—a little man. But, he had a great brain, and a fine hand, and everyone seemed to recognize that the "little captain" was a right arm and a stonewall as a cog in the great machine the Army Chief of Staff was using.

Bryce had come to Washington as assistant to a Member of the House and along the political paths bringing him to Washington he had picked up considerable "moxie."

It was not until after the Army had promoted him to lieutenant colonel and awarded him the Legion of Merit that I found out his "moxie" had a firm foundation.

At the University of Oklahoma, he had made Phi Beta Kappa for his undergraduate work, and later he had earned his master's in political science.

After our brief acquaintance in the Pentagon, I took off on secret missions, which took me to a place called Normandy, and it was sometime later that I got out of a field hospital at Bastogne and back to Walter Reed. My first visitor was Bryce Harlow, and I'll always remember his thoughtfulness.

In 1945, "Uncle Carl" Vinson demonstrated his brilliance by bringing Bryce into the House Armed Services Committee as staff director, and Col. Bob Smart, who now holds that job and does his work brilliantly, will understand my assertion that nobody ever again will run the committee with the knowledgeable firmness of the "Little Colonel." Bryce saw the groundwork for one postwar military policy laid, including our reserve program, and in 1951, he took off for Oklahoma City.

Life on the Potomac is exacting, and the grind is constant. Bryce simply did what everybody else talks of doing—he quit and went home.

HERE—A REAL DRAFT

In Oklahoma City, Bryce was vice president of the Harlow Publishing Corporation, and was getting along fine.

But Washington was not let him escape for long. After the 1952 elections, one of his wartime associates was preparing to move into the White House. General Eisenhower pointed at Bryce as the one man he wanted to handle congressional relations.

Wilton B. (Jerry) Persons caught a plane to Oklahoma City and stayed there until he had Bryce's promise to get ready to join the new President's staff in January 1953.

In 7 years, he again has demonstrated the gifts of which all Washington has become aware. Bryce has had several titles, including Administrative Assistant to the President, and Deputy Assistant to the President for Congressional Affairs.

Titles don't mean as much as his record of performance. Handling as tough a congressional mission as has ever been given a Capitol Hill man, Bryce has turned in a batting average that is incredible.

Brother Bryce gets the nod for the Minuteman award this year over a goodly company of patriots, anyone of whom would have honored the award. They, of course, remain unrevealed.

The record of his achievements speaks rather eloquently. But the record does not sparkle as does his personality, which carried many a day for a good cause.

It is not as stout as his fine character, which is the bedrock of every good American's nature.

It does not reflect the polish and deftness of his diplomacy, which turned the tide for us many a time when the issues were shadowy, nor the clarity of his intellect which ofttimes cleared the shadows.

So, the ingredients in our Minuteman winner this year include high competence, intellectual stature, diplomacy, personality, and character, and a great many other things which are rather indefinable.

And by our standards those things go into the makeup of a giant among men—the incorruptible patriot. That is ROA's Minuteman of 1960.

High Interest Rates—But Not for the GOP

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. NEWELL A. GEORGE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, plans are underway for the erection of a "grandiose club house" and office building on Capitol Hill for the Republican Party. A good feature about this building is that it would be in honor of former Speaker and former Majority Leader JOSEPH W. MARTIN and would bear his name.

To the great majority of the people of America, however, the name and the purpose of this edifice is unimportant, but of overriding importance in connection with this project is a letter signed by the Chairman of the Republican National Committee in which he suggests a method by which the memorial to Mr. MARTIN might be financed, and stated "that the project be financed through the sale of bonds. 'Some of our friends might be willing to take these bonds at a lower interest than the current rate.'"

It is very significant that while under the Republican administration the cost of interest payments on the public debt has increased approximately 50 percent since 1955, or nearly $3¼ billion, the administration is recommending that the Congress remove the interest limitation on long-term Government obligations, which would add to the taxpayers' burden.

While the high interest rate policy of the national administration continues to fan the fires of inflation, the Grand Old Party wants to provide its own with lower interest rates, thereby showing its disregard for the American who desires to purchase a home or borrow money for business reasons. Thus, the Old Guard of the Republican Party expects to obtain preferred treatment from the huge financiers and industrialists who have contributed to the Republican Party since the day it was founded.

The moneychangers have not yet been driven from the temple—the temple of the Republican Party. It is only logical for that party to expect lower interest rates from its huge financial angels in payment for services performed.

The letter of the National Republican Chairman clearly expresses how that party draws a distinction between what is good for the GOP and what is good for the average homebuilder.

The Grand Old Party apparently is expecting another "campaign contribution" from these special interests, which would not be required to be reported under the "clean politics" law, similar to the recent contribution made by the Big Steel interests to the Nixon campaign.

An article by Marie Smith, which appeared in the Washington Post of January 13, 1960, explains the details of the plan to build and finance the super edifice of the GOP, which I ask be included as part of the extension of my remarks:

GOP PLANS JOE MARTIN BUILDING

(By Marie Smith)

Republican plans for a grandiose clubhouse and office building on Capitol Hill with various units named for current Party heroes were disclosed yesterday by Representative JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS, Republican, of New Jersey, chairman of the board of the Capitol Hill Club.

In a luncheon report to the ladies of the club, AUCHINCLOSS said the building plans are "still unofficial but are so darned near official, I dont' know that you can tell it apart." They have been approved, he said, by both President Eisenhower and the Republican National Committee.

To be erected on the club's present property in the 200 block of First Street SE., without tearing down the present building, the club house will have facilities for a membership of 5,000.

The office building, to be named the Joseph W. Martin Building, for the former Speaker of the House, will be headquarters for the Republican National Committee.

AUCHINCLOSS said an auditorium with a seating capacity of 500, on the first floor of the office building, will be dedicated as a memorial to the late Senator Robert A. Taft, Republican, of Ohio, and his father, President William Howard Taft.

On the first floor of the clubhouse will be the Eisenhower Room, a lounge room with a fireplace at each end, AUCHINCLOSS said. On the second floor the 350-person capacity dining room will be called the Douglas MacArthur Room. Two smaller dining rooms will adjoin. On the third floor will be the Herbert Hoover Library in which will be kept the official papers of former Speaker of the House Joseph W. Martin.

The fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh floors of the clubhouse will each have 13 double bedrooms with adjoining baths, AUCHINCLOSS said. He added that one or two bedrooms on one floor may be converted to contain a steam bath and beauty salon for lady members.

In the basement of the club house will be a grill room and bar for the exclusive use of men of the club and named the Builders' Room for the first 50 contributors of $1,000 each to establish a fund of $50,000 with which to launch a fund-raising drive, Auchincloss said.

The office building, he said, will be occupied exclusively by the Republican National Committee and related organizations such as the Young Republicans, National Federation of Republican Women and the

House and Senate Congressional Campaign Committees.

Total cost of the project will be $3.5 million with an additional $500,000 needed for furnishings and equipment, he said. "Work will start as soon as sufficient funds are available," he added.

At least $250,000 must be raised for each of the memorials, he said, and donors of these funds will have their names inscribed on tablets to be erected in the rooms.

Auchincloss suggested several plans for raising money for the project. "We hope a situation can be worked out whereby subscribers may exchange subscription receipts for common stock in Capitol Hill Associates, owners of the property," he said.

State quotas will be assigned, ranging from $40,000 to $2,000, and each State that subscribes its quota will be entitled to have a block of native stone with the State shield engraved thereon placed in the facade of the building.

That, AUCHINCLOSS said, should raise a minimum of $60,000 and "we hope to get $1 million in special gifts.

"We hope to get this building in a year or a year and a half," he said, adding, "we will have to finance it and you ladies can help do that through memberships."

AUCHINCLOSS said as soon as the initial $50,000 is raised an executive director and adequate staff will be engaged to conduct a fundraising campaign. In the last 3 days he has raised $12,000, he said, and at yesterday's luncheon Katherine McCook Knox made it $13,000 with a $1,000 pledge.

Republican National Committee Chairman THRUSTON MORTON, Senator from Kentucky, proposed in a letter which AUCHINCLOSS read yesterday that the project be financed through the sale of bonds. "Some of our friends might be willing to take these bonds at a lower interest rate than the current rate," MORTON was quoted as saying.

This is the second set of building plans presented to the club. The first set, which included a printed drawing of the proposed edifice called for a building situated at the corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and First Street. However, the club failed in efforts to purchase the property on which to build.

AUCHINCLOSS said the present plans are for building on the 15,000 square feet already owned by the club which has a current membership of 1,200.

Forty-second Anniversary of Ukrainian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONARD G. WOLF
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, last week was the 42d commemoration of the Ukrainian Declaration of Independence. This occasion has not gone unnoticed. Wherever freemen gather they have marked this anniversary in their minds and hearts for that time when there will be a complete resurgence of freedom in those areas of the world where the spirit and the acts of men are fettered by authoritarian or totalitarian governments.

In the United States we must renew our efforts at home and abroad to encourage dignity and freedom among men no matter where they may be.

Address by Hon. John H. Dent Before Jeannette Rotary Club, November 30, 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, it is not often that one of our colleagues gets a special note of appreciation from his constituency and especially from his own hometown.

Recently, our colleague, the Honorable JOHN H. DENT, of the 21st District of Pennsylvania, addressed his local Rotary Club, November 30, 1959.

The following excerpts from the Rotary Spokesman is a credit to our colleague and it is with personal pride and pleasure that I submit with the excerpt a copy of his address before this group of local business and civic leaders:

[From the Rotary Spokesman, Jeannette, Pa., Dec. 7, 1959]

All members in attendance last Monday agreed that we can be inordinately proud of our own JOHNNY DENT, who has not only been our own to the town but has been our own in Rotary until the meeting days and makeups got too much for him. Congressman JOHN H. DENT gave not only a masterful address (copies, too, in mimeographed form) to the club last Monday but showed a grasp of this international monetary system that is short of miraculous. With his many activities, miles of traveling, office routine, days in Congress, and multitudious duties in connection with his office, it is a wonder that he maintains any kind of mental equilibrium and emotional stability. But he does it. And in so doing is the same affable, energetic, JOHNNY that makes Westmoreland proud to have him in Washington. Our thanks to Al Condo for tying him down for us.

The address follows:

CONGRESSMAN DENT'S SPEECH TO THE JEANNETTE ROTARY CLUB, NOVEMBER 30, 1959

My subject tonight will be relative to our financial weakness in the field of international finance. The word "blackmail" has come to be used in many different phases of our daily lives. For instance, the labor reform bill was passed by the frequent and ofttimes unrelated use of the word "blackmail" when talking about picketing. It has become the one word that describes pressure applied with a threat of bodily injury, loss of personal reputation, political defeat and in the relationships between nations it has virtually become about the only word that can describe some of our international diplomacy and foreign policy.

It does not take an expert to realize that something is wrong when countries scattered all over the world are scenes for riots and demonstrations against Americans and in some cases our flag is spat and trampled upon. Let us not delude ourselves into a position of false security by the talk of double dealing diplomats.

Our problem is one of an unwillingness on the part of leaders to recognize the need for a complete review of our international position, a reappraisal of our reciprocal trades program and a very searching look at our mutual and foreign aid program.

When I first called for action along these lines in my first month as a Member of the Congress of the United States, I was scoffed at and even ridiculed by many persons and periodicals. It is interesting to note the change and the demand now by national periodicals, editorial writers and even the President, for a reappraisal of our positions on trade and aid. When I first offered my amendment to make the Buy American Act operative I received such an overwhelming defeat that I started to doubt my own conclusions and opinions. However, in the last session it took all the power of the leadership of both sides, Republicans and Democrats, to defeat my amendment and then only by a few votes.

I mention this because recently I attended a meeting of western Pennsylvania Members of Congress with both parties represented. The subject of conversation during the entire afternoon was the question of foreign trade and aid, and in particular the flight of the American gold reserve. For your information, I want to give you a quick analysis of our precarious financial position and some of the suggestions made by men considered to be leaders and thinkers in both our economic as well as our political activities.

It is too much to expect to cover the whole picture of the past 30 years, but sufficient to say that there was a very demanding need for the Marshall plan of foreign aid in the beginning and the only trouble with our situation is that we failed to make a turn in the road when the road signs called for a reappraisal of our program at least 6 years ago. When the Marshall plan was proposed it was intended as a means of stopping the spread of communism by helping our allies and friends to rehabilitate to the level of their economy as it was in the latter part of 1939. Long ago our help passed this goal and we are now embarked upon a program of establishing in practically every country an economy to not only match our won, but actually to surpass us in some fields. We are stretched out so thinly that our military presence in some countries has become a bone of contention rather than an assurance of security.

Our financial position can best point up our weakness because of its dramatic threat of catastrophy. Let us look at our 10-year history of U.S. gold on a short-term position. In 1949, we had a gold reserve of $24.4 billion with a short-term claim on foreign countries of $800 million and a short-term liability to foreign countries of $5.9 billion. This left us a net worth in gold reserve of $19.3 billion. At the end of June 1959 we had a Treasury reserve of gold of $19.7 billion with claims in our favor of $2.4 billion and a liability against us of $15.7 billion. This left us a reserve net worth of $6.5 billion.

This is even worse today because we are losing our reserve at the rate of $4 billion annually right now. If a run is made on our Treasury by foreign claimholders, we find ourselves in a serious difficulty because Congress long ago established a reserve ratio to be maintained by the Treasury which calls for $11.8 billion in order to keep our present dollar volume sound and protected by gold reserve. This means we would be short $5.3 billion, or, in plain words, bankrupt.

In fact, as of June 30, certificates representing beneficial ownership of $19.4 billion of this gold were held by Federal Reserve banks. This was $7.9 billion in excess of minimum requirements of 25 percent required by law against such liabilities. This in itself shows the worst financial picture this Nation has ever been in during our lifetime.

The main reason the foreign claims have not been exercised is because this country has raised its interest rate to the highest in history on short-term borrowing. They, therefore, are content to leave their claims and collect the heavy interest (tax free in this country) while still holding a first mort-

gage on our gold reserve. This, then, is one of the forms of blackmail on an international scale.

We, the taxpayers of America, have to pay high interest in order to keep the foreign claimants from calling for payment of their mortgage. One wonders how much of this money used by these foreign countries to create these claims in the first place come from the American taxpayers by granting foreign aid, preferential treatment in reciprocal trades, and American investments in foreign production factilities.

It is a recognized fact that unless we do something drastic our bankers cannot lower interest rates, our Government cannot lower short-term interest rates because of the blackmail threat of foreign claims to start a run on our Treasury reserve. The $5.3 billion question then is this: What can we do? Frankly, no single person knows the answers, but here are a few suggestions proposed by various groups and individuals.

Stop the outflow of gold to foreign countries by—

(a) Limiting the amounts of American money travelers, tourists, and businessmen can take out of our country.

(b) Making all purchases by foreign stationed American troops and personnel subject to made-in-America orders and even so far as limiting amounts they are given out of their salaries and pay checks to spend for foreign goods.

(c) Making it mandatory that our own military buy all-American supplies, etc.

(d) Limiting all financial aid to all countries and giving only goods and services as mutual and foreign aid.

(e) Reevaluating our trade agreements to allow domestic industry protection at least in the amount represented by taxes and Government-imposed payroll costs on American goods.

(f) Having Congress remove any requirement of gold reserve to back up our own Federal Reserve bank notes.

(g) Increasing the price of gold from $35 to $70 an ounce. (In anticipation of this move Canada and England have put gold bar certificate stock on the market, and a clean-up of billions will be made by the holders of these gold bar certificates.)

(h) Puting into effect drastic restrictions on the American economic front by limiting profits, stopping all wage increases, and increasing production of trade goods.

These are the most prominent suggestions; however, there are many more. Personally, I feel that these moves appear to be an admission of panic thinking, and not, as a whole, a program that can be instituted with any degree of confidence. Time does not permit an analysis of each suggestion, but with your kind indulgence I would like to give a hurried comment on some of the issues involved.

Suggestions (a), (b), (c), (d), and (e) would immediately be put under the heading of "Foreign Policy" since the spending and giving of American money have been the main plank in our platform in our foreign relations program. Castro's actions in Cuba and Egypt's action on the Suez Canal are just a few of the examples of what happens when we refuse or curtail our money aid to our friends.

Again we are faced with a form of blackmail in that when we try to curtail our aid the door is opened wide (by invitation) to Communist Russia. This, then, is a tread-easy path if we attempt to follow it.

Suggestion F would create a situation where Congress and the people would lose all control on the amount of paper money the Federal Reserve System could put into the market because any other restrictive covenant would still be a brake and this solution requires elimination of any reserve.

Suggestion G would not be a very satisfactory answer because nothing would stop the claimant nations from increasing their money price and in fact, would bring on the very thing we are trying to avoid, a run on our Treasury.

Suggestion H speaks for itself. To stop all economic increases in this country would jeopardize our way of life, our national debt service and particularly our world prestige.

All in all, Congress and the people have serious and threatening problems that require immediate attention.

Standing pat because of the national elections next year may be the most dangerous move ever made by our Nation. For fear of being called isolationists, protectionists, and high tariff advocates, many of our powerful voices have been stilled over these past eventful years.

The time has come to face facts and to forget personal ambitions and personal and corporate profits derived from foreign trade and investments. Our financial dilemma can be traced strictly to the balance of trade, foreign aid, military grants, loans, and importations of goods and services which we produce in surplus.

Following this is a hypothetical transaction, indicative of what has been happening all over the world and the direct cause of much of our present crisis in gold. No business in the United States could stay solvent if it treated its competitors in this manner.

I have not touched upon the long-term position simply because no living person can guarantee the obligations of foreign countries to the United States on long-term credits.

Would you guarantee the moneys owed the United States by Cuba at this moment? In this area we are like a football team that goes into the game a 20-point favorite because it looks good on paper, but loses the game.

My friends, I am sorry time and patience will not allow me to continue this all important subject, but one thing is sure. This Nation will have to reevaluate its own economy, determine what standard we want to live under and make up our minds that other countries will have to do the same.

It is one thing to help the family of a friend, relative, or neighbor in an emergency, but an entirely different picture when you take "them to raise."

Incidentally, this poses a question. If you had limited aid to give, to whom would you give it—a friend, a relative, or a neighbor? Think about it awhile.

In closing, let me quote something Abraham Lincoln once said: "If we could first know where we are and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do and how to do it."

Thank you for listening.

HYPOTHETICAL TRANSACTION

The U.S. Government makes a grant of $3 million to a foreign government to enable it to undertake a specific $3 million project in its own country. The grant is effectuated by the U.S. Treasury's giving the foreign government a check for $3 million drawn on the Treasury's account at some Federal Reserve bank. The foreign government deposits this check in its own central bank, giving that bank a balance of $3 million in U.S. funds.

The project requires the importation of $2 million of materials and equipment from the United States and the use of domestic labor and materials costing the equivalent of $1 million. In making payment through its central bank for the imported materials and equipment, the foreign government uses up $2 million of the U.S. funds that it turned over to the central bank. The central bank invests the remaining $1 million of U.S. funds in short-term U.S. Government securities. (They pay their domestic bills with their own currency.)

In paying for domestic labor and materials costing the equivalent of $1 million, the foreign government draws checks on its central bank payable in domestic money, and through such disbursements exhausts its balance at the bank derived from the U.S. grant.

Such checks are deposited by the recipients in domestic commercial banks and then are redeposited by such commercial banks in the central bank, increasing the commercial banks' deposits in the central bank by the equivalent of $1 million.

Upon completion of these transactions:

(1) The foreign central bank holds $1 million short-term U.S. Government securities which can quickly be translated into a claim on U.S. gold;

(2) the foreign central bank's reserves inclusive of such potential claim on U.S. gold have been increased by $1 million;

(3) the liabilities of the foreign central bank in the form of deposits of domestic commercial banks have been increased by the equivalent of $1 million; and

(4) the ratio of the foreign central banks' total reserves to total liabilities has been strengthened (assuming that it previously was less than 100 percent).

The essence of the entire transaction, as between the United States and the foreign country, is that the United States gave the foreign country $2 million materials and equipment and a claim on $1 million gold.

LIFO (H.R. 6014)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. NOAH M. MASON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, during the past several months a great deal of interest has been shown in my bill, H.R. 6014, which would ameliorate the impact of inventory depletion caused by shortages resulting from labor disputes in the case of taxpayers using the LIFO—last-in, first-out—method of inventory accounting.

For the benefit of my colleagues I want to give you an explanation of this bill, showing what it purports to accomplish.

My sponsorship of this legislation early last spring was based on my concern over the possible impact that a prolonged steel strike might have on fabricators of steel who utilize the LIFO inventory method. The purpose of my legislation is to permit such individuals to avoid the tax impact that would otherwise occur where the taxpayer has had to liquidate his LIFO inventories because of inability to obtain additional inventory caused by a labor dispute or threat or imminence thereof.

LIFO is a method of identifying inventory items in the taxpayer's closing inventory for the purpose of determining the cost of goods sold. Under the LIFO method, the last inventory additions are the first items included in the cost of goods sold. In a period of rising prices,

the cost of goods sold tends to be higher and taxable income lower under LIFO than would be the case if the FIFO—first-in, first-out—method were used. If, however, a LIFO taxpayer is unable to replace inventory, then to the extent of the liquidation his base stock is depleted and his cost of goods sold will reflect an amount less than the cost of replacement. The effect will be to increase his taxable income over the amount that would properly reflect replacement cost.

H.R. 6014 would alleviate the consequence of the inventory liquidation of base stock because of shortages that are induced by labor disputes affecting suppliers of inventory to the taxpayer.

The bill would provide an election to the taxpayer to treat as if he had in the year of liquidation replaced the inventory, which he does, in fact, replace within the 2 succeeding years. The taxpayer would be able to treat the costs of inventory replacement incurred in the subsequent 2 years as if they had been incurred in the year of liquidation. This has the effect of decreasing taxable income for the year of liquidation in the same manner as would have occurred if the reduction in inventory had not occurred.

If a partial or a complete replacement is accomplished within the 2-year period, the taxable income of the taxpayer for the year of inventory liquidation shall be decreased by an amount equal to the excess of the aggregate replacement cost over the aggregate cost of the opening inventory of the year of liquidation. An increase in tax liability would occur if the opening inventory cost exceeded the aggregate replacement cost. Provision is made that interest shall not apply to deficiencies and overpayments resulting from the operation of this bill.

As introduced, this legislation would be effective with respect to inventory liquidations occurring in taxable years ending after December 31, 1958.

Ukrainian Independence Day

SPEECH
OF
HON. JAMES C. HEALEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. HEALEY. Mr. Speaker, 42 years ago this week the Ukrainian people gained their freedom by proclaiming their independence for the first time after centuries of oppression and foreign domination. This freedom, unfortunately, did not last and does not exist today. We commemorate this anniversary with sadness and sympathy for the plight of those millions of Ukrainian people who today are the victims of Communist expansion and aggression.

It is difficult for us in the United States to realize what this means and to conceive the sufferings the Ukrainian people have endured since their country was so brutally overrun in 1920 by the Red army.

This anniversary serves as a reminder of the fateful enslavement of 40 million Ukrainians, who have kept alive a spirit of freedom and have sustained faith in eventual liberation. The desire for freedom of these and other peoples suppressed by communism cannot be ignored and I have faith that the day will come when they will once again become free and independent. We must try to encourage them to continue their efforts and hopes toward that day. They deserve our encouragement, and it is my hope that the expressions of sympathy on the part of Members of the U.S. Congress this week will serve to strengthen their courage and kindle their hopes.

Let's Stop Murder in the Sky

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BYRON L. JOHNSON
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, perhaps no community in the United States feels more keenly the need for further legislation to protect peaceful citizens against wanton mass murder by airplane destruction than does Longmont, Colo., for the plane destroyed by John Gilbert Graham crashed just a few miles from the city of Longmont.

I should like to call the attention of the Members to the leading editorial in the Longmont Daily Times-Call of January 22, in support of Representative JAMES G. O'HARA'S H.R. 9777 calling for examination of all articles except mail taken aboard commercial passenger aircraft:

LET'S STOP MURDER IN THE SKY

Murder in the sky continues to take its terrible toll, and unless there is concerted effort to stop it, the toll of human lives will grow.

Since the disaster November 1, 1955, when a United Mainliner was destroyed by a bomb over a Longmont farm, the Daily Times-Call has been trying to get action which would prevent such a thing recurring.

After 44 persons were killed here, the Congress did pass a bill providing the death penalty for anyone placing a bomb on a commercial airliner. Prior to that, there was no Federal penalty, and John Gilbert Graham, Denver, who was responsible for the local disaster, was tried in State courts and executed at Colorado penitentiary.

The Times-Call felt little would be gained by the congressional action, and campaigned for mechanical inspection of all baggage carried on passenger airliners.

This plan to protect all those who fly met stiff opposition in official quarters. William S. Hill, Second District Congressman at that time, told the Times-Call that "to single out the airplane transportation for one type and kind of baggage examination and not include trains, buses, etc., would, of course, cause considerable confusion, difficulty, and possible legal technicalities."

The CAB, whose job it was deciding on airline regulations through its right arm, the Civil Aeronautics Administration, asked manufacturers if they could design a plane so that a baggage compartment explosion would not destroy the plane but merely blow off a door. Of course nothing came of that.

Then there was the time element. CAA officials said, "If you had 60 passengers waiting to board a plane, and you took 3 minutes to open each one's luggage, you'd spend 180 minutes, enough time to fly from New York to Miami."

Other officials felt the possibility of a repetition of the Longmont horror was slight.

However, various instrument makers did come up with mechanical inspection devices which they claimed would aid in detecting explosives in baggage. But nothing came of that, either.

Since the first of the year, 163 persons have lost their lives in commercial airline crashes in the U.S., and two of the planes are believed to have carried bombs. This doesn't bear out official reaction that it couldn't happen again. Now, Representative JAMES G. O'HARA, Democrat, of Michigan, has introduced a measure in the House which would require examination of all articles except mail taken aboard commercial passenger aircraft.

The Times-Call still feels this is the only solution to the problem if people are to be protected against murder in the sky.

The baggage inspection time element could be overcome by requiring baggage to be checked at a certain hour before flights. If it isn't, it could follow on another plane.

Actually there seems to be no valid reason for any more delay in an inspection law. It is hoped the Colorado congressional delegation will get behind Congressman O'HARA's bill. They will if you let them know how you feel. You, your loved ones and your friends are entitled to this protection from wanton killers in the sky.

Is This Trip Necessary?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by Gerald W. Johnson as it appeared in the New Republic, January 25, 1960, issue:

IS THIS TRIP NECESSARY?

As far as is apparent to a superficial observer with no inside information, President Eisenhower's odyssey through the Eastern Hemisphere did no great harm, and in India may have done some good; which is ample reason for heaving a sigh of relief.

But now he is projecting another jaunt, this one through Brazil, Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay, and on the face of the facts this one involves an even greater risk. It is known that there are Communist elements of considerable strength in Brazil and Chile, and a Peronista element in Argentina. All these are hostile to the United States, and also to their own governments. All would welcome a chance to insult the President of the United States; and if by doing so they can also embarrass their own governments, so much the better, from their standpoint.

It is a reasonable assumption, then, that during the President's visit they will make every effort to accomplish this double object.

Some of them are reckless fanatics, and others are wily and resourceful intriguers; so to guard against an unpleasant incident the governments concerned must take extraordinary precautions which will probably involve considerable expense, not to mention the risk to their security officers and ordinary police. In short, the visit of President Eisenhower seems likely to impose upon the host governments a burden heavier than that imposed upon the Government of the United States by the visit of Mr. Khrushchev; and ours was no light one.

The question then arises, what gain is to be expected from this trip that will overcompensate the risk to the dignty of the United States and of the nations that will be his hosts? The results of Mr. NIXON's reckless disregard of sober advice not to visit Lima and Caracas certainly were no improvement in inter-American relations. Aside from his own danger, he almost got the Foreign Minister of Venezuela lynched, which will not be forgotten for a long time by Venezuelans.

But, after all, it is the President, not the Vice President, who is the custodian of the dignity of the Nation, so an insult to him would be 10 times worse than a comparable insult to any other official. No President has a right to assume that risk for any other than compelling reasons of state. Partisan political advantage certainly cannot pass for any such reason.

Hope of materially improving international relations is a reason of state, one that justified the invitation to Mr. Khrushchev, and that will justify the President's attendance at a summit conference wherever it may be held. But that the hope is strong enough to justify a trip through South America, after the mess that NIXON made there, is debatable, to put it mildly. For one thing, it is 7 years late. Mr. Eisenhower is an outgoing, not an incoming, President, and any personal relations he may establish with the leaders of South America will last for only 11 months at best.

For the rest, the American public is not aware of any matter at issue between us and the South American countries that cannot be handled satisfactorily through the usual diplomatic channels without the personal intervention of the President. If a crisis exists, it has been remarkably well concealed; nor have we been informed that the diplomatic machinery has stalled, as it has with respect to Russia.

But in the absence of some such reason one is driven back to the unpleasant explanation that the real object of this expedition is a hoped-for domestic political effect. Something is needed to obliterate, or at least to blur the voters' recollection of the disastrous Nixon tour; and what could do that as effectively as a triumphal tour by the President through the same continent?

That explanation is unpleasant because it would imply that the Eisenhower visit, obviously risky, is being undertaken in the interest of the Republican Party rather than in the interest of the United States. That would be politics of such reckless irresponsibility that to characterize it words fail. It is idle to point out that the South Americans invited the visit. So they did; but any friendly country would issue an invitation on the merest hint that an invitation is desired; and none would have been issued had the authorities involved been informed that Mr. Eisenhower didn't want to go.

There is hardly a doubt that personally he would be glad to get out of it. Such a trip is no fun, it is an arduous ordeal for the President. The galling suspicion is that once again he has been victimized by political advisers who are more smart than intelligent, and who have emphasized his duty to the party so strongly that they have momentarily blinded him to his superior duty to the country and the world.

The High Cost of Drugs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting into the Appendix of the RECORD a thoughtful article appearing in the December 1959 Minutes by the Farm Bureau, giving some reasons why fair trade is not in the public interest.

Over and above this the article entitled "The High Cost of Drugs" in a very interesting way equates how high drug prices have been brought about by the practices within the drug manufacturing industry and how the small pharmacist is now being forced to pay the freight for high industry profits.

Unfortunately, the little corner druggist is being led like a lamb to the slaughter in support of fair trade, H.R. 1253, which will not help him but which is aimed at really preserving high drug profits as set forth in the article.

The article follows:

WHAT YOU CAN DO ABOUT THE HIGH COST OF DRUGS

(By William Meek)

A Columbus, Ohio, pharmacist recently remodeled his store, taking out a profitable gift department in order to double the size of his prescription center. He made the change reluctantly.

"I was making more money on gifts than I'll make on prescriptions," he explained, "but we had to have more shelf space. If the drug companies keep coming out with new products, we'll have to take out the soda fountain next."

He was only half joking. Ten years ago his store stocked some 400 drug items. Now there are nearly 2,000 different drug products on his shelves, and more are added nearly every week.

This inventory problem, shared in some degree by every pharmacist in the country, is one reason the average cost of prescriptions has gone up 75 percent since 1949. It costs money to stock so many products, and of course the cost is passed along to the customers.

Do you benefit from the large inventory you're paying for? It seems doubtful. According to Dr. Claude Forkner, professor of clinical medicine at Cornell University, there are only 3 or 4 useful sulfonamide preparations but 200 different sulfonamide products; 3 or 4 good antihistamine drugs and 130 antihistamine products; 8 to 10 necessary hematinic drugs (used to treat anemia) and 300 preparations on the market.

Drug manufacturers put out 370 new prescription drugs in 1958, 400 in 1957, and 401 in 1956. In an article for the Cooperative News Service, one of a series on the high cost of drugs, Author David W. Angevine pointed out that few of the new products introduced each year contain previously unknown substances. "Nearly all of them," he wrote, "are old drugs in new combinations, in more potent or less potent forms, or in, say, ampules instead of tablets."

Why do drugmakers put out so many products? Obviously, because it's profitable. Also, because they have competitors.

According to Dr. Louis Lasagna, coeditor of the Journal of Chronic Diseases and professor of medicine and pharmacology at Johns Hopkins University. "Drug houses feel they have to come out with new products—or new combinations and forms of old products—to make it appear they are on their toes. When a competitor comes out with antibiotics plus vitamins in one capsule, the conservative firm may think this is a lot of baloney but still may be impelled to follow suit in a fight to retain its share of the market."

In this no-holds-barred fight, drug manufacturers spent $300 million last year promoting their prescription drugs. A recent survey showed that the average physician gets 4,900 drug ads in the mail a year—13 a day. In addition, each company has detail men who visit doctors regularly to explain the benefits of their products. Then there are special activities for doctors, sponsored by drug companies and ranging from golf tournaments, fishing contests, and sport smokers to free trips and entertainment.

This continuous promotion work produces a continuous chain reaction. Doctors, who used to prescribe drugs in certain combinations, now prescribe products.[1] If a new product seems to be better for a certain ailment than yesterday's, some doctors prescribe it and drug stores have to stock it. Pharmacists, who used to compound most prescriptions from basic drugs, now take pills or capsules out of big bottles and put them into little bottles. And the number of big bottles on their shelves grows and grows. The inevitable result: high prices at the prescription counter.

Strangely, the fierce competition among drug makers seems to have little effect on prices. The Senate antitrust subcommittee has just begun hearings into this matter, trying to find if drug prices are administered by tacit mutual consent of the various companies. The subcommittee is particularly interested in the prices of antibiotics. Prices of patented broad-spectrum antibiotics have remained practically unchanged since 1951, while unpatented antibiotics such as penicillin have gone down in price steadily as production has increased.

Another factor influencing drug prices is State fair trade legislation, which enables manufacturers to set fixed prices for their products. A survey made by the U.S. Department of Justice in 1956 disclosed that prices of prescriptions in Washington, D.C., which has no fair trade law, were an average 17 percent lower than the established fair trade prices in other areas. A bill to legalize nationwide price fixing at the retail level was introduced in the House during the last session of Congress. A principal supporter of the bill (H.R. 1253) is the National Association of Retail Druggists.

With so many pressures forcing the cost of drugs up, the lone consumer stands little chance of stemming the tide. Yet there are several things you can do.

First, when your doctor writes a prescription for you, ask him to specify the generic or scientific name of the drug rather than the name of a product. If a product name appears on a prescription, the pharmacist must supply that product; if no product name is used, you may have a choice of several identical products at different prices. Also, you can price the prescription at more than one store. Some stores carry their own brands at somewhat lower prices.

On nonprescription items, choose the lowest priced brand marked "USP." These letters on the label mean the product meets the standard set forth in the U.S. Pharmacopoeia and is as good as any other product of its kind, regardless of price or brand name.

---

[1] According to James Cook, medical writer for the New York Post, prescription surveys show that 89 percent of the doctors prescribe drugs by brand name rather than scientific name.

If there's a group health organization in your community, find out more about it. Several million persons belong to such groups and many not only get better medical care than is generally available but pay less for prescriptions, too. For example, the pharmaceutical center operated by Group Health Cooperative in Seattle serves its members for an average of $2 a year per person for prescriptions.

In some cities, nonprofit drugstores save money for their members by paying patronage refunds at the end of the year. In Maryland, several consumer-owned drugstores save members additional money without breaking the fair trade law. A certain product may come in 100-capsule bottles. If a prescription calls for 25 capsules, the co-op will charge one-fourth of the fair trade price for 100 but not charge the usual professional fee for transferring the capsules to a smaller bottle and typing the label.

Last, but perhaps first in importance, you can write your Congressman. Drug manufacturers have hit a bonanza in antibiotics ($330 million last year, with pretax profits as high as 32 cents on the dollar). Drug lobbyists will be fighting hard for fair trade and the freedom to keep the profits coming. Your voice of protest would help immeasurably to hold the line against soaring drug prices. Enough protest might spark legislation that would cut down on the high-pressure promotion, reduce the annual output of unnecessary products, and even help that Columbus pharmacist keep his soda fountain.

Interest Rate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues an editorial which appeared in the Wall Street Journal of January 21, 1960, entitled "Collapsing Ceiling."

The editorial follows:

COLLAPSING CEILING

Some of the House Democrats are giving a good illustration of how to avoid facts while appearing to face them.

The facts in this case concern the arbitrary 4¼ percent interest rate ceiling on new Government securities maturing in more than 5 years. The facts are incontrovertible; here is how the administration's new economic report expresses them: This statutory limitation made Treasury financing more costly in its immediate effect, and possibly also in its longer term effect, than it might otherwise have been. Still more serious, the interest rate limitation impaired the ability of the Federal Government to manage its debt with a minimum potential inflationary impact.

Most politicians profess to be against inflation, and certainly many Democratic politicians, in particular, profess to be against higher Treasury financing costs. Yet instead of drawing the obvious conclusion that the ceiling must go, a conclusion the administration has been urging on them, these politicians are toying with all sorts of gimmicks.

One is advance refunding, by which holders could exchange unmatured bonds for new ones even if the new ones bore an interest rate higher than the ceiling. The Treasury calls this an attempt to evade the statutory limitation when what is needed is legislation to end it. Another proposed device would be to let not more than 2 percent of the public debt be offered in new bonds exempt from the ceiling. Another evasion, it would seem, besides being not particularly helpful.

We suppose all this should nonetheless be welcomed as evidence of a willingness to compromise. Except that there is danger in compromising with these facts. When a ceiling is plainly collapsing, sensible men do not wait to remove it until it knocks them down.

Communism Versus Capitalism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by Roscoe Drummond as it appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of January 24, 1960:

COMMUNISM VERSUS CAPITALISM

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—What is this "contest" between the Soviet Union and the United States we all talk about?

We know we are in it. We know it is deadly serious. But aren't we in a position of playing a form of basketball on a football field without knowing what makes a score? Nothing could be more confusing, particularly to those in the grandstand—the nations and peoples uncommitted and uncertain of their future—than not being able to see what the contest is about.

Premier Khrushchev says that the Soviet Union will shortly show that it can exceed the standard of living of the United States and that as the result other countries will come to choose socialism over capitalism as their way of life.

If that is the contest—and there will be many who see it that way—then the first thing to bear in mind is that Soviet communism is not socialism because it is dictatorship and that American capitalism is not what millions of people who have never been to the United States think it is. The tendency is to picture American capitalism in the image of the reformer's indictment of a century ago—the image of the masses of workers being ground down with long hours at low pay for the benefit of the few—instead of viewing American capitalism as it has actually evolved.

U.S. officials and others, whose duty it is to expound the United States abroad, have often striven for some new phrase to replace capitalism since so many ideas non-Americans have about capitalism are outdated. But what is more important than new terms is new insight into what life is really like under American capitalism and what our kind of economy, call it what you will, actually does for a whole people.

If Mr. Khrushchev wants the world to choose between communism and capitalism, here are some of the facts that show that the benefits of American capitalism are not for the few. They are taken from the report of the President's Council of Economic Advisers which went to Congress last week.

Real income per capita has increased by nearly 20 percent since 1946.

Housing has been increased by 15 million private nonfarm dwelling units since 1946; some 60 percent of all nonfarm dwelling units are owned by occupant families.

The number of bachelor's and first professional academic degrees conferred annually trebled from 1946 to 1959.

In the past decade more than 83,000 doctorates have been conferred, compared with some 27,000 in the 1930's and about 31,000 in the 1940's.

About 58 million persons—87 percent of all those in paid employment—are now covered by the Federal Government's old-age, survivors and disability insurance system.

More than 19 million persons are covered by privately financed pension plans.

The Federal-State unemployment compensation system, which provides a defense against loss of income in periods of economic adversity, now protects nearly 85 percent of all persons on nonfarm payrolls.

This is modern capitalism at work, and it has evolved so radically that it bears little relationship to the exploitive capitalism of the 19th century.

But should we accept Mr. Khrushchev's definition of the contest—that the world must choose between communism and capitalism?

Let's be clear that this is not what we are asking the uncommitted world to choose between. We are inviting people to compare two kinds of societies and choose whether they feel they must develop their resources under an economic and political dictatorship or can develop their resources in an environment of economic and political freedom.

We are not inviting the world to choose American capitalism, although we like it pretty well ourselves. We are inviting the world to choose liberty and to develop an economy as each wishes in an environment of liberty.

As I See It

SPEECH
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, permission having been granted, I am inserting herewith two articles by Mr. E. B. Germany, president of the Lone Star Steel Co., which is located in the district that I have the honor to represent. Eugene Germany is one of our finest and best citizens; he has made the Lone Star Steel Co. a success. It means a lot to the Gulf Southwest and the entire Nation. Without Eugene Germany we would not have this wonderful plant along with the benefits and opportunities it bring to the people of our area.

Mr. Germany edits a column each week in 18 newspapers in the area of Lone Star Steel's plant under the title, "The Way I See It." Articles which appeared under this heading December 17, 1959, and December 23, 1959, were handed to me today by a prominent constituent with the request that they be inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. They are as follows:

THE DEATH OF MR. FREEDOM

(By E. B. Germany, president, Lone Star Steel Co., Dallas, Tex.)

PART I

Mr. Freedom was born on July 4, 1776. His birth certificate was the Declaration of

Independence. From birth, he often struggled against great odds, and on several occasions it seemed he might not survive vicious attacks from within and without his country.

Mr. Freedom's first brush with adversity of importance occurred at Valley Forge, where as a mere babe, his blood stained the white snows. Only the superhuman efforts of a small, poorly equipped, half-frozen band of patriots led by the immortal George Washington staved off the ravages of cold and hunger to keep alive the faint beat of Mr. Freedom's heart. With the coming of spring, Mr. Freedom grew stronger, and it was not long until he was able to walk proudly, head erect, shoulders back, a brawling young giant capable of holding his own in any kind of fight.

As the years wore on, violence came to Mr. Freedom with increasing intensity. He fought valiantly during the great conflict between the States, and his blood drenched the battlefields of Bull Run, Shiloh, Missionary Ridge, the Wilderness,, Gettysburg, and finally, it was at Appomattox courthouse that there was reached a meeting of minds between two of Mr. Freedom's stanchest supporters, U. S. Grant and Robert E. Lee, and in this settlement of a bitter feud, Mr. Freedom walked from the field of conquest and defense with honor, dignity and respect.

The Spanish-American War left its mark upon the face of this scarred veteran, but here as before, a great American—Teddy Roosevelt—threw the weight of his daring and courage into the melee, and at the end, Mr. Freedom was victorious.

Mr. Freedom's brilliant career was less than a score of years into the 1900's when the first of two great worldwide conflicts drew him into action that produced Chateau Thierry, Battle of the Marne, the Argonne Forest, and others. Afoot, Mr. Freedom was a mud-sloshing doughboy that recognized no man as his peer. In the air, he was a spectacular daredevil cutting and slashing at the vaunted Knights of Baron von Richthofen, and afloat, not even the salt-crusted Briton could match the fury of his attack against the U-boats and the mighty dreadnaughts of the Imperial German Navy. At the end, at Versailles, Mr. Freedom stood as proudly as ever, glorious in victory, gracious and forgiving to them who fought him.

The second worldwide conflagration not only drew Mr. Freedom into action, but virtually disarmed him at one and the same time. It was on that fateful December morning in 1941, that Mr. Freedom was knocked to his knees by a sneak attack at Pearl Harbor, and then for months on end, he reeled like a drunken sailor as he struggled to rise against a relentless, savage, and capable enemy. Mr. Freedom fought valiantly around the globe. His blood seeped the sands at Salerno, and those in his company fell by the thousands at Bataan, Guadalcanal, Guam, in the jungles of India, high over the Hump, at Dunkirk, Battle of the Bulge. His men knew the fatal scream of a kamikaze pilot riding his own death bomb into eternity, and Mr. Freedom's boys knew all of the horror, the cruelty, the suffering of full-blown global warfare. And yet—at the end, Mr. Freedom stood erectly on the deck of the U.S.S. *Missouri* and watched war lords of the East hand over their swords.

In Germany, he saw the forces of Nazi aggression disintegrate before the onslaught of his men.

Mr Freedom was respected the world over for his generosity and sympathy toward those not endowed with the rich heritage that had been his since 1776. For more than 180 years, Mr. Freedom had endured against all types of slavery, against the ideological "isms" that lead away from the dignity of man and to the dungeons of captivity.

Mr. Freedom helped build the greatest civilization known to mankind, and it was largely through his presence that his country was able to develop an economy unsurpassed anywhere. Under his watchful eye, free enterprise gave Mr. Freedom's countrymen the righest standard of living ever enjoyed by any nation at any time. Under him, men had freedom of spech, the right to worship as they pleased, the right to own personal property, the right to work. Men had a voice in the making of rules and regulations under which they would share Mr. Fredom's way of life, and when some erred, even they were guaranteed the right of trial by jury.

In the light of all these accomplishments, the death of Mr. Freedom in a relatively insignificant Minnesota town is the more impressive for its lack of the grand setting. In no global war was Mr. Fredom slain, nor was there a volley of musketry, nor heavy cannonading, nor fiery aerial dogfight to dress the stage for Mr. Freedom's demise. He went to his death without warning and without fanfare. His death warrant was the scratch of pen, his requiem the sound of armed might confiscating private property with gestapo tactics instead of upholding the laws Mr. Freedom promulgated and had protected since 1776.

The deceased leaves upward of 200 million relatives who live in abject fear lest they, too, be sacrificed without warning upon the altar of politics, not policy.

Next: part II, White Cross at Albert Lea, or Murderer in Minnesota.

PART II

As this is written, three Federal judges study the events leading to the death of Mr. Freedom. Here are the salient facts in the case:

On September 1, 1959, a labor contract between the Wilson Packing Co. and the United Packinghouse Workers terminated. The workers continued to work at the Albert Lea, Minn., plant without a contract. Negotiations between the company and the union were broken off on October 29, 1959, when the union members refused to work a 9-hour day. After a few days, Wilson notified the strikers that they would be replaced if they did not return to their jobs. On November 1, 1959, the plant resumed operations with nonunion employees. Violence occurred, and the Governor of Minnesota sent in the National Guard to restore order. The 200 National Guardsmen accomplished this result by simply shutting down the plant. Wilson went to court in an effort to prohibit continued seizure of the plant by the Governor and the National Guard.

It is only coincidental that the name of the Governor who issued the order is Freeman, that the name of the county in which the Wilson plant is located is Freeborn. It is not a coincidence that the name of the victim is Mr. Freedom. In padlocking the Wilson plant, Mr. Freedom was executed through loss of his right to own property, his right to work, and his right to protection from the lawless. Free enterprise was sacrificed on the altar of politics—not policy, not the law of the land, not the Constitution of the United States of America, which had been Mr. Freedom's birth certificate for close on to two centuries.

After the guardsmen, armed with fixed bayonets and guns, locked the plant gates, union strikers were quoted as saying "it makes a beautiful picket line, doesn't it?"

In considering this flagrant disregard for the constitutional rights of the American worker and an American business, it should be emphasized that the merits of the strike are of no consequence. The union acted within its right to strike. The company acted within its right to operate the plant with replacements. To this point, there can be no criticism of either union or plant. Beyond this point, however, regard for law and order broke down, and given the stamp of approval by the Governor of Minnesota, armed soldiers moved in to accomplish the aims and objectives of lawbreakers who should have been arrested instead of supported.

What could have been Governor Freeman's thinking when he padlocked the Wilson plant? He simply said he did it to prevent bloodshed. What law did Wilson violate to warrant punishment? Will the Governor say that to prevent bloodshed we should knuckle under to the Communists? Will the Governor say that to prevent bank holdups, in which people may be wounded or killed, we should close our banks? Isn't it true, Governor, that you accede to the thought that if one man throws a rock into a store window he doesn't like, that man should be arrested and punished, but that if a mob of 300 throws rocks in violation of the law, they should not be arrested simply because they constitute a large group? Did you, Governor, think about politics instead of policy when you closed this plant? Did you think about union votes instead of the rights of the many individuals who chose to work and to earn an honest day's wages in jobs that were quit by the strikers?

Perhaps Governor Freeman didn't know about a Supreme Court ruling down a few days ago. In this case, Quaker State Refining Co. closed its plant after a labor contract ran out without a new agreement being reached. The union charged the Quaker State company with an illegal lockout. The Labor Board held for the union, and now, the Supreme Court upholds the union.

What about Albert Lea, Minn., a relatively unknown little city of 13,500 population, where an American business firm sought to operate, even as the Labor Board and the Supreme Court held in the Quaker State case, after a contract ran out?

Is the union going to charge Wilson Packing Co. with an illegal lockout or is Governor Freeman going to be charged or will the National Guard become the defendant? Is a Governor of any State acting within his lawful rights when he uses soldiers to quell a riot if stopping the violence means winking at the violators while eliminating the constitutional rights of others?

Why, Governor Freeman, didn't you padlock those who threw the rocks? Why did you penalize those who got hit by the rocks and who violated no law? Why, Governor, did you permit the death of Mr. Freedom on the sacrificial cross of politics instead of standing for principal and policy and thereby enhancing Mr. Freedom's chances for being with us for a good many years to come?

I do not believe that the working men and women of this great country of ours support armed intervention in matters of this kind. I think they feel that free bargaining is the only answer to maintaining the free enterprise system. If on ocacsions, emotions run high and some violence occurs, there are legal ways of handling those who run afoul of the law. But soldiers to close a plant and deprive men of the right to work just because some union members got mad and refused to follow the "No Violence" orders of their leaders, never.

That's the way I see it.

The New President of NAREB

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM T. CAHILL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Speaker, today Mr. C. Armel Nutter is being installed as the

president of the National Association of Real Estate Boards to serve during the year 1960.

I am proud that Mr. Nutter is a resident of the State of New Jersey and an outstanding member of the Camden County and the New Jersey State board of realtors. I have personally known Mr. Nutter for the past 20 years and can understand why he was selected to lead approximately 66,000 realtors of the United States of America. He has been a leader in his field in New Jersey and throughout the country for the past quarter of a century. A glance at his background indicates the firm foundation upon which his ultimate success was established.

He was born in Milford, Del., November 13, 1900. He graduated from the University of Delaware in 1923 and attended Temple University Law School and South Jersey Law School where he specialized in real estate law. He was president of the Camden Real Estate Board in 1936; president of the New Jersey Association of Realtors in 1941; regional vice president of the Mortgage Bankers Association of America in 1947; president of the Philadelphia Mortgage Bankers Association in 1949, and international president of the Society of Residential Appraisers in 1959. During the past 25 years he also served on every important committee of the Camden County Board of Realtors, New Jersey Association of Real Estate Boards, Mortgage Bankers Association of America, Philadelphia Mortgage Bankers Association and Society of Residential Appraisers. He has served in almost every elected capacity on these various real estate boards. In addition to these activities he found time in 1953 to act as chairman of the annual drive for the benefit of Cooper Hospital in Camden, N.J., and to serve as president of the board of trustees of the Moorestown Methodist Church in 1956.

Mr. Nutter is a 32d degree Mason, being a member of the Excelsior Consistory of Collingswood, N.J. He is likewise a member of the Crescent Temple of Trenton, N.J., and the Union League of Philadelphia, Pa.

Mr. Nutter is married and resides with his family in Moorestown, N.J.

His achievement in being elected president of the National Association of Real Estate Boards is evidence of his ability, industry and enthusiasm. It is also a reflection of the esteem in which he is held by his fellow realtors throughout the country and demonstrates the personality, reputation and character of the man. He has brought honor, not only to himself and his family, but to his native State. The National Association of Real Estate Boards is to be commended for their selection of such an outstanding president.

On behalf of all the residents of the first district of New Jersey, I wish him continued success in his new office.

The Late Joe Pearson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, the Williamsburg community, which is a part of my congressional district in Brooklyn, is a much poorer community now than it was just a few short weeks ago. It has lost an able leader and a distinguished son, Joe Pearson, a humanitarian and charity worker of the first order.

I had known Joe Pearson for many years, was associated with him intimately in many activities, and particularly in the Free Kosher Kitchen which he established during the depression years to help the poor and the unemployed. He has kept that institution going for nearly 3 decades and it has received wide recognition for its charitable work among the poor and the needy.

During the past few years, Joe Pearson and I were the guests of honor at the annual banquet of the institution which attracted many people from all over the city. This was our way of raising funds for the upkeep of the institution and its activities. In recent weeks, Joe Pearson was busy formulating plans for the 29th annual banquet of the Free Kosher Kitchen, which was scheduled for January 31. Again this year, as in the past, Joe and I were to be the guests of honor.

Now Joe is dead. But those of us who knew him so well and worked with him so closely are going ahead with the plans, nevertheless, because we believe that this is the way he would have wanted it: to maintain his favorite charitable institution.

May this brief words be a tribute to the memory of this great humanitarian, this simple soul who heard the cry of the needy and always responded with deeds and with help. He leaves a wonderful name behind in our community, and a great void in the hearts of many people. May this serve as a consolation to his wife and children.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the RECORD an article by Harvey Rosenfeld, published in a recent issue of the Williamsburg News, a fine community newspaper:

ABOUT IMPORTANT PEOPLE

(By Harvey Rosenfeld)

"A feeling heart—a helping hand
Does its part, that hope and sunshine again ascend.
A generous soul, a noble mind
Will hear a brother's cry and peace will find
When wounds are healed and hunger stilled,
When hopeless life with faith and love once more filled."

The above poetry was written by Joe Pearson when he founded the Free Kosher Kitchen, 218 South First Street, about 30 years ago. Early last week this minstrel of charity died in his sleep at the age of 63.

In September, Joe Pearson had been busy formulating plans for the 29th annual banquet of the kitchen which was to be held at the Grand Paradise in late January. Congressman VICTOR L. ANFUSO, local Representative in Washington, who was to gain fame for his trip to Russia, and "Big Joe" Rosenfeld, Jr., philanthropist and author, were to be guests of honor for the third straight year.

But in November, ill health forced Joe Pearson to postpone the banquet until early spring. To help start the campaign for the nonprofit and nonsectarian kitchen we went with Attorney Sid Katz to the "Happiness Exchange" program on WABC radio.

The "Happiness Exchange" program is under the care of "Big Joe" Rosenfeld, Jr., who for many years has been the voice in the cold of night that has brought relief to the worried and distressed. From midnight to 4 a.m., he speaks so that when one says "Good morning," they will not be empty words. When we interviewed "Big Joe" it was already 3:30 a.m. But many listeners were to pledge their contributions for the kitchen.

Joe Pearson, however, needed observation and treatment. Those close to him said it was but minor—nothing to worry about. But Joe Pearson was afraid. True, it was only the burning out of a wart on the bladder, but the fear was there.

Yet, there was more devotion than fear. He said that if he went for treatment he would have to stop his charitable work for a while. To cease helping he could not perceive nor desire.

Nevertheless, he was scheduled to go to Long Island College Hospital for observation last Tuesday. That he was not eager was sure; that he was worried was definite. On Tuesday morning at 8 a.m., his wife, Tillie, tried to wake him from his sleep. But it was in vain. His soul had gone up to heaven and had never come down again. Joe Pearson had given to charity of his time, and health, and now had given his life.

The Friday morning before, we had spoken to Joe Pearson for the last time. Though worried and sick, he still was most concerned about us writing a column about the spring kitchen banquet. But now all that remains left of that column is an obituary.

Joe Pearson was all things to all men. In the Democratic organization of the 14th assembly district he was recognized as an unknown but important cog; several times he had been selected as an alternate delegate to presidential conventions. But above all, Joe Pearson was a humanitarian.

The free kitchen was founded during the depression; the many that are poor are still waiting for it to end. Weekly, he supplied both cooked and uncooked food for some 70 families. For Passover, he help many more with wine and matzos.

Yet Joe Pearson realized that man does not live on bread alone; the emotionally unstable need more than food. Thus the kitchen, recognized by the department of welfare, has saved families whose cases were rejected by the latter. Yearly, Joe Pearson helped 25 youths in trouble with the law; reinstated 50 families on the welfare's register; pleaded for the release of many from mental institutions; made sure that the newly arrived immigrant would have less problems to cope with.

This does not include the many favors that he did for people. We will always remain grateful when almost 3½ years ago he promised to send us to the Williamsburg

News. To a 17-year-old it meant a lot that August 20.

Joe Pearson's funeral was a simple one; for Joe Pearson was a simple man. The neighbors of South First Street stopped their work to watch. People leaned out of windows or out of factory windows to observe. Puerto Rican, Negro, Chinese, or Jew—all respected and loved Joe Pearson. A more than capacity crowd fitted into the small synagogue, a synagogue which had been run by Joe Pearson, to hear brief eulogies. Even those who knew no Jewish could have told you the eulogies.

Joe Pearson's legacy to his family is charity. The pile of papers and bills in his living room are reminders that the poor still must eat. Russian-born Joe Pearson, a father of four and grandfather of five, has left the duty to his devoted wife, Tillie, and a 23-year-old son, Ira. It is not any easy duty to fulfill.

And Joe Pearson was no more, for the Lord has taken him.

Port Authority's Failure To Plan Has Created Transportation Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to have the opportunity to insert in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial appearing in the Asbury Park Press for Sunday, January 17, 1960, entitled "Port Authority's Failure To Plan Has Created Transportation Crisis." This is a most enlightening editorial and I hope the Members of Congress will read it thoughtfully. The growth and power of the various authorities like the Port of New York Authority is something which should have the careful consideration of the Congress to the end that if necessary the public's rights and conveniences should be protected and the operations of the port authority should be confined to the prerogatives given to it under the law.

The editorial follows:

PORT AUTHORITY'S FAILURE TO PLAN HAS CREATED TRANSPORTATION CRISIS

Assemblyman William V. Musto of Hudson County will receive increasing support for his suggestion that a commission investigate the practices of the Port of New York Authority. Even among those who recognize the authority's many achievements there is a growing realization that its lack of vision and planning may have created problems as acute as those it was assigned to solve.

The statute under which New Jersey entered into a compact with New York creating the Port of New York Authority calls upon it to develop "terminal, transportation, and other facilities of commerce." And it specifically provides for a "middle belt line" and other improvements to railroads operating in and terminating in the port district, an area that extends south into Monmouth County. Yet over a period of some 40 years the Port of New York Authority has permitted vital railroad service to deteriorate and it has, indeed, financed competitive facilities that threaten to abolish rail service.

The result of this poor planning has been to thrust into New York City thousands more automobiles daily that it cannot accommodate, create intolerable congestion on highways and city streets, promote an acute parking problem, and force a curtailment of the railroad service that is now generally recognized as the only practical solution to the need for mass transportation in a crowded metropolitan area.

The formula followed by the port authority was as simple as it was ill-considered. It built a maze of bridges, tunnels, and other facilities to accommodate private automobiles and buses and thereby lured millions to drive their cars into the crowded streets and over-crowded parking lots of New York City. This unwise diversion of travel from railroads to automobiles cumulatively created two problems that now cry for solution. The first was to bring into the heart of the metropolitan zone more automobiles than it can accommodate. And the second was to rob railroads of passengers to the point where they were forced to reduce service and facilities that now must be restored if automobile traffic is not to strangle the metropolitan area.

Every student of transportation now agrees on the necessary remedy. Because New York City has no room for the thousands of automobiles that are needed to deliver workers, shoppers, and other daily visitors, an integrated system of mass transportation must be created. The railroads and subways once offered such a system that could have been expanded as the need arose. But by subsidizing automobile competition the port authority has all but wrecked the mass transportation system that is now so desperately needed.

In New York City traffic congestion is so critical that Robert Moses recommends a midtown elevated highway from the Hudson to the East Rivers. Other experts would increase tolls at highway bridges and tunnels built by the port authority to keep traffic out of New York. Certainly no one contemplates an additional facility for dumping traffic into the city, for the port authority has already gone much too far in this direction.

Had it not gone overboard on facilities for automobile traffic, the port authority could have improved and coordinated railroad and subway service in the metropolitan zone. It should have built a gigantic parking lot in the meadows west of Jersey City and tied in with a loop subway line to deliver passengers to all points in New York City, from the Bronx to Coney Island. It should have helped all railroads carry passengers under the Hudson River either through individual tunnels or by transfer to the loop subway. In other words, the port authority, as the enabling statute required, should have developed mass transportation as well as automobile travel into New York City, for only thus can the transportation problem be solved and strangling traffic congestion in New York relieved.

The port authority was not established as a profit-making venture, but it followed a get-rich-quick policy by promoting automobile travel and collecting heavy tolls thereon while it thus robbed the railroads and the subways such as the Hudson tubes of patronage and forced them into virtual liquidation of their service. Now that it is obvious that New York City hasn't sufficient room for the automobiles the port authority's facilities dump into it daily, the need for the mass transportation media, wrecked by the authority's program, has caused a crisis that will cost millions to remedy.

Governors, legislators, and laymen have assailed the autocratic power wielded by the port authority and the arrogant manner in which it has pursued its poorly planned program. Now the validity of their criticism is revealed. Because it was neither representative of nor responsive to the interests of the general public, it has created a transportation problem even more massive than that it was assigned to solve. By subsidizing automobile travel it has all but wrecked the metropolitan area's mass transportation system. We need an authority to rehabilitate the mass transportation that the port authority program has so severely damaged.

Ukrainian National Republic

SPEECH

OF

HON. ALEXANDER PIRNIE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. PIRNIE. Mr. Speaker, on January 22, 42 years ago, the people of the Ukraine established the free and independent Ukrainian National Republic. Since that time there has been little opportunity for rejoicing over the fact of national determination for the despotic rule of the Kremlin has destroyed all semblance of independence.

However, this oppressive yoke of Soviet tyranny has not destroyed the will to be free nor suppressed the ancient yearnings for independence of the Ukrainian people. Bloody massacres, yearly purges, and deportations to Siberia lend mute testimony to the manner in which the Soviets have attempted to stamp out this ferment of freedom.

All people who prize liberty are aware of the sacrifices which make it possible and keep it intact. The Ukrainians, however, in their heart and/or wherever in the world they may reside, have lost none of this awareness. The more hopeless their cause has been, the more fiercely determined they have become to restore freedom to their homeland. Their love of liberty for all men has led them to fight for this Nation and for other nations who have sought freedom. Their fight has been continuous and unrelenting. In East Germany, in the slave-labor camps of Siberia and central Asia, Ukrainians joined other non-Russian patriots in attempting to rid themselves of the Communist yoke. Most recently Ukrainian men of the Red army sided with the valiant Hungarians in Budapest to write one of freedom's most glorious chapters.

This proud land, an independent and free state from the 9th to the 14th century and again from the middle of the 17th century to late in the 18th century, has writhed under the oppressor for more than 300 years. Its extensive natural resources have made the Ukraine coveted by its neighbors, and its people have been forced to exploit the fertility of their land to feed their masters. The story of the Ukraine is the first chapter in the long history of Soviet enslavement of free nations.

Although the requirements of a realistic foreign policy prevents the United States from dispatching military forces to drive the Red oppressors from the Ukraine, we can continue to do much

to remind these people that their plight is not forgotten. In so doing we can hope, pray, and plan for the day when the Ukrainian people will be free. We salute a people whose representatives have contributed greatly to American life.

Jessie McGaa Craven: Pioneer Dakota Ranch Woman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the RECORD an article by South Dakota State Historian Will G. Robinson about Mrs. Jessie Craven of Kadoka, South Dakota, one of the pioneer women whose indomitable spirit helped build western South Dakota.

Mrs. Craven recently celebrated her 95th birthday. Those 95 years, as summarized by Mr. Robinson, tell a story of courage, determination, and dedication to family and friends.

The article follows:

JESSIE MCGAA CRAVEN: PIONEER DAKOTA RANCH WOMAN

Cornelius Augustus Craven was born in Burlington, N.J., in 1850 and in 1874 he came west to see the country. He liked it and soon was hooked up with a trail outfit down in Kansas trailing cattle to Wyoming as an assistant to the cook and then, a complete tenderfoot, rode his first horse. He liked the cattle business and by 1876 had three heifers and a butcher shop in Custer. He adopted the open buckle as his brand and put a bar below it and that is perhaps the oldest brand on cows in South Dakota today. He bought with him Mike Dunn, the Richard LaRoque brand from LaRoque's widow down at Ft. Collins, Colo., and hired William Denver McGaa, the first white boy born in Denver, a coincidence that was to bear a lot of fruit, to help them drive new herd to Cheyenne. Later they ended up with their herd on Hat Creek and Craven bought out Dunn, and Rapid City rather than Cheyenne became his source of supply.

While at Pine Ridge he met Jessie McGaa, the young sister of William Denver who had placed her, after their parents died, with the Ben Claymore's. Jessie knew of Gus Craven from her brother Bill and had a favorable regard for him. She was born on December 8, 1865, her father a Scotchman and her mother, Jennie LaRoque, who was three-fourths French and one-fourth Sioux.

Gus and Jessie were married at Cravens' four-room log cabin on Craven Creek down in Nebraska a few miles south of Pine Ridge on November 11, 1881, when he was 21 and she 16, by Reverend Clark, an Episcopal clergyman. Gus was socially minded and hospitable then, as always, and soon invited two couples for a Sunday dinner. That was the first dinner Jessie ever cooked, but it was a good one and for the next 78 years she has always continued to rise to the demands of any occasion.

Craven established a new ranch not far from the Cheyenne on Indian Draw south of the present Creston, S. Dak., and was living there when the Messiah Craze of 1890–91 found the Indians stronghold down south of Sheep Mountain not over 15 miles as the crow flies to their south. Craven was a scout for General Carr who had his headquarters up on the Cheyenne, and his place was General Miles' field headquarters. The troops who stayed there had the place pretty well torn down, worse than a vistation by the Indians, as finally Jessie had taken the three children, Harriett, John, and Ted and gone to Hermosa for the winter.

They never returned to the ranch on Indian Draw and the next year 1891, Craven became the boss farmer over at Kyle, on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Jessie had no ambition to be a schoolteacher but the Indian service built a school at Kyle and drafted her as its teacher, and it was at the Kyle Ranch that Theodore Roosevelt on a visit to the Pine Ridge, stayed for a week.

Craven had a herd of cattle while at Kyle and soon found it necessary to quit as Government farmer and move to a better location to conduct his ranching. He decided on a point on the south side of White River between Eagle Nest and Craven Creeks 6 miles south of Weta Station on the Milwalkee. It was a long way from any white family, with badlands to the south but albeit a good cow country with good water and grass. Craven constructed a fine big house of cedar where the balance of their family was born. While living at this ranch Jessie also taught the Pass Creek school. Their range was about 12 by 20 miles in extent, east from Bear In Lodge Creek and while it contained lots of badlands, it also had lots of fine grassland and water.

The Cravens had seven children, Harriett, John, Ted, Edith, Isabel, Irene and Ben. At times, as they grew up, she lived with them at Gordon and Merriam, Nebr. and at Kadoka during the school year. Craven prospered on the ranch and in the cattle business and his wife made him a good home and reared the children. He had a fine ranch, thousands of cattle, was a director in two banks and from any standpoint was a big cattleman, an important citizen and a great success in life. But in 1920 when the Federal Reserve bank decided that cattle loans must be liquidated almost overnight, Craven who had suffered some losses from storms in 1905, 1913 and 1918, had great difficulty in weathering the storm that brought most of the cattle industry in the west to its knees when forced sales destroyed its market. He was making a comeback when illness overtook him and it was then that Jessie Craven, the housewife and homemaker, became a cattle woman. Even as Gus Craven lay on his death bed in Rapid City, he was sending Jessie and the boys back to the White River ranch to make hay as he was always conscious of the cattle depended on him for their welfare. He died on August 12, 1929, when 79 years old.

Jessie then 64 had to take up the task of running a large operation in the cattle business, somewhat indebted, but not hopelessly so. Her son John was her righthand man. The girls were all married, as was Ted, and Ben a dentist in Rapid City, as the Cravens, both Gus and Jessie had wanted their children to have good educations.

This left the burden on Jessie when Gus died and while John was a cattleman, he did not inherit his father's administrative talent.

The year 1929 was not a good one to take charge of a somewhat indebted cattle empire, but Jessie, as with her first dinner, when she was 16 years of age, was at 64 no less able to take up the burden and brought the Open Buckle herds and holdings through the difficult times of the 1930's, when most of the West was drought ridden, with poor markets for the stock that could be made ready for market. It was Jessie who made the leases, took care of the finances, made out the income returns, and saw to it that the Open Buckle bills were liquidated. She continued to live at the new ranchhouse, 12 miles northwest of Wamblee, on the Eagle Nest Creek, and built it up, as well as fine dude ranch facilities, at the great spring there in the midst of Badland scenery, and even after the death of John, some years since, continued to make the Open Buckle a sound business outfit.

This last year, at 94 years of age, she went up to the easier living conditions at Kadoka, making a weekly trip of 20 miles, to see that her ranch manager was keeping things in shape. On December 8, 1959, at her home in Kadoka with Ted, named for the famous rough-riding President, who had spent a week with them down at Kyle nearly 70 years ago, and Irene Crane, the youngest daughter in attendance, Jessie celebrated her 94th birthday. People came from all over western South Dakota, Pierre, Rapid City, Merriman, Nebr., and points between to help her celebrate her birthday. Aside from difficulty in hearing, Jessie retains her vitality remarkably, and it is doubtful if anywhere in the West there is a woman whose life matches that of Jessie McGaa Craven as a pioneer, as a mother, as a homebuilder, and as a ranch manager.

Presidential Advisory Board Supports Blatnik's Water Pollution Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, no group in the country is as knowledgeable or familiar with the ever-growing problem of water pollution as the President's Water Pollution Control Advisory Board.

This group, composed of the Nation's leading experts on the subject of water pollution control, met recently in Washington and adopted a number of resolutions urging increased Federal activity in the field of water pollution control, including the strengthening of the enforcement provisions of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act. Of greatest significance, however, is the Board's recommendation that H.R. 3610 be enacted. This bill, Mr. Speaker, is now in conference and will soon be presented to the President. It increases Federal funds for sewage treatment plant construction grants to local communities. Many reports have come to my attention concerning the possibility of a Presidential veto of this measure. It seems inconceivable to me, Mr. Speaker, that the President will veto a measure after his own Advisory Board, established by law to advise him, recommends enactment.

Under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I insert the following resolution adopted last week by the President's Water Pollution Control Advisory Board in support of H.R. 3610:

RESOLUTION 1

The Water Pollution Control Advisory Board, after careful analysis of the construction grant program for municipal waste treatment works to control water pollution, as authorized by section 6 of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, believes that these grants have significantly stimulated

and increased construction of needed facilities. At the same time there has been no slowdown in the rate of construction of such treatment works financed entirely by non-Federal funds.

The Board further believes to safeguard public health and other legitimate water uses, that additional incentives are needed to meet the backlog of municipal waste treatment facility construction.

In view of the fact that both the Senate and House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States have passed bills authorizing the increase of such construction grant funds and in view of the possibility that a bill to accomplish this result may soon be passed by the Congress and sent to the President for signature, the Board urges the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to support approval of the bill.

Election Campaign Spending

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, late yesterday afternoon the Senate passed a commendable piece of legislation which if agreed to by the House will vastly improve the outmoded and inadequate laws which now control election campaign spending and reporting.

The underlying principles of this legislation are no different than those upon which previous laws regulating Federal elections are based, that is, that there should be certain limitations on the amount of money spent or contributed in election campaigns and, secondly, that such expenditures and all contributions should be reported. The proposed bill is simply an extension of the bases of existing law, enacted in 1925, and is formulated in language realistic to the changes which time has wrought in our economic life. It is generally recognized that the existing law displays serious shortcomings. Some have developed with the pasage of time and are due to changes in the cost of services and the rise of prices. Present allowable campaign spending by candidates for congressional offices as well as current limitations on contributions and expenditures of political committees is understandable in terms of price levels as they existed 35 years ago. Since then economic conditions of the country have changed to such a degree that the limitations in existing law can no longer be considered realistic.

In another regard, one which this bill seeks to cure, the reporting requirements under existing law are at the same time too onerous and not sufficiently specific. Existing law, despite its professed philosophy that corrupt election practices can be cured or prevented by full disclosure of campaign financing, fails to provide for a wide dissemination of reports dealing with campaign contributions and expenditures. Only through the media of the press can the public be informed as to the sources and volume of campaign financing.

Without going laboriously into the technicalities of the proposed legislation, I would merely point out that if enacted there would for the first time be a limit on the amount an individual may contribute for political purposes; it would raise the campaign ceilings in both Houses of Congress and increase the amount which our national political committees may expend to direct presidential campaigns. It contains a provision that campaign financial statements be filed not only with the Secretary of the Senate or the Clerk of the House but also with the clerk of the Federal district court thereby disseminating such information on a local level. In short, this legislation, which I earnestly hope will meet with equal success in the House, will vastly improve the election machinery to provide fuller participation and greater publicity and inhibit other excesses in the legislative process.

In a Tropic Paradise—Frozen Assets

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared in the January 25, 1960, edition of the New York Times:

DR. CASTRO'S WASTED ASSET

No Latin American revolutionary leader ever came to power with a greater fund of good will in this country than did Dr. Fidel Castro in Cuba a little over a year ago. The Batista regime had made itself obnoxious in all the free countries of the hemisphere. The romantic circumstances of Dr. Castro's sudden and spectacular march on Havana stirred the American imagination.

Most of this great asset the bearded man from the hills has now thrown away. He needs American capital and drives it out by confiscating American property; he needs the American tourist trade and makes Havana distasteful and even alarming to many tourists; he needs to sell his sugar here, at a price above the world market, and gives offense to Americans who may vote to have the quota lowered; we send one of our most diplomatic diplomats to reason with him, and this most amiable of men, Ambassador Philip W. Bonsal, has had to be called back to Washington to explain the inexplicable. And indeed this is a deep mystery. Dr. Castro carried American good will with him into Havana. What has he done with it? Why is he wasting it?

We are strong enough to be patient, even under Dr. Castro's abusive words. In this small crisis among the world's great crises, we shall not lose our affection for our old friends and wartime allies, the people of Cuba. We must take no steps that will hurt them or alienate them.

But we cannot help deploring Dr. Castro's extravagant waste of the sympathetic support he himself once had in this country.

Space and Missiles: Two Fields or One?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JEFFERY COHELAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, in the January 26, 1960, edition of the Washington Post, the distinguished commentator, Walter Lippmann had a vitally important comment and criticism to make regarding the policy, or lack of it, in regard to weapons development and space investigation.

I commend this article to my colleagues and especially to members of the Armed Services Committee and, under permission to extend remarks, submit it for the RECORD:

WEAPONS AND SPACE

(By Walter Lippmann)

The argument about our defenses, which is now raging, revolves around what used to be called the missile gap and is now called the deterrent gap. The gap in either version is during the next few years when the Soviet Union will have in operation perhaps three times many long-range missiles as we have.

In this period of time the Soviet Union will be able, says General Power, the commander of the Strategic Air Force, to virtually wipe out our entire nuclear (retaliatory) strike capability within a span of 30 minutes. Theoretically then, the Soviet Union would no longer be deterred since it could knock us out before we could answer back.

The administration's view is that this is an abstract theoretical equation—General Power called it a mathematical probability—which in fact and in reality the Soviet Union could not and would not act upon. For the total retaliatory power of the United States and its allies is to be measured not only in missiles but in manned bombers which can be kept in the air, and by other strategic weapons such as submarines and mobile missile bases.

On the nearer issue of whether we shall soon be at the mercy of the Soviet Union, the administration has, it seems to me, a good case. No doubt General Power is right to insist upon the mathematical probability that 150 long-range missiles and another 150 medium-range missiles could in half an hour destroy the 100 installations and facilities from which we can launch a nuclear reply. But while this is a good and sufficient reason for strengthening our retaliatory force and of spending the money to protect it, there is a bigger issue which we need to ponder and to discuss.

The deep weakness in the administration's position is not that we cannot deter the Soviet Union in 1963. It is that in the general field of rockets and the exploration of space we are not even holding our own. We are falling behind. The administration case, although good enough on the risks of war in 1963, contains within it a great and quite unfounded assumption.

This assumption is that although the Soviet Union is now ahead of us, we are in the process of catching up. This supposes that we are now moving faster than the Soviet Union is moving. There is no reason to think that this is true. Almost certainly the truth is that they are moving faster than we are.

This is the most serious of all the gaps. It is that despite the genius and talent available our science and technology are less good than that of the Soviet Union.

We have all asked ourselves why. My own view for what it may be worth is that our second-rateness stems from a false conception of the whole matter and from a fundamentally wrong decision. The false conception is the President's belief that there are two separate and distinct fields—one for military weapons and the other for exploration of space. From this fallacy stems the decision to leave the development of the missiles to the military services and to treat the exploration of space as a form of boondoggling, of no concern to our safety and with no serious claim on the budget.

From this comes, so I am convinced, the fact that the armed services find it very hard to recruit and to hold on to the very best scientific minds of the country. The very first-rate men will not devote their lives to making a weapon that will soon be obsolete. These same men are often not recruited for the space exploration because the whole effort there is starved for money.

The second-rateness of our performance is due to the fact that our programs—military and for space—do not invite and encourage the very first-rate minds. I am afraid that the reason why the Soviets are ahead of us is that their military weapons and their space rockets are under the control, not of the soldiers and not of the factory managers, but of the scientists.

Men of genius cannot do what they are capable of doing if, as is the case today, they are herded into separate compartments and told to devote themselves to limited aims. They will respond best if they can believe that they are part of a great inquiry and experimentation into the nature of the universe. In all the flourishing periods of discovery and invention the air men breathed stimulated them to look beyond the horizon.

There is no such favoring climate today. Instead we have a Philistinism which supposes that the most original and first-rate minds can be hired for any job that the boss chooses for them. And we have a materialism which regards the exploration of space, and indeed the exploration of the unknown, as less important than the multiplication of consumer goods.

Such Philistinism and materialism are the attributes of a declining and second-rate power, and they are our real cause for concern.

Unfinished Editorial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 13, 1960

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Post published an unfinished editorial on Monday, an editorial that needed just one more sentence. The final paragraph read as follows:

For all Americans are touched by the public schools. All Americans can see their decay. All Americans can understand that the schools are the essential source of the Nation's security and strength—that the quality of the schools today will determine the quality of scientific and industrial and political performance in the United States a decade hence. All Americans know that from the earliest days of this Republic, the public schools have been its fountain of youth. And they will not choose to let that fountain run dry.

To this, I would add the final sentence:

And each American knows, each in his own heart, that he has the resources and the ability to create the kind of school system he wants within his own school district, city or State, without coming to Washington for handouts from the Federal bureaucracy.

Statement of Principles on Civil Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHET HOLIFIELD
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the Civil Defense Committee of the Governor's Conference met with the President at the White House to discuss some of the civil defense problems now facing our country. It is my understanding that this conference was arranged at the request of Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, who has sponsored a civil defense program in the State of New York that would require individual home and apartment house owners to pay for the construction of fallout shielding.

Governor Rockefeller and I have exchanged views on this matter, and in a previous address to the House I commented on this proposal at some length, pointing out the serious shortcomings which I believe to be inherent in this approach to the large and complex problem of building a realistic civil defense program in this country.

Last October I had the privilege of meeting with the Civil Defense Committee of the Governors' Conference in Chicago, at which time I presented my own views concerning the civil defense needs of the Nation.

At this time I should like to present to the House a statement of principles on civil defense which I submitted to the President on January 12, 1960, which sets forth the main objectives to be sought in a national civil defense effort and points up the important relationship between civil defense preparedness and negotiations for a successful general disarmament agreement.

At the conclusion of this statement, I am attaching copies of my correspondence with Governor Rockefeller and my letter of January 12, 1960, to the President.

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES ON CIVIL DEFENSE SUBMITTED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES BY CONGRESSMAN CHET HOLIFIELD

The prime objective of our declared military policy is to deter Soviet aggression, either against the United States or against our allies, by posing the threat of massive nuclear retaliation against the Soviet homeland. It is said that such a threat offers the best hope of preventing either direct aggression against the United States or extremely provocative actions that might also lead to war.

Two key assumptions underlying this nuclear deterrence policy are (1) that the United States would be able to survive a surprise attack and strike back with forces sufficient to cripple the Soviet Union; and (2) that the United States would be willing to accept the consequences of attacking the Soviet Union in response to a Soviet attack against one or more of our allies.

Basic to either of these assumptions is the ability to survive a nuclear attack launched by the Soviet Union; in the first instance a surprise attack, in the second a retaliatory blow, or counter-attack. If it becomes apparent to the Soviet leaders that the United States could not survive such an attack, there is great danger that our threat of massive nuclear retaliation might be discounted or otherwise misunderstood and thereby fail to deter aggressive action on the part of the Soviet Union.

In other words, if the Soviet Union calculated either that a surprise attack would render the United States incapable of effectively retaliating or that the United States would not be willing to accept the probable destructiveness of a Soviet counter-blow, and thus would not massively retaliate in the event of provocative Soviet action, it follows that the nuclear deterrence policy would not necessarily deter aggressive Soviet actions.

Thus it can be seen that preparations designed to enable the United States to withstand and survive the effects of a possible nuclear attack have a direct bearing on our nuclear deterrence policy. Such preparations not only improve our defensive posture, but they also tend to reinforce and make more meaningful our offensive power in that the use of such power becomes feasible—or at least is not incredible—under certain defined circumstances.

Nonmilitary defense, or civil defense, preparations also serve to reduce the risks inherent in any possible disarmament program and thus may represent the key to successful negotiation of a workable general disarmament agreement. To the extent that civil defense can reduce the effects of a possible enemy attack, it would tend to reduce the advantage any opposing nation might hope to achieve through secret, undetected offensive military forces. At the same time, each nation could develop a substantial degree of protection without creating a threat to the security of any other nation.

It thus would seem practical to gear a phased disarmament program to a civil defense program designed to offset each successive reduction of armaments with added increments of civil defense preparedness.

International inspection of armaments could follow the same pattern, beginning with limited coverage of critical areas and gradually extending to the type of coverage considered essential to permanent arms control and inspection.

Viewed from this standpoint, the following principles concerning civil defense in the United States can be set forth:

1. Large-scale civil defense preparedness is essential to national security and to any safe progress in military disarmament. Such preparedness would provide a degree of personal protection which would serve to "insure" our peoples' lives against the risk of cheating by an enemy power during a period of disarmament and thereafter.

2. A meaningful civil defense program must encompass, on a national scale, all the preattack preparations required to minimize loss of life and to insure the post-attack availability of resources necessary for national recovery.

3. Responsibility for developing such a program rests with the Federal Government as a part of its constitutional duty of providing for the national defense.

4. The States and localities should be called upon to provide maximum assistance to Federal authorities in developing a workable national master plan and in the use of State and local resources, including governmental institutions and personnel, for civil defense emergency and postattack recovery operations.

5. The roles and missions of the Nation's Armed Forces should be recast to encompass

a predetermined role in the civil defense field. Such a role should be planned for clearly defined relationships and integrated action with regional and local civil defense and disaster programs.

6. The first task of national civil defense is to provide protection for the American people from the devastating immediate hazards of nuclear war. Shelter protection from fallout, emergency stocks of basic subsistence supplies, and radiological monitoring equipment are essential for the entire population. Blast protection and protected communications and control facilities should be developed in key areas to insure the continuity of essential governmental operations and to minimize the number of possible blast casualties.

7. The second most important task of civil defense is to provide a basic framework for the postattack recovery of the Nation. This task should be performed concurrently with the protective function and should include measures to insure the availability of material resources in the immediate postattack period for the long-term recovery effort. Standby legislation should be enacted to provide for the necessary economic and industrial control authority and administrative structure, and a Federal stockpile of basic survival and recovery resources should be created and positioned in properly dispersed or protected storage.

8. An effective civil defense as outlined above would make the risks inherent in disarmament more acceptable. Civil defense preparedness should be built up in phases geared to each step in the reduction of our military forces.

9. In the event agreement on arms reduction and control is achieved, a portion of the funds ordinarily earmarked for military purposes should be applied to civil defense needs.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., July 27, 1959.

Hon. NELSON ROCKEFELLER,
Governor of the State of New York,
The Governor's Office,
Albany, N.Y.

DEAR NELSON: Your personal note transmitting a copy of the report on civil defense was appreciated. I believe you have performed a real public service in sponsoring the civil defense study in New York State and in making public its findings and recommendations. As you know, I have felt very keenly for a long time that the people must be fully informed about the facts of nuclear radiation and the implications of nuclear war for the survival of our country and indeed of all mankind.

In my congressional work as chairman of the Military Operations Subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations, and as chairman of the Special Subcommittee on Radiation of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, I have tried to make public, through investigations and hearings, as many of these facts as possible. Our basic studies and investigations in civil defense, I truly believe, have set the groundwork for a national reappraisal of the tasks that lie ahead in protecting the people and affording a means for national survival in the event of nuclear war. The 1956 report of the Military Operations Subcommitee exposed the fallacy of evacuation as a national civil defense measure and recommended a national shelter building program, the need for which has been recognized by many distinguished study groups, including the Rockefeller special studies project in 1958.

A basic tenet of our 1956 and succeeding reports is the obligation of the Federal Government to provide for civil defense as a part of its broad constitutional responsibility to provide for the common defense. I do not think this premise can be challenged in the face of the terrible and widesperad damage that would result from a nuclear attack, and that is why I am concerned about the possible meaning and effect of your State civil defense report.

Assuming the New York State Legislature were to give effect to the recommendations in your report, I see little hope that other States would follow suit. Consequently, there would be no uniform national legislation in this vital area. In an address to the U.S. House of Representatives on July 15, 1959, I took the liberty of suggesting there is little chance of legislative action in your State.

More important is the question whether it is fair to compel private citizens to take action for their own defense against nuclear attack when the Federal Government has not even begun to acknowledge its responsibilities in this area. I do not discuss here the legal or constitutional questions posed by a program of compulsory shelter protection for individuals and property owners. The problem is too large, the tasks too complicated, the time too short for us to expect that a nationwide shelter system ultimately can be achieved by State and individual action in the manner proposed in your report.

Of course, as the Governor of a great State, you are proposing a course of action within the sphere of your responsibilities. With that no one can quarrel, and indeed you are to be commended for asserting responsibilities where others have been laggard.

The value of your report, as I see it, lies in drawing national attention once more to the civil defense problem; and you have been an eloquent spokesman on this subject which has little popular or political appeal but which is crucial to the Nation's welfare. I hope the report will serve the further valuable purpose of alerting the Federal Government to its responsibilities and will not be used as a pretext by those who would relieve themselves of burdensome and costly tasks by attempting to transfer responsibilities to the States or to individual citizens.

I voice these thoughts frankly because of my deep concern. They are not intended in any way to disparage your great public service for civil defense.

Sincerely yours,

CHET HOLIFIELD.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
Albany, N.Y., August 25, 1959.

The Honorable CHET HOLIFIELD,
Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CHET: Please forgive the delay in replying to your thoughtful letter about the report of the special task force on radioactive fallout. I appreciate very much having your observations which I know will be of considerable interest to the committee presently working on the project.

I do, indeed, feel this course of action is within the sphere of my responsibility for the protection of the lives and health of the people of the State of New York. It is this realization that has prompted my interest, my concern, and my action.

It is encouraging to have your comments. Your extensive familiarity with so vital a topic and your total awareness to the danger make your comments all the more meaningful to me.

For your information, enclosed is a copy of the resolution on fallout, unanimously adopted by the Governors at the recent conference in Puerto Rico.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

NELSON.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., January 12, 1960.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: In view of the White House-sponsored Conference on Civil Defense, which I understand was arranged at the request of Governor Rockefeller, I take the liberty of enclosing an exchange of correspondence between Governor Rockefeller and myself on his civil defense proposals for the State of New York. My letter to Governor Rockefeller of July 27, 1959, you will note, is critical of his proposals while commending him for his attention to this vitally important subject.

On the basis of extended studies of civil defense and the effects of nuclear radiation, conducted by the Military Operations Subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations and the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, on both of which I serve, I am convinced that civil defense demands an acceptance of responsibility and an allocation of resources by the Federal Government in far greater measure than has heretofore been evidenced.

As you prepare for the so-called summit meetings, in which disarmament undoubtedly will be a crucial topic of discussion, I hope you will consider this point: That progress in disarmament does not obviate the need for civil defense. In fact, the need for civil defense grows greater because it is the only ultimate insurance against enemy cheating.

The enclosed statement of principles on civil defense outlines this and other points which may be of help to the conferees meeting with you on January 25.

Sincerely yours,

CHET HOLIFIELD,
Chairman, Military Operations Subcommittee.

Drug Prices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert in the RECORD the following editorial from the Washington Daily News of January 23, 1960, entitled "Drug Prices":

DRUG PRICES

If you have been following the Kefauver investigation, you have your own idea of whether drug prices are unduly high.

The aim of the Kefauver investigation seems to be to get them down, or at least to find the justification for present levels.

But elsewhere in Congress, there is a determined effort to freeze drug prices—and freeze 'em high. The bill covers any trademark or brand products, but the chief push is being provided by the drug retailers. This is the so-called "fair trade" legislation.

One copy of the bill has been reported to the House, another is pending in the Senate.

Similar laws have been declared unconstitutional in 16 States.

The purpose of the bills is to give the Federal Government's blessing to price fixing. Even though the whole policy of the Government and its laws for years has been to break up price fixing.

When the sponsors of this legislation talk about "fair" trade, it is not the consumers they have in mind.

Michigan Day, 1960

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, today is Michigan Day. She was admitted to the Union 123 years ago today. On January 26, 1837, Michigan became the 26th State. It is fitting indeed that we should pause and take note of this anniversary. For since that date in 1837 the State of Michigan has risen to become one of the truly great States in this Nation.

Michigan takes her name from two Indian words "Michi-gama" meaning great water or large lake. This is quite apt since Michigan—bordered as she is by four of the five Great Lakes—has the greatest supply of fresh water of any of the 50 States. There are over 11,000 inland lakes and more than 36,000 miles of streams in Michigan.

Michigan is the largest State east of the Mississippi. In 1834 when the legislature petitioned Congress for permission to form a State, the Michigan Territory included the present States of Michigan, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and part of Dakota. Michigan's Upper Peninsula alone is presently equal in size to Connecticut, Delaware, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts combined.

Michigan has grown tremendously in population also. At the time of her entry as a State the population was just over 87,000. In 1870 the population passed the million mark. Increasing steadily it reached the 2 million mark in 1890, 3 million in 1920, and over 5 million in 1940. The Federal census of 1950 placed the population at 6,372,009, the seventh largest of all the States.

Industry, agriculture and the tourist trade are the three pillars upon which rests the economy of Michigan. During World War II, the magnificent performance of Michigan's automotive industry earned for our State the title of "Arsenal of Democracy." Michigan continues today to be one of the foremost producers of military vehicular equipment and also is in the forefront of the vast new developments and rapid expansion in the manufacture of ballistic missiles.

The automotive industry, however, is only one among in which Michigan is a leader. On the basis of value added by manufacture, Michigan also ranks first in boatbuilding, output of internal combustion engines, mobile homes, steel springs, hardware, industrial patterns, special dies and tools, and conveyors. Michigan is also known far and wide as an outstanding producer of furniture, breakfast foods, drugs and chemicals, sporting and athletic goods, steel, salt and paper products.

Diversification of industry has proceeded at such a pace that of 453 industries classified by the U.S. Bureau of the Census, Michigan has 369 or 81 percent of the total.

Michigan is well endowed with natural resources. She is noted for her limestone. Michigan is first in production of salt, gypsum and marl. The Lower Peninsula has extensive quantities of sand and gravel. Michigan's splendid highways are built of her own native materials.

The mention of highways brings to mind Michigan's wonderful record with respect to traffic safety. Michigan is high up among the States with the highest traffic volume, yet she has the second lowest number of traffic fatilities per 100 million miles traveled. In addition to industry, Michigan is a top-notch agricultural State. Michigan's agriculture brings in more than $730 million each year. Michigan's Lower Peninsula raises 97 percent of the Nation's crop of navy beans. Beans may be baked in Boston, but they are raised in Michigan. One of the finest fruit belts in the Nation is located in the western part of the State, along Lake Michigan. The State's commercial crop of apples, nearly 12 million bushels of them, last year put Michigan in third place in apple growing. Peaches, pears, and cultivated blueberries from Michigan are relished throughout the country. Michigan is first in production of tomatoes and cucumbers. Many other vegetables—onions, snap beans, carrots, and celery—are grown in Michigan. In all, 44 different fruit and vegetable crops are raised commercially in Michigan.

It is obvious that the great State of Michigan is well deserving of an eminent place among her sister States. With such an abundance of resources and diversity of commercial activity we are proud to say that Michigan's economy is gaining year and year. Michigan approaches the seventh decade of this century with confidence and optimism. It is with considerable pride that I call the attention of this body to this—Michigan Day, 1960.

So Now There Is No Missile Gap

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK KOWALSKI
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. KOWALSKI. Mr. Speaker, the growing concern of the American people over the missile lag is reflected in the editorial columns of the Nation's newspapers.

I call the attention of Members of the House to an editorial which appeared in the Hartford Courant, a great Connecticut newspaper, on January 21. The Courant, the oldest newspaper of continuous publication in America, has not been unfriendly to the present administration. However, it finds, as so many of us have found, that the administration is attempting to explain away the missile gap rather than moving as actively and effectively as is necessary to end it.

The editorial follows:

SO NOW THERE IS NO MISSILE GAP

It does not take yesterday's rumors about that Soviet nose cone in the Pacific, on top of all the sputniks and luniks, to make an American uneasy. For some years we have been told, supposedly on the basis of intelligence estimates, that by the early 1960s the Soviets would outnumber us in the H-bomb ballistic-missile field by three to one. But now such authorities as Defense Secretary Gates and General Twining, chairman of the Joint Chiefs, say it isn't so at all. New intelligence information shows that there is "a clear balance in our favor."

All this is heartening. Yet one wonders if it is a base solid enough to base national policy on. Perhaps we would be wise if we forgot about intelligence estimates. Perhaps we should just go ahead on our own to do the most we can to make sure the free way of life has a maximum of interior and exterior strength.

The trouble is that we are never given the hard facts themselves, about Soviet missiles and ours, or comparable matters. Perhaps that is too much to expect in a nation, supposedly dedicated to freedom, that loves to wrap facts up in impenetrable containers labeled Security. One is reminded of what Britain's Sagittarius wrote in a comparable situation there during the war:

What are the facts? Are they sunny or sinister?
Ignorant queries are here out of place;
All we can read is the face of a Minister
Pallid from looking the facts in the face.

All we can do is read the faces, and the testimony, of the Joint Chiefs, the Defense Secretary, and our other authorities. And there we read that "There is no missile gap." Well, we can be sure there isn't. We can be sure Mr. K too knows that all his missiles "would not suffice to destroy enough of our retaliatory strike forces" to enable him to make "a rational decision to attack." But misiles are only a token, a symbol, of the life-and-death stakes in the 20th century's epic struggle between liberal democracy and the totalitarian challenger.

This richest nation in all the world's long history might well read and ponder the history of all other rich nations before it. When those nations went in for bread (the most fattening diet any people has ever eaten) and circuses (seen anybody looking at TV lately?) they were readying themselves for conquest by the challenger. Thus it was in Crete's Mycenae, in Greece facing Philip of Macedon, and in Rome before the barbarians. We need not be frightened. Our prowess and our power are still great, our opportunity unlimited. But one could wish that, over the years, there would be a little less official assurance that all is well, and a little more performance, say by military hardware that can throw payloads at the moon, and hit it.

What Is the Truth About Lindbergh?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, one of the tragic heroes in American life is Charles A. Lindbergh. His contribution to aviation science and his example of personal courage will always be re-

membered and honored. But like many another who departed from his narrow field of competence, Colonel Lindbergh committed great blunders or worse when he ventured into the field of politics and international diplomacy.

Beginning with his acceptance of the German Air Medal from the Nazi General Goering, continuing thereafter in his propaganda work for the America First Committee, and culminating in his 1941 nationwide radio broadcast in which he threatened that American Jews would suffer if they continued to work against the Nazi danger, Colonel Lindbergh's career was a pathetically unheroic one. We do not have to believe what the German Ambassador to this country said about Lindbergh's contributions to German propaganda efforts here to conclude sadly that Lindbergh was woefully out of step with his countrymen and with the best interests of America during this period. The facts are on the public record.

But the other day—from a most roundabout source in the ultraconservative magazine, National Review—an opposite viewpoint appeared, attributed to the former American military attaché in our Berlin Embassy, Col. Truman Smith, now retired. According to Smith, Colonel Lindbergh did not want the Nazi medal and was surprised when General Goering suddenly produced it at a private dinner given by the American Ambassador. Again, according to Smith, Lindbergh had come to Germany at the request of Army Intelligence to see if he could discover vital information about the growing German Air Force and to help persuade Goering to accept a plan to permit Jewish emigration from Germany.

Lindbergh himself is silent. Is this an attempt to rewrite history, to change the record as it was known to American public figures and historians for almost a generation? Or, is it a newly unearthed fact? If it is a fact, I will be among the first to give it due weight and publicity even though it cannot, of course, change the record of Colonel Lindbergh's propaganda activities for the America First Committee. If it is a fact, we should all be delighted to credit Colonel Lindbergh with this civic and humanitarian act.

I hope, therefore, that the State Department and the Army will give us now an authoritative and balanced statement on this new development since I am advised that authentic documents are in their possession.

A Test on Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, I call attention to an editorial appearing in yesterday's New York Times and ask that my Republican colleagues carefully consider its conclusions. I am sure that they will wish to take action now rather than give credence to charges of a deal between House Republicans and southern Democrats, as the Times implies.

I ask that at this point the following New York Times editorial be included in the RECORD:

A TEST ON CIVIL RIGHTS

A list published in this newspaper last week showed that 146 Democrats and 30 Republicans in the House of Representatives have now signed a discharge petition to bring a civil rights bill out of the Rules Committee and to the floor. The news is the small number of GOP signers, including, for example, only 5 of the 24 Republicans from New York.

House Republican leaders explain that they are against discharge petitions in principle because they do not believe in circumventing House rules. They say the Democrats, as the majority party, bear the responsibility for the bill. They express assurance that the bill will get to the floor and promise to vote for it there.

To put it bluntly, those explanations are lame. It can hardly be circumventing House rules to sign a discharge petition when the rules provide for such a petition. It is no secret that the Democratic Party is divided between South and North. Republican votes are needed to get the bill to the floor as well as to pass it there. Most important, failure of the discharge petition will permit the bill to reach the floor only under unfavorable terms—perhaps including a ban on amendments—dictated by Rules Committee conservatives.

The Republican Party, unlike its opposition, should be free to give whole-hearted support to civil rights legislation. Its failure to do so can only give credence to charges of a deal between House Republicans and southern Democrats. The discharge petition will be open for signatures when the House meets at noon today. If the issue is recognized for what it is—a chance for meaningful civil rights legislation—it should not take long to get the 43 more signatures needed.

No Time for Monopoly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, there has been a great deal of controversy for the past few months since an examiner for the Civil Aeronautics Board recommended a monopoly be allowed to exist on the air route between Seattle and Honolulu. This examiner proposed that Northwest Airlines be given exclusive certificate to operate between these two great and growing terminals and that Pan American World Airways, which has been flying the route since 1948 on an equally competitive basis with Northwest, be directed to cease its operations.

As you can imagine, Mr. Speaker, this examiner's recommendation created an uproar all over the Pacific Northwest and Hawaii. Irate newspaper editorials and protests from business and civic organizations in Seattle, Portland, and Honolulu quickly followed this unfortunate recommendation.

But there is still room for hope, Mr. Speaker. Fortunately, the decision of the examiner is by no means final and the full membership of the CAB will hear oral argument beginning on February 10 in the matter of the Pacific Northwest to Hawaii case. There is good reason to believe that, in the final analysis, the CAB will follow its long established policy of approving and encouraging competition and will allow both Pan American and Northwest to operate this most promising Pacific coast air route.

Mr. Speaker, a well known Washington newsletter published by Independent Editorial Services, Ltd., has an excellent editorial in its current edition, "No Time for Monopoly." It concerns itself with the case I have just been discussing. Under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I include this editorial in the RECORD. It follows:

NO TIME FOR MONOPOLY

Air travel to the islands and tourism have been booming since Hawaii's admission to the Union last July as the 50th State. The surge in business is epitomized by such projects as the fourfold expansion of Henry J. Kaiser's 750-room resort hotel and the spate of applications from airlines seeking Civil Aeronautics Board certification to fly between San Francisco-Los Angeles to Honolulu.

The speedup of Honolulu's economic development and its population growth have been matched by Portland, Ore., and Seattle, Wash., which are now linked by two carriers—Northwest and Pan American—with Hawaii. Pan American pioneered the route and has been flying in competition with Northwest on a temporary basis. Because of increasing Pacific Northwest traffic to the mid-Pacific and beyond, Pan American has scheduled jet service. Northwest also is to take delivery of jets some months from now, chiefly for flights to the Orient.

On two past occasions prior to Hawaiian statehood, CAB moved to limit operations on the route to Northwest, on the ground that there wasn't sufficient business for two airlines. Presidential action disapproving such rulings kept competition alive. Since last July 4, however, the matter has been an interstate route case rather than an international one, and the White House no longer can negate such blows at competition in air carriage.

Little more than 5 months ago, a CAB examiner again recommended that Northwest monopolize the route, on which traffic has increased eight times during the 1950's. The recommendation touched off protests from the civic organizations of Portland, Seattle, and Honolulu, the governors of Washington, Oregon, and Hawaii, and the Senate president and legislature of the 50th State. Hawaii understandably wants lots of airliners filled with passengers to fly in from the mainland. Seattle and Portland businessmen and tourists who have been limited to one U.S.-flag airline, Northwest, on the short, great circle route to Tokyo, view with dismay any prospect of a cutback in service to the Far East via the Hawaiian Islands as well.

The CAB has been under considerable fire because of such accusations as ex-member Louis Hector outlined in a 75-page bill of particulars to the President when Hector resigned last fall. One point he raised was that the CAB is long on judicial form but short on judicial substance, and that decisions are made seemingly without regard to established criteria for serving the public interest, convenience, and necessity. Rep-

resentative ENAMUEL CELLER, head of the House Judiciary Committee and its Antitrust Subcommittee, made a similar point when the CAB examiner recommended rejection of Pan American's petition to continue air transportation between the Pacific Northwest and Hawaii. Celler expressed himself vigorously in a letter to outgoing Board Chairman James Durfee.

In recent months, CAB has acquired two new members, Whitney Gilliland of Iowa, Republican, and Alan Boyd, of Florida, Democrat. Neither has had past ties with airline companies. There is the prospect that such new blood at CAB will result in higher priority for the public interest in airline service, and in healthy airline competition.

All the foregoing points to a much needed reform in CAB procedures as pointed out in the Hector report and which Congress should concern itself with. The time for logrolling in air routes has passed.

Economic Recovery of West Germany

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN TOLL
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an article on the "Economic Recovery of West Germany" by Judge Meyer L. Casman, who has made a study of the subject and has lived in Germany. Judge Casman, a prominent member of the Philadelphia bar, has recently been cited in two awards: "as a soldier, engineer, jurist, and good citizen" and the other as "the international good will ambassador."

Judge Casman served in Germany for a short time after World War I and after World War II from 1947 to 1950, first as one of the chief prosecutors at the Nurnberg trials, then as President Judge of the Civil Actions Court and finally as a judge on the Supreme Restitution Court. He is a graduate of the U.S. Military Academy, the Graduate Engineering School at the University of Michigan and the University of Pennsylvania Law School.

The article follows:

ECONOMIC RECOVERY OF WEST GERMANY

Of all the countries in the world, Western Germany can claim the greatest economic recovery in modern times. It started immediately after the war. That country was then absolutely prostrate—commercially, physically, politically, and spiritually. While England need merely rise from about 70 percent of prewar economy, Germany had to start from scratch. By 1952, Germany caught up with England, and now it is ahead of England. Perhaps the following may be given as the principal reasons for Germany's recovery:

1. U.S. PRIMING

Immediately after the war, the Germans were really put to it, for food and all other necessities of a bare existence. During the war, they had, of course, exploited every one of their conquered nations and nationals—depriving these of food they could pilfer to permit themselves to live in lush (relatively) circumstances. After the war these were no more. Circumstances had completely changed. The conquerors became the conquered. The Germans had now to scrape the garbage cans of the American throwaways to survive and exist.

In the after-war chaos, our first mission, therefore, had to be to safeguard all in Germany from famine and disease. We liberally gave of our food, equipment, supplies and know-how. But we accomplished much more. In the first 8 years, we put in about 3½ billion dollars (plus 5 million marks in counterpart funds). It turned out to be the shot in the arm which started the Germans on their upward course in health, social and economic recoveries. Wherever you go you see evidence of our giving. This building was erected with Marshall Plan funds, etc. Then there were ever so many nongovernmental contributions. This building has a tablet marking it as erected by the United Church Movement; This Free University Library in Berlin was from a Ford Foundation grant (1½ million dollars), etc.

Most unique is the full appreciation of it all by the Germans. We are used to being called a "sucker"—you know that adage about biting the hand that feeds you. But not so with the Germans. Here are extracts from Dr. Ludwig Erhard's book, "Germany's comeback in the world's market": "These figures show how much German Reconstruction owes to the American administration's farsighted policy of foreign aid. and to the understanding and altruism of the American taxpayer who had to foot the bill. For every German, it is therefore axiomatic, a fact forming, a permanent element in his historical consciousness, that it was the United States whose foreign aid put into our hand the chief key to open the gates to world markets." Erhard is the Minister of Economics and the present vice chancellor. As late as the fall elections in 1949, there were all over, "Amis, Go Home." No more, anywhere, now.

2. CURRENCY REFORM

All along after the war, it was realized that a currency reform was essential. German mark bills had increased from 5 to 73½ billions, thanks to the Russians, with their duplicate set of plates. Now before discussing any reform, the Russians again insisted on duplicate new plates. To that, General Clay would not accede. He had had too much experience with them by this time. Accordingly, the Russians were bypassed and agreement was reached with the English and French to launch the reform in the three allied zones and sectors.

The reform plan consisted of four military government laws (and many amendments), instituted on June 21, 1948. The substance of these was that current and unpaid payments such as wages, rentals, interest, be made on the basis of 1 to 1; whereas, past debts and merchandise were to go on the basis of 1 for every 10 old marks, i.e., debts and merchandise marked down to 10 percent.

Let me say this. I would not believe it had I not seen it with my eyes. Goods of all kinds not available, or formerly hidden under shelves now appeared in the open; the repairman who would come before only for a guaranteed meal and cigarettes, now would come only for deutschemarks; all black markets disappeared and soon all rationing with its long queues ceased. One victor, England, was still under strictest rationing.

About the time of this currency reform, the allies finally determined to allow full reindustrialization of Germany and see whether it could pull itself up by its own bootstraps. Germany did not disappoint anyone. The marks, which were worthless from 1945 to 1948, began immediately to climb in value in Switzerland and later throughout the world. Before the reform, 1 Swiss franc was worth 25 RM; by 1953, 1 SF was worth 1 DM; now the SF has been exceeded in value by the DM.

3. FINANCE REFORMS

There is no question but that Germany's well planned finance handling and channeling aided greatly in Germany's comeback. She had limited capital and had to make the best use of it. She tackled each problem on its own merits. We can consider but one of them. Let us take her first and most pressing problem, housing. She had three out of every five former homes available, to a population now increased by 25 percent refugees. This is how she did it. Germany gave income tax credit to every industry and employer of up to 50 percent of the cost of home construction made by it for its employees, and free construction mortgage loans to boot. Workers could earn overtime, income tax free. The combined zeal, therefore, of employer and employee under such circumstances resulted in no coffee breaks, work all night by arc light, and over a half million new home units every year.

One could go on and detail the intelligent manner of approach in the other key industries, such as shipbuilding, steel, coal, factories, foreign markets, and even agriculture, in connection with which the land reform of OMGUS should not be overlooked. And there is no room to discuss the intelligent approach to the personal and corporate tax reductions.

4. U.S. FREE ENTERPRISE

One must be acquainted with the old bureacratic, cartel, government control, opposed to our stockholder systems to appreciate the transformation to the present, Germany is still more bureaucratic than I hope we will ever be. Bureaucracy is a natural for them. But as to private industry and enterprise, there have been revolutionary changes as to manner of doing business and relationships to stockholders.

I do not fear stating that it was the U.S. free enterprise system that superimposed itself over the past autocracy and economic nationalism. We had no little difficulty selling them on the idea. A few of Germany's keymen had the opportunity to see or be trained in the U.S. methods and they are the ones who sold Germany on them. Dr. Erhard has an unshakable faith in free enterprise; that all Government controls are evil and only to be used in times of extreme emergency. Says he, speaking of foreign markets: "A genuine market economy (free enterprise) cannot stop short at the national frontiers; it tends to abolish its own frontiers and thus provides powerful inducements for others to reciprocate * * * it cannot flourish as an island in a sea of controlled economics." It was he more than anyone else who sold our ideas.

Dr. Erhard caused all rationing and price controls to be withdrawn and soon, as he had maintained prior thereto, true competition caused prices to find their own low levels. In foreign trade he set about abolishing import quotas, reducing tariff barriers and opposing artificial subsidies to boost exports; he profoundly believed that liberalization of imports would induce competition in the home market that would keep the prices down, which in turn would help German exports meet international competition. For over 20 years he opposed the German cartels and loudly championed the U.S. "trust busters"—against the strongest opposition, until now they have an antitrust law too.

Perhaps we might also take a leaf of his as to creating and maintaining a consumer market. Unlike our efforts to stem inflation by raising interest rates etc., Erhard was doing the opposite. To boost consumption still more he is proposing that the cost of household equipment such as refrigerators, dish-

washers, and laundry machines be deductible for income purposes. He is quoted as saying: "as long as I am Minister of Economics, there will be no crisis. I will (whenever necessary) mobilize 50 million consumers." He must believe in: "Get consumers and you will not get (economic) consumption."

The Germans enthusiastically adopted our ideas of purchasing on the installment plan and our methods of merchandise advertising. Purchases of furniture and household goods attained proportions that were something entirely new in Germany. While the English have not taken to our too conspicuous advertising, the Germans have taken to it like a duck to water. Though they do frown and properly so on our lack of ability to sell ideas. You know, we invented the expression "public relations"—they adopted these very, very words, for they do not use any translation of them; but they regret to see that while we can sell an icebox to an Eskimo, we have not been able to sell any ideas, particularly vis-a-vis the Russians.

5. FORBEARANCE OF LABOR

Their unions are on an industrial pattern but their is a fundamental difference in their operation. Their unions have representation of the operating board of directors, usually operating the personnel end, in the coal and steel industries. Their corporate setup is a bit different than ours. The Aufsichtsrat, elected by the shareholders, is an enlarged board of directors, and they in turn elect the members of the Vorstand, which might be likened to the operating or executive committee. The union representative would thus appear to serve two gods, the management, as well as labor. He is to us, on both sides of the bargaining table. Yet it seems to work. At any rate, it is this representative's knowledge of the management's side that permits him to not only work in behalf of labor but to keep the union from taking extreme antiproduction measures. Hardly any major strikes. Production goes on. The unions thus operate under the Mit Bestimmung Recht, what we call, the codetermination law.

At first, under necessity of survival, both sides were manly enough to act in a responsible and patriotic manner, subordinating extreme selfishness to the necessities of reconstruction. This was aided by the absence of Communist agitators in the ranks of their unions, and by the hard work and minimum profits of the executive side. The Government also aided by giving the workers what they wanted almost before the unions had time to shout for it. It is not difficult to understand the desire if not the necessity for the codetermination law.

Many of the trade unionists in Germany had spent years in Hitler's concentration camps and all union property had been confiscated. Even more urgently than anything else they did not want any more of the Führer principle which made them slaves. This abominable and most undemocratic principle of labor operation must never see the light of day again. One of the first laws, therefore, that both labor and Government worked together on was this codetermination law which was passed in 1951. It is too involved to adequately treat here. Suffice to say that in the main goal of the unions, the coal and steel industries, the unions and management each got 50 percent representation with a neutral as the mediator in the disputes. As a result there was neither an unbridled boss nor labor agitator.

Now, the workers not only get social insurance, fringe benefits up to 30 percent of the wage bill, low rental housing (about one-third former amount), but are now getting from more and more companies profit sharing. There was really not much opposition to the inauguration of profit sharing. Industry wants to hold on to their good men. It knows only too well the German saying, "Machines are expendable; but good men, irreplaceable." And unions do not resent very much the necessity for a 75-percent vote to call a strike.

6. REFUGEE INFLUX

A good many people in the United States oppose any sizable immigration. Yet this least expected aid from refugees to economic recovery has turned out to be one of the most important reasons for it. Even in Germany, most Germans expected that this incursion of 12 million expellees and refugees, homeless and impoverished, would be a staggering economic burden. But men like Erhard and Adenauer could see ahead and differently. They could see that these 12 million people were not only potential consumers but that they included over 3 million eager workers. They ranged from laborers who might man the mines to thousands of the finest and most industrious craftsmen of East Europe. Thus the men of the Zeiss factory at Jena, who managed to escape to the West, reestablished themselves near Stuttgart.

The refugees are still coming over to the west. In Berlin I visited the camp where over 500 are processed every day. They were nearly all youngsters. Rather than go into the Polizei, which they must, they would rather come over into the West and go into the democratic military there or even into the mines. The old farmer with his four sons wants to come to the West to raise his sons in the western way. Through Berlin alone, over 1½ million have crossed over. For those that are not easily assimilated into the regular German industries, there are now about 128,000 purely refugee undertakings.

Nearly one in every four is an expellee or refugee. Those who could not be taken care of one way or another through work or were too old and feeble, became wards of the state. They were given social security earned or not; and initially assisted by the equalization-of-the-burden funds. Everyone, everywhere, is by now agreed that the refugee influx materially aided Germany's miraculous recovery.

We should study all this to see if we are not in error as to our fearing immigration. After all, we have found that it takes the work of one to support himself and up to 2½ others. Thus, an average family becomes a self-supporting unit, besides all in that family becoming consumers. By keeping them out we not only suffer a possible economic loss, but throughout the world we in deeds negate our wordy generosity. Take the Hungarian recent refugee problem. Canada, with one-tenth our population took two-thirds as many Hungarians from Yugoslavia as we did (we took 2,509 while Canada took 1,765).

It is significant that Canada has attained a postwar recovery only next to Germany's.

7. INDUSTRIOUSNESS

The natural, skill, inventiveness, as well as industriousness of the Geman is self-evident and manifest wherever you go, day or night. And so nonwasteful compared to us. They could get along in respect to food and electricity, for instance, on what we waste in these categories. During daytime there is a minimum of electricity used. They work near windows and only use individual lights where necessary; during dark hours you will not find hallways or rooms always lighted; you put the switch on as you enter the courtyard, it is off as you reach the entrance, you put the switch on as you alight the first flight of stairs, but by the time you reach the next flight that switch is off, and so on. They appear to act as if challenged to show their real industry and bravery in order to overcome the blight of Hitlerism.

Their capacity to work is legendary, but not a myth. There are fundamentals to explain all this but there is no room for it here. Although there are many class distinctions, we would not tolerate here, a very noticeable trait now is the almost complete lack of class resentment of employee for employer. The hard-working boss has set an exemplary pattern, even if he is wealthy. There is no resentment against wealth, wealth equals success and success means hard work. The German industriousness and his other natural traits must be included in the factors which brought about this remarkable recovery.

These are only the major reasons. Recently, Ludwig Erhard summarized the story of the German recovery as follows: "The first concern was to restore competition and the urge and incentive to work. So we made a clean sweep of the price and wage controls started by Hitler and taken over by the occupation authorities. In spite of protests, import controls were relaxed as much as possible. Foreign goods, as they appeared on the market, became a spur to German manufacturers to produce more efficiently. Our manufacturers needed such a spur because for a long time they had been cut off from outside competition, first by the Nazi autarchy, then by the war. Freer trade meant more goods in the shops. It strengthened our new currency because it showed the people they could by something with their money (a pfennig, equaling one-fourth cent, is still a usable coin). I was sure that the more we bought from abroad, the more we could and would sell abroad. It seemed to many a risky thing for a country in Germany's plight to bet on economic freedom. But we made the bet—and won it."

You cannot read this without including what he patently omits—the thorough planning all of the above entailed. Here we have feast or famine. Of course we could have avoided the slight recessions due principally to the curtailment of our defense spending in 1949 and 1953. In 1957, there was real and serious economy ordered to come within a reduced budget. But not an ounce of planning how to avoid a consequent recession. So we had one that was really serious.

In May of 1957 I went to Germany on a study trip covering its economic recovery. I made a longer trip of it this 1959 summer. I found not only an economic but a spiritual recovery too. Up to 1952 they were too busy getting the shelter and food and clothing of mere existence. Since then they have been building well on the Western concept of moral and spiritual values. They no longer alibi but rather feel deeply and acknowledge the shame of the Hitler regimes. They want to make amends and make good not only for their own conscience but to the wronged ones throughout the world. In these respects the Adenauer government has led the way and may it so continue for a long time to come.

Increased Tobacco Allotments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EUGENE SILER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. SILER. Mr. Speaker, I feel that under current market conditions of burley tobacco and under the supply situation for this crop, as we know it to

prevail right now, there could well be an increase in the tobacco allotments all over the country where burley tobacco is produced.

But in order for this good achievement to mean the most for those worst off, I have proposed that two-thirds of this suggested increase be given to the smaller or semirural industrial areas where burley tobacco is now produced and where there is 10 percent or more of the labor forces unemployed. In other words, my bill would give every grower some increase and would give every depression area grower still more increase. Everyone wants to help economically depressed areas but no one seems willing to do anything to help them. My bill, H.R. 9745, would help tobacco growers and would alleviate conditions in depressed areas, all in one legislative effort. It might aid the general economy in most of the following small industrial areas of our Nation now suffering from unemployment.

Maryland, two minor areas.
North Carolina, two minor areas.
Virginia, one minor area.
West Virginia, eight minor areas.
Kentucky, seven minor areas.
Tennessee, one minor area.

On January 20, 1960, I sent Secretary of Agriculture Benson a copy of my bill and asked him to consider it and approve it, if possible. My letter to him is as follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., January 20, 1960.

Hon. EZRA TAFT BENSON,
Secretary, Department of Agriculture,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BENSON: Enclosed is a copy of my own burley tobacco allotment bill for 1960, same being H.R. 9745, introduced by me on January 19, 1960, which I would like very much for you, your Tobacco Division, and your Department to consider. And I would fervently hope that this bill, or one similar thereto, might have the approval of the Department of Agriculture.

My bill would grant a 15-percent increase in burley tobacco allotments, but in practical effect the increase would only amount to about 5 percent because most of the increase would go to the least of tobacco producing areas, those located in some of the economically depressed, labor surplus counties of minor industrial importance in our Nation. I myself represent one of these areas, the Eighth Congressional District of Kentucky, where we have much unemployment and labor surplus with just a few small tobacco bases in most of our counties.

My bill would be a double-barreled benediction because it would recognize the current disappearance of burley tobacco supplies and the high market prices of tobacco by—

1. Giving some increase, not less than 5 percent, to all burley growers everywhere so that they all might share somewhat in the fortunate circumstances of this crop's present status; and by

2. Giving special recognition and consideration to tobacco's poor relations in depressed areas of our country, where the maximum economic needs of our American citizenship prevail right now.

Our President and his administration have heretofore been recorded in favor of depressed areas legislation. My bill would accomplish something in that very area of legislative effort and this would help the entire economy in certain counties of Virginia, West Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, and possibly other States where burley tobacco is produced in a small way.

According to statistics at hand, applying to the period of November 1959 the following burley tobacco growing States had 10 percent or more of available labor forces unemployed in minor or small industrial areas, viz:

Maryland, two minor areas.
North Carolina, two minor areas.
Virginia, one minor area.
West Virginia, eight minor areas.
Kentucky, seven minor areas.
Tennessee, one minor area.

Undoubtedly some of those small industrial areas of economic depression in West Virginia and possibly in other States would have no burley tobacco production whatever at the present time. The intent of my bill would not be to add any territory whatever to presently existing burley tobacco places of production but would be to help all presently existing territories some and the economically depressed territories still more. "Blessed is he that considered the poor; the Lord will deliver him in time of trouble." Psalms 41.

With all good wishes and thanking you for your consideration, I am,

Yours truly,

EUGENE SILER,
Member of Congress, Eighth District of Kentucky.

It would certainly be pleasing to me if other House Members from economically depressed, burley tobacco areas would introduce bills similar to mine and then lend a hand toward getting some legislation of this type enacted.

Civil Rights Deadlock

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the New Republic, January 25, 1960, issue. The editorial is most timely:

CIVIL RIGHTS DEADLOCK

About once a year we try to explain what the GOP-Dixiecrat collaboration really means. This is a good time in connection with the civil rights bill. This mild Eisenhower version is now deadlocked in the 12-man House Rules Committee. The committee won't act, and there are not enough signatures available to bring it to the floor by petition. The reason is, of course, that the GOP and Dixiecrats swap favors: the sanctimonious GOP helps the South keep the blacks in place, and the South helps kill liberal spending measures. On the Rules Committee there are four northern Democrats, four southern Democrats and four Republicans. The Republicans won't help the northerners, so the bill is stalled. Again, it takes 219 House signatures to discharge the committee. Northern Democrats don't have that number and need about 50 or 60 GOP signatures for the job. Republicans won't sign. One telephone call from Eisenhower and the GOP would fall into line. He doesn't call.

This doesn't mean there won't be a bill. We expect one. But not until the GOP has squeezed out the last drop of advantage by demonstrating the Democratic split. Or wait—another possibility. This is a perfect setup for young Lochinvar NIXON; he settled the steel strike and befriended labor, didn't he? We think the GOP would love to cultivate the Negro vote for Vice President NIXON by letting him dramatically settle the civil rights case.

A year ago Eisenhower proposed setting up a Committee on National Goals, privately financed, that would tell America what it really is aiming for. Every now and then some reporter needles the White House by asking what's become of this grandiose scheme, but nobody knows. Not a word about it in the state of the Union message.

On the other hand the President did get together a first-rate, blue-ribbon Commission on Civil Rights. Last September it brought out its long awaited report. Its chief proposal, approved 5 to 1, was to establish Federal registrars in southern communities if the local officials refused to list Negro voters. Eisenhower gave the proposal a frosty reception at last week's press conference; he didn't even know if the idea was constitutional, he said; much better stick to his current civil rights bill (i.e., the one stalled in committee by GOP votes). It is reported that some of the Commissioners will hand back their blue ribbons if they don't get White House support. It's no fun doing a nasty job if the boss won't back you up.

Speech by Eduardo L. Martelino

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER HOLTZMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. HOLTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include this speech by a Philippine official, delivered before the Jesuits at Woodstock College in Maryland, which came to my attention recently. I was impressed by the significant arguments presented, which have a direct bearing upon our foreign relations. Eduardo L. Martelino is the Philippine spokesman in New York. He is a former newsman, a World War II veteran, and an author whose recent book, "Someday Malaysia," has just been released in New York.

A seasoned diplomat at 36, he represents a new generation of Asians who believe in the nationalistic movements in their countries. Mr. Martelino, however, points out the fact that these movements are not anti-American. He in fact explains how Americans can best take advantage of these movements and make allies out of those in Asia who continue to remain uncommitted in the ideological battle for men's minds being waged in that part of the world today between democracy and communism. Mr. Martelino's speech is a document I commend to your reading.

The speech follows:

SPEECH BY EDUARDO L. MARTELINO, PRESS ATTACHÉ FOR PHILIPPINE DELEGATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS AND OF THE CONSULATE GENERAL OF THE PHILIPPINES IN NEW YORK AT WOODSTOCK COLLEGE, MARYLAND, NOVEMBER 19, 1959

Reverend Father Rector and gentlemen, I consider it a privilege and a distinct honor to have been invited to speak here at Wood-

stock before this impressive group of young Jesuits. The Society of Jesus is an order made up of the finest minds. That you should therefore apply yourselves to the subject of Philippine-American relations is a matter of gratification for me since I am engaged in the business of disseminating information for my country. This fact however, prompts me to confess that the appreciation I feel for the opportunity to discuss this subject with you is not unmixed with anxiety, for as you are probably aware from recent press accounts, in the present status of relations between the Philippines and the United States all is not well. This is an important question which has long needed plain talk.

The Philippines is an old friend of America. I don't need to retrace the long history of relationship between the two countries; we are all familiar with that. We Filipinos can say to America that in this century it has no better friend in Asia; all others have been at one time allies, at another enemies, at still another, friendly or hostile spectators, while the lines of battle shifted and various wars and their fortunes changed. Only the Filipino people, in summer sunshine and in time of the monsoon, put and still put their faith in the justice and loyalty, the libertarian creed of American democracy as the most desirable foundation of a united world. Only 18 years ago on a Saturday in March, the Battle of Bataan came to an end in the Philippines, and a hundred thousand Filipinos and ten thousand Americans who had fought side by side, began the infamous death march to the concentration camps together.

But today we Filipinos have begun to feel that we are being taken for granted by America, and we often wonder whether or not it would profit us more to put a price on our loyalty and bargain for our friendship.

Let me quote from a recent article by one of America's most widely read syndicated columnists, Bob Considine, writing in his popular column, On the Line, about this subject, said, and I quote: "Our relations are worsening with the Philippines, the only democracy and only Christian country in the Asiatic world and the most loyal of our allies in World War II. If permitted to deteriorate much more, we will have lost not only a bulwark but, more importantly, a trusting friend."

In an editorial on the same subject written in the Tulsa World edition of July 12 last, I also found the following words, and again I quote: "It would be tragic indeed if the United States should fail to covet the friendship of those who have stood by it. It is far more vital to the U.S. world position to maintain what friends we have than to treat generously with those we would like to have but cannot depend upon."

Other editorial comments had been published at earlier dates by the New York and Washington newspapers and I daresay by others throughout the country, all of them sounding a note of warning on the worsening relations between the Philippines and the United States. Time will not permit my reading them all to you at this occasion, but I can assure you that most of them have expressed the same sentiments as the two commentaries I have just quoted.

What, then, has caused the Filipinos to suddenly turn sour on America?

To my mind, the main irritants of Philippine-American friendship might be divided into two general categories: the pending unsettled Philippine claims before the U.S. Government and the question of sovereignty and along with it a misunderstanding of Filipino nationalism. I shall discuss these areas in that order.

We have claims against the United States amounting to approximately $800 million and these claims were officially presented to the U.S. Government on January 14, 1955, 4 years ago. To date only two claims have been approved; one amounting to $23 million representing the long-delayed payment to us of the gold dollar devaluation fund, and $75 million for additional war damage payments. The other claims have either been set aside or rejected completely.

I would like to say just a few words in connection with the war damage payments, and one or two others. We Filipinos remember too well the promises made during the dark days of enemy occupation. Special broadcasts by the late President Roosevelt to the beleaguered Filipino Freedom Fighters had said: "Everything will be restored down to the very last nipa hut." It was a rallying cry which succeeded in strengthening the resolve of my people to resist the Japanese invader.

The U.S. Congress in time authorized sums covering 75 percent of the value of property destroyed in battles between Japanese and Filipino guerrillas, in U.S. air raids against enemy positions, and finally in United States and Filipino battles against Japanese troops. By this time the cost of construction materials and property values had more than doubled, but Congress decided to base its assessment on pre-war values. Well, only slightly more than one-half of the amounts awarded to claimants were actually paid and there still remained unsatisfied 22½ percent as provided by the Rehabilitation Act. There followed the promise to appropriate the amount needed to cover the balance, and Filipinos borrowed money to rebuild against the day when Washington would come through. Washington didn't, not until 9 years later, and still to this day a balance remains.

Another claim has to do with agreements signed by Gen. Douglas MacArthur with officials of the Philippine Commonwealth Government pledging to equalize Filipino soldiers' pay with that of Americans. This agreement was later either ignored or repudiated at the Washington level—at a cost of $200 million to the Philippine Government, which was forced to carry out an agreement made by the illustrious American general.

It might interest you to know what salary the Filipino soldier earned in those days when the Philippines was still a part of America. A Filipino buck private was paid ₱18, or $9 a month, as against $50, or ₱100, which the American buck private was making a month. Yet, my friends, the Japanese bullets on Bataan and Corregidor were not marked with peso or dollar signs, nor did they single out the American soldier from the Filipino. On the other hand, all other mercenaries who fought with the American forces in the last war enjoyed this equal rate of pay which was denied to Filipinos.

Then, as if to add insult to injury, a general impression has been created here that we have been the beneficiaries of extra-lavish American assistance. Here are the figures which I got from the reports of the U.S. Department of Commerce for the fiscal year 1958: During the postwar period, mutual security aid from the United States was given to the following countries in these amounts: Japan, $2,897 million; Formosa, $2,373 million; Korea, $2,160 million; Vietnam, $795 million; Pakistan, $343 million; India, $343 million; and the Philippines, $145 million. Of course, this figure for the Philippines is aside from the war-damage payments which were certainly due us after suffering incredible destruction from an enemy attack which was, after all, aimed against America, for the Philippines was American territory at the time. As you will notice from these figures, our actual receipts are much less than those given to other countries in Asia, some of them former enemy countries, others neutral or uncommitted, certainly none linked by political, military, and economic ties as closely to the American people as we Filipinos are.

I believe, of course, that it is necessary for America to make and cultivate new friends in Asia where communism has seen fit to challenge the Western World to competitive coexistence and where the majority of uncommitted countries are still undecided whether to cast their lot with the Western World or to throw in with Muscovy. But it is certainly wiser for America to keep and maintain old friends. We who as a people have cast our lot unreservedly with hers and have always stood up to be counted, thus assuming all the concomitant risks of such a forthright stand; we who as a Nation have refused, unlike others, to sit comfortably on the fence, or stand on the sidelines, feel that we deserve a more sympathetic understanding of our problems. The truth is that we have not asked for any handouts, nor have we sought charities. If the United States can only see its way clear to settling our claims, we need no financial aid from the United States.

The other delicate area of present Philippine-American relations lies in the emergence of nationalism as a regional phenomenon throughout Asia, and which in the Philippines has become a rising issue of the day. The Western nations decry nationalism as a concept which is barbarous, narrow, self-centered, inherently unfit, and unreliable in the enlightened age of international cooperation. They may be right. But it is a cardinal proposition in logic that one cannot argue against a fact. Nationalism is a fact, the most important fact, in Asia, and it seems to me that, until the Western World learns that fact, all of us are in peril of death.

Rather than decry nationalism or fear it however, the West must understand that this feeling is not antiforeign in nature. It merely consists of a strong and purposeful desire to achieve a new economic freedom, which in the case of the Philippines anyway, will allow our people to participate in a greater measure in the economic development of our country. America should accommodate her attitudes and policies to the legitimate nationalistic aspirations of the newly independent peoples of Asia. All Asians are familiar with the abuses of colonialism. A living generation remembers when they were hewers of wood and carriers of water, and the wealth they created was channeled to a metropolis on the other side of the world. They wish now to distribute this wealth among their own people.

In the political field several problems also arise. One of the worst effects of colonialism is the inferiority complex it creates in the subject people, and the inferiority complex in turn must be compensated (or overcompensated?) with one of superiority. This perhaps explains why Asians seem to react almost automatically against Western policy. If the West offers loans and technical assistance, then there's probably a catch to it. The white man's word was law in the past. Now, even if only to prove that the past is past, his word must be contradicted. I do not say that the Asians are right; I do say the West should try to understand them.

It is against this background and setting that the importance of Philippine-American relations must be viewed. It has been said that we need America. But America needs us too. The Philippines is still the most hospitable country in Asia for Western ideas and Western policies. Americans of another time had essayed to extend to an Asian people, the Filipinos, the democratic ideals, principles and techniques which made their own country great. This venture must be accounted an historic success for it achieved everything it hoped to achieve: the peaceful

emancipation of a colony that has become a friend.

But there is another venture, a Philippine venture, which has greater immediate significance. It is the experiment that we Filipinos have made in turn: of an Asian people placing their trust wholeheartedly in America. No one can ask of a friend more than was asked of us. No friend can give more, and give it more cheerfully, than we have given.

This is indeed a test case for Asia. For if our faith in America and the West is justified with the works of the West, if it can be shown that a small Asian nation resolutely committed to the Western World need not degenerate into a Gunga Din trotting bravely at the heels of his master; if it can be shown that we Filipinos did not make a mistake and that America is indeed a true friend of Asia; then indeed the Philippine venture may induce other Asians to make the choices that we believe are necessary and right.

They are not so much uncommitted as unconvinced; indeed they are uncommitted because they are unconvinced.

Ukrainian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, the 42d anniversary of Ukrainian independence provides an opportunity for all Americans and free people everywhere to do honor to the continued struggle of a courageous people for freedom.

It is worth reminding ourselves that wherever or whenever freedom is denied, then the idea of freedom itself is in danger. Free people can never relax in the presence of tyranny.

Last year, Mr. Speaker, I was privileged to address the World Congress of Ukrainian Women, sponsored in New York by the Ukrainian National Women's League of America. It was an impressive demonstration to me of the undying determination of people of Ukrainian descent, wherever they may live, to keep alive the hope of freedom for their brethren still in Soviet Ukraine.

Under previous leave, I include my remarks on that occasion in the RECORD as a testimonial of my own admiration for their courage:

UKRAINIAN-AMERICAN WOMEN AND FREEDOM

I want first of all to greet the delegates to this World Congress of Ukrainian Women and to welcome those of you from other countries to our own, and of course I want also to congratulate the Ukrainian National Women's League of America for sponsoring this Congress.

Woman's role in our civilization has always been considered important, though that importance has not been adequately emphasized and properly understood. Certainly such has been the case in the distant past, in ancient times, in the Middle Ages, and in some countries and communities even in our own day.

From time immemorial woman's status and her role was more or less clearly defined and widely recognized: the home was her special place, and to attend to all the details within and around the house was her rigidly prescribed duty. She brought warmth and encouragement to her growing children and helped her husband as indispensable partner in all phases of the family. But with the coming of industrialization, the rise of modern metropolitan centers, urbanization, and all the complexity of today's civilization, this seemingly happy equilibrium was upset. A different relationship developed. Men went off to their work and women remained at home. A separateness and sharp division—a distance—grew up between man and woman. But today we are learning that man alone cannot cope with all his pressing and perplexing problems without the encouragement and inspiration, without the aid and counsel and assistance of woman. Thus, in a sense we have traversed a long distance, through the ages in enlarging the area in which woman works, in enhancing her standing in our civic and social lives, and in appreciating more properly her indispensable role in modern society as her role was also understood—taken for granted—in earlier societies.

These general remarks apply equally to the women of the Ukraine as they apply to the women of America and to those of other countries, particularly to the women of the free and democratic West. It is difficult for one not brought up in the Ukrainian tradition in the historic Ukraine, for one not well acquainted with the traditional Ukrainian family and communal customs, and the Ukrainian way of life, to speak of women in the Ukraine, and describe adequately their important role, to the World Congress of Ukrainian Women. But this challenge may be attempted if one has had a keen interest in Ukrainian affairs, has followed recent tragic history of the Ukrainian people in their homeland, has learned of their struggle for freedom against their heartless oppressors, has known Ukrainian-Americans at work here, and has been aided with information by the Ukrainian National Women's League of America. I have these interests and have enjoyed the favors of the Women's League, and therefore gladly accepted the invitation to address you today.

Now let me say a few words about the general status of women in the U.S.S.R.

It is extremely interesting and revealing to consider the role Soviet women play in Soviet society today. Soviet society presents us all with the distressing and disturbing dilemma of seeing the mixture of good and evil. This is so in a review of Soviet accomplishments in education and science. In the case of the Soviet woman, this dilemma is even more sharply delineated.

The Soviet woman holds some of the most important positions in Soviet economic life and some of the most degrading and humiliating. If any of you ladies present were to be admitted to a hospital in Moscow, Kiev, or Tiflis, undoubtedly you would be attended by a woman doctor. Women dominate the medical profession in the U.S.S.R. It is estimated that in both the medical profession and in education more than 70 percent are women.

Women in the Soviet Union are also technicians and engineers and hold responsible positions in the Soviet Government and the Communist Party organizations. A woman, Madame Furtseva, is actually a member of the highest organ of Soviet political power, the party Presidium.

Yet, this is only one side of the picture. To be sure many hundreds of thousands of women are engaged in the familiar roles of housewife, mother, teacher, doctor, and researcher. But the Soviet woman is also doing a man's job—often of the most back-breaking kind. For every Soviet woman who is a doctor there are many more who wield picks and shovels in construction work, drive rivets in steel structures, run massive agricultural machines, haul mortar and brick, repair sewers, and sweep the city streets day and night. None of these is a pleasant task. All are degrading and humiliating in the extreme.

Why do we see such striking contrasts in the treatment of women? One part of the answer lies in the fact that Soviet Russia suffers from an acute labor shortage. Thus, to achieve the extraordinary goals laid down by the successive 5-year plans, the Soviet Government has not hesitated to exploit the Soviet woman. The Soviet labor force needs them. It is estimated that a third of all heavy manual labor in the U.S.S.R. is being done by women and that nearly one-half of all industrial and factory jobs are held by them. Recent statistics on Soviet population indicate that in 1939, before the war, 52 percent of the total population were women and 48 percent men; the 1959 census revealed that owing to war losses of manpower, the current percentage of the total population of 208,800,000 is 55 percent women to 45 percent men.

The fundamental explanation for women's position in the Soviet Union, however, can be found in the nature of the Soviet system and the Communist ideology. Here, the state is the all-important consideration. In theory, of course, the state consists of all the people and exists to serve their best interests. But in Communist practice, the state is directed by the Communist Party which alone knows what is best for the people. And, the Communist Party, in turn, is dominated by a handful of top officials, and led by a dictator, whose every decision and desire is law.

In a free society, all the people participate not only in the work of the state but in making the decisions. The goals and purposes of a free democracy are the goals and purposes freely determined by its people. Even minorities, even those who may disagree, are protected in their freedom because a truly free society in the Western tradition insists upon limits to the power of government. The essential dignity and freedom of the individual is guaranteed against the demands of the state—no matter how large a majority may feel otherwise.

This, of course, is not so in Soviet society—and this explains the basic difference in the role of women as between the free world and the Communist world. The people of Soviet Russia—regardless of differences in nationality, religion, or personal desires—must devote their services and efforts to the Communist state in whatever way its Communist masters order. There is little or no free choice. If one woman is assigned a profession that gives her unusual opportunity, it is not because she chose it freely or earned it fairly; it is exclusively due to the decision of the Government that she could best serve the state in that capacity. Likewise, the degrading work to which other women are assigned results from the same impersonal, dictatorial decision of the Government. There is no free choice, no consideration of individual rights, no opportunity for freely developing one's God-given talents and tastes.

I have no doubt, however, that before all and above all Ukrainian women in their native homeland and in their personal lives are proud mothers, faithful wives, efficient homemakers, and vigilant guardians of family and community conscience insofar as the state permits. But it is difficult for Ukrainian women in the Ukraine, under the stern and unrelenting Communist totalitarian dictatorship, to retain these virtues and carry on their difficult and onerous tasks. There, under the most oppressive of tyrannies, in the very midst of abject misery, Ukrainian women cannot hope to be their true selves. They are not allowed to be true to themselves, to their families and communities. The monolithic Communist regime, with its purely materialistic beliefs has been forcibly trying to imbue the women of Ukraine with Marx's preposterous and ungodly beliefs. For nearly 40 years the fanatical and brutal Communists have been doing their worst to rob the women, as also the men, of Ukraine of their time-honored

and venerated traditions and virtues. Fortunately, Communist attempts have not succeeded, and I am glad to be assured that today the courageous and stout-hearted women of Communist-dominated Ukraine still steadfastly and tenaciously cling to their womanly, motherly, and family virtues. There, against heavy and often forbidding odds, they are carrying on the fight with all the means they possess for the preservation of these virtues, and also for their personal and national freedom. These dauntless and daring souls deserve our unstinted praise and wholehearted sympathy for their willingness and readiness to sacrifice their all in defense of their cultural and spiritual values.

The virtues of family love, of motherly affection and of concern for the local community are the basic necessities in all free societies. They are much the same in every country and among all peoples, but only those who enjoy the blessings of freedom and democracy may freely practice them. That explains the close relationship and the spiritual kinship prevailing among women of the free world, and also between the women of the free world and the freedom-loving women of the unfree, Communist-dominated world. Of course even closer is the spiritual and cultural relationship between the Ukrainian-American women, the women of Ukrainian descent in other free countries, and the women of the Ukraine itself. That is only natural and desirable. There should be unbreakable ties between the women in the Ukraine and those in the free world. These ties need strengthening, cementing and forging through constantly sustained efforts on the part of women of Ukrainian descent, and particularly by American women of Ukrainian descent.

Those in this country, as well as all of you here representing Ukrainian women in the free world, have the special mission of acquainting the women of your particular country with the lot and fate, with the gifts and talents, with the accomplishments and attainments, with the hopes and aspirations of the women of Ukraine. And since the women of unfree Ukraine are not in position—are not allowed—to speak for themselves, it is incumbent upon all of you in the free world to speak for them, to espouse their cause in all the forums of the free world. I consider this task, in fact, the task of speaking for the women of Ukraine, as one of your solemn duties. It is a primary and basic obligation of women of Ukrainian descent in the free world.

The Ukrainian National Women's League of America, in the course of its existence during the last 34 years, has been doing splendid work both in the propagation of the cause of Ukraine, and also in welfare and educational fields in a large number of communities. Operating in 16 States with 63 branches in many parts of this country, its activities reach out to all communities having large numbers of Ukrainian-Americans. As a civic, cultural, educational and welfare organizations, the league has been helpful to all those needing aid and guidance. Besides giving financial and material aid to the needy, it has been rendering signal service in guidance and educational work, particularly among immigrant Ukrainians. In this respect, the league has become a first-rate educational agency, an enterprising American institution, in teaching and educating Ukrainian immigrants in the American way of life. If the league has done nothing else, this delicate and difficult work alone would command our admiration and high praise. I am indeed glad to express my personal and profound admiration for such fine work.

Since its founding 1925, the object of the league has been, and remains, that of uniting and organizing women of Ukrainian birth and descent in this country for the purpose of mutual benefit, and for the promotion of their common interest, as well as giving assistance to Ukrainians in Europe.

As I said before, in all of its varied and worthwhile activities, in the performance of many humanitarian and educational tasks, the league has been eminently successful. Let me state that it will be even more successful in its future endeavors after this congress, for I am sure that upon your return to your respective countries, you will carry your fine work with increased vigor, energy, and zeal. And the league, knowing that its work has been properly and fully appreciated, will continue the policies which have been endorsed and acclaimed by its members and followers.

I have admired the work of the league in all fields and in all communities, in domestic and international affairs. And I like particularly the slogan adopted by the league for this congress: "Ukrainian women in the non-Communist world in defense of the four freedoms, and of the human rights." In these precarious days, we in the free world should never relax our vigilance in behalf of our most cherished values, our birthrights, our freedoms, the Bill of Rights, and the human rights that belong to all people for all of which freedom-seeking humanity has struggled throughout its known history.

It is of course natural that those who suffer most under tyranny should become its most uncompromising enemies, vowing to fight for its destruction. For that reason I can well understand, and everyone should know, why Ukrainian women everywhere in the free world are so bitterly and justly opposed to all forms of totalitarianism and dictatorship, particularly to Communist totalitarian dictatorship. It is the natural but courageous response of good people to become involved in this world struggle for freedom and independence against the forces of darkness and destruction, against Soviet Communist dictatorship. You have grasped the full significance of that struggle, encompassing not only man's material possessions but also his very soul. By your willingness and readiness to take such a strong and honorable stand against Communist tyranny, you are assuring to yourselves a high place among those who have fought and died for the higher and nobler ideals of humanity. The women of Ukraine, the women of Ukrainian birth and descent, the delegates of the World Congress of Ukrainian Women, and the members of the Ukrainian National Women's League of America—you all deserve well of the free world, for you are fighting in defense of the four freedoms wherever they are denied in the world.

They Can Do One: We Can Do Both

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wall Street Journal of January 26, 1960:

REVIEW AND OUTLOOK: QUESTIONS OF SURVIVAL

Almost any commentator, learned or otherwise, will be heard these days deploring the Nation's mania for luxury when what the times supposedly demand is concentration on essentials.

Many politicians have also picked up the refrain: We are wasting money on tail fins while the Government should be spending much more on missiles, education, and domestic welfare projects.

The complaint has been further embittered by the tenor of the President's messages this month, with their emphasis on the good life and better to come. For example, the economic report contains a section of tables relating to the diffusion of well-being; they show how increasingly well off Americans are in terms of TV sets, cars, homes, and so forth—and also how many more Americans are coming to share in that prosperity.

This newspaper has no more wish than anyone else to see America let luxury turn it into a sitting duck for the Communists. But before agreeing with the dire conclusion that this is what is happening as a result of too much private spending and too little Government spending, we would like to ask a few questions.

The first is simple: Where does the money come from that the Government spends? Except when the Government resorts to the printing press, it comes from the private economic activity of individuals and businesses. The Government's income increased more than $8 billion in 5 fiscal years, 1955–60, without any increase in taxes. The rise came from expanded private economic activity.

So when these people argue that the Government should spend much more for defense, schools, slum clearance or whatever, they are arguing for a curtailment of the private economic activity which is already enabling the Government to spend many billions more than it could 5 years ago. And if they go on to say that then the Government should raise taxes much more in order to spend more, they are arguing for a still further curtailment. Indeed it is not illogical to figure that the Government's revenue would increase from lower taxes because of the spur that would give to economic growth.

The next question is a little more difficut: Are we spending enough for defense and other essentials? Very few unbiased experts contend that more money is the key to more rapid rocket progress; some military experts believe the Defense Department is correct in its view that the United States is far from lagging behind the Soviet Union in military strength.

All the same, let us assume for the moment that the Pentagon should be spending $51 billion a year instead of $41 billion. Why in all seriousness—and pray what is more serious than the question of our survival?—should not that additional money come out of the billions the Government wastes every year? If survival is the issue, then let the politicians in Washington for once in a lifetime curb their political greed on the ostensible behalf of farmers, healthy veterans and all the other pressure groups, before they start laying waste the private economy.

The final question is again essentially simple: What are these critics of our alleged luxury mania really proposing? They are proposing, if what they say means anything at all, to change our form of society. For what they are saying is that the Government should take over our disorderly private lives and whip them into shape. The Government will allocate the Nation's resources, taking the bulk of them for the Government's purposes and leaving a little, precious little, for consumer goods. That is how it is done in the Soviet Union.

And this tragically misses the point of the struggle in which we are engaged. America's only point in this context, is to demonstrate that the free society and the free economy can both defend itself and provide the good life for all its citizens. The Communists can do one; they cannot do both.

If we cannot do both then we do not deserve to survive as a particular form of economic and political organization. But let us at least not hasten our own destruction by heeding the clamorous counsels of those who cannot see the true essentials for survival.

Appendix

East-West Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. OREN E. LONG

OF HAWAII

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 27, 1960

Mr. LONG of Hawaii. Mr. President, on January 21, 1960, Prof. Murray Turnbull, interim director of the proposed east-west center for cultural and technical interchange at the University of Hawaii, addressed the Rotary Club of Wahiawa, Hawaii. Mr. Turnbull is a most unusual man. He is at once a gifted artist whose canvases and designs in stained glass adorn homes and public buildings in Hawaii. At the same time he has been an effective teacher and administrator at the University of Hawaii. He now has charge of preliminary planning for the east-west center at the university and his speech admirably sets forth the purposes and organization of the proposed center.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Turnbull's statement be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

ADDRESS BY PROF. MURRAY TURNBULL, INTERIM DIRECTOR, INTERNATIONAL CENTER, UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII, BEFORE THE WAHIAWA ROTARY CLUB, JANUARY 21, 1960

Of all the natural resources upon which the world depends for its survival and its sustenance, none is so important as its people. Of all of the means for making possible the fullest and wisest realization of the potentialities of this basic resource, none offers such promise as the free interchange of information and ideas which will encourage mutual understanding between people.

Wherever and whenever men can face one another as peers and exchange their considered views on the vital issues of their lives, their constructive potentialities for cooperative peace increase dramatically. Whenever they can share knowledge and information basic to these issues, they establish sound foundations upon which such interchanges can occur most fruitfully, and at the same time provide the means for effective thought and action.

It is to accomplish precisely these ends that proposals have been made for the formation of an international center for cultural and technical interchange in Hawaii, which stands as a brilliant symbol of the day-to-day success of the democratic processes as they respond to the creative impact of varied cultural and racial groups. Our newest State provides a tangible demonstration of the cooperative accomplishments of peoples of diverse origins, working together as free men, with mutual respect and consideration. It represents the reality of the American dream, not as a bland assimilation of differences, but as a fulfilled promise in the useful employment of diversities for mutual good. Indeed, Hawaii's people constitute a visible proof that men can live together in harmony. Against this background, and using the unusual resources of the University of Hawaii, the several agencies of the State, the schools, museums, private institutions, and the innumerable services of an alert, informed, and active citizenry, a center to facilitate the interchange of ideas between the countries of the Pacific, the Trust Territories of the United States, and our country promises much.

This promise is not formed on idle speculation or casual good will, but grows naturally out of Hawaii's unique geographic location, its refreshing climate and beauteous vistas, its combination of an innately friendly people and an extraordinary social mixture of several nationalities. In this setting, the State university has taken advantage of challenges and opportunities provided by its living community laboratory to play an active role in the development of the democratic society which is its base and its support. With a faculty itself representative of both Asian and American racial groups, and with its serious attention to Asian-American relationships, to Asian history, geography, art, government, and society, it has for many years invested its energies with profit to Hawaii's young people. Not only has it provided substantial programs in basic areas of higher education, but it has converted natural assets to outstanding achievements in such special fields as marine biology, tropical agriculture, and the social sciences, among others.

When Senator LYNDON JOHNSON and Hawaii's Delegate Jack Burns introduced legislation last summer as a part of the Mutual Security Act directing the Secretary of State to prepare a program for a center for cultural and technical interchange between East and West, the university was ready on the strength of its experience and the enthusiasm of its interests to assist in the planning of a series of proposals to effect the wise purposes of the act. The university had for many years discussed ideas pertinent to such a center, and moved swiftly to draw them together into a concise but useful form as proposals for an international college. As a result of its deliberations, President Snyder recommended that Governor Quinn appoint a committee at large to summarize the available resources of the State and its potentialities. It was on the basis of these thorough and painstaking studies and proposals that the State Department prepared its own recommendations for the center.

To accomplish its goals in the furtherance of mutually enlightening relationships with Asian and Southeast-Asian nations, the proposed center would have two principal units: one, an international training facility, and the other an international college.

The first of these would expand and expedite an extensive series of on-the-job and in-service training programs which Hawaii already has in operation. Through the services of its International Cooperation Center, the State has assisted over 3,000 foreign participants from 30 different countries in the last 4 years. Present facilities, nevertheless, are operating at only a fraction of their capacity. These training resources include programs in industrial administrative practices, business policy, land use survey and planning, traffic control, school planning and administration, coffee production, soil conservation, disease control, sanitation, and child and family welfare, among many others. The training facility proposed would make it possible to exploit these resources fully and with great effect.

The second division of the center would consist of an international college, concerned principally with affairs pertaining to higher education. The endeavors of this unit would be focused on potential leaders and on mature individuals who occupy positions of leadership in their home countries. A number of students would be brought to the university from Asia, Southeast Asia, and the trust territories to undertake studies in the various regular and several special programs of the university. Most, but not all, of these selected young people would be graduate students concentrating on disciplines of greatest need in their own countries. The proposals include a smaller but significant number of fellowships for American students to undertake studies in the Asian studies and oversea operations programs of the university. It is essential that both groups have the opportunity to share study and living experiences in a situation where barriers to friendship and communication are minimal or easily removed.

It is most significant for the purposes of this center that the curriculums and courses of the university bear direct relevance to the problems and the lives of Asian peoples. Application of knowledge is thus enhanced and aided as incoming students respond to the pertinence of their studies. In addition to the regular curriculums of the university available to these students, several special services and programs would be developed in their support. These are integral parts of the project, and essential to its success. First is an English language institute to assure competent training and assistance in the use of English to facilitate the studies and the social contacts of all participating students so that language difficulties will not bar able students from learning in the areas of their interest or becoming isolated without easy means of communication. Language aides and tutors would play an active role in classrooms and dormitories in this development of the existing institute.

To ensure the general welfare of incoming students, a counseling service would be established which would be concerned with problems of immigration, health, recreation, and personal well-being.

The proposed college also includes an American studies institute to bring together an already substantial amount of research and a number of courses dealing with American traditions and institutions, and to focus attention on the history and character of American life.

The center is not alone designed to spread knowledge among student leaders, but has been devised to capitalize on past experience in providing opportunities for mature scholars and leaders to consider together the results of their research and thought in an institute of advanced studies. Under this program a number of scholars from the countries involved would be brought together at the university to participate in joint research, special conferences, seminars, and discussion meetings. The university's

imaginative success in sponsoring the East-West philosophers' conferences over the last 30 years provides the impetus for this phase of the project. A translation bureau to assist in the preparation of material in scholarly journals and open avenues for communication between the people most deeply concerned with basic issues and problems would operate as a necessary adjunct to this institute.

The center would be alert to develop other possible programs as needs arise, and would in fact offer an ideal organization and locale for studies and experiments in the education of Asian students which could be of value to all educational institutions.

While the university and the community it represents have invaluable resources to offer for the development of all of these programs in the national interest, the center would require some new physical facilities for its operation in addition to those now available. Chiefly, these would consist of dormitories and food services, with some space for library, classroom, research, and administrative units. The State, through its legislature, has already provided a $534,000 bond authorization for a part of this plant, a portion of which has been released for use in making land studies and outlining preliminary building plans. The university is determined to provide planning for facilities which will enable and encourage the integration of international students with the regular student body and the community.

In addition to these funds and supporting resolutions from its legislature and the extensive preparations undertaken by the university, the State of Hawaii has made it possible to establish an office with a staff at the university to prepare detailed plans for the organization and operation of the center. Furthermore, a number of Hawaii's legislators have contributed to a scholarship fund for local students to study in the center from their own personal funds, and a citizens' committee has been actively providing public support in a number of ways.

Perhaps one of the most heartening things about all of the effort which has been expended in support of this great idea is its cooperative, selfless and nonpartisan character. Representatives from both major political parties are agreed that this project is vital to our national security and offers a magnificent hope for effective national relationships in the future. Hawaii's Senators LONG and FONG and Representative INOUYE have been enthusiastically united in common purpose with both local and national legislators to bring this project into reality. People of widely divergent political views recognize that Federal support of all of these programs is necessary to their success, and that to the extent that they can be initiated with Federal funds along with fair and proportionate contributions from the State of Hawaii, our good relationships with foreign peoples will be buttressed and strengthened.

In addition to his statement that "Hawaii cries insistently to a divided world that all our differences of race and origin are less than the grand and indestructible unity of our common brotherhood," President Eisenhower during his recent visit to India proposed a "massive interchange of mutual understanding on the grand plateau of youth." "I believe mankind will profit when young men and women of all nations and in great numbers study and learn together," he said at the University of Delhi last month.

The International Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange in Hawaii would constitute a sign written large to cast these messages in both directions across the Pacific and illuminate the very word itself, peace.

Truman's Summit Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1960

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, in further support of my proposal to the President that a member of the Democratic Party be appointed as a participant in future international conferences, I append herewith an article which appeared in the New York Times of January 14, 1960:

TRUMAN'S SUMMIT PLAN—EISENHOWER IS COOL, BUT NATION NEEDS BIPARTISANSHIP IN FIXING BASIC POLICY

(By James Reston)

WASHINGTON, January 13.—The best way to assure the rejection of a good idea in Washington is to tell President Eisenhower it came from his predecessor, Harry S. Truman.

President Eisenhower is probably less partisan than any President of this century, but he has never quite got over Mr. Truman's blunt partisan language in the campaign of 1952, and even now he seems to get his dukes up every time Hurricane Harry is mentioned. Accordingly, when he was asked at his news conference this morning about Mr. Truman's suggestion that a representative of the Democratic Party be taken along to the summit meeting, he did not really come to grips with the idea.

It might be a good idea, he said, if the summit conference seemed to be approaching a treaty that would require the understanding and support of the Senate. But otherwise, he implied, there was no point in taking the opposition along.

In ordinary times, even the Democrats would approve this attitude, but these are not ordinary times. The power of the Federal Government is not in the hands of one party: It is divided, and has been divided since 1954, between a Republican Executive and a Democratic Congress.

MAJOR DECISIONS PENDING

This alone is a powerful reason for including the opposition, not only in the summit meeting, but in the other conferences this year on disarmament, nuclear testing, world trade, and aid to the developing nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Even this, however, is not the main reason. The main reason is that this is an election year in which decisions will be taken that will certainly influence the course of the Nation's history long after President Eisenhower's retirement in January of 1961.

It may be, of course, that the Democrats will have nothing to do with the Executive after the election. They are in such a mess now in their efforts to settle on a candidate that they may very well be defeated in November.

Moreover, there is no pressure from the Democrats to get involved in the summit meeting, or any other international conferences. Many of them would rather stay on the side and argue about foreign policy all the way through the campaign, just as many Republicans do not want to share the peace issue with anybody from the opposition.

There is, however, the question of the national interest, which is above any partisan interest. The nations of the West are at a critical point with one another, with the Communist world, and with the world in between. The President recognized this in his State of the Union message last week. He also recognized the need for cooperation between the two parties of a divided U.S. Government.

"My deep concern in the next 12 months, before my successor takes office," he said, "is with our joint congressional-Executive duty to our own and to other nations.

"Every minute spent in irrelevant interbranch wrangling," he went on, "is precious time taken from the intelligent initiation and adoption of coherent policies for our national survival and progress. We seek a common goal—brighter opportunity for our own citizens and a world peace with justice for all."

It will be difficult to implement this principle in 1960. Both parties are playing for high stakes. Even if Vice President NIXON is nominated and elected, he faces the prospect of having to work with at least a Democratic Senate. Already there is an ugly mood developing in the campaign over religion. And fierce personal rivalries involving Mr. NIXON and the competing Democratic candidates are not making things any easier.

In this situation, surely every possible effort should be made to minimize the damage, assist the new President, whoever he may be, and assure as much continuity as possible from one administration to the other.

POLICY SUGGESTIONS

These things could be done without giving either party any advantage over the other:

The ranking members of the Foreign Relations and Foreign Affairs Committees could be brought into the major conferences of 1960 as observers. This was what was done, with great advantage to the Nation, when the late Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, Republican of Michigan, was brought into the United Nations and North Atlantic Treaty Organization conferences of the 1940s.

The candidates for the Presidency could be given periodic briefings by the Central Intelligence Agency, as they were in the presidential campaign of 1956.

The policy studies of the last 8 years—now running into the hundreds—could be analyzed, kept up to date, and summarized between now and November, so that the new President and his staff would have a manageable body of objective information to study between the election and the inauguration.

It may have been that President Eisenhower misunderstood the nature of the question put to him this morning about bipartisan cooperation at the summit. But in any event it is fairly obvious that he has not yet put his mind to the important question of continuity and cooperation between the parties in the last year of his administration.

Midwest Newspaper Suggests Seaton for Vice President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 27, 1960

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, one of the great and influential newspapers of the Upper Midwest is the Sioux Falls Argus-Leader, published in Sioux Falls, S. Dak. Recently this newspaper pub-

lished an editorial entitled "Rockefeller Recognizes the Realities." The editorial pays a nice tribute to Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, of New York; it lauds the character and capacity of Vice President NIXON; and it suggests reasons why the newspaper believes Fred Seaton, of Nebraska, would make a logical and effective running mate for DICK NIXON.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ROCKEFELLER RECOGNIZES THE REALITIES

Surprising to many, indeed, was the early decision by Nelson A. Rockefeller not to seek the Republican nomination for the Presidency. Most persons had assumed he would await developments after the first of the year and base his plans on what might take place.

But it is characteristic of Rockefeller to recognize the realities. He has done so as the Governor of New York and in all of his other activities. And he saw in the unfolding panorama of the political picture in 1960 the emergence of Vice President NIXON as the dominant choice not only of the leaders of the Republic Party but of the rank and file.

Still it would be a sorry reflection on the character of Rockefeller if one were to say he withdrew solely because he believed the odds were sharply against his nomination. That would indicate he was concerned only in victory and not in principle. Rockefeller isn't that kind of a man. He will fight for that which he believes to be right even though the way is rough.

But he realized—and this is a demonstration of the man's bigness—that his views and those of NIXON were not far apart. He sensed very well that NIXON is qualified by training and experience and in general advocates the principles that Rockefeller endorses. He made it clear in his statement that he would support the GOP nominee, knowing full well when he made the declaration that NIXON in all probability would be the party's choice.

So it is that the Democrats who now are trying to say that Rockefeller is anti-NIXON are in effect indicting the character of the New York Governor. They are saying that Rockefeller isn't a man who is willing to fight for his principles against extreme obstacles.

Rockefeller is, to be sure, a liberal but his type of liberality is in contrast to that of the many so-called New Deal liberals. The difference, and it is a significant one, is that Rockefeller believes in liberality on a pay-as-you-go basis. He demonstrated that in the first year of his administration as Governor of New York when he forced through the legislature a tax program producing sufficient revenue to match the outgo. That's why Rockefeller's principles are so much closer to those of President Eisenhower and Vice President NIXON than they are to those of, say, Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY, of Minnesota, or Governor Williams of Michigan.

The withdrawal of Rockefeller places the Republican Party in a somewhat unusual position of unity in respect to 1960 and one that should strengthen the party's prospects. But it means as well, of course, that NIXON shoulders an added responsibility as the party's obvious leader. There is every reason to believe he will assume that responsibility with credit.

Thought on the Republican side will now turn to the nomination for the Vice Presidency. Rockefeller has ruled himself out and that leaves the field wide open.

This area of the Nation would find much satisfaction in the nomination of Fred A. Seaton, now serving as Secretary of the Interior. And the qualities that have won acclaim for him here are those that should command national endorsement. He has handled the admittedly complex and highly controversial affairs of the Department of the Interior with ability, tact, and understanding. He has ironed out many sore spots and has been appraised in general as one of the Nation's best Secretaries of the Interior.

We in this region, of course, know him particularly well because his home is in Nebraska and he is the owner of two South Dakota newspapers—the Lead Daily Call and the Deadwood Pioneer-Times. He has a cabin in the Black Hills and spends as much time as he can in that delightful region. It would be a wise choice, indeed, on the part of the GOP to nominate him as the running mate for NIXON in 1960.

Anti-Semitic Occurrences

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1960

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I have the privilege to include a resolution submitted by a group of outstanding and distinguished leaders from the city of Philadelphia who feel, and properly so, that they cannot stand by without voicing in the strongest terms, their protest and condemnation of the acts and depredations directed against the Jewish people in the many cities of America and several countries abroad. I join them and with the vast majority of Americans as well as men of good will all over the world in condemning this evidence of man's inhumanity to man and I say with them that if we permit injustices of any kind to be visited upon people of any race or country, faith, or persuasion anywhere in the world, we will all in time be destroyed by the same injustices.

The resolution follows:

MEETING OF NEGRO LEADERS, PHILADELPHIA, PA., SAMUEL L. EVANS, CHAIRMAN, JANUARY 21, 1960

Resolved:

1. That Negro leaders, representative of civic, religious, business, and fraternal organizations, call on every branch of the National, city, and State Governments and every citizen, regardless of race, creed, or religion, to denounce recent anti-Semitic occurrences in this country and abroad.

2. We appeal to the 20 million Negroes throughout the country, and other concerned citizens, to lend every assistance to public officials and law enforcement agencies so that they can apprehend and bring to justice those persons who have caused damage to sacred religious institutions of various faiths and property of American citizens.

3. It is our opinion that it is the serious responsibility of the West German Government and its people not only to maintain law and order, and disclaim and expose those guilty of acts of violence, but to remove from public office former Nazi criminals who have jeopardized the life, property, and freedom of others. Further, it should develop a long range program of education that will create a climate of opinion in which nazism cannot revive.

4. We also urge educators and religious leaders in this country to develop programs and activities that will help American children and adults to better understand the contribution of citizens of all faiths, races, and creeds to the creation of an American society based on the principle of equal justice under law.

5. And finally, we apprise American citizens of the Jewish faith and such other citizens who may be the victims of racial and religious persecution that they have a faithful ally in the American Negro who recognizes that acts of injustice to one group strike at the safety, security, and well-being of all Americans.

Proposed End of U.S. Subsidy to Castro

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STYLES BRIDGES
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 27, 1960

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, an editorial, entitled "End of U.S. Subsidy to Castro Warranted by Events in Cuba," which was written by our former colleague, the able William Knowland of California, appeared in the January 23 issue of the Oakland Tribune. I think this editorial warrants the attention of every Member of the Senate and of the general public as well. I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

END OF U.S. SUBSIDY TO CASTRO WARRANTED BY EVENTS IN CUBA

With the recall of the U.S. Ambassador to Washington for consultations, the State Department has emphasized the critical situation created in Cuba by the revolutionary regime of Fidel Castro.

For some time Castro has behaved in an insulting and menacing manner toward the United States without the slightest provocation on the part of this country. He is engaged in a calculated campaign to expel American business from the island. A Cuban official has been placed in a number of U.S.-owned industries with full power of decision and control. Castro has appointed a well-known leftist as head of the banking system and from him has come word that the Government intends to take over 51 percent of all Cuban industry. Despite protests of the State Department, there has been no compensation for the expropriations.

Now the insults have taken a personal turn. Since like all dictators Castro has placed the Cuban press under firm governmental control, he must be held responsible for what his henchmen publish. Yesterday President Eisenhower and Ambassador Bonsal were the subject not only of bitter denunciation but also shameful abuse.

If the matter were not so serious, the language of the semiofficial newspaper Revolution might be considered childish. Referring to the President's visit to Franco, it said "What a historic fraud. What deception. What democratic falsification. What free-world slaves. What a monstrosity." Then came the same kind of epithets the Communists employ: "war criminals, rob-

bers, traitors, scoffers." There has been much of the same kind of billingsgate in the press generally, along with fantastic and irresponsible charges against the United States.

The United States has carefully abstained from any kind of interference in Cuban affairs but we do have legitimate rights and interests in that country. It is incumbent on the U.S. Government to protect its citizens and their property, as well as maintaining respect for American officials. This is no time for timidity or weakness, which only cause contempt for us in the Latin American States. Let the Cuban revolutionaries cry imperialism and exploitation all they want; it has no substance.

If Castro wants to go it alone, without our assistance and investments which amount to about $1 billion, then so be it. There is no reason, then, why American taxpayers should subsidize the Cuban economy.

That is what we now are doing in respect to sugar. Normally there is a world surplus of sugar. Annually the United States buys nearly 3 million tons of sugar from Cuba and pays 2 cents a pound above the world price. That is what makes the sugar industry so profitable in Cuba and because of production costs Cuban producers could make little profit by selling on the world market.

There are numerous other countries including our good friends in Mexico, that are exerting tremendous pressure for a bigger share of the American market. Considering the provocation, there is no reason why the State Department should not suspend the sugar subsidy and quota now accorded to Cuba. It is highly probable that the Congress would favor such a move which would be thoroughly justified by the irresponsible and illegitimate actions of the Castro regime.

The Christian Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. B. F. SISK
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1960

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, Dr. John Coleman, whose record is given in Who's Who in America, and who has taught political philosophy in American colleges for over a third of a century, has prepared the following radio program, which is being broadcast on some 100 stations in our country. There is a series of 13 of these programs, and they will be sent free on request. Write to the Christian Amendment Movement, 804 Pennsylvania Ave., Pittsburgh. The program follows:

I love my Uncle Sam. In my book, Uncle Sam is a great man. I do not altogether like his pictures. The artists make him tall and husky, they give him a fine face, they clothe him in a suit of stars and stripes—all good. But they make Uncle Sam too old: whitehaired, white-bearded, about 60. To me he is not over 30, or at the most 35, still in the fullness of his strength—not 60, almost ready to retire.

It is true that relative to population, there are twice as many men and women over 65 in America as there were in 1900. But people live longer today. In 1885 the average length of life in the United States was about 35; now it is almost 70. And the number of births has grown, also, to 4 million a year, 4.7 children born every minute (that seventenths is purely statistical). If one generation goeth, another generation cometh. And actual measurements indicate that our present younger generation is taller and heavier than that of their fathers at the same age. Biologically, physically, Uncle Sam may always be young, have youth on his side.

So also with finances. Uncle Sam is not so old that he can scarcely make a living. He has 3 million of his nephews under arms, to protect himself and his allies; and a million more making munitions and equipment for them. He goes into his pocket each year for at least $36 billion to pay the bill, and he loans or gives, mostly gives, 4 to 4½ billion to his allies, and still has for his own people the highest standard of living in the world. God has blessed Uncle Sam in a material way. Uncle Sam should have a Thanksgiving every week. Surely you will agree with me that financially Uncle Sam is still young and vigorous.

Nevertheless there is a problem that social scientists have not altogether solved: Do nations grow old? Do nations grow old? Is Uncle Sam growing old? Do nations have their infancy, their childhood, adolescence, coming of age, ripened strength and mature manhood, and then—declining years with hardened arteries, weakened heart, stiffened joints, dimmed sight, and hearing—old age? Do nations grow old? It is the fate of individual men once to die. Is it the fate of nations? Is it to be the fate of the United States of America?

After World War I, Oswald Spengler, the German historian, wrote a book, that, widely read in the Western World, caused a sensation, Untergang des Abendlandes—The Decline of the West. Spengler maintained that nations do grow old, that they have a natural lifespan which they cannot extend; that they have their mornings, their noontides, their fine afternoons, their evenings, and then the nights. Spengler maintained also that our civilization—that of the Western nations—is already in the twilight, and the shades of night are falling fast.

Arnold Toynbee, the great British historian, does not agree that nations have a natural and inevitable lifespan; yet in his monumental Study of History, 10 big volumes, he gives us the stories of 26 civilizations known to man, and tells us that of these 26 only 10 survive, and that all 10 are disintegrating, except one—our Western civilization. Toynbee says that civilizations and nations come to an end, not from old age, but because they fail to meet the successive crises that arise in their history. America lives because she met the crisis that arose over slavery, the crisis of our great depressions—1817, 1837, 1857, 1873, 1893, 1920, and then the 1930's; she met the crisis of one world war, and then that of another. We are now faced with the continued crisis of the cold war with communism and with the great social and moral issues here at home. If we meet these successfully we will live.

Toynbee has followed his great work with a small volume, Civilization on Trial. He fears that our civilization, wearied by many problems, may be destroyed by a moral and spiritual decline. Well must we be on our guard. Together, moral and spiritual factors make up that intangible, but very real thing we call morale. Little Greece had morale when she turned back Xerxes with his huge army and the greatest fleet that the world had ever seen. Washington's little army had morale when it left its winter quarters at Valley Forge and, crossing the Delaware at night, surprised the British and won the Battle of Trenton. Resources, great wealth, do not buy morale; great numbers are not a sure foundation for it. Morale is a spiritual thing, arising from a belief in human worth and dignity, a belief that God and His universe are on the side of truth and righteousness; that the future, therefore, holds more, much more, than the past.

Morale keeps our enthusiasm fresh and young and we are ready to buy the future, whatever the cost. When morale is lacking, institutions, even churches—or perhaps I should say, churches most of all—keep their outward forms but lose their vitality, and people do not care—enough; corruption creeps into business, politics, and even sports, and people do not care—enough (we are complacent and self-satisfied); slums and redlight districts spread over one section after another of our cities and the people do not care—enough; crime increases among adults, yes, and among children, and people do not care—enough (except those whose persons or property are damaged); family life and decency are held more and more lightly, and people do not care—enough. If such conditions are growing in America, then despite our strength and prosperity, our morale is declining; God forgive us, we as a nation are growing old. Uncle Sam—gray hairs are here and there upon him, and—he knoweth it not.

But "Christianity", says Toynbee, "has the power to revive us again." Christianity is something more than a doctrine, it is a life centered in the Lord Jesus Christ. Christ said, "I am come that they might have life." He said, "I am the way, the truth, and the life." His is the life for nations as well as for individual men. Nations will acquire a new vitality, a new morale, if they turn to Him and join with Him in fulfilling their prayer: "Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven."

Let me quote two or three sentences from "The World Crisis and Christ," by Francis B. Sayre, now deceased, but once an Assistant Secretary of State, and later a successful Governor-General of the Philippine Islands:

"If we are to save our civilization now is the time for action. Before the walls have crumbled, we must begin building our foundations anew. The time is past for more churchgoing and singing of hymns. We must set out actually to build a society based on the living principles of Christ. If our civilization cannot be brought to understand more clearly, and to believe more strongly, in the fundamental teachings of Jesus Christ, it cannot survive. * * * We must go back to the living Christ, to the audacious, thrilling, winsome figure that actually lived and still lives."

Said the Apostle Paul (I Cor. 3:11): "For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ." The Christian amendment is an effort to lay this foundation for our own land.

The first section reads:

"This Nation devoutly recognizes the authority and law of Jesus Christ, Saviour and Ruler of nations, through whom are bestowed the blessings of Almighty God."

Patuxent River Park

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 27, 1960

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, on January 26, 1960, the Baltimore Evening Sun carried an editorial entitled "Patuxent River Park."

This editorial contemplates the inclusion of the Patuxent River Valley into

the National Park System. I believe this proposal has great merit and I intend to contact the Secretary of the Interior in an effort to start the ball rolling for the development of this park facility.

I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PATUXENT RIVER PARK

High among the reasons for Maryland's distinction as the fastest-growing State east of the Mississippi is its inclusion within one relatively small patch of land of two burgeoning metropolitan areas, those for Baltimore and Washington. While a source of great stimulation to the State, this doubled growth calls for astute public guidance. In particular, something must be done—and soon—to avert the virtual collision course on which the land developers are moving south from Baltimore and north from Washington. The city lines lie less than 40 miles apart, remember, and already that once-sylvan gap is shrunken by onrushing suburbs to half or less its original distance. It is to save those last few acres from the shopping centers and their allies that the State park people are reaching out for the Patuxent River Valley.

Here is the appropriate boundary midway between the two metropolitan areas. As a river valley, it offers a natural buffer separating one set of metropolitan problems from the other. As a handsome stretch of woodland, it places fresh opportunities for retreat and recreation before the citizens of both areas. And, as a public preserve, a park here would go far to prevent pollution of the Patuxent water supply system. The advantages of this site are compelling. There remains a question as to why Maryland should have to undertake the project alone. After all, the southern half of the area to be benefited is being filled up mostly by the northward thrust of Federal employees from Washington. Why should not the Federal park system pay at least a part of the cost of the Patuxent project's cost? An enterprising Maryland Congressman would want to find out the answer.

Farming in Pennsylvania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1960

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader, January 13, 1960:

FARMING IN PENNSYLVANIA

A turnout of a quarter million in 2 days, despite unfavorable weather conditions that developed yesterday, testifies not only to the interest in the State Farm Show at Harrisburg, but to the place agriculture has in the economy of the Commonwealth.

Although Pennsylvania is regarded as an industrial State, it also ranks as one of the leaders in agriculture. The farm show offers convincing proof.

Farming is a $9 billion industry in Pennsylvania and, therefore, big business. A look around Luzerne and neighboring counties offers proof of large investments and handsome returns.

Under the circumstances, it is surprising more young people do not explore its possibilities. With decentralization in progress and with good highways and automobiles, as well as the telephone, radio, and television, the farmer no longer is isolated. Moreover, his home is modern in every respect and is as well equipped as the residences of his city cousins. His children also have transportation to excellent schools and attend college later. Life on the farm today is a far cry from what it was a century or even a half century ago.

A Scientist Views Religion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 27, 1960

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, a great scientist, Dr. Wernher von Braun, Development Operations Director, Army Ballistic Missile Agency, has made many contributions which have added greatly to our scientific knowledge as well as to our national safety. He ranks among the very greatest of the world scientists, and probably knows more about missile development than any other individual.

However, I believe that he has made another great contribution, in a new area, which can add immeasurably to the moral fiber of our country. In the January 24, 1960, issue of This Week magazine, in the section, "Words To Live By," Dr. von Braun has written on the subject of "Immortality." In this short article he has presented his views on the need for religion and a belief in God in order that man can survive in this dangerous age.

This article, which might well be termed "a sermon" illustrates the truth of the observation that the learned scientists are seldom atheists. The few doors they are able to open only display to them that there are many more doors which they cannot open. Dr. von Braun's words serve to guide us, to inspire us, and to caution us. I commend them to the Members of this body and to all Americans, and I ask that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IMMORTALITY

(By Dr. Wernher Von Braun, Development Operations Director, Army Ballistic Missile Agency)

"I believe * * * that the soul of man is immortal and will be treated with justice in another life respecting its conduct in this."—Benjamin Franklin.

Today, more than ever before, our survival—yours and mine and our children's—depends on our adherence to ethical principles. Ethics alone will decide whether atomic energy will be an earthly blessing or the source of mankind's utter destruction.

Where does the desire for ethical action come from? What makes us want to be ethical? I believe there are two forces which move us. One is belief in a last judgment, when every one of us has to account for what we did with God's great gift of life on the earth. The other is belief in an immortal soul, a soul which will cherish the award or suffer the penalty decreed in a final judgment.

Belief in God and in immortality thus gives us the moral strength and the ethical guidance we need for virtually every action in our daily lives.

In our modern world many people seem to feel that science has somehow made such religious ideas untimely or old-fashioned.

But I think science has a real surprise for the skeptics. Science, for instance, tells us that nothing in nature, not even the tiniest particle, can disappear without a trace.

Think about that for a moment. Once you do, your thoughts about life will never be the same.

Science has found that nothing can disappear without a trace. Nature does not know extinction. All it knows is transformation.

Now, if God applies this fundamental principle to the most minute and insignificant parts of His universe, doesn't it make sense to assume that He applies it also to the masterpiece of His creation—the human soul? I think it does. And everything science has taught me, and continues to teach me, strengthens my belief in the continuity of our spiritual existence after death. Nothing disappears without a trace.

The Crisis of the Commuter Railroads: No. 2

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD J. IRWIN
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1960

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert into the Appendix of the RECORD a statement by the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railway which was published in newspapers in New York City and Fairfield County, Conn., and distributed to commuters. This is the second in a series of articles and other material I am inserting in the RECORD to draw the attention of the Congress to the critical nature of the rail commuter situation. This insertion indicates the shotgun techniques of one commuter railroad in which there is a threat to raise fares by 70 percent to meet a deficit, if other means are not provided, but also an admission that such an increase would so reduce passenger volume that discontinuance of the commuter service would be inevitable. Commuter service must not be permitted to be discontinued and in view of its importance to large interstate regions should get the assistance necessary for improvement and development. The statement follows:

A STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE NEW HAVEN RAILROAD

The New Haven Railroad is losing more than $8 million a year on New York suburban passenger service, a fact confirmed in a study recently completed by Wyer, Dick & Co., independent transportation experts.

This is more than the net freight revenue on our entire system. It is jeopardizing commuter service along with the whole railroad. This cannot continue.

These losses include no allowance for new cars or locomotives to replace equipment now in use.

Commuter service on the New Haven now faces these inexorable alternatives:

1. DISCONTINUANCE OF SERVICE

This would produce devastating consequences throughout the metropolitan area: Existing highways, already congested, would become clogged.

Hundreds of millions of dollars would be needed for more highways.

Parking for residents and commuters alike would swamp streets and garages and parking lots. New York City traffic would grind to a halt.

Private automobiles inevitably would have to be banned in mid-Manhattan.

The result would seriously affect millions in New York and Connecticut—not only commuters, but also merchants, homeowners, real estate investors, and employees.

2. COMPENSATORY FARE INCREASE

To make up the losses, the Wyer, Dick & Co., report has advised that it would require an increase of at least 70 percent in commutation fares alone, even if there were no reduction in the number of passengers. But there would be—so substantial a reduction, in fact, that eventual discontinuance of service would be inevitable.

3. TAX RELIEF AND SUBSIDY

Adequate tax relief and subsidies, so generously provided by the Government to other transportation facilities, both publicly and privately operated, have been denied the New Haven Railroad in spite of our intensive efforts to obtain equality of treatment.

For illustration: A New York helicopter service, privately owned, which carries fewer passengers in a year than the New Haven carries in a day, received in 1958 a $2.2 million Federal cash subsidy, which was almost three times its total revenue from patrons.

Whether the rail commuter should be required to pay the full cost of the service is a political and economic issue not for the railroads to determine. I believe, however, the commuter should not have to bear the full burden because:

The service is not alone for his benefit but for the benefit of the entire area served;

The rail commuter should receive equal treatment by the Government with commuters using other transportation facilities.

The New Haven Railroad is doing its best to continue commuter service, but if this service is to continue, the huge deficit must be eliminated without delay.

Obviously help must come either from fare increases, tax relief, or subsidy, or a combination of these.

Faced with this commuters crisis, we have worked out this plan calculated to distribute the cost equitably:

Commuter service survival plan

(a) A 10-percent fare increase to go into effect immediately. (This step is incorporated in papers just filed with the Interstate Commerce Commission.)

(b) Government action through tax relief and public service payments by June 30, 1960, at the latest.

(c) If Government action plus this 10-percent increase does not eliminate the deficit, then it would be necessary to apply for additional 10-percent increases at 6-month intervals until the deficit is met.

The time has finally come when one of two things must happen—either the loss from passenger operations must be eliminated or the service must stop.

The future of New Haven commuter service rests entirely with the public. The actions of the public's authorized representatives during the next 6 months will be decisive.

Contact your Representatives.

The countdown has begun.

GEORGE ALPERT.

Agricultural Chemicals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. MURRAY
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 27, 1960

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, there is no doubt that we must utilize various chemicals in agriculture in order to control plant diseases and insect attacks. Increased research on the effect of various chemicals on human beings, on wildlife, and on delicate biotic relationships is essential if chemicals are to serve their true purpose in agricultural production.

The Sierra Club Bulletin of December 1959 contains an interesting article entitled "Toxic Pesticides Insufficiently Tested." I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TOXIC PESTICIDES INSUFFICIENTLY TESTED—STRONGER REGULATIONS NECESSARY

The public should be mindful of one inescapable fact in viewing the clash between Dr. Arthur S. Flemming, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and commercial cranberry interests. The fact is that the development and use of poisons for killing plants and insects have far outstripped facilities to fully test the chemicals for all possible immediate and long-term harmful effects on humans and other life, according to the Wildlife Management Institute.

The reasons which led Secretary Flemming to make his announcement and the charges that have been leveled against him by cranberry producers and sympathetic agriculture groups have been covered fully in the press and on the air. The weedkiller that was used by some cranberry growers in the Northwest, aminotriazole, has been found as a residue on cranberry products. The Food and Drug Administration, earlier this year, refused to accept any foodstuffs with a residue of the weedkiller, because laboratory tests had shown a link with the production of cancer in test animals.

The volume of all plant and insect poisons being used for control purposes in the United States has risen at least seven times above the 1940 level. Most chemicals in use today were not on the market before World War II, and more than 60 have been developed in the past few years. More than one billion pounds of chemical poisons are being used on farms each year.

Few States effectively regulate the poisons. Under law the manufacturers print instructions for use on the package labels and there the responsibility ends. Aminotriazole was cleared for use in cranberry beds after the berries are picked. Some growers obviously used it prior to harvest. Those who did apparently did so in ignorance or contrary to recommendations, but in either case it was used at their own risk.

Happenings in the past few months certainly must have given Secretary Flemming added cause for concern. A classic example is the U.S. Department of Agriculture's ambitious and widely criticized Federal-State project in the Southeast for the complete eradication of the imported fire ant which, in some areas, is classed as an agricultural pest. Heptachlor, the poison that has been used most, is mixed with clay pellets and showered on thousands of acres from the air. Large dicoffs of birds, fish, and other animal life followed some operations. Livestock and farm pets also have been killed. Only after bitterly attacking its critics did the USDA reluctantly somewhat reduce the aerial dosage level.

Now after thousands of acres have been treated, researchers have found that the violently poisonous heptachlor breaks down under exposed conditions to an even more toxic compound, heptachlor epoxide. On October 27 the Food and Drug Administration proposed to reduce to zero its previous ruling that 0.1 part per million of heptachlor residue was permissible on more than 30 agricultural products. Heptachlor and heptachlor epoxide have been found in milk, in the tissues of beef animals, and on grains, fruits, vegetables, and forage crops.

"Although chronic toxicity studies have not been completed on heptachlor epoxide," a Food and Drug Administration official said, "it has been shown in acute toxicity studies that heptachlor epoxide is more toxic than heptachlor. Evidence is not available to show that such residues would be safe."

The public should realize that there also is no evidence to show that residues of aminotriazole or its weathering byproduct would be safe either.

News media reveal that the USDA is siding with the cranberry growers, a position that seemingly stems from financial, not health, considerations. If that is true, then the public should be thankful that there is another agency to protect its health.

Panama Canal Zone: "Yankee, Go Home"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1960

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, in my address to the House of Representatives on January 13, 1960, on "Panama Canal: Symbol of Fourth Front," I mentioned the vastly important service of Canal Zone residents in alerting the Congress and the Nation to the true situation facing the United States at Panama.

Exercising the constitutional rights of U.S. citizens to petition the Government for redress of grievances, Canal Zone residents, including civil service employees, organized a Committee for Retention of the Panama Canal.

Composed of longtime residents of the Canal Zone thoroughly acquainted with actual Isthmian conditions, this committee has circularized the Congress with a booklet formed by letters, summarizing essential facts; photographs of mobs, their leaders, and scenes of violence; cartoons belittling the U.S. authorities, even the President; editorials and news story extracts from the Spanish language press of Panama. The cover of the brochure is a reproduction of flysheets placed in unoccupied automobiles bearing Canal Zone license plates when parked in the city of Panama, entitled, "Yankee Go Home."

The picture presented, conforming to the pattern of other Communist inspired and directed incidents in Latin America since 1948, is of mob violence as an instrument of Red diplomacy. We must not fall into the trap laid for us at Panama. We must be firm in our stand against any surrender to Panamanian

agitators on the sovereignty and flag issues.

In order that the significant portions of the indicated brochure may be recorded in the annals of the Congress, I quote them as part of these remarks and commend them for careful reading by every Member of the Congress, which is the ultimate authority on isthmian and canal policy matters:

YANKEE, GO HOME

(Issued by Canal Zone Committee for U.S. Retention of Panama Canal)

BALBOA, CANAL ZONE,
December 9, 1959.

DEAR SIR: We Americans living on the Canal Zone do not feel that the average U.S. taxpayer is aware of the real story on the Panama situation or realizes what is at stake. Therefore, we believe the best way to get this story to them is through you who represent them in Congress.

It appears that the United States is going to pay off in one of the most fantastic and bizarre blackmail plots ever perpetrated. The basis for this plot is our State Department's consistent policy of appeasement and its mortal fear that a policy of firmness would be propagandized to the world as aggression.

To cover all the background of U.S.-Panama relations would be voluminous. But the treaty under which the Canal was constructed at an investment of more than $1 billion is the foundation. Under the treaty, Panama granted all rights in the zone to the United States as if the United States were sovereign to the entire exclusion of the exercise of any sovereign rights by Panama. Thus, the United States has exercised jurisdiction and the U.S. flag has flown alone for 50 years. Peacefully negotiated amendments to the treaty, conceding financial advantages to Panama, have been concluded in the interim.

Panama is controlled financially and politically by no more than 50 families (the oligarchy). The gist of the political game is strictly that to the winner of government control belongs the spoils—unlimited graft and corruption. One 4-year term in a key office is enough to set a man up for life. But these 50 families never get enough—although all are millionaires in their own right through control of the country's industry. There is a constant struggle between them for political power—the key to more money. There has never been a strong government and the "outs" are continuously striving to overthrow the "ins."

It was an "out"—Aquilino Boyd—who plotted the incident of November 3. For months he had been arousing the people, particularly the students, on the theme that Panama is sovereign over the Canal Zone. He did not generate much public support, however, it being recognized as a political scheme.

His clever plot was to deliberately instigate an incident with the United States—he advertised his planned march to the Canal Zone months in advance. He wanted trouble. He succeeded. The choice of the Canal Zone Government was to permit Boyd's lawless mob of thugs and hoodlums to overrun the zone or to stop the mob with force.

Why did the Canal Zone have to use the U.S. Army to protect lives and property? This was because of the twist which foiled Boyd's plans. Boyd calculated that the Panamanian Guardia Nacional would attempt to quell the mob and thus the Panama Government would be put in the position of fighting its own people and protecting the Americans. For this, the present Panamanian Government was to be overthrown. But the Government, weak and shaky, did not fall into the Boyd trap. The Guardia Nacional was not called out and the incident of November 3 developed as it did, with the Americans being forced to defend the zone and the U.S. Embassy being attacked and the flag desecrated.

The oligarchy in Panama immediately saw dollar signs aplenty from Boyd's frustrated ambitions. They also own the newspapers and radio stations. An unbelievable avalanche of anti-U.S. propaganda continued for days on the Panamanian radios and in its press. Outright lies, horrible cartoons, distorted reports, charges of employment discriminations, treaty violations—all that would put Pravda to shame—were ground out continuously. All of this was to whip up a violent solid front anti-American hatred among the populace. The purpose: to lay a foundation for blackmail in demanding huge concessions from the United States. These concessions would be in the form of (1) granting monopoly rights, at their price, to the oligarchy for supplies required by the Canal Zone and its employees; (2) outright monetary payments; and (3) conceding to Panama sovereign rights in the Canal Zone. The Panamanian Government climbed right on the bandwagon and stole the leadership right away from Boyd and his clique who had instigated it all.

This terrific denunciation of the United States calls for another march on the Canal Zone; abuse against the Governor, etc., continued for days. The United States lowered itself by sending Under Secretary of State Merchant to discuss matters. He announced that the United States would grant no concessions until normalcy was restored and obtained a promise that the Panamanian Government would protect American lives and property. This was not quite the result the oligarchy anticipated. Also, business was hurting because no Americans were buying anything in the Panama stores. Immediately the radio and press changed; conciliation, not violence, became the word.

But it was too late to prevent further violence. For days the populace had been bombarded with cries to rise to the call of their nation. A mass sovereignty demonstration had been set for November 28. The Communists, Cubans, and rabblerousers were not going to lose such a golden opportunity. Again, on November 28, a mob of hoodlums marched. After several U.S. soldiers had been injured by thrown rocks and glass and had taken all the abuse that any human could be expected to take, the U.S. commander advised the Guardia Nacional that if they couldn't break up the demonstration themselves, he was going to order his troops to open fire. Almost immediately, adequate Guardia Nacional troops arrived on the scene and turned the mob back from the border "to protect them from American bayonets and bullets." The grand "patriotic" demonstrators then proceeded to loot and vandalize the business section of Panama City.

Summation: Uncle Sam has let a bunch of money-mad damagogs and business barons kick him in the teeth—he turns his back and they kick him in the pants. Apparently it is State Department creed that no matter what happens the United States shall not get mad.

Result: Blithely ignoring the views of the Canal Zone administration and the Department of Defense, Ike and the State Department are going to give substantial concessions to the oligarchy and most likely will let the Panamanian flag fly. If that ever happens, the United States is doomed in its control of the Panama Canal—for the flag stands for sovereignty—and sovereignty means jurisdiction.

The moral is: Be as nasty to the United States as you can—and the State Department will pay you off to be quiet. When you want more—just be nasty again. Panamanian demogogs have learned this: presumably their kind all over the world knows it.

Irony: To fan up the poor average Panamanian the oligarchy charged discrimination in employment and wages in the Canal Zone. Last week—the timing was coincidence—the Panamanian Congress on its last day in session passed a 40 cents, repeat, 40 cents, an hour minimum wage law. The same people who caused all the furor against the United States have denounced this as unconstitutional, say that it will ruin the country, and are fighting it with all their power. The current Government had to do some little something for the people because elections come up in about 3 months.

That's the story in a nutshell. We Americans here in the Canal Zone are disillusioned and discouraged. The State Department's attitude is beyond our comprehension. If the United States capitulates to Panama for this political blackmail, it will forfeit all right to respect from any nation in the world. The United States will certainly have become such a laughing stock in Panama that it will be unbearably embarrassing to be an American in the Canal Zone.

Sincerely yours,

ARTHUR J. WYNNE,
Chairman, Canal Zone Committee for U.S. Retention of the Panama Canal.

THE WATER PROBLEM, A NEW CONFLICT WITH THE ZONE

The clear, precise, and patriotic statements voiced in yesterday's edition of our paper by Engineer Reyna on the problem caused by a possible water shortage for Panama City and Colon, make it wholly unnecessary to enter into further arguments in view of Reyna's logical and brilliant statements.

The fact is that the Canal Zone is obligated to furnish Panamanian consumers with all the water they need and at the net cost for pumping, purifying, and distributing this water, without surcharges or marginal costs in which Panamanians have nothing to do. The unilateral arrangements made by the United States artificially creating the so-called Panama Canal Company, which must show a certain amount of profits, although the U.S. Government itself is the only stockholder, is not our business. Therefore, everything concerned with the budgets the Canal Zone may prepare for operations and costs, and the fact that the Company has to repay the U.S. Treasury, with or without interests, over a long-range period more or less, leaves us completely unconcerned, since this is a matter over which we cannot pass an opinion. The only thing we know for sure, which leaves no room for any doubt, is that the Canal Zone is under obligation to furnish Panama with the water it needs without obtaining for it the least profit, gain or benefit.

Apart from these considerations, which are strongly upheld by agreements regulating our relations with the United States, there is the very special circumstances that the water in question being haggled over by the Canal Zone comes from a river born in Panama, runs through territory under jurisdiction of the Republic and flows into the Canal Zone. The Canal Zone authorities then use the water of this river to generate the electric power needed to operate Madden Dam; most important yet, to maintain Gatun Lake at a certain level for navigation, and also for such personal uses as filling up swimming pools and watering lawns and gardens.

Before the Canal Zone authorities definitely refuse to expand their distribution system to supply Panama with water unless Panama agrees to a price that will allow the zone to adjust their accounts and budgets with the margin of profit the Panama Canal Company must show in order to satisfy its stockholder—the U.S. Government—the United States should seriously think and consider the consequences that might follow

such action. We Panamanians cannot resign ourselves to live with a water shortage—a shortage which would become more acute with the growth of our population. The inevitable solution to such a problem might therefore well be the damming of the Chagres River within the Republic of Panama.

We realize, of course, that such a project would cost a tremendous amount of money not available from Panama's ordinary resources. But if such a step had to be decided upon by the inevitable pressure of the circumstances, a way could be found to finance it, bearing in mind at the same time the possibility that the Canal Zone might become the buyer of water necessary for its hydroelectric plants and maintaining the level of Gatun Lake, as well as for other uses.

The Chagres is a Panamanian river 100 percent, as the whole world knows, and it would be logical and natural that we should decide to take advantage of its waters in the event the complicated Canal Zone financial combinations of the Panama Canal Company and the U.S. Treasury confronted us with the dilemma of paying for water at a prohibitive price or suffering the inconveniences, troubles, and dangers to be had from the shortage of such a vital element.

OUR FLAG IN THE CANAL ZONE

News from Washington appears to indicate with certainty that the North American authorities, and the Department of State in particular, have finally understood the reason we have in repeatedly invoking the right that our national flag be raised in the zone together with the U.S. flag, the former as a symbol of sovereignty and the latter of jurisdiction. It is to be hoped that the realization of this justified yearning in the national conscience of Panama not be delayed too long.

It is supposed that when the United States accedes to such a legitimate aspiration, the United States shall proceed in a manner befitting the great solemnity which such an act represents, and in a way that our national emblem may receive the honors it deserves as the highest standard of a sovereign nation. We mean by this, that the official flag raising ceremony in the Canal Zone for the first time should not be undertaken in an almost clandestine manner, without the solemnity the action demands in view of the great significance, but to the contrary, with all the protocol and ceremony proper to such a transcendental act. Not only do we believe that the Department of State should send to Panama for such an occasion a high ranking official—who might well be Mr. Merchant himself—but that the most solemn act of raising the flag for the first time be done in the proper place, reserved for the President of the Republic to raise it. To the Panamanian Chief Executive undoubtedly belongs the honor of raising the flag of his country over a part of our territory, while the U.S. military forces stationed in the zone present arms and fire artillery salvos.

As recently stated by President Ernesto de la Guardia Jr., in an excellent speech we qualify as historic, the Panamanian flag should arrive at the Canal Zone with all the honors it deserves by right. We therefore do not doubt that when the moment arrives in which to give compliance to this national yearning, the flag of our country shall be received and saluted in the form already said. The extraordinary symbolism of this act, which will initiate a new era in the friendly relations of our country with the United States, demands that it be undertaken with supreme dignity.

BALBOA, C.Z.,
December 19, 1959.

DEAR SIR: We hope that you have already received our first letter dated December 9, 1959, concerning the situation in Panama and the Canal Zone. The time is getting near for President Eisenhower to arrive back in the United States from Europe. Here in the Canal Zone and especially in Panama it is felt that when the President returns he will make several announcements granting certain concessions to the Republic of Panama. In Panama it has been stated by many individuals and in the press that the announcement will be as a Christmas present.

Attached is a photostatic copy of an extracted portion of the first page of the Star and Herald, a leading newspaper in Panama, dated November 25, 1959. This article lists the demands which were delivered to Under Secretary Livingston T. Merchant by Civic Forces of the Panamanian Nation. We feel that the most dangerous concession to the Republic of Panama will be the raising of the Panamanian flag in the Canal Zone. President Eisenhower has already stated in a press conference that "we should have visual evidence that Panama does have titular sovereignty over the region."

We fear that the action the State Department has announced of sympathetically considering, whereby the Panamanian flag should be flown in the Canal Zone, is the most serious and potentially the most costly and dangerous of all the long line of concessions made in the past 15 years. The legality of the proposal is dubious; the United States holds a treaty grant in perpetuity of sovereign rights in the Canal Zone to the entire exclusion of the exercise by the Republic of Panama of any such sovereign rights, power of authority. Article III, Treaty of November 1903. Moreover, the official position of the Republic of Panama makes it plain beyond all doubt that the flag raising will only be the beginning of a series of more substantial and expensive demands and that the ultimate goal is ouster of the United States from the zone.

Attached are translations of extracts and views expressed by the Panamanian press and radio. These statements point out the danger of conceding to raising the Panamanian flag in the Canal Zone. The raising of the Panamanian flag in the Canal Zone is just the beginning of endless demands by political demagogues and business barons in the Republic of Panama. We urge you to take the necessary action to cause the President to delay any action regarding Panama, particularly that of raising the Panamanian flag in the Canal Zone, until Congress can review the situation when it convenes in January. For, as you know, once this step has been taken there can be no backing down on such a commitment. And if the Panamanian flag ever does fly in the Canal Zone, the United States can well expect Panama to immediately take the official position that their flag stands for sovereignty—and sovereignty means jurisdiction. Then they will demand elimination of judicial powers, recognition of Panama's civil, penal, fiscal, and labor jurisdiction, removal of the postal system, liquidation of the Panama Canal Company, removal of the Armed Forces, and ultimately the control and ownership of the Panama Canal. The tremendous stake involved demands that no hasty action be taken which would jeopardize the control of the Panama Canal by the United States.

As representatives of the American people we believe you have an important task in retaining the Panama Canal for commercial and defense purposes by the United States and the prevention of ill-advised State Department concessions to the greedy, ruling clique in Panama. American interests, public and private, will be well served by any action that can slow or halt the undermining of the United States position in the control of the Canal Zone through the State Department policy of weakness and appeasement.

Sincerely,

ARTHUR J. WYNNE,
Chairman, Canal Zone Committee for U.S. Retention of the Panama Canal.

TRANSLATION OF EXTRACTS AND VIEWS EXPRESSED IN PANAMANIAN PRESS AND RADIO SHOWING THAT PANAMANIANS CONSIDER THE CONCESSION TO FLY THE PANAMANIAN FLAG IN THE CANAL ZONE IS MERELY THE FIRST STEP TOWARD ACHIEVING FULL JURISDICTION OVER THE CANAL ZONE

La Nacion, May 7, 1958: The President's announcement that negotiations will be started immediately so that the Panamanian flag may fly in the Canal Zone seems on first analysis to be happy and opportune but when one analyzes it further it is not precise or complete. A historic gesture such as Operation Sovereignty cannot be signed and sealed as a simple declaration that our flag should fly in the Canal Zone. It must be carried much further, and immediately, to negotiations for a new treaty since that is the total aspiration of the Panamanian people and doubtless was the fundamental idea of the students.

La Hora, December 7, 1959: "For the first time we agree with Public enemy No. 2 of Panama (Congressman FLOOD) that if Panamanians gained their point in having the Panamanian flag fly in the Canal Zone, they would never stop in their demands. 'After the Panamanian flag goes up in the zone, there are still many other things to demand.'"

La Hora, December 4, 1959: "The next step in the sovereignty battle (after the Panamanian flag is raised in the zone) will be to have only Panamanian judges acting in Canal Zone courts."

La Nacion, December 3, 1959: "November 3 and November 28 have passed and will go down in history as two dates of patriotism when the people launched themselves to plant the Panamanian flag in Panamanian territory. * * * Now there will be December 12 and that will be followed by December 22 and so on until all the Yankees are driven out of the Canal Zone and the canal is nationalized."

La Nacion, December 3, 1959: "The Permanent Defense Board for Panama's Sovereignty in the Canal Zone should warn the Government that sovereignty does not merely rest on having the Panamanian flag hoisted in the Canal Zone. If the Government lets it go at that, Panamanians will have lost an excellent opportunity to establish real sovereignty in the mentioned territory."

El Pais (President de la Guardia's paper), December 1, 1959: "Ambassador Ricardo Arias reported recently from Washington that 'Things are going well' and Panama should have some good news soon. If this means that Panama's sovereignty over the Canal Zone will be recognized without reservation, that the Panamanian flag will fly there beside that of the United States, that the Panama Canal will obtain its supplies only from Panama and the United States, that without rascally subterfuges equal salary will be paid for equal work to Panamanian and North American employees, and that, finally negotiations will be reopened to replace the 1903 treaty—if what he says means all these, then indeed he has achieved a rotund success."

El Dia, November 30, 1959: "One of the most applauded speeches (November 28) was the one in which Minister Moreno stated that nothing new has been gained by the recent statements of Under Secretary L. T. Merchant, and so long as the 1903 treaty remains in effect the entire country will continue its struggle to have it nullified."

Critica, November 30, 1959: "The popular theme in Panama is that the country's differences with the United States may be solved only by a new treaty, in which no mention is made of previous treaties."

La Estrella, November 25, 1959: "That recognition of titular sovereignty is far from what Panamanians think the United States ought to do to remove the differences which brought about the current crisis was indi-

cated by the text of the letter which was delivered to the Under Secretary in behalf of the civic forces of the Panamanian nation. The letter was drafted by a special committee chosen by spokesmen for 40 organizations. It suggested the replacement of existing treaties by an agreement embodying the following points:

"1. Unquestioned sovereignty of Panama over the territory in which the Panama Canal is built.

"2. Replacement of the present grant in perpetuity by one for a fixed period.

"3. Elimination of unfair competition to Panama's industry, agriculture and commerce.

"4. Elimination of discriminatory practices as to wages, opportunities, work conditions and treatment of Panamanian workers in the Canal Zone.

"5. A fair share for Panama in the gross receipts of the Canal, in addition to the present annuity.

"6. Suspension of any judicial, commercial, and industrial activity in the Canal Zone which is not connected with the powers of the U.S. authorities in the Canal Zone exclusively for the maintenance, operation, sanitation and protection of the canal.

"7. Fair interpretation of new treaties.

Meanwhile, Aquilino Boyd and Ernesto Castillero, the Nationalist Party leaders who called for the show of the flag in the Canal Zone on November 3, issued a statement last night minimizing the importance of the recognition of Panama's titular sovereignty. They too, recalled Taft's statement of 1905 and his reference to titular sovereignty as a barren ideality.

"We want, among other things, the Boyd-Castillero statement said 'to see our flag flying as soon as possible in the zone territory and on the main mast of all foreign ships entering the canal waters. Deeds and not words, Mr. Merchant.'"

El Dia, December 1, 1959: "The zone flag-placing stage—a weapon that has had undeniable psychological impact—should promptly be exceeded by another more original type of action which will keep alive the nationalistic flame that has forcefully set on fire the Panamanian spirit."

Alberto Quiros Guardia, speaking at the November 28, 1959, demonstration as representative of the "Front of National Unification": "We are overjoyed that the whole country is behind us; we will not give up until we obtain full sovereignty in the zone. * * * We want the world to know that Panamanians are united; no one can stop us. We have been the victim of bad agreements, but we are sovereign in the Canal Zone as even the Americans have admitted. We require now a new treaty, the main points of which should be full recognition of Panamanian sovereignty in the zone and of the corresponding Panamanian right to derive benefits from the canal; elimination of all judicial, commercial, or industrial activity in the zone which does not have to do directly with canal operations."

Panama City radio station BALBOA, December 10, 1959: "The latest press dispatches reaching Panama from Washington point to the United States of America's willingness to solve the problems arising in its relations with Panama.

"Among those problems the ones which are held foremost in the minds of the Panamanians are: The full recognition of our sovereignty, the flying of the Panamanian flag over the Canal Zone territory, and the obligatory flying of our flag by ships transiting the canal.

"The Washington reports specifically state that such a right held by us will be recognized. We therefore want to applaud our worthy President, His Excellency Ernesto de la Guardia, Jr., our Foreign Minister, Licenciate Miguel J. Moreno, Jr., and our Ambassador in Washington, Ricardo Manuel Arias Espinosa, for the highly patriotic and firm manner with which they carried out the negotiations that have been crowned with happy success.

"Above all, we want to praise the stanch youths, and the crowd of anonymous heroes and patriots who through their relentless and virile actions on November 3 helped attain this victory."

La Estrella, December 16, 1959: "Beginning on page 1, La Estrella carries an open letter to President de la Guardia from Edsel Wong Samudio Panama's labor attaché in her Embassy in Washington, who says that Panama's aspirations in respect to the Panama Canal will be realized when the Republic of Panama owns the canal and can administer it for the benefit of the world.

"He believes that the measures which the North American government has announced in relation to recognition of Panama's titular sovereignty over the zone, on labor discrimination, and on the purchase of Panama's products are not enough, but do show a trend toward greater flexibility on the part of the United States Government and prove that that Nation wants to apply a more dynamic and progressive policy toward Panama in particular and other nations in general.

"He suggests that Panama should undertake negotiations toward a new agreement with the United States which would provide: 1. Technical training for Panamanians in all matters concerning the operation and maintenance of the canal; 2. A 15-year term—or another of reasonable length—in which the canal would pass into Panama's hands; 3. A just compensation to the United States for the money it has invested in the construction and maintenance of the canal; 4. A cooperative system designed to bolster Panama's economy along the lines suggested by CEPAL."

El Dia, December 12, 1959: "Sovereignty, like virginity, is or is not—there is no halfway measure—El Dia remarks at the beginning of its editorial on the classification of Panama's sovereignty as titular."

Critica, December 14, 1959: Panama: "Actual Sovereignty, Not Titular," is the headline over Critica's editorial which, headline and text, is a reprint from an editorial in the latest edition of the magazine "Bohemia." The editorial reviews the issue of sovereignty and supports Panama in its demands.

BALBOA, C.Z.,
December 22,1959.

In our letter of December 9, 1959, we presented to you a factual report on the Panama situation—the background for the incidents of November 3 and 28. We alerted you that the United States, represented by the State Department, appears to be going to pay off in one of the most fantastic and bizarre blackmail plots ever perpetrated. We told you of the State Department's efforts to appease Panama by granting various concessions, including even the right to fly the Panamanian flag in the Canal Zone. We pointed out that the State Department, in following this course of appeasement and in its advice to President Eisenhower, has ignored the views of the Canal Zone administration and the Department of Defense. We also told you that this attitude of the State Department is disillusioning, discouraging, and incomprehensible to the American citizens who live on the Canal Zone and who are thoroughly familiar with Panama's true aspirations.

On December 19, 1959, we wrote to all members of the Senate Committees on Foreign Relations and Interstate and Foreign Commerce and the House Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Panama Canal Subcommittee of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee. We warned that a concession to Panama of the right to fly its flag in the Canal Zone would be of far more impact than just a friendly gesture—that it would be the beginning of the end of U.S. control of the Panama Canal. We pleaded that the membership of these congressional committees use any recourse at their command to prevent independent State Department and Presidential action until at least the Congress had time to consider the proposal and to fully understand the tremendous stake involved. We supported our warning by appending various extracts from the Panamanian press which clearly reveal that the official Panamanian position is that the raising of the Panamanian flag in the Canal Zone is to serve only as the base for further demands—ultimately to the ouster of the United States from the Canal Zone. To the Government of Panama, their flag stands for sovereignty—and sovereignty means jurisdiction.

We herewith make a further effort to awaken you to the importance—to the danger—to the disaster—that attaches to the State Department's proposed concession to Panama. We believe it to be the aim of the State Department to accomplish its devious goal by Executive directive before Congress convenes. It is imperative therefore that Congress exercise its estoppel power immediately—because to delay action until after Congress convenes in January almost certainly will be to check the door after the horse (the Panama Canal) is gone.

To supplement our plea that Congress not passively sit by and let the executive branch give away the Panama Canal, we have prepared the enclosed brochure. If you have not done so, please read our letters of December 9 and 19 included therein. The cartoons are reproductions (with translations) of typical ones being presented daily in the Panamanian press. (The newspaper La Hora is owned by Roberto Arias, son of Harmodio Arias, ex-president and treaty negotiator. El Pais is controlled by the current president, Ernesto de La Guardia. La Nacion is owned by Temestocles Diaz, Vice President of Panama. La Estrella, which has heretofore been considered Panama's most conservative paper, is published by Tomas G. Duque, ex-President of Panama.)

We hope we have helped you to realize the seriousness of the Panama situation. We hope you believe us that the State Department intends promptly through President Eisenhower to direct that the Panamanian flag fly in the Canal Zone. We hope you realize that to permit the flag of Panama to fly in the Canal Zone is far more than a nominal symbol of sovereignty, but rather is to sound the deathknell of U.S. control of the Panama Canal—and, lastly we pray that Congress does not passively condone this, the biggest giveaway in U.S. history.

Sincerely yours,

ARTHUR J. WYNNE,
Chairman, Canal Zone Committee for U.S. Retention of the Panama Canal.

Increased Taxes for Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS CASE
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 27, 1960

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. President, one of the most earnestly written letters I have received during the opening days of this session comes

from Mr. Richard H. Waltner of Freeman, S. Dak.

Mr. Waltner recognizes the fact that we cannot increase defense spending and proclaim tax cuts at the same time; that if the United States is to maintain its position of military strength, it must be willing to pay the bill in the form of high taxes.

I commend his letter as evidence that conscientious Americans all over this great land, even in the small towns and hamlets, are concerned with national problems and have a realistic outlook toward them.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the letter of Mr. Richard H. Waltner, of Freeman, S. Dak., to which I have just referred, may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FREEMAN, S. DAK.,
January 19, 1960.

Hon. FRANCIS CASE,
U.S. Senator,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR CASE: After reading excerpts from the recent Rockefeller study, "Mid-Century Challenge to U.S. Foreign Policy," and the John Hopkins University research group study, one most obviously has to conclude that our house is not in order. I recognize that one cannot accept all that he reads at face value, for certainly individual fears and apprehensions are injected into reports of this nature. However, that does not minimize in importance the fact that America has by and large let its defense dwindle and is continuing to do so simply because of peace overtures that might very well be mere fabrications.

Certainly you recall the words of Dimetry Manuilsky when he addressed the Lenin School of Political Warfare, meeting in Moscow back in 1931. At that time he spoke prophetically of the peace overtures which must be used to lure "bourgeois to sleep." "We shall begin by launching the most spectacular peace movement on record. There will be electrifying overtures and unheard-of concessions." Is this not at the moment an altogether familiar theme? He goes on to conclude: "As soon as their guard is down, we shall smash them with our clenched fists." It is just this very thing that deeply concerns the proponents of the above-mentioned reports.

What has happened to the American public? Certainly we do not lack the "guts" to face the problem realistically and to do something positive about it. Why is it that every fearful prophecy is not countered with one of optimism? Have we lost the will to fight and to pay for our liberty, horrible thought it may be? Certainly some creeping demoralization has beset us when we feel that peace; yes, peace at any price, is what we must have, even if it means relinquishing our freedoms. God forbid that we have thus deteriorated.

Congress has recently reconvened. I call upon you as my representative in Congress to do all in your power to put our national house in order. If increased defense and military spending is essential to assure our military superiority and our retaliatory power, then by all means it must be appropriated.

If it means broader and greater taxation, then we must pay the increase. If the public will send us cries of indignation, that is by now an expected response. But what are such cries when our survival as a free democracy appears to be at stake? Again, God forbid that we measure this in terms of dollars and cents. Consider that Americans spend almost as much for recreation as for defense and then conclude that we cannot afford broader taxation if such be essential.

I am only one constituent, a constituent who is deeply concerned, one who does not easily give in to pessimism but at the same time one who refuses to put on blinders in an attempt to block out disturbing truths. I have confidence in the determination of the American people and in our government officials. I feel that action will be demanded if the truth is but known.

But in this day of contradiction nothing appears bad but that it also appears good at the same time. I also have confidence in my congressional representatives to be as concerned about our national survival as I am, regardless of political affiliation, regardless of what a personal stand for that which is right might do to them politically. Once again, God forbid that we have lost our moral and ethical responsibility.

Of course the world wants peace. I am sure that no one nation wants peace more than we do in America but let us negotiate for peace and guard that peace from an unquestionable position of might and determination that the peace we have shall not be taken from us.

Resting confident that you will represent me and that you will seek legislation that in all respects is good, vital, and essential for our Nation, I remain

Yours sincerely,

(s) Richard H. Waltner
RICHARD H. WALTNER.

Tilling Local Acres of Diamonds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1960

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader of January 20, 1960:

TILLING LOCAL ACRES OF DIAMONDS

To be designated Young Man of the Year by the Greater Wilkes-Barre Junior Chamber of Commerce and to qualify for the organization's Distinguished Service Award are the highest civic honors that can come to a local resident in that age category—21 through 35.

Frank J. O'Connell, Jr., Kingston restaurateur and caterer, who was announced as the choice for 1959 at the annual dinner of the Jaycees last night, joins an illustrious company of citizens who have been singled out during the past 14 years, with Jule Ayers, D.D., minister of First Presbyterian Church, city, heading the list. Other names on this roll of honor include Joseph E. Fay, Meade J. McMillen, Jr., Harrison H. Smith, Charles N. Henderson, Herbert J. Morris, John J. Green, Jr., Howard C. Wiener, Jr., James B. Post, Jr., Dr. Robert Kerr, Robert Edgerton, Hugh A. Carr, Jr., G. Guthrie Conyngham and Albert Danoff.

The Jaycees, whose members are excellent examples themselves, were motivated by a desire to focus attention on a young leader of today under free enterprise and to acknowledge the community's indebtedness to him for his contribution to the public welfare, frequently far beyond the call of duty.

Never since 1946 perhaps has the award meant more than in 1959 because of the challenges the area has faced and the opportunities for service, available to all desiring to take advantage of them. Mr. O'Connell was among these enterprising young men who were not satisfied merely with a measure of personal success, but wanted to do something for their neighbors as well.

A glance at Mr. O'Connell's business career and extracurricular activities confirms the wisdom of the outside judges in their decision. He not only has found his native Wyoming Valley a place of rare opportunity, but in a score of other roles he has shared his talents unselfishly for the betterment of the lot of his neighbors.

Frank O'Connell was not dismayed by the blows fate dealt the area recently. Instead he pitched in and proved again what others have discovered—that in periods of crisis, locally as well as nationally, opportunity beckons individuals with ability and courage. Acres of diamonds are waiting here for other Frank O'Connells to till.

On behalf of a grateful community, we take the liberty of extending congratulations and best wishes to Mr. O'Connell and to the Greater Wilkes-Barre Junior Chamber of Commerce.

Proposed Repeal of Connally Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 27, 1960

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the Foreign Relations Committee is holding hearings on my proposal, Senate Resolution 94, to repeal the self-judging reserve clause from our acceptance of jurisdiction of the International Council of Justice. To promote the rule of law in the world, rather than the rule of force, and to show our intention to work with other countries in strengthening world law, the repeal of this reservation is an important step. The jurisdiction of the International Court does not extend to domestic matters and the safeguards of legal procedure are written into the statute establishing the World Court.

An excellent analysis of the situation was published in the Tampa Tribune in Florida by Dr. Thomas P. Hardeman, an expert in U.N. matters. Entitled "The Connally Amendment: Why We Should Repeal It," this article states very clearly the strong safeguards in the statutes of the World Court that would prohibit the invasion of our domestic jurisdiction.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Tampa (Fla.) Tribune, Jan. 10, 1960]

THE CONNALLY AMENDMENT: WHY WE SHOULD REPEAL IT

TAMPA.—The idea of the rule of law among nations is not new. For those who have

grieved over the human slaughter caused by the 8,000 wars that have been fought in recorded history, it remains as a haunting and humane alternative to the rule of force. However, for law to be an effective instrument of peace among nations, it must be applicable to all alike.

God said to Moses (Leviticus 24: 22) "You shall have one law for the stranger and for the native." In pursuit of the same ideal the American Secretary of State, Elihu Root, proposed in 1907, "a tribunal which would pass on questions between nations with the same partial and impersonal judgment that the Supreme Court of the United States gives to questions between citizens of the different States, or between foreign citizens of the United States."

Was Moses a dangerous man? Was Secretary Root a dangerous man? For espousing the same ideal, Candidates NIXON and HUMPHREY are branded as dangerous men by the Florida Coalition of Patriotic Societies (Claude Boring, manager, in Letters to the Tribune, Tampa-Tribune, Sunday, January 3).

The kind of isolationism that serves as a premise for Mr. Boring's opposition to internationalism is dead, although it did keep the United States from ever becoming a party to the Permanent Court of International Justice in pre-World War II days. It may be worth remembering, however, that Presidents Harding, Coolidge, Hoover, and Roosevelt, all unsuccessfully advocated adherence to that court. Have all our recent Presidents been dangerous men?

Isolationism was so dead by November 1945 that the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, having conducted hearings on Senate Resolution 196, providing for our acceptance of the new Court's jurisdiction, unanimously reported Senate Resolution 196, without amendment, for favorable Senate action. On the floor of the Senate, Tom Connally proposed successfully an amendment contained in the final eight words of the following reservation: "The jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice is not to apply to:

"Disputes with regard to matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States of America as determined by the United States of America."

Remember, there was no question whether domestic matters belong to the Court's competence; the only question concerns the right to decide what is domestic. The United States reserved to itself a veto power with respect to the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice. This immediately seemed offensive to right thinking lawyers, jurists, philosophers, and statesmen because it violates the age-old precept that no man, no nation, should be the judge in its own case. The matter was immediately considered by the assembly and house of delegates of the American Bar Association. The assembly resolved in 1946:

"That the Senate of the United States should reconsider the subject of the declaration of compulsory jurisdiction, and should eliminate therefrom the right of determination by the United States as to what constitutes matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction."

The house of delegates strongly advocated "withdrawal of the reservation put in the declaration by virtue of the Connally amendment * * * and that the Senate authorize the filing of a further declaration which shall not contain the reservation." Is the American Bar Association composed of dangerous men?

If as Senate Resolution 94 proposes at present, that Connally amendment is removed and the United States accepts the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice in its entirety, as prescribed by article 36(2) of the statute of the Court, there are still strong safeguards against the invasion of our domestic jurisdiction:

1. Compulsory jurisdiction is limited to legal disputes concerning only the interpretation of a treaty, any question of international law, the existence of any fact, which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation, and the nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation;

2. The statute specifies that the Court's jurisdiction exists only in relation to other States accepting the same obligation—which at present no Iron Curtain country accepts;

3. Both the statute itself and article II of the U.N. Charter exclude intervention in, or jurisdiction over, domestic affairs;

4. The Court's jurisdiction is restricted by statute to disputes "hereafter arising"—which eliminates old legal disputes;

5. United States adherence to the Court may be terminated on 6 months' notice;

6. If a case against the United States should go before the Security Council for enforcement, we have there the veto power under articles 27(3) and 94.

In the light of these safeguards, it is no wonder that the special committee of the American Bar Association's Section of International and Comparative Law said last August, "Complete withdrawal of the self-judging reservation would not expose the United States to undue risks." Were these dangerous men? Of course not.

There are many arguments for removal of the Connally amendment, all of which are in the interest of the United States. Our leadership of the free world, the protection of our interests abroad, our struggle for the minds of men, all demand that this step be taken, and that Senate Resolution 94 be supported to that end.

In thus speaking, we do not claim a monopoly on patriotism, but we do claim the right to work for the good of our country and humanity in the way we think best. This has always been the American way. We deeply regret that the Florida Coalition of Patriotic Societies, through Mr. Boring's letter to the Tribune, has seen fit to charge the President and Vice President of our country with a flagrant betrayal in their advocacy of a move having so much bipartisan support in the United States.

THOMAS P. HARDEMAN, Ph. D.,
Executive Director of American Association for the United Nations, Tampa Chapter.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I also note at this point that today I testified on Senate Resolution 94, and that testimony is now a part of the official record of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. I urged that the so-called Connally amendment be repealed, and that the United States take the lead in establishing the jurisdiction of the World Court. I am happy to note that the Secretary of State and other members of the administration are supporting this effort.

Fluorine in Drinking Water

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN DOWDY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1960

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from Mrs. Myrtle Pope of Nacogdoches, Tex., in accordance with her request:

NACOGDOCHES, TEX.
November 12, 1959.

Congressman JOHN DOWDY,
House of Representatives,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DOWDY: I am not worried about an occasional scoop of cranberries. What I am worried about is clean water to wash them in.

The Supreme Court has ruled that any city government can put rat poison in the water I must drink all my life, and that I can have nothing to say about the matter.

Has the amount of fluorine used in drinking water been clearly exonerated from producing cancer? If not, how does it happen that the policies are different for drinking water and cranberries? I have seen scientific studies that hold one part of fluorine per million in water to be definitely harmful.

Sincerely yours,

MYRTLE PIHLMAN POPE.

Sermon of Archbishop O'Boyle on the Occasion of the Pan-American Mass, at St. Patrick's Church, Washington, D.C., November 26, 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1960

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, on the occasion of the pan-American Mass, celebrated on November 26, 1959, at St. Patrick's Church in Washington, D.C., His Excellency, the Most Reverend Patrick A. O'Boyle, D.D., archbishop of Washington, delivered a most appropriate and inspirational sermon.

In my remarks, I include with pleasure the sermon, delivered by Archbishop O'Boyle.

SERMON OF ARCHBISHOP O'BOYLE, PAN-AMERICAN MASS, ST. PATRICK'S CHURCH, NOVEMBER 26, 1959

"What shall I render to the Lord for all the things He has given me? I will take the chalice of salvation, and I will call upon the name of the Lord. I will pay my vows to the Lord before all His people."—Psalm 115: 12–14.

King David's beautiful prayer of thanksgiving which I have selected as the opening text for the sermon on this the 50th anniversary of the pan-American mass is very familiar to all of you. Indeed it is probably more familiar than any other Scriptural text on this particular subject. I have chosen this psalm because it so adequately expresses what it is that we, the representatives of Latin America and the United States, are doing here this morning in St. Patrick's Church and what has been done here every year for half a century on this selfsame day and at this very hour. We are offering to Almighty God through Jesus Christ, His Son, the chalice of salvation in humble gratitude for all the things that He has given us in our respective countries in the Western Hemisphere. We are paying our vows to the Lord before all His people.

In the words of the farsighted priest who started the pan-American mass in 1909, this was its original purpose: "To bring together representatives of the Government of the

United States and of all the South and Central American Republics, and have them united in a solemn act of thanksgiving to God on our so-called national feast day. This is still the principal purpose of the pan-American mass, but from the very beginning it has had a second purpose which is equally important—to foster inter-American friendship and understanding and in that way to promote the cause of peace and freedom not only in our own hemisphere but in the rest of the world as well.

This morning, as we joyfully commemorate its 50th anniversary, I shall refer briefly to these two traditional purposes of the pan-American Mass. But first of all, it will be appropriate to summarize what we know about the origins of this blessed tradition, which every year brings so many of us together in a common act of thanksgiving and which over the years has held aloft the exalted ideal of divine worship to promote the cause of pan-American unity and to strengthen the bonds of friendship.

The idea for the annual pan-American thanksgiving Mass originated 50 years ago with Father William T. Russell, who was then pastor of this historic parish. Father Russell first proposed the idea in June 1909 in a letter to Mr. John Barrett, director of the Bureau of American Republics, who enthusiastically approved it and was extremely helpful in bringing it to fruition.

We owe a great debt of gratitude to the memory of Father Russell, who subsequently became the bishop of Charleston, S.C. Under God it was he who was principally responsible for initiating the providential tradition which we are continuing here this morning. But if Father Russell was the originator of the pan-American Mass, he was not alone in promoting it. From the very beginning he enjoyed the whole-hearted support and cooperation of the leading figures of the day in both church and state, including many distinguished members of the Latin American sector of the diplomatic corps.

The record shows, for example, that among the prominent ecclesiastics who were seated in the sanctuary at the very first pan-American Mass in 1909 were His Eminence James Cardinal Gibbons, archbishop of Baltimore, Archbishop Falconio, apostolic delegate to the United States; and Msgr. Bonaventura Cerretti, auditor of the apostolic delegation, both of whom later became cardinals and served with distinction in the Roman Curia.

Distinguished guests of honor at the first pan-American mass included President William Howard Taft; the Honorable Joaquin Nabuco, Ambassador of Brazil, and dean of the diplomatic corps; Secretary of State Knox; Secretary of the Interior Ballinger; Justices White, McKenna, and Brewer of the Supreme Court; Members of the U.S. Congress; high ranking officers of the Army and Navy; and oficial representatives of all of the 21 American Republics.

From that day to this, both church and state have been well represented at each succeeding observance of this importnt religious ceremony.

While I do not wish to spend too much time recounting the history of the pan-American mass, I deem it appropriate on this golden anniversary to recall two significant incidents which occurred during the early years of its observance. These incidents will serve to illustrate the importance which leaders of church and state have always attached to this annual ceremony.

The first of these two incidents has to do with His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons. One of the cardinal's biographers tells us that "on the evening before Thanksgiving Day in 1920 a friend who visited him in his study found him crouched in a chair, deathly pale and in a state evidently approaching collapse. Gibbons admitted that he was almost incapable of exertion, and remarked that he knew he was unprepared to attend the pan-American mass the next day in St. Patrick's Church, Washington, at which he was expected to be present; but, he exclaimed with spirit, 'I will go.'" He was then 86 years of age and within 4 months of his death.

"To the visitor," the cardinal's biographer continues, "this seemed to be merely a rash decision. The general celebration of Thanksgiving had become commonplace, but it meant far more to Gibbons than to most men. He could not forget that more than 40 years back, when many of the religious groups in America were apathetic in regard to the observance of the day, he had led the way for the Catholic Church to give her full and continuous adherence to the growing national custom, and that it was he who had approved the institution of the pan-American mass, at which Presidents, Cabinet members, and Latin American diplomats were wont to assemble annually."

There is no need to elaborate upon the significance of this long-forgotten incident in the life of Cardinal Gibbons. Suffice it to say that it dramatically symbolizes the importance which ecclesiastical leaders in this jurisdiction have always attached to the Pan American Mass.

The second incident concerns Secretary of State Knox and Ambassador Nabuco of Brazil. Both of these illustrious gentlemen, in responding to toasts at the luncheon in St. Patrick's Rectory following the first Pan American Mass in 1909, suggested that the Mass be made an annual event and further expressed the hope that the salutary American custom of observing Thanksgiving Day as a National holiday would eventually spread to other countries in the world.

"It would be, indeed, a notable outcome of this celebration," Secretary Knox observed, "were an annual day of thangsgiving and prayer to be adopted and observed throughout the whole vast extent of the American Hemisphere so that, with one accord, as if one speech and one blood, our peoples, however separated in race and traditions, should make evident that spirit of oneness in a common aim which is the truest mission of the Pan American communities."

Ambassador Nabuco expressed a similar hope. "There is no public custom of the American Nation that I admire more," he said, "than her Thanksgiving Day; I only wish all mankind, following you, would join on the same day every year in universal thankfulness to God."

The gratifying sequel to this prophetic incident is undoubtedly known to all of you. At the present time, more than 70 nations officially observe Thanksgiving Day, and a number of other countries are preparing to do so in the not too distant future. Much of the credit for this development belongs to the Holy See and to the Bishops of Brazil and other Latin American countries, but we can state with justifiable pride that it received its initial impetus from the first Pan American Mass in Washington and from the suggestions made on that occasion by Secretary Knox and Ambassador Nabuco.

Having related these two events, we return logically to the twofold purpose of the Pan American Mass and to the theme of this 50th anniversary sermon—our duty, on the hand, to offer thanks in common to Almighty God for all the things He has given us and, on the other hand, to promote the cause of freedom and peace.

Almighty God has given so many good things to those of us who are privileged to live in the Western Hemisphere that I cannot even list them here this morning, much less describe them in detail. But I should like to mention one of them in particular—the priceless gift of peace. Even today, of course, relations between certain countries in the Western Hemisphere are unfortunately rather strained. Nevertheless, in contrast to the deplorable situation which has prevailed from time to time during the past 50 years, even these countries are not at war with one another today. For this we can be truly grateful to Almighty God.

The fact that we the peoples of the Western Hemisphere are not at war with one another is due in no small part to our mutual support of the Organization of American States, which has its headquarters here in Washington in the beautiful Pan American Union Building on Constitution Avenue. As we offer thanks to God this morning for the existence of this great organization, one of the most important regional agencies of the United Nations, let us also ask Him to watch over it in the future and to help it become an even greater force for good in the months and years ahead. More specifically, let us ask our blessed Saviour, the Prince of Peace, to keep us ever faithful to its noble purposes, which, as you know, go far beyond the negative purpose of preventing war among or between its member states.

The Organization of American States, in the words of its charter, was established by the American states "to defend their sovereignty, integrity, and their independence." These purposes are extremely important and would of themselves fully justify the existence of an inter-American regional agency of the United Nations. But let us never forget that the OAS was also established by its member states for other and ultimately more important purposes: "to achieve an order of peace and justice, to promote their solidarity, to strengthen their collaboration."

Bishop Currier, the preacher at the mass in 1913, spoke very movingly about the prevention of war—the negative purpose of the OAS, which organization, of course, was not in existence then. That was the right thing for Bishop Currier to have done 46 years ago and possibly the only thing he could have done under the circumstances. But we shall have to do much more than that in 1959. While striving to carry out the negative purpose of OAS, which is the prevention of war, we shall have to pay much more attention than ever before to its positive purpose, which is to achieve an order of peace and justice.

This is the only way we can effectively meet the challenge of communism, which has already made significant gains within the Western Hemisphere. To ignore or to underestimate the extent or the seriousness of this challenge would be the sheerest kind of folly. But purely negative anticommunism is a snare and a delusion. We must be prepared to carry out the peaceful and constructive purposes of the OAS Charter for the most positive of all motives; namely, the selfless love of God and neighbor, which is the whole law and the prophets.

But what does it mean in our day and age to serve the cause of freedom and of peace? The late Pope Pius XII answered this question as follows:

"To serve the cause of peace is to serve justice. To serve the cause of peace is to serve the interests of the people, especially the lowly and dispossessed. To serve the cause of peace is to face the future with a serene and unruffled countenance. To serve the cause of peace is to hasten the day when all nations without exception shall lay aside their rivalries and feuds and embrace one another as brothers. To serve the cause of peace is to serve civilization."

These words of the late Holy Father, one of history's most eloquent and effective champions of international peace and human solidarity, were written in 1947. The address from which they are quoted was entitled "Now Is the Time for Action." No one of us as an individual and no single nation either in the Western Hemisphere or

in any other part of the world has thus far taken them completely to heart. In varying degrees, we have all been too complacent. But time is rapidly running out on us. Ten or twenty years from now there may not be any more time for action.

In this connection, a European scholar recently wrote—with pardonable exaggeration, if any—that this planet of ours in 1959 is like a nightmare ocean liner with a handful of first class passengers living luxuriously in very comfortable quarters while the majority of the human race are herded together, on the decks and in the holds, in hunger and misery. "Who can fail to see the dynamite in this situation," he bluntly asks. "It is only too obvious," he continues, "that the people on the decks and in the holds could mutiny * * * and could easily overwhelm and enslave the first class passengers. Our world is that ocean liner, headed toward an unknown destiny, but a destiny common to all on board."

This is indeed a very graphic simile and one which can serve to reemphasize the terrifying urgency of our courageously striving, not only through the OAS, but through voluntary, nongovernmental organizations and by our individual efforts and prayers, to serve the cause of peace by serving justice and by serving the interests of the people, especially the lowly and the dispossessed. Only in this way can we earn the right to "face the future with a serene and unruffled countenance."

Only in his way, moreover, can we render adequate thanks to Almighty God for His manifold favors and blessings. "What shall I render to the Lord for all the things He has given me," King David asked himself. "I will take up the chalice of salvation," he replied. But to take up the chalice of salvation in the new dispensation, as our Blessed Savior reminded the sons of Zebedee, is more than an empty ritual or a ceremonial rubric. "Have you the strength to drink of the cup that I am to drink of," He asked the sons of Zebedee in the presence of their mother, who was so understandably but so aggressively anxious to see them get ahead in the world. Our Lord's question to these generous young men was meant to warm them as gently as possible that to follow Christ—to pay our vows to the Lord and in that way give adequate thanks to God—is to give of our substance and, if necessary, to sacrifice our very lives for our brethren, especially the lowly and the dispossessed.

That all of us may learn this lesson as well as did the sons of Zebedee and that we may individually and collectively put it into practice throughout the Western Hemisphere, should be our fervent prayer this morning. Now indeed is the time for action.

As I thank you sincerely for accepting our invitation to this the 50th anniversary of the pan-American Mass, may I conclude with these words from Pope Pius XII, so appropriate to this occasion in view of the fact that they were meant to encourage the observance of Thanksgiving Day in every country of the world and were also meant to encourage all of us to serve the cause of freedom, peace, and justice:

"Thanks be, then, first and last, to God; and as you bless Him for His gifts, you will affirm the worthy purpose to honor and revere His most holy will in your fulfilling of a sacred duty to your people.

"And to the end that you may heed this call of a right conscience with courage and with constancy, we fondly invoke for yourselves * * *, for your children and your country, an even more generous boon of light and strength from the heart of Him who holds men and nations in the hollow of His omnipotent hand."

Let's Not Kid Ourselves

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1960

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article, written by Mr. Jim G. Lucas, which appeared in the Washington Daily News, Wednesday, January 20, 1960. Mr. Lucas writes on the stake that the United States has in Laos.

OUR STAKE IN LAOS—LET'S NOT KID OURSELVES

(By Jim G. Lucas)

VIENTIANE, LAOS, January 20.—If free elections were held today in Laos, ever qualified observer, including the American Embassy, concedes that this hermit kingdom of southeast Asia would go Communist in a landslide.

Since 1955, the United States has put $190 million into Laos, much of it in direct dollar grants. This economic, military and technical aid is still going on, and our physical presence here has certain advantages.

As long as we are here, the Communists aren't, at least as an organized force. It is cheaper to stay here than to fight our way back in. The moment we give way to accumulated frustrations, the Communists move in.

However desirable it may be for these gentle people of Laos to run their own country without exterior influence, there is a political, economic and military vacuum here and someone—or something—will fill it.

NEW STARS

As for the United States, belatedly—after 5 years of futility, waste and corruption—we are writing off all we have spent to date, starting afresh, and hoping against hope it is not too late to salvage something. If elections can be avoided during 1960, those hopes may be realized.

Washington has sent in a completely new team. It is composed of top-rated men. Ambassador Horace H. Smith, who was Charles (Chip) Bohlen's able No. 2 man in Manila, has, in 9 months, restored some of our diminished prestige.

Our new ICA Chief, John Tobler, has impressed Lao and foreigners alike with his candor and realism.

And Brig. Gen. John Heintzges—who must masquerade under the title of "Mister" and wear civilian clothes—has moved ruthlessly, but with discerning respect for Asian sensibilities, to bring order out of military chaos.

DESPAIR

Even these men sometimes experience moments of despair.

"I often feel I'm swimming upstream and losing way," Ambassador Smith told me.

It was ICA Chief Tobler, a former United Press reporter in Europe, who advised me to ignore the rosy reports of his predecessor. "Let's not kid ourselves," he said. "It's just not that way."

And it was General Heintzges—scorning the Pollyanna treatment I had learned to expect from American military advisers the world over—who told me candidly:

"We have yet to give this country a fighting army."

INHERITED

These men are in no way responsible for the record we have made here in the past 5 years. Had they—or men of their caliber—been here from the start, the situation would be different. Yet they inherited it, and to some extent they are restricted to it.

What they are able to accomplish in 1960—and they will not fail for lack of trying—will determine the future of the West in southeast Asia.

When we started with our help in 1955, Laos had no roads. It still has none.

Laos had no national communications hookup. It has none now.

In all Laos, there was one high school. So we built a $500,000 "university."

Laos lacked hospitals. (The country has one native doctor and three dentists.) We have yet to build a hospital.

Laos needed powerplants, dams, and public works. We may have some such projects in mind, but they are still in blueprints.

THE ARMY

Under the guise of insuring political stability, we gave Laos a 29,000-man army which has yet to prove its fighting capacity but whose politically minded commanders actively connive to bring down any civilian government they oppose.

In 5 years, we have invested almost four times Laos' gross national product ($50 million), and neither we nor the Laos have very much to show for it.

Laos is bordered on the north by Communist China, on the northeast by Communist north Vietnam. If Laos fell, south Vietnam would be flanked; a wedge would be driven between Saigon and Bangkok. Shaky Burma could disappear inside the Communist orbit. The Chinese Reds and their anxious satellites would be in position to threaten Singapore and Malaya, perhaps Indonesia.

We Must Act Now: Tomorrow May Never Come

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1960

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, as the year 1960 comes upon us nearly 100 years after the Emancipation Proclamation, Negro Americans in some States are still being denied the right to vote, the right to equal education, the right to equality in the courts, the right to protection of their person, the right to protection of their property and a recognition of the dignity of their person. In almost every State they are denied equality in housing and employment.

This disgraceful and appalling situation does exist in the United States and it is known to every responsible figure in Government, religion, business and labor, from the President of the United States down to the candlestick maker. Neither the moral forces of the Presidency nor the united moral forces of Christendom has been directed with vigorous purpose to eliminate this evil. This is true despite the fact that in today's world, dynamic and explosive ideas joined with frustrations among the people of many lands have rewritten history and overturned governments in China, Indonesia, India, Indochina,

Burma, Ceylon, Pakistan, Tunisia, Cuba, Syria, Moravia, Egypt, Sudan, Guinea, Nigeria, Ghana, and the Cameroons are now at work in other areas as well as in one of our most vulnerable points—Panama.

We all recognize the fact that even with its imperfections the United States is the undisputed world leader, but we must also recognize that the leader is being challenged from every point on the globe. Her morals, her laws, her Christianity, her intent, her sincerity are all under question and therefore suspect. It is, therefore, necessary to assume that the 800 million peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and elsewhere, will judge the United States, will trust the United States, not by the old assurances of equality, justice, morality, and good intentions toward all men, but that their trust will largely depend on what is done by the United States to set its house in order. It is reasonable to assume that if our house is set in order, we will establish a true basis for the trust, confidence, and respect of men everywhere.

If, on the other hand, the United States permits repetitions of the Mack Charles Parker disgrace and the double standard of pseudojustice of the Florida rape cases, and the flagrant violations of the Negro's right to vote as well as other countless inequities, we will justly deserve the revulsion of the peoples of the world who can only conclude that we know the words of justice and godliness, but that we have lost the substance and meaning of Magna Charta, Bill of Rights, Constitution of the United States, and of Christianity.

In this hour of our greatest decision we dare not again forget that "what happens to the least of men anywhere, happens in time to all men everywhere and it will follow as day follows night; that by turning our backs on the wrongs we have the power to prevent, we must share the blame with those responsible for those wrongs."

This year of 1960 demands that the 2d session of the 86th Congress pass civil rights legislation assuring liberty and justice to all thereby proving to all nations that the United States truly believes that "whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law of the prophets."

As a realist, I must note that there are among my fellow Americans some who flatly reject my statements. To these I recommend reflection, reason, and analysis.

There are others who hold themselves aloof from our conflict and agony, from the problems of the present and the hope of tomorrow. To these I say, you stab your country in the back by withholding your intellectual and moral judgment in this hour of imminent peril.

But to those millions who believe in the American dream, who are convinced that our destiny is linked with that of the uncommitted people of the world, I say the 2d session of the 86th Congress will pass positive and meaningful, as well as vocative civil rights legislation and remove the roadblock to the peaceful and equal progress of all our citizens; we will root out, expose, and destroy the apostles of fear, ignorance, and demagoguery; we must never permit our freedom, our democracy, and our leadership, to be sacrificed on the altar of prejudice.

Four-H Gold Star Award Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1960

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, there was a Gold Star Award Banquet at Mount Pleasant, Tex., in the congressional district I have the honor to represent, on November 21, 1959. It was a very impressive occasion. It was a tribute to outstanding young men and young women from each county in that area. The 4-H Gold Star Award program is the only award sponsored by the Texas A. & M. College for 4-H Club members. It is presented to only one boy and one girl in a county each year, who have been selected by the local committee within the county, which is the highest honor a club member can win at the county level.

Mr. John E. Hutchison, Director of the Agricultural Extension Service, College Station, Tex., was the principal speaker at the banquet. I am inserting herewith a copy of his inspiring and constructive address.

TALK AT 4-H GOLD STAR AWARD PROGRAM, EXTENSION DISTRICT 5, ALPS CAFE—MOUNT PLEASANT, TEX.

(By John E. Hutchison, Director, Agricultural Extension Service, College Station, Tex.)

It's a pleasure and a real privilege to join with your parents and friends in honoring you boys and girls who are the Gold Star Award winners in your county. In every walk of life, excellence of performance is rewarded. Last week I noticed in the paper that Ernie Banks, the star Negro shortstop of the Chicago Cubs, and Nelson Fox, second baseman for the White Sox, received awards for being the outstanding baseball players in the National and American Leagues for 1959. Now, sports writers are selecting their all-district or all-conference and all-American football players, so it is entirely fitting that we pay honor to you tonight for it is a high honor to be selected as a Gold Star Award winner in your county. This is the only award sponsored by the Texas A. & M. College for 4-H Club members. It is presented to only one boy and one girl in a county each year. These boys and girls are selected by a local committee within the county, and this is the highest honor a club member can win at the county level.

I wish very much that you could see yourselves from my vantage point tonight. I don't refer only to my place here where I can see each of you—although this is pleasant because you are a splendid and handsome group—but I mean from my experience vantage point as well. I wish very much, too, that I were capable of making some dynamic or moving remark that might inspire you to stop and think seriously about the tremendous potential that each of you represent as an individual human being with most of your life before you. At this instant there is little that you might aspire to be that you could not achieve—in happiness or in whatever you may choose to do. You are the most important of all God's creations. Formed in the image of God—more important than any other living creature—endowed by God with the power to think—to accept or reject good or evil—to love—to worship—and to decide things for yourself. We are sometimes awed by the new and far-reaching discoveries, such as atomic power or rocket ships that outstrip gravity or even how to trap a new solar energy, as the plants do—but all of these have importance only as they contribute to the welfare of the individual or as the individual places value on them. I feel that each of you is proud that you are privileged to live in this particular period of history because tremendously exciting and challenging changes are taking place at an unheard of speed. Just 150 years ago, man could move no faster than animal or wind power could move him. The wheel was known to the Aztec Indians before the pyramids of Egypt were built—yet it had changed but little when it was put on the Conestoga Wagon to take our ancestors across this continent. The sails used by the Phoenicians in the days of King David and King Solomon were little different from those used on the *Mayflower*.

It doesn't seem possible that just 56 years ago, Orville and Wilbur Wright made their historic flight at Kittyhawk, N.C.; the very first time that man had been able to fly. Today you can have an early breakfast in New York City; get on a Boeing 707 jet liner, and get to Los Angeles in time for a second breakfast—that is, if you want two breakfasts. Scientists predict, and most of us believe, that the next 10 years will see scientific and technological progress that formerly would have required 100 years to accomplish.

In agriculture, more progress as measured in terms of output per man-hour, has been made since 1940 than had been made in the previous 100 years. There will be more important changes while you are in high school than there were in the whole of the 17th century. But you boys and girls are the architects of the future—you can guide the changes that take place—if you properly prepare yourselves. You must guide the changes—they must be purposeful changes—we dare not leave them to chance.

Yes, we are living in a wondrous age, when the secrets of photosynthesis are slowly being unlocked; when they tell us that electric power generated from atomic sources may soon be available at even lower cost than electricity is today. As power becomes more available, man is freed from drudgery—the great strides that have been made in efficiency are largely a result of the availability of power.

We may be on the verge, for the first time, of being able to adequately feed all of the peoples of the world. (It's a disturbing thought to know that one-half of the people of the world go to bed hungry every night.) E. E. Cummings has said that "better worlds are born—not made, and their birthdays are the birthdays of individuals." The significant birthday of an individual is not the day he is born, but the day he realizes that he is responsible for the kind of person he will be, and decides to take conscious and planned direction of the process. This means the beginning of a lifetime of study, thought, and creativity. This means self-discipline; it means straight thinking; getting the facts straight and of questioning what is right and good and beautiful. It means the development of moral commitment and the spiritual

side of your being. It means the developing of yourselves to your fullest capacities.

It is a sad commentary that most of us live far below our potentials. Someone has said "we live bungalow lives on skyscraper foundations." We must learn how to work and believe in the dignty of work. Man needs work—all of the resources of the earth and all of the relationships of human beings are a challenge to man to discover and to use them for the best possible purposes. (In one section of the world today, there is an overabundance; while in another section people starve—some way to achieve a better distribution on a more equitable basis is a terrific challenge, and how the peoples of the world can learn to live together in peace is another.)

We must learn how to deal with people and develop the science of getting along and living together, regardless of our differences. One of the chief tragedies in today's world is widespread inability to communicate—despite all of our technological developments. Communications are such that we can send a message around the world in less time than a human voice can travel the length of a football field. Yet, not only is an iron curtain lowered between nations, but it is also daily and hourly lowered between individuals and groups. It has been said that if in all our practices of life we could learn to listen and to be listened to; if we could grasp what other persons are saying, as they themselves understand what they are saying, the major hostilities of life would disappear for the simple reason that misunderstandings would disappear.

I sincerely believe that you have a better opportunity to realize your dreams within your own lifetime than any previous generation. I believe this because more of the fundamental research has been done, and you have access to infinitely better training. You must, of course, avail yourselves of the opportunity to acquire this training if you are to compete successfully.

Four-H Club work offers an opportunity to assist a large number of rural and in some cases urban youth, with their developmental needs in an excellent way.

Four-H, as all of you know, is the youth phase of the Texas Agricultural Extension Service program, which is a part of the Texas A. & M. College system. Four-H Club work is founded in the practical arts; it is rooted in the boys' and girls' own environment; it is family centered; it is a completely voluntary organization. Not only is membership voluntary, but much of the actual organization and training work is carried on by voluntary adult and junior leaders.

Four-H teaches boys and girls to accept the challenge of life around them; it recognizes and provides for the high incentive of ownership; it provides learning under the stimulus of competition through the demonstration projects which boys and girls carry on as a part of their work. These demonstration projects, such as feeding out a calf, growing a garden, making a dress, or landscaping the home grounds, provide a job with both a purpose and a value. As these demonstrations are completed, they not only develop abilities and skills in youth, but strengthen character through perservance. Then, as boys and girls demonstrate what they have learned to others, and as they participate in the various recreational and educational programs featuring the head, the heart, the hands, and health, leadership, and personality development experiences are provided. This relating of teaching to daily life has been acknowledged by educational psychologists as a powerful educational concept and provides what these educational psychologists call almost a perfect teaching situation.

Four-H Club work is more than learning improved practices and techniques in agriculture and homemaking and related subjects; but rather it is an understanding of the basic sciences behind these improved practices—why they are good practices. This kind of understanding can be transferred to other situations in life as well; but if we cannot see more in 4-H than just teaching agriculture or home economics, we will have missed the great potential and the glory that is 4-H—that is, teaching boys and girls, and helping them to meet adequately their developmental needs and to develop four-square personalities.

Will Rogers said once when he was watching a junior livestock show in the Coliseum in San Francisco that "whoever thought up the idea of 4-H was inspired."

In the words of Harvey Firestone, president of Firestone Rubber Co.: "4-H is founded upon the principle that competition and cooperation can exist side by side in a group of friendly young people."

Four-H is set up to teach its members to have respect for advice and leadership; at the same time it makes provisions for its members to win respect in return by working and developing their own qualities of leadership.

Four-H is designed to build character, because the character built upon a spiritual and moral foundation and close family ties, is the bonding agent that holds all of the other principles of character together.

Four-H Clubs provide a framework for developing the kind of leadership which our Nation must have for a substantial group of the young men and women of this Nation. I firmly believe that boys and girls of 4-H in America will exercise leadership functions in their lives, as they develop, far in excess of their numerical importance. Participation in properly planned 4-H Clubs will provide them backgrounds and experiences and attitudes which will equip them to move into leadership roles beyond those consistent with mere numbers.

The 4-H team is made up of sponsors and donors such as the rural electric cooperatives of this area who are the host for this award dinner tonight, and many other sponsors—voluntary adult and junior leaders—parents and the extension agents. Today there are 84 different award programs that are designed to appeal to boys and girls from 9 through 21.

Finally then, I would extend again my most sincere congratulations to you award winners tonight, and to your parents, leaders, and friends of 4-H and the extension agents who assist you, and would say that surely there is no more important work than this which contributes toward the development of the most strategic resource which this Nation or any nation has—that is, the youth of the land.

U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce Observes 40th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1960

Mr. FLOOD. Mr Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Record, Saturday, January 16, 1960:

JAYCEES 40 YEARS OLD

Next week brings the 40th annual anniversary of the founding of the U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce, an organization whose members, young men between ages 21 and 36, are devoted to "Leadership Training through Civic Betterment."

"Jaycee Week" commemorates that week in January 1920, when young men from 24 cities, meeting in St. Louis, launched a national group which now functions in 3,700 communities with over 200,000 members. Throughout its existence, this organization has always been in the front ranks, ever ready to assume responsibility of civic leadership and promoting enthusiasm for civic improvement.

The Jaycees develop in young men qualities of personal leadership and offer young men an avenue with which to improve their communities while acting as a medium for vigorous expression of their opinions.

The qualities of leadership are an important item in the minds of the junior chamber of commerce, and a basic drive of its organization is to develop desire and initiative in its members to assume a responsible role in the community.

To highlight this drive, the Greater Wilkes-Barre Junior Chamber of Commerce, annually honors a young man, between 21 and 36 years of age, for his outstanding contribution to his community. Whether he be a junior chamber member or not, the Jaycees believe that a selfless attitude toward improving our community is a worthwhile trait for young men to possess.

On Tuesday, January 19, the "Outstanding Young Man of 1959" will be awarded the distinguished service award by the Greater Wilkes-Barre Jaycees at a dinner celebration to be held in the Crystal Ballroom of the Hotel Sterling.

Coupled with this affair will be bosses' night, an annual feature of junior chambers in dedication to the bosses who support the Jaycees and recognize the value of the organization.

We salute the Greater Wilkes-Barre Jaycees on their 21st birthday anniversary. The organization was started in 1939 by Robert Eyerman, first president and first Jaycee president of the State organization. From 30 members then, the Jaycee movement has grown to 190 chapters in the State with over 10,000 members, 200 of which are in the Greater Wilkes-Barre Jaycees.

The community can be proud to express its thanks for the untiring efforts of the Jaycees for community development and is justified in extending best wishes for success in forthcoming projects—the next being the 1960 parade of progress.

On Appreciation of Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ED EDMONDSON
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1960

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, today I have joined a number of my colleagues in proposing, by means of a House concurrent resolution, the annual proclamation of a Youth Appreciation Week in America.

Last year I had the opportunity to observe, at firsthand, one of the ceremonies climaxing such a week under

sponsorship of the Optimist Clubs of Muskogee, Okla.

It was a most impressive occasion, and no observer could mistake the profound impression upon the young people of our community.

The Optimists have proved to me that it pays to accentuate the positive among the young people of America. Their sponsorship of Youth Appreciation Week has been a real benefit to communities all over the country, and it has been good for both the young people and their parents.

I hope the resolution will soon receive the unanimous approval of the Congress.

Alexander Graham Bell Lecture Delivered by Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell at Boston University

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LAURENCE CURTIS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 27, 1960

Mr. CURTIS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, Boston University was honored to have Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell deliver the first address inaugurating the university's Alexander Graham Bell lecture series on November 12, 1959. In extension of my remarks, I include the excellent address delivered in the Sargent Gymnasium of the university's Charles River campus, as follows:

President Case, distinguished members of the faculty, alumni of Boston University: I am privileged to initiate the Alexander Graham Bell series of lectures.

The theme of this series is "Man's Communication to Man." The hope that underlies this theme is most certainly that as the people of the several nations of earth improve their ability to communicate they will also increase their wisdom to use instruments like the telephone, the telegraph, the television channel, the printing press, and the radio to establish the understanding upon which peace must ultimately rest.

All of us in the free world share that hope.

I think, however, we would be foolish to believe that the means alone are sufficient without a corresponding improvement in man's social orders and in man himself.

For the fact that the human intelligence has broken down time, space, and language barriers should not in itself create in us the false optimism that pervades an age of propaganda, for the record of using these facilities of communication in the interest of individual enlightenment and national understanding is still a comparatively poor one.

Man's genius for devising the technical instruments to aid him in his search for a better world is still in advance of his genius for using those instruments to attain to that great goal.

We still have no guarantee that because an earth satellite may someday soon reflect instantaneous and undistorted messages to earth that those messages themselves will be ones of enduring wisdom, faith, or understanding.

With this clearing away of the obvious, then, I will approach the theme of "Man's Communication to Man" in three of its important aspects:

First, the problem of communication between a free and open society and a controlled, closed society;

Second, the problem of communication within a free society, in which information is power and economic interest is often a deciding factor in the use of communications media;

Third, the problem of communication in a specific part of that free society that is in itself a showcase of American values and the American ability for self-government; namely, the labor-management area.

During the recent American Fair in Moscow, a member of the staff of the Department of Labor stood by a Department exhibit and conversed, for many hours each day, with the Russian people. His experiences, as he told me about them, are illuminating.

His general impressions were these:

The questions the Russian people asked him showed two things: their means of communication, controlled by government, have been used for decades to present a distorted picture of the outside world and especially of the United States, but the Russian people generally do not believe their own propagandists.

The United States was pictured as a land of very poor living conditions, high unemployment, inadequate wages, and general exploitation of the workers by the wealthy owners and of the Negro by the rest of society.

The Russians, however, do not accept this picture at face value. When a professional agitator appeared at the exhibit he would often be silenced by the other spectators and forced to withdraw in embarrassment. Frequently the people would apologize for the incident.

With this cynicism about their own controlled information—the only paper printed outside the Iron Curtain on the Moscow newsstands, for example, was the London Daily Worker—the Russian people have the corresponding problem of not knowing what to believe.

They have existed in an information vacuum for 40 years and they are desparately anxious for news from the outside. Almost every day, after many hours of answering question, our staff member would be followed as he walked across the exhibit area. If he stopped to converse with a single Russian he would immediately be surrounded by a crowd of 50 or more.

They asked him, generally, four kinds of questions: those on living standards, including hours of work, earnings, cost of living, minimum wages, industrial disputes, labor standards, workmen's compensation, unemployment insurance and so on; they asked him especially about unemployment, and finally about the status of the Negro in our society and the ability of the ordinary person to get a good education.

Because of the entire popular literature and all of the communications media in Russia is devoted to proving that Marx and Lenin were right, the Russians often found it difficult to understand his answers.

It was almost unconceivable to them, for example, that Americans work, on the average, 8 hours a day for 5 days of the week. This was contrary to what they had always been taught, that in America the rich get richer through exploitation of the so-called working class.

The found it difficult to believe that a worker in the United States could change jobs and location at will.

They were little short of astounded to discover that the average worker in the United States earns $385 a month—four times the Russian average where everyone, even waitresses, are on a piece-rate basis.

They did not know whether to believe it or not that American workers can join unions freely; they were surprised that unions were legal in America.

We approach, then, the problem of communicating the truth, with the knowledge that the truth will be distorted. We face the problem of communicating the truth to a people of rising educational attainment but who are uninformed, curious about the outside world yet unable to form a clear picture of it, cynical about what they are told yet uncertain as to the real truth.

Recent developments within Russia, Mr. Khrushchev's visit to this country, indicate there may be some hope that a freer exchange of information between the Russians and ourselves may be possible, however limited in scope. Certainly we must take that hope for what it is worth.

This means, in the materials we present to them, less criticism of their system and more truthful presentation of our own.

I believe the only effective posture we can take is that of a truthful people.

I think we should report about our unemployment problem, our distressed areas, our migrant farmworkers, in their proper perspective as problem areas in a huge, healthy economy employing 67 million people and supporting the kind of living standard that speaks very well for itself.

I think we should report about the racial problems we have as a part of the whole story of a nation of many diverse creeds and colors and nationalities, and explain some of the things we are doing to solve them.

The lasting hope for peace is that Russian society will join the affairs of the world as an enlightened and informed member. I genuinely believe that the Russian people themselves desire this.

Light will shine into Russia only when the Russian leadership allows it; of that we can be certain. But this should not discourage us from keeping that light shining and steady.

And there are reasons to hope that things are improving. The American and Russian fairs were breaches in the Iron Curtain. The jamming of our broadcasts has stopped. And with the President's coming visit to Russia we have, I feel, a major opportunity to open another door in our relationship.

In his speech before the United Nations in 1953, the President spoke of "a world community of open societies" as the proper condition for permanent peace.

Change, the order of life and the world, can come peacefully or through the use of force. It can come by making of societies armed camps, bases for aggression, or it can come by opening societies to exterior influences and clearing away, piece by piece, bit by bit, the barriers to free communication.

Whether or not such measures can or would successfully deter the rulers of Soviet Russia from their announced determination to bring the change of communism to the world by aggression and force, none can know. We do know this: We must believe at all times in the appeal of the truths of our own society and our own faith in its motives.

This means for us a constant reappraisal of the way we inform our own people, and an honest examination of the problems of communication within our own free society.

Open communication is one of the assumptions of freedom, for in any society information is power. To withhold information from the people is to deny the people power.

Because this is so, free communication is one of the most sensitive and important aspects to American life, but one which poses for us one of the traditional dilemmas of a free people: where there is a freedom, there can be an abuse of it.

At times it seems that in the area of communication the abuses exceed the benefits.

The nature of our society, made up of various self-interest groups and commercial interests in competition for acceptance and popularity, is such that a free use of the communications media can lead to the corruption of those media by giving them over to propagandizing in its most offensive form.

Sooner or later this causes a reaction and cry goes up for regulation. I am not one to join in that cry. I do not believe that in this area an aroused, angered and embarrassed popular opinion is an infallible guide to corrective action.

I would put my faith, rather, in two sources to guarantee that what we see and what we read and what we hear are truthful.

The first source is ourselves.

The second source is an awakened and enlightened responsibility on the part of the men who manage our communications media—producers, writers, editors, photographers, reporters.

If we were the literal prisoners of our communications media, if we had no choice but to read newspapers and magazines, open our mail, watch television and listen to the radio, but we still retained the power to change what we saw, then the change we would demand would reflect that condition of bondage—and theoretically government would be the proper instrument to respond.

The present demand for regulation, reflecting the self-righteousness of scandalized individuals, seems to me to imply that we have no choice but to serve these media.

But every person is at liberty to turn his television set off—shoot a hole in it with a shotgun if he wants—close or not buy the magazine, throw the mail into a wastebasket unopened. I believe that reform, when and where needed, should reflect this condition of freedom—and the proper agency to respond are the private agencies that have the responsibility.

But it goes deeper than this.

When Americans ask their Government to change or control something for them, it is an indication they are unable to do it themselves in their private capacities.

So this demand for reform in the communications media leads me to believe there is a serious failing somewhere in the individual's ability to use his freedom of choice. It leads me to believe that he is, to some extent, a prisoner of the popular values that are themselves the corrupting sources of the media he complains about.

The argument ends, of course, here—on the campus of an educational institution and the thousands of others like it.

I said that the first source of reform was ourselves. I meant by that the educational system of America is in our hands, and it is to the educational system that we must look to provide the values that alone make men truly free.

This freeing of the individual, which is the very act of education, must be coupled to an awakening of responsibility by the managers of our media, a responsibility I feel has been suppressed in favor of maintaining competitive position.

The commercial domination of the television industry, to take one important example, has frustrated the brilliant hopes society once had for that medium's ability to enrich and improve lives.

There is no more dangerous form of deception that to create secular appetites in a general populace faced with strict and stern responsibilities to themselves and the rest of the world—yet this is the very substance of commercial programing. One of the most powerful, certainly the most attractive form of communication ever devised by man has been used not as a spokesman but as a salesman.

And this at the very time in history when there is a desperate national need to be informed—not only of world events but of the striking discoveries being made in the fields of medicine, archeology, astronomy, mathematics, physics, biology, to name just a few.

Imagine the problems we face each day in the field of self-government, race relations, economic growth, city planning and development, education, delinquency, use of manpower—I can go on—yet how much of the substance of these things is squeezed in between the western and the murder mystery?

The American citizen, surrounded by the most effective means of communicating with his fellow man in the history of the race, is often denied the true experience of the realities of our civilization.

Instead he is smothered by fictions. He is deluded into thinking that he will be happier, healthier, more successful if he purchases and uses a certain product. Certainly the deception practiced as a part of the format of any particular program is a small thing when compared to this massive and willful confusion of values.

I have said this many times before, from many public platforms, and I would like to repeat here that we must ask ourselves whether or not an educational system that teaches the prices of everything and the values of nothing is little more than a prelude to gullibility. So long as the experience of education fails to result in a conviction about values, then we will continue to have the problems I am discussing today. On the other hand, a truly educated people would make any regulation of their own means of communicating unnecessary.

In general, the confusion of values evident in the problems of our media are also evident, in another way in another vital area of communication within our society—that between labor and management.

Here, however, it is not a case of the commercial exploitation of a media but of the commitment in many cases of two institutions, labor and management, to concepts that are no longer true or useful.

The attitudes of labor and management reflect too much of the past and not enough of the future.

The class war is over but too often the rhetoric lingers on.

If you take a copy of many labor newspapers in one hand and a copy of many management newsletters in the other, you will find little objective truth.

Respected men on both sides utter in public the slogans and the battle cries of 50 years ago, until the relationship degenerates into an orgy of name-calling that shames them both, and that merely adds to the difficulty of communicating between them.

Instead of responding to creative and compelling new motives—motives of partnership in a troubled world that needs their strength, motives of domestic growth not endangered by self-centered interest, motives of solution to the problems of technological change and foreign competition, to name a few—they too often waste their energy in this self-induced hysteria of sloganeering.

Waging the battles of 1910 on the fields of 1960 is not only wasteful, it is dangerous.

The context that labor and management exist in today is far different than it was as recently as the war. Their actions are no longer isolated. Their responsibilities no longer extend only to their members and shareholders but to the entire national interest in an economy characterized by interdependence and by multiple, private ownership of property.

Yet they are unable to communicate as they should, even while these responsibilities hang over them.

I think there have traditionally been three major barriers to open communication between labor and management—social, political, and economic.

There were once very great social distinctions between company presidents and labor leaders. Today, one can find bargaining sessions in which the company president began his career on the assembly line while the union spokesman is a college-trained lawyer. The unhappy class division that kept them apart—and I sometimes wonder if it ever really existed—no longer exists between American labor and management.

The second barrier has been a political one. It resulted from the centering of both of these institutions around political doctrines that appeared best to further their own ends.

But over the years, not only has the composition of the labor movement changed, not only has the management structure changed, but the political doctrines themselves have changed—as they always have and will in this country.

Yet the old division is maintained, and it can be a block to communication.

With some prominent leaders one has to constant distinguished between the statements they make as the representatives of their union, or their company, and the statements they make as political personalities.

Just the other day a prominent labor leader, speaking in Washington, said that the invocation of the Taft-Hartley injunction in the steel dispute by the President was a political payoff to the steel companies that had contributed to the 1956 election.

Now how can we expect to rationally meet the problems we face, problems which require reason and discipline to solve, in such an unprincipled political atmosphere.

The third and final barrier between labor and management are differences in economic philosophy. In many cases, these differences are genuine. A labor leader might well believe that full employment and economic growth would result from lifting consumer buying power through wage increases, and that a slight increase in the cost of living is a small price to pay, while a management respresentative might believe just as strongly that increased profits, resulting in increased expenditures for plant and equipment, is the surest way toward growth and full employment.

What is needed here is more communication and not less.

But it has to be a new form of communication, carried on outside the bargaining table, carried on frequently over a period of time, to agree on what they can agree on, and to develop a mutually understandable vocabulary to deal with those problems they cannot agree on.

Let them agree on one idea as a starting point. That idea is this:

Owners and stockholders, union members and employees, the consumers and the public, all have a right to a fair share of increasing productivity.

Let them agree that the time has come when a third chair is at every bargaining table, the chair in which the public sits—the chair in which as consumers and taxpayers they sit themselves.

In our modern economy, the decisions made by labor and management have an impact on the national interest, which is, after all, their interest.

This is certainly not a hard thing to agree to and it is A start.

It is possible to apply this idea to particular industries, if both labor and management within that industry talk it over and talk it out away from the bargaining table.

Labor and management in this country have got to start talking to each other in a more meaningful way. They have to rid themselves of the old social and political divisions that no longer exist, for our econ-

omy is the bedrock of the Western World and its strength depends upon the good sense and the good will of the men who operate it.

I have talked considerably longer than is my custom. I would like to take 1 more minute to sum up, generally, this first Alexander Graham Bell lecture.

It is my belief that in communicating with the largest nonfree society of modern times, that we should keep the light shining into that state, even though we know it may be distorted. I think we should stand at all times in a posture of truth, and concentrate our efforts on presenting the true values of our society and not so much criticism of theirs. I hope that doors are beginning to open between us, and we should proceed in the firm conviction that freedom and truth have their own appeal.

To make this effort succeed, however, we must reappraise the means of communication within our own free society, and the use of those means. If regulation is needed to assure that those means will be used to instruct and uplift, it should be the self-regulation that results from education. And the managers of the media have a responsibility they have not exercised to the fullest.

In another area of vital communication, I believe that labor and management in the United States find it difficult to communicate because there are shadow differences between them reflecting an older time, and which are not useful for today and tomorrow.

And finally, if both labor and management can agree to the element of public interest in their deliberations, they can go on to discuss, outside of the bargaining table, the methods by which this understanding can best be implemented in individual industries.

I have been privileged to appear here today. I hope that in future years the memory of Alexander Graham Bell will be honored in the only meaningful way, by a growing understanding among men, a wider peace among nations, and truer virtue in each member of the human family.

Tribute to Captain Goldberg

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, on December 29, at a ceremony at the headquarters of the Third Naval District in New York City, Capt. Joshua L. Goldberg, Chaplain Corps, U.S. Navy, was presented with the Legion of Merit. The distinguished captain, who as a rabbi and as an officer has served his faith and his Nation so outstandingly, retired on January 1 and has taken up his new duties as executive vice president of Hebrew Union College, Jewish Institute of Religion.

The bestowal of this award by the Navy on the captain is a reflection of his dedication of purpose and his love of country, and those of us who know him, as well as the untold thousands everywhere with whom he has come in contact, are justifiably proud.

The Department of the Navy is to be commended for making the award, and I, personally, wish to compliment Secretary of the Navy Franke on this recognition of the meritorious service of my former Queens neighbor and dear friend for over 20 years. I am sure that I am joined in these sentiments by the legion of Captain Goldberg's friends and admirers. May he enjoy, in his new role, many fruitful years of service to his God and Nation.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the citation accompanying the tribute by the Navy which was presented by Vice Adm. Thomas S. Combs, Commander, Eastern Sea Frontiers, and Commandant, Third Naval District, to Captain Goldberg, in the Appendix of the RECORD:

For exceptionally meritorious conduct in the performance of outstanding services as district chaplain, 3d Naval District, from August 1949 to January 1960. Exercising sound judgment, diligence, and leadership, Captain Goldberg has been eminently successful in serving his fellow man through establishing and maintaining religious and human understanding and good will among all people. As the sole military chaplain representative on the Committee on Moral and Spiritual Resources of the International Information Administration, Department of State, he contributed materially to the success of the committee through his numerous suggestions and recommendations regarding problems of understanding in various parts of the world. In his role as a special representative of the Chief of Naval Operations on a trip to Israel concerning matters of a delicate nature and important implications in the field of international relations, Chaplain Goldberg succeeded in achieving an understanding whereby a naval attaché was assigned to Tel Aviv, and problems regarding visits by units of the 6th Fleet to Israeli ports were amicably resolved. As a member of the Armed Forces Chaplains Board for 5 years, he was instrumental in establishing the Board's governing policies, and contributed to its success as a liaison group between civic and religious organizations and the Chaplain Corps of the three military departments. Aware of the benefits to be derived from a better human understanding among members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, he organized and participated in two NATO chaplains' conferences, which have provided a better understanding between nations and navies of the NATO member countries regardless of various religious convictions. Chaplain Goldberg's dedicated service and outstanding accomplishments reflect the highest credit upon himself and the U.S. Naval Service.

WILLIAM B. FRANCKE,
Secretary of the Navy
(For the President).

The Late Honorable Charles Hawks, Jr.

SPEECH
OF
HON. ROBERT B. CHIPERFIELD
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I was deeply saddened to learn of the passing of my good friend the Honorable Charles Hawks, Jr., a former Member of Congress who represented the Second District of Wisconsin.

We both served as freshmen during the 76th Congress, and I had the privilege of knowing him well. He was a hard worker devoted to serving his constitutents and his country.

I always admired Charlie for his grasp of governmental affairs. This knowledge was readily recognized and after leaving Congress he associated himself with industry, dealing closely with Federal departments. But Charlie continued his interest in public affairs and kept up his very close association with Members of Congress and his former colleagues. I was always grateful for his warm friendship.

Charlie was one of the most loved Members that ever served in the House of Representatives. Personally, I have lost a dear friend and one for whom I had great regard and affection.

Those of you who were fortunate enough to know him, I know join me in expressing sympathy to his mother, devoted wife, Lucille, and their son and daughter.

Ukrainian Independence Day

SPEECH
OF
HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, the Ukrainian people have always fought for their right to be a free and independent nation. Through the many and long struggles which began more than 300 years ago, they have succeeded in keeping alive their spiritual resiliency, their unquenchable desire for freedom. Without ceaseless and sustained work, without the cheerful willingness of the Ukrainian people to sacrifice their all, they could not have attained their national independence in 1918. Though they lost their well deserved and hard earned independence 2 years later, and though since then, for almost 40 years, they have been suffering under the most cruel tyranny in existence today, yet the lesson which they have learned in the school of adversity is not forgotten. Today they are struggling just as fearlessly and confidently as did their forebears generations ago for their freedom and independence. On this 42d anniversary of the Ukrainian Independence Day I wish them all a lightening of their heavy yoke.

May we who are free dedicate ourselves to make the very most of our opportunities, living in harmony with our neighbors and setting for ourselves the highest standards of excellence we can achieve.

Retirement Plans for Self-Employed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN JARMAN
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 27, 1960

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, an able discussion of H.R. 10, written by Mr. Darold H. Kirby, appeared in the November issue of the Western Business Review, and I believe it merits the serious consideration of every Member of Congress. With that thought in mind, I have asked that this article be here printed in the RECORD.

The article follows:

RETIREMENT PLANS FOR SELF-EMPLOYED

(Darold H. Kirby)

The lifetime income curve of a self-employed man usually is parabolic. Income rises slowly in early years, advances to a peak where it stays for a few years, then declines gradually. In the earlier years of this country, because of very low income taxes and little or no inflationary pressure, personal saving was not especially difficult. The problem today, when at least one dollar out of three of earnings must be paid out in some form of taxes, is how to save something from those peak-earning years to provide for retirement.

Yet, it is essential that long-term savings be encouraged. At most, social security benefits will provide only the minimum retirement benefits necessary for a subsistence standard of living. A program must be developed to enable the self-employed to provide for themselves a second layer of retirement income to supplement social security. This supplement would then raise the standard of living of a retired individual from a subsistence level to a level nearer that of his productive years.

PROPOSED RETIREMENT PLAN

Under the proposed Self-Employed Individuals' Retirement Act (commonly known as the Keogh-Simpson bill, H.R. 10) the self-employed would be encouraged and assisted in providing funds for retirement. The bill grants an income tax deferment by allowing a limited income tax deduction each year for amounts paid as premiums on restricted retirement policies or deposited in restricted retirement funds. Amounts invested, plus accumulated earnings thereon, would generally not be taxable income until withdrawn after the individual reaches retirement age. Under this proposal retirement funds to supplement social security benefits could be more easily provided than at present.

Preferential income tax treatment, however, is presently given to about 1 out of every 3 wage earners and salaried employees—approximately 19 million employed individuals—whose employers have set up qualified pension and profit-sharing plans in their behalf. In excess of $3 billion in retirement fund payments is annually invested for these individuals from allocations which would otherwise be paid to them and subject to current income taxes. Employers receive an income tax deduction for the amount paid into such plans, but on none of this is the employee taxed—either on the employer's contribution or the accumulated earnings—until his retirement.

The proposed legislation would correct some of the existing inequality of tax treatment between the self-employed and other employees. Self-employed individuals are precluded from any potential tax deferment in providing themselves with retirement income. State laws prohibit many professionals from incorporating, and other self-employed who choose to operate as individual owners or partners are deprived of tax equality in providing for their retirement.

ELIGIBILITY

All self-employed individuals who are subject to the tax on self-employment income for social security purposes, plus physicians and ministers who are ordinarily exempt from this tax, would be eligible for the retirement deduction plan. Approximately 10 million persons from farming, the medical and legal professions, private business, and a select group of other occupations and professions would be included in this group.

Subject to certain basic provisions, the law provides for the individual who has self-employment income but who also receives wages which are subject to social security taxes. The retirement deduction for example, would not be allowed in any year that the individual's employer makes a contribution on his behalf to a qualified pension, profit-sharing, or stock bonus plan. Nor would it be allowed in any year that the individual draws benefits from such a plan. Thus, an individual who has both wages and self-employment income could not secure the benefits of both types of retirement plans in the same year.

ALLOWABLE RETIREMENT DEDUCTIONS

Annual deductions

When computing adjusted gross income on his income tax return a self-employed individual would be allowed an annual deduction, up to the year he reaches age 70, for retirement deposits consisting of amounts paid as premiums on restricted retirement policies deposited in restricted retirement trust funds. The annual deduction would be limited to 10 percent of net earnings from self-employment but may not exceed $2,500. For example, if net earnings from self-employment is less than $25,000 the annual deduction could not exceed 10 percent. If net earnings are more than $25,000, the annual deduction could not exceed $2,500.

Total contributions to fund

Another restriction on the fund is that the total deduction allowed to an individual during his lifetime would be $50,000. This limit is computed at 20 years times the annual limit of $2,500; however, the annual deduction would not be limited to only 20 years unless the maximum deduction is taken each year or unless the individual reaches age 70 before the 20 years have passed.

If the individual is over age 50 when the law becomes effective, then the limit on the annual deduction would be increased one-tenth for each year his age exceeds 50. Thus, the annual limit for an individual age 60 would be 20 percent of his self-employment income but not over $5,000.

If the taxpayer has received any amount in any prior taxable year from a qualified employee pension or profit-sharing plan or, at the end of the preceding taxable year has a nonforfeitable right in such a plan, then the 20-year lifetime limit would be reduced by the number of years of service attributable to his rights under such plan. The lifetime deduction of an employed individual who is or has been an employee and, for example, has 5 years service under an employee plan, would be limited to 15 years times $2,500 to $37,500. The 20-year maximum is apportioned in a like manner between other similar combinations.

Basis for deduction

For the purpose of computing the retirement deduction, net earnings from self-employment are the same as net earnings for the self-employment tax except that they would include earnings from those professions not presently covered by self-employment tax. This exception includes such items as net earnings from the performance of services by a minister or a Christian Science practitioner, and the net earnings derived by a doctor of medicine from the practice of his profession.

Planning retirement deposits

Retirement deposits made on or before the 15th day of the fourth month following the end of the taxable year may, at the option of the taxpayer, be taken as a deduction in that taxable year thereby permitting the computation of a self-employment income for the year before determining the total deposits to be made.

A certain flexibility is possible in planning a retirement program under this proposed law because the individual can determine the amount of his retirement deposit each year up to the limit allowable. If the age and expected future earnings of the self-employed individual is such to assure ample time to take advantage of the lifetime deduction of $50,000 by retirement age, then annual deposits could be varied with fluctuations in the amount of earnings. In years of high income the maximum deposit could be made in order to secure the maximum income tax deferment. In years of low income or emergency cash requirement no deposit would be necessary.

EFFECT OF TAX DEFERMENT

The main economic advantage arising from income tax deferment on retirement deposits stems from the fact that self-employed individuals could invest a full dollar of income to accumulate a larger fund. This would in turn earn a higher return, and the fund would increase faster because income from the investment would not be taxed currently.

The effect of tax deferment is illustrated from the following simple tabulation. The comparison is based on a $100 annual investment, for 20 years, with interest at 4 percent compounded annually, to an investment of $75 with interest at 3 percent. An average income tax rate of 25 percent has been used for the purpose of this illustration causing a decrease of $25 in the annual amount available for investment after taxes. This likewise causes a decrease in the interest accumulation from 4 to 3 percent.

	Before taxes	After taxes	Increase by tax deferment
Retirement deposits—20 years..... $100 per year before taxes. $75 per year after taxes.	$2,000.00	$1,500.00	$500.00
Interest accumulation.. 4 percent before taxes. 3 percent after taxes.	977.81	513.28	464.53
Total accumulated.	2,977.81	2,013.28	964.53

A second possible advantage would be the difference in the amount of income in the years when the deduction is taken and in the years after retirement. Individuals will probably be in a lower tax bracket in the later years with a resultant tax savings on retirement income. Some individuals would possibly have no other taxable income and thus the increased personal exemptions after age 65 could be applied in full to reduce or completely offset the income taxes on retirement income.

ACCEPTABLE RETIREMENT PLANS

The restricted retirement policy

One of the methods of securing a retirement deduction is by the payment of premiums on restricted retirement policies. These must be either annuity, endowment, or life insurance policies (or acceptable combinations) issued by a domestic life insur-

ance company on the life of the taxpaper and identified as a restricted retirement policy which provides for the payment of restricted retirement benefits. A straight term insurance policy will not qualify.

Age provisions: The policy may provide for life insurance protection up to age 70½, but only that portion of the premium which is allocated to the cost of restricted retirement benefits will be allowed as a retirement deduction. It must be nonassignable with no person other than the insured having any incidents of ownership. However, the insured may designate beneficiaries to receive the proceeds payable in the event of death before age 70½.

Restricted retirement benefits consisting of the entire value of the policy must be paid in one of the following methods:

(a) To the insured not later than at age 70½.

(b) To the insured as a life annuity which may provide for a minimum term certain, not extending beyond his life expectancy and beginning not later than at age 70½.

(c) To the insured and his spouse as a joint life annuity or as a joint and survivor annuity beginning not later than age 70½ of the insured.

(d) To the insured, or in the event of his death to his beneficiary, as an annuity certain beginning not later than age 70½ and not extending beyond his life expectancy.

Current Policies: Many individuals are presently carrying insurance to provide protection for their families or to provide for retirement. Since most insurance premiums, other than for straight term insurance, contain an amount for savings, these policies could be qualified as restricted retirement policies and a portion of the premium could then be taken as a retirement deduction. An annual savings in the cash required to be paid out would result to the extent of these amounts, and self-retirement deduction.

This savings could also be used to provide additional retirement funds. Thus, at least to the extent of these amounts, any self-employed individual could avail himself of the benefits of the retirement deduction to create a larger retirement fund without increasing his cash requirements beyond present payments.

The restricted retirement fund

The other method of securing the retirement deduction is through deposits in a restricted retirement trust fund with a bank as trustee. The plan must also have been established for the exclusive benefit of the individual who is investing for his retirement. The trust will be permitted only the following types of investments:

(a) Stock or securities listed on a national securities exchange.

(b) Bonds of the U.S. Government or instrumentality.

(c) Stock in regulated investment companies.

(d) An annuity or face amount certificate for any member.

The trust may distribute income or corpus to participating members at any time. When the member attains age 70, the trust must begin a program of distribution of that member's interest which must be completed before he attains age 80. Alternatively the trust can, before the member reaches age 70, purchase an annuity for him or a joint and survivor annuity for him and his spouse.

In the event of death before age 70, the member's entire investment in the trust must, within 5 years, be distributed or applied to purchase an immediate annuity for his surviving spouse payable for her life.

TAXATION OF RETIREMENT INCOME

Provided in the bill are several rules relating to the income tax treatment of amounts received from restricted retirement policies or funds.

First, there are general rules covering amounts received after the taxpayer reaches age 65. The amount of money and the fair market value of property received from restricted retirement funds are included in gross income when received. An exception is that an individual may receive from a fund, without paying tax immediately, an annuity contract on his life purchased by the fund. The basis in the fund will be zero.

With certain exceptions, amounts received under a restricted retirement policy will be taxed under the present rules relating to annuities. These exceptions include the following:

(a) That portion of the annual premium which is allocated to the cost of other than retirement benefits cannot be treated as part of the consideration for the annuity.

(b) Amounts received before the annuity starting date will be included in gross income to the extent that they do not exceed the total retirement deductions previously allowed.

(c) The annuity part of any premiums not allowed as a retirement deduction—e.g., because they were paid in a low income year or before the policy became a restricted retirement policy—will be treated as consideration paid for the policy.

(d) The present special income-spreading provision for lump sums received under endowment policies will not be allowed.

Second, there are penalty provisions which will be imposed for amounts received while the taxpayer is living and before he has reached age 65. If the amount received is in excess of $2,500 the tax will not be less than 110 percent of the aggregate increase in taxes that would arise if this amount had been received equally in the taxable year and the 4 preceding taxable years. If the amount is less than $2,500 the tax shall be 110 percent of the tax resulting from the inclusion of this amount in gross income.

Third, there are special rules for taxing amounts received after death of the taxpayer. Under a restricted retirement policy, if payments are made on the death of the insured, the entire cash surrender value arising from retirement deductions will be taxable unless such value is applied to provide an annuity for his surviving spouse. The balance of any death benefits received, representing the pure life insurance portion, will not be taxable. Amounts from retirement policies or funds received by a beneficiary will be taxable as income in respect of a decedent and, if appropriate, a deduction with respect to the allocable estate tax will be allowed.

Finally, there are limitations on the taxation of amounts received under certain circumstances and limitations on certain credits or tax benefits that the taxpayer might otherwise receive. If the taxpayer after reaching age 65, or his beneficiaries, receives in 1 year as lump sum the entire amount in all retirement policies or funds, then the increase in tax shall not be greater than five times the increase in tax resulting from the inclusion in gross income of 20 percent of the amount so received.

Taxable income for any year in which retirement benefits are received cannot be less than the amount of the retirement benefits received less personal exemptions. If this restriction results in an increase in taxable income for the year, then none of the special credits against the tax, such as the credit for dividends received, will be allowed. Under this limitation itemized deductions or business losses would be deductible only to the extent of taxable income other than retirement benefits.

The retirement income credit would not be allowed with respect to amounts received from a restricted policy or fund.

INEQUITIES IN THE BILL

At least two major inequities are contained in provisions of the bill. One is that the penalty for receipt of any retirement benefits before age 65 would constitute an additional hardship in the event of total and permanent disability. If an individual qualifies for disability benefits under social security laws, amounts received from his restricted retirement policies or funds should be subject to the same taxation as they would at retirement after age 65.

The other is that the limitation on allowable deductions from retirement income could result in the disallowance of itemized deductions or business losses in any year that a taxpayer's income from sources other than amounts received from restricted retirement policies or funds were not adequate to offset these deductions.

STATUS OF BILL

Legislation similar to the present proposal has been given consideration since 1951. However, possibility of its passage has been brightest during the past two sessions of Congress. In 1958 and again in 1959 similar bills were unanimously passed by the House of Representatives. In 1958 the Senate refused to consider the bill on the floor since it had been introduced too late in the session to be considered by the Finance Committee.

The Senate Finance Committee has held hearings on the 1959 bill, but at the time this article was written no report had been issued by the committee. The bill will therefore carry over to the 1960 session as pending legislation.

Administration opposition has come principally from the Treasury Department, which objects to the Keogh-Simpson bill mainly because of the loss of tax revenue now estimated at $365 million for the first year after the law becomes effective. Sometimes overlooked, however, are the increased taxes which would be received after the bill had been operative and the present self-employed are eligible to draw on the retirement funds.

Geneva Test Ban Negotiations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 27, 1960

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement which I made relating to the Geneva test ban negotiations at Pontiac, Mich., on October 30. The speech dealt with the Geneva negotiations for a treaty on the cessation of nuclear weapons tests.

During the course of my remarks I advanced a proposal in an effort to prevent a deadlock in the negotiations from developing. This proposal would seek a treaty banning, under effective control and inspection, all nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, underwater, in outer space, and underground down to a level of about 5 kilotons. The level of about 5 kilotons was selected because from the scientific evidence then available it ap-

peared to me that the number of onsite inspections required to check on suspicious events, that is, unidentified earth disturbances, of 5 kilotons and above would not be too great. In fact, I suggested that between 25 and 50 inspections within the Soviet Union might be sufficient.

News reports appearing within the last few days indicate that the United States is now about to advance such a proposal to the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union. According to these reports we shall propose an agreement to ban tests underground down to a certain size depending in part on the number of onsite inspections that can be negotiated.

One important aspect of the proposal to be offered by the United States, however, is not clear. In my Pontiac speech I suggested that the United States should be willing to agree not to test in the range below the 5-kiloton threshold for 2 years pending the outcome of a research program and an evaluation of the experience of the control system. To me a 2-year moratorium on tests below the range of the inspection level was a risk worth taking. If we found the Soviets testing in that range then we likewise would be free to test. But we have a much greater chance of detecting even small tests with the control system in operation than we have now with only our national stations to rely on.

It is possible that the pro-testers within the administration will prevail. If they do, any threshold agreement proposed will be as high as possible, say 20 or 30 kilotons, so that the range of testing allowed will be large. Furthermore, the pro-testers will argue against the concept of a 2-year agreement not to test in the range below the threshold. They would not be willing to await the outcome of a research program. This is not strange since the pro-testers have done nothing that I can see to start research programs within the United States designed to improve our ability to detect and identify underground explosions.

I hope that the pro-testers will not win their case. I am heartened, nevertheless, that a threshold proposal along the lines I outlined at Pontiac is now apparently about to be offered at the Geneva test-ban negotiations.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NUCLEAR TEST BAN NEGOTIATIONS PROPOSAL TO BREAK IMPASSE

(Excerpts from speech by Senator HUMPHREY in Pontiac, Mich., Oct. 30, 1959)

I want to discuss with you tonight the problem of disarmament—a subject which lies at the very heart of international relations and military policy.

A few months ago, a congressional committee was informed by experts that a surprise nuclear attack on the United States would last just a few hours, but would cost the lives of about 50 million people—just about one-third of the population.

The large nations of the world have just about given up the old concepts of strategy—soldier against soldier, ship against ship, army against army. Now our military calculations involve the bombing of cities, the destruction of populated centers, the elimination of production facilities. These measures mean death to millions of people at a time.

And the most frightening thing is that we have almost grown accustomed to it.

But it does no good to express horror, or to display moral indignation.

The problem is also a practical one, and we must solve it practically. We must insist on a fair solution even as the loaded guns are pointed.

In his speech at the U.N., Mr. Khrushchev stated that the Russians want to reduce arms at the present time. This is encouraging. But up to now, they have shown little willingness to allow international officials to inspect the Soviet Union to ascertain whether they are performing according to agreement.

The job of American diplomats is twofold; first, to persuade the Russians to accept inspection, and second, to be sure that our inspection demands are reasonable and necessary to police an agreement effectively. We must not yield on any essential, because an agreement without real inspection would be worthless. But we must recognize that the Russians have a historic passion for secrecy, and that the thought of foreign inspectors traveling freely around their country is repugnant to them. We must make sure that our demands entail the maximum in control and the minimum in complexity.

This is the general task of American diplomats. I want to become more specific.

If the world is to witness any progress toward ending the arms race and toward reducing the burden of vast expenditures for defense, we must determine whether the Soviets mean it when they claim they are willing to accept controls. Our main, and at the moment, only opportunity to find out is through the nuclear test ban negotiations now in progress in Geneva.

I wish to discuss these negotiations with you tonight because they bear so directly on whether a breakthrough in the disarmament question is possible. If these negotiations succeed, then future arms control talks can be conducted in a much more favorable atmosphere than if they fail or become stalemated indefinitely. The negotiations are a test of Soviet willingness to accept controls.

My purpose tonight is to report briefly the status of the negotiations and also to share with you a specific proposal for breaking what is fast becoming an impasse in the test ban talks.

The three nuclear powers—the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union—have been negotiating for 1 year. Definite progress has been made.

Soviet representatives are beginning to accept some concepts of control to police a nuclear weapons test ban. They have indicated a willingness to cooperate with the other nuclear powers in sending satellites into space to help detect nuclear tests hundreds of miles above the earth. They have agreed that a specified number, roughly 20, fixed control posts will be established within their borders to house a variety of instruments to record signals of possible nuclear explosions. And they have accepted the idea that on a few occasions a year a mobile inspection team consisting of foreigners and nationals may go to the site of an unidentified event registered at the control posts to determine whether such an unidentified event is a nuclear explosion.

For a country in which secrecy and suspicion are almost a cult, the willingness of the Soviets to accept the above controls is an advance over previous arms control negotiations. Never in 13 years of talks on disarming have the Soviets come this close to accepting controls in specified treaty language.

However, the United States finds that the Soviet position on controls is still inadequate in three major respects.

First, our Government says the control posts should contain a higher proportion of foreigners than the Soviet Union has yet been willing to accept. The United States has asked for a ratio of two foreigners to every national. The U.S. position perhaps could be modified and I believe that if both sides wish to reach an agreement the difference between the two sides on this point can be compromised.

The second criticism of the Soviet position concerns the budget. The Soviet Union has tried to insist that the budget for the International Control Organization should be adopted unanimously; in other words, it should be subjected to a veto by any one of the three nuclear powers. But the Soviet Union has not always demanded a veto in the adoption of budgets, to name for example, the International Atomic Energy Agency. So it is very conceivable that this obstacle need not remain one for long.

Now I come to the third area in which the United States maintains that the Soviet position on control is inadequate. And this is the most important and the most difficult of all. On this point, the negotiations could fail or stalemate. This question is the number of times that a mobile inspection team may travel to the site of an event which could be suspected of being a nuclear explosion. As I have said, the Soviets maintain that this will be necessary only a few times each year.

The United States objects to the restriction of a few. But on this question the United States has no counterproposal of its own. We object to the few sought by the Soviet Union but have nothing to offer in return. We say that the number of mobile inspection visits should be related to the number of unidentified events which might be suspicious. U.S. scientists have attempted to estimate how many unidentified events there might be, particularly those underground. Their estimate is based on calculating about how many earthquakes there will be in the Soviet Union and of these how many the control posts will be able to assert are definitely earthquakes and not nuclear explosions. Some of our scientists calculate that the number of events that could be subject to inspection is a very large one. This figure, in fact, is so large that our negotiators are quite certain that the Soviet Union will never accept mobile inspection teams investigating the site of every one of hundreds of unidentified earthquakes.

The big problem, then, is how many of the hundreds of unidentified earthquakes should be subject to inspection to give a high degree of assurance that the Soviet Union is not able secretly to conduct a militarily significant series of nuclear weapons tests.

I have presented to you as objectively and as briefly as I can the major issues that are before the nuclear powers as they resume their negotiations at Geneva. I have indicated that with respect to the first two of the major unresolved issues, on staffing and on budget, the differences can probably be reconciled. On the third issue I am not so sure a reconciliation is possible. I say this because the Soviet Union gives little indication that it will submit to mobile inspection more than a few times a year. And the United States is not even able to say how many inspections it thinks would be necessary. So you have a situation in which the Soviet Union maintains a position that is highly unsatisfactory to us and in which the United States has no position at all. Without a position on the part of the United States, it is difficult to see how any compromise can be reached.

What is the answer to this apparent impasse? I have urged the administration to reach some position on the question of the number of inspections. Its answer is that no position is possible until the Soviet Union

is willing to discuss the technical complexities of the problem. The Soviet Union, contending that it spent an entire summer discussing the technical difficulties, prefers to solve the problem by picking a number out of a hat, and a low number at that.

Many people, particularly those inside or close to the Atomic Energy Commission, would solve the impasse by advocating a nuclear weapons test ban that covers only atmospheric tests. They say that because atmospheric tests are so much more easily detected than those underground or at high altitudes, such a limited agreement would eliminate the necessity of any mobile inspection teams at all. The Soviet Union, thus far, has claimed that it wants a comprehensive agreement; that is, one that covers all nuclear weapons tests. It has rejected an atmospheric ban.

I believe that an atmospheric ban is better than no agreement. I believe that it is less desirable than a total ban because it would allow not only the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union to continue testing, but it would also allow other countries, such as Communist China and France and many others, to become nuclear powers.

Furthermore, if all our testing were done underground, I think this could result in an increase rather than a reduction of world tension. With all countries burrowing down into the ground to test their weapons each would have less knowledge of what the other was doing, thereby increasing suspicion and distrust.

If the Soviet Union is unwilling to discuss the technical complications of a comprehensive agreement and if the United States is unwilling to reach a negotiating position regarding the number of annual inspections it believes would be both safe and reasonable, then some other way out of the impasse must be found. For we must not let the Geneva negotiations fail.

I do not pretend to have the perfect solution to this problem. But I offer here tonight one possibility for your consideration and discussion.

For a comprehensive test ban our scientists believe that the number of unidentified events in the Soviet Union alone would number several hundred, obviously too many to inspect. However, this number drops drastically as the size of the nuclear explosion or earthquake increases. For example, if the control organization had to inspect only for explosions of approximately 5 kilotons or larger, the number of inspections needed in the Soviet Union would be somewhere in the range of 25 to 50. Such a range does not appear to me to be too high, either from a practical point of view or from the viewpoint of the Soviet Union with its suspicious outlook toward any inspection or control.

My proposal, therefore, is as follows:

Point 1: Let the United States extend its general moratorium on all nuclear tests now scheduled to end on December 31 for a maximum of 1 year. This would give the nuclear powers ample chance to reach agreement. I would not extend this moratorium more than 1 year; if the Soviets stall longer than that, it is a sign they are trying to get a test ban with no controls whatsoever. I think the United States must not allow this to happen.

Point 2: We should be prepared to enter into an agreement banning nuclear tests equal to and above 5-kiloton explosions. The agreement would specify that all unidentified events with a signal equal to and above a 5-kiloton explosion would be subject to inspection. The ceiling on the number of mobile inspections would be somewhere between 25 to 50. In this way I believe we could arrive at a number of mobile inspections that would correspond to our present best educated guesses from a scientific point of view as to what is necessary.

Point 3: We should be prepared to join with the other countries for 2 years from the time the agreement goes into effect in a moratorium on tests below 5 kilotons. At the end of that time we shall know two things: (1) whether the Soviet Union and other countries are cooperating in installing the control posts; and (2) whether by observation and further research the control posts can be improved to detect and identify most of the unidentified events below a size of 5 kilotons.

Point 4: During the 2-year period in which the control posts and inspection system for the 5 kiloton threshold agreement were being established we should conduct a comprehensive research program in cooperation with the Soviets, with the United Nations, and also by ourselves. Such a program would be designed to find ways of improving the control system so that all suspicious events would be subject to inspection within a reasonable ceiling.

Point 5: The agreement should specify that if the international control posts or our own detection system gave evidence that the Soviet Union was not cooperating in the moratorium on tests below 5 kilotons—those not subject for 2 years to mobile inspection—then we would be free ourselves to test in this range. We would present our evidence to the international control commission to show that the moratorium had been violated. And if the Soviets do not agree to install appropriate and reasonable controls for tests below 5 kilotons we should be free to test in this range if our defense requires it.

My proposal is one I believe can be reached within a short time, given the sincere desire to reach agreement on the part of the Soviet Union and the United States. This is one that should be offered rather than have the negotiations fail or continue indefinitely as a stalemate. This proposal covers the requirements of the United States, namely that a control system should be based on what scientists estimate can be done. It also covers the requirements of the Soviet Union, that a control system must not be confused with extreme complexity, which to them looks like espionage. And it is a proposal which gives considerable assurance that we can have a total and effective test ban agreement.

In advancing this proposal before you tonight I believe some important and related points should be stressed.

A cessation of atomic tests is arms control, but it is not real disarmament. It is only a first step toward disarmament.

We believe that disarmament is necessary, that it must eventually come, and that without it, the whole world is in danger. We are willing to accept the kind of international inspection which alone can make disarmament effective and meaningful.

Well, then, why don't we say it? Why don't we identify our country with these goals? Why don't we let the peace-loving people of the world understand that the United States is the leader in the great quest for peace?

Why do we leave it to Khrushchev to go before the United Nations General Assembly and proclaim the great goal of complete disarmament, as though he had invented it?

I think the present administration has been extremely negligent in allowing this idea to become associated, in the eyes of the world, with the Soviet Union, when in fact, it has been an American idea.

In addition to proclaiming our sincere and dedicated conviction to a system of comprehensive disarmament, we must also be prepared with the necessary technical studies for control and inspection in each stage of disarmament. And we must also be prepared to change a vast segment of our production from arms manufacturing to peacetime pursuits.

There is no doubt in my mind that money saved on armaments will find other uses. It would make it possible to shift emphasis to many urgent peacetime tasks. To discuss the many opportunities that we would have to make use of savings from a reduction of defense expenditures is another speech. I am certain this audience will forgive me if I refrain from giving you another speech this evening.

The big question is, will we find these other uses quickly enough, and will these other uses employ the very people and the very facilities that formerly were engaged in military production?

It will take considerable planning to make the transition smooth. Healthy reconversion is not just one big overall problem. Rather, it consists of thousands of specific problems, involving particular groups of employees. The fact that the general national level of prosperity will continue offers no reassurance to individual workers who would lose jobs.

Finally, I want to conclude by underlining the point that—when I speak of disarmament, I mean mutual disarmament, under effective controls which will give assurance that all parties are living up to the agreement.

I do no mean unilateral disarmament.

Indeed, I strongly oppose the tendency of the Eisenhower administration to reduce our armed power unilaterally, or try to rely solely on the massive nuclear deterrent because it is cheaper than the conventional forces which are needed for local issues, and to place the budget ahead of national security.

All of this is dangerous to our national defense. It encourages adventures on the part of the Communists which may lead to wars which otherwise might have been avoided. Weak defenses make disarmament more difficult. A nuclear war is horrible to contemplate. But also horrible is the prospect of a United States and a free world so weak that domination by the Soviet dictatorship becomes unavoidable.

Disarmament is at the very center of our foreign relations. I have stressed it tonight because I believe deeply that solutions can be found if our leaders, the Soviet leaders, and the leaders of other nations are convinced that large-scale devastating wars no longer can be made a substitute for resolving disputes in ways that are peaceful, equitable, and just.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, this statement indicates the course which I believe our Government should follow relating to the negotiations on the cessation of nuclear weapons tests. I am happy to note in the morning press that the recommendations which I made at Pontiac, Mich., on October 30 are now the recommendations of our Government at the Geneva Conference.

Those recommendations include a comprehensive ban on all atomic or nuclear tests in the atmosphere, at high or low altitudes, or in outer space; also underwater tests or submarine tests, as well as the large underground tests which readily lend themselves to inspection and detection.

With respect to the smaller weapons or smaller explosions, my recommendation included a joint cooperative effort by the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union, through a series of test explosions under United Nations supervision, in order to improve detection and inspection.

Also I called for a vastly expanded program in research on nuclear weapons testing, in order to improve the control and inspection methods.

Waste in the Mails

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE MEADER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1960

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Adrian (Mich.) Telegram of January 23, 1960:

WASTE IN THE MAILS

The junk mail that comes into a newspaper office fills big baskets everyday. Within a month it is measured by the ton. It comes from many sources, from publicists, from manufacturers, from industries, from labor unions, from distributors, utilities, and recreation groups. Most of such mail is promoting something or someone. There's no end to it. Much of it also comes from U.S. Government agencies.

If individuals, corporations, and organized groups want to throw their money into wastebaskets all over the land that's one thing. There must be some return or they wouldn't do it. But for the U.S. Government to use public funds in mailing saturation projects is wasteful, reckless, and ill considered. The cost of such material, printing, and clerical help, is only part of it. The junk material also clogs the Government's postal system which has many problems of its own.

A case in point is three envelopes from the Federal Aviation Agency, Washington, D.C., arriving the same day. The envelopes measured 9½ by 12 inches. They were made of very good quality manila paper.

One envelope contained a news story about the Agency requiring air carriers to have airborne weather radar. The news release was 7 pages long.

Another envelope contained news of new rules governing the consumption of alcoholic beverages aboard aircraft. It was 5 pages long.

A third envelope contained a release about the agency's $118 million program of air navigation and air traffic control facilities. It was eight pages long and listed sites all over the Nation where funds will be expended for new facilities.

The effort to inform the public of Government agency activities is commendable. But such efforts must be used wisely and effectively. For instance, the three releases arrived the same day. One manila envelope instead of three could have been used. We doubt if the releases were of much value to most newspapers. The release on alcoholic beverages was received 2 days after its release date. The Telegram received ample coverage on the story from its wire service, the Associated Press, and had reported the news on page one the requested release date. So the one mailing was a complete waste. The item concerning the airborne weather radar on air carriers wasn't newsworthy here. Some papers probably used it. The wire services had the news if it was wanted. The Associated Press also handled the story about air navigation and traffic control expansion.

The news release might have been valuable for papers desiring to expand or enlarge upon the Associated Press service. But here again, a wise and efficient handling of the news by the Federal Aviation Agency would have sent the mailing to those who could or would make use of it. A blanket mailing was wasted.

This wasteful use of the mails by the Federal Aviation Agency is by no means isolated or unique. Every newspaper gets copious mailings of Government and Government agency material. It also receives voluminous material on occasion from Congressmen, some of which is useful, but most of which is excess baggage. The efforts of Congressmen and Government agencies to inform and acquaint the people with programs and causes, as we said, is commendable. But in these days of high Government costs selective use of the free mailing privilege is highly desirable. A lot of work, and a lot of money, goes down the drain every time a worthless mailing is discarded. And in newspaper offices, the discards become a torrent.

America's Main Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 19, 1960

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I would like to include a recent statement by Dr. Emilio Núñez-Portuondo, a loyal friend of the United States of America and former President of the Security Council of the United Nations, in which capacity he merited worldwide renown and respect. The exposition by Dr. Núñez-Portuondo was brought to my attention by my dear friend, the Reverend Father Joseph F. Thorning, Ph. D., D.D., a specialist on inter-American history, who on several occasions has represented the United States of America at Presidential inaugurations in South and Central America. The noble Cuban people, now subject to the military tyranny of the Castro brothers, Fidel and Raúl, merit our understanding and cooperation in their crusade for freedom and decency.

The statement follows:

AMERICA'S MAIN PROBLEM

(Dr. Emilio Núñez-Portuondo, former president of the Security Council of the United Nations)

Many persons residing in the United States of America, mainly of the diplomatic delegations to the White House, the Organization of American States, and the United Nations, have written us requesting enlightenment on the tragic situation of Cuba, and in some cases they have offered their own suggestions to remedy the ills besetting the island.

This issue explains the Cuban situation, as objectively as possible.

Even before Fidel Castro assumed power by overthrowing ex-president Batista, we warned in every way possible, utilizing every means available, including the rostrum of the United Nations, that Castro's movement was inspired and directed by international communism, for the purpose of starting the political and economic penetration of communism in the Americas, which until the present time has been the zone of exclusive U.S. influence.

We always maintained, as indeed was the case, that the majority of the July 26 movement, headed by Castro, were not active Reds, nor even fellow travelers. It is also true that during the last year of siege he was supported, in some cases, in good faith and, in others, from fear, by all ranks of Cubans who were deceived with respect to the true purposes of Castro and his lieutenants. In many cases this attitude was assumed when it became apparent that Batista couldn't or didn't want to stamp out the revolutionists.

During the period of 7 days that we occupied the position of Prime Minister of Cuba, in March of 1958, we tried to establish beneficial policies for our country, to avoid an overwhelming victory of the Reds who would have turned Cuba into a branch office of the Soviet Union or the People's Republic of China.

When we discovered that our position was not acceptable to those who had the power to enforce it, we resigned and returned to the position of Ambassador of Cuba to the United Nations, where we represented Cuba from 1952 to 1959.

It seems unnecessary now to analyze responsibilities for the situation existing on the island. But it is a fact and no intelligent person can deny it, that an absolute Communist regime exists in Cuba sterner than that of Soviet Russia, equaled only by Red China.

The great majority of we Cubans who oppose the Communist regime of Fidel Castro also oppose the restoration, directly or indirectly, of ex-President Batista to power. This would not solve the Cuban problem; it would aggravate it. His return to power would never be accepted by the people of Cuba, nor by international public opinion.

It would be a mistake to try to achieve the impossible, and furthermore, it would be prejudicial to national interests.

It is evident to us that an authentic social revolution has occurred in Cuba—it is not a typical Latin American revolution. The Reds have taken advantage of the genuine discontent of the needy classes and have proceeded on their own, but ably, to grant reforms.

Some could be kept as they are, others changed; and some, if not abolished, will ruin the country.

Attempting to overthrow the Castro government by a Batista-backed movement, signifying a step backward with respect to the social revolution, seems not only impossible, but unjust—action of this kind will not accomplish the internal peace required for Cuba's reentry into the family of civilized nations.

A minority of those who oppose Castro feel that the recent revolution was no different from an ordinary Latin American revolt; that it is very easy via decrees and laws to go back as if nothing at all occurred on December 31, 1958. To be sure, we do not share this feeling which is so completely contrary to the logic of facts.

We are convinced that if the Castro regime continues to throttle Cuba, pretty soon every other Latin American state will find itself in a similar situation, or at least, engaged in hopeless civil strife incited by international communism.

We are firmly convinced that for the United States, a Communist Cuba fastened the bridle of Moscow and Peiping represents a greater threat than does Berlin under control of East Germany.

We have said, and we repeat, that a Red regime, such as that established in Cuba, with its machinery of repression perfected daily, assisted by Russian and Chinese experts, cannot be destroyed by internal forces alone.

Proof of this is seen in the Baltic States, Hungary, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Albania, Bulgaria, Poland, North Korea, North Vietnam, Outer Mongolia, Ukrainia, and East Germany. Theorists, searching for solutions in the library, who may take exception to this statement, cannot offer one single example to the contrary. Guatemala was not completely Red as is Cuba. There the Army stood up to communism and threw Arbenz out of power.

It also seems clear to us that here you have a problem that extends beyond the borders of Cuba, to all America, especially the United States. Ignoring this fact, from good faith or not, results in converting yourself into an effective ally of international communism, and the longer you wait to recognize the truth for what it is, the more you play into the hands of the Reds, thereby impairing the safety of the hemisphere. To regard the Cuban situation as if it were just another in the long list of Latin American revolutions, we insist, is an error of frightful consequence.

To maintain that the Cubans can take care of their problem alone, without help from the outside, in the face of foreign interference from Russia and China, is an injustice to the people of Cuba. We are obliged to state the truth even if it is not pleasant. This is a situation affecting all of the Americas, mainly the United States, the leader of the Democrats and anti-Communist forces in the hemisphere. The facts show we know whereof we speak. We fear only that when the required measures are taken it will be too late. Cuba will be in ruins, spiritually and materially, and beyond redemption.

To those who have written to us, we ask, why was the Declaration of Caracas adopted? Will the peoples of the world believe in the solemnity of OAS agreements if the most important one of all is relegated to oblivion precisely when for the first time there exists a situation for which it was created?

The truth is clear and simple, and cannot be disguised. If a Communist regime did not exist in Cuba no state would have the right to intervene in matters essentially internal, pursuant to the rules of international law, the Charter of the Organization of American States and the United Nations. States affected by measures taken by the Cuban Government against their nationals could present claims, but in accordance with the treaties in force they could not exercise economic or any other pressure against Cuba.

But if an absolute Communist regime, tied to Moscow and Peiping, prevails as it does in Cuba, there is at our disposal a legal instrument authorizing collective action, if such is possible, and if not, unilateral action is authorized by which the state most directly affected adopts measures of security to prevent its own destruction.

Only the Communists and fellow travelers can attack such an action, since they hope to convert the American Republics into vast concentration camps. But such an action would be applauded by the anti-Communists of the Americas and the world at large who have been amazed that a regime representing the establishment of Soviet military and naval bases only 90 miles from the shores of the United States has been allowed to strengthen itself and last for 1 full year.

NEWS AND COMMENTS

Puerto Rico: As is widely known, Puerto Rican nationalists have established their headquarters at Havana. They propose by way of violence to break all ties with the United States of America. The wife of Pedro Albizu Campos resides in Cuba and officials of that country render her effective aid and support.

We have been informed privately that Cuban experts on the use of explosives and methods of sabotage have been sent to Puerto Rico to train the nationalist forces. If the authorities do not take appropriate measures, Puerto Rico may soon be the scene of terroristic activities from which great damage will follow.

Inasmuch as the distinguished Governor of Puerto Rico, Luis Muñoz Marín, was one of the most outspoken sympathizers of Fidel Castro during the civil war in Cuba, it is possible that he could undertake negotiations with the Cuban Government conducive to Cuba's complying with international obligations. At least, he could try to prevent any further interference in Puerto Rican affairs and take the necessary steps to prevent Castro from making his points with dynamite and other instruments of sabotage.

Cuba: On December 16 Fidel Castro made another speech, which only lasted 4½ hours, at a conference of sugarworkers.

In this speech he announced the unshakable purpose of his government to seize all of the sugar properties in 1960, to be turned over to the farmers. He specifically referred to U.S. sugar properties, asserting that they would be the first to be confiscated.

We hope now, since this action has been announced a year ahead of time, that those mainly concerned will not be caught by surprise. We are predicting with sufficient anticipation everything that is going to take place in the island. This is not too difficult a task. All you have to do is to read up on what has happened in the Soviet Union and Communist China and their satellite states to see that the same thing is happening in Cuba, although faster.

In his speech Castro denounced the United States as the stronghold of racial discrimination in the hemisphere. He also blamed the United States for his not having received some agricultural equipment on account of the steelworkers' strike. This last speech reveals a program of action in regard to the United States that not even Stalin would have dared to make public.

For a quick picture of the situation prevailing in Cuba today read the reports published in the American press on the trial of Hubert Matos. What the press reports did not disclose was that the five members of the army who served as judges on the court are well-known, active Communists. Morally and legally they should have disqualified themselves from pronouncing judgment on their comrade in arms.

At this trial Fidel Castro testified for 7½ hours. He insulted both defense counsel and prosecutor. He made a spectacle of himself, as any demented person would, turning his back to the court and addressing the public watching the trial.

On the third day, that is, after speaking to the sugarworkers for 4½ hours and to the Matos trial spectors for 7½ hours, Castro made another speech of 5½ hours—a total of 17 hours in a period of 72 hours. Which goes to show what we have maintained in Latin American Events, that Castro suffers from a mental disorder known as logorrhea. In his last speech he declared that no one, not anything, would stop him from carrying out his program, which means the total communization of the country.

Meanwhile "Ché" Guevara, president of the National Bank of Cuba, sent, according to custom, a copy of the facsimile of his signature for recognition on credit documents issued by the bank to other institutions.

All concerned were quite astonished to see that the signature was simply "Ché." No one but another lunatic would act in such a way.

The president of the National Bank of Cuba is named Ernesto Guevara. His name is not "Ché," which is neither a first nor last name. It would be the same as signing "friend," or "dog," "cat," and so forth.

This "Ché" dictated last week Resolution 365 of the Monetary Stabilization Fund by virtue of which no Cuban can take a trip out of the country more than once a year. It fixes as a limit for travel expenses, hotels, and food the total amount of $150. Cubans are prohibited from purchasing tickets costing more than $500 which means that practically no one can travel to Europe or to South America, for example, because the fare is higher than this amount.

As a natural consequence to these measures promulgated by "Ché" in only 1 week the suspension of 37 daily flights was announced by National Air Lines, Delta, Aerovias Q, Mackay Air Line, and Pan American.

"Ché" in his determination to ruin Cuba economically, as ordered by Moscow and Peiping, dictated a circular stipulating that all bank drafts to foreign countries must not only be authorized by the National Bank of Cuba, but private banks must send reports on the origins of all savings and current accounts and a statement of the use to be made of drafts to other countries.

The Communist regime, last week, condemned the Cubans Luis Lara Crespo and Juan Morfi Reyes to death for the crime of having conspired against the government. The accused were not given the right to appeal the sentence, and the court was composed not of judges but of officers of the rebel army. They were executed immediately by firing squad.

U.S. citizens John V. Martino and Frank Austin Young have been condemned to prison terms in Cuba, Martino for 13 years and Young for 30 years, both at hard labor. Peter John Lambton of Nassau, Bahamas, has also been sentenced to 25 years of hard labor. These punishments have been inflicted by military courts from which there is no appeal.

James Buchanan, reporter for the "Miami Herald" has been arrested and tried for counterrevolutionary activities. When the Inter-American Press Association requested the Provisional President of Cuba, Comrade Osvaldo Dorticós, to release Buchanan the reply was that he not only would not be released but would be certainly sentenced. And he was sentenced to 14 years imprisonment at hard labor, but the sentence was suspended by the military court on condition that he leave the country within 24 hours. The trial was held in a movie theatre.

All of the aforementioned items present in brief form what has transpired in less than 1 week's time in Cuba, 90 miles from the coast of the United States, the world leader of democracy, human rights, and the fight against international communism.

It was also made public that two Cuban priests, Father Eduardo Aguirre Garcia and Father Ramón O'Farrill escaped from Cuba to political asylum in the United States. These priests were outspoken partisans of Fidel Castro during the revolution that overthrew ex-President Batista. Now they have had to flee Cuba because, according to declarations made to the U.S. press, the Government of Cuba is completely Communist, under orders from the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. They also reported that Fidel Castro made them the proposition of organizing a national Cuban church, apart from the Vatican, which Catholics would consider sacrilegious.

CASTRO HOLDS OUT PURSE FOR RED GERMANY'S SUBS

"BERLIN.—Fidel Castro is reported to be negotiating with the Communist bloc for submarines as well as military jet aircraft.

"Official East German Communist sources reveal that Castro's purchasing agent, Cuban Air Force Capt. Victor Penza Cardozo, has contacted the East Germans concerning the sale of submarines.

"Indictions are that East Germany, which by now has a large pool of submariners

trained both in East Germany and Russia, is soon to receive a number of U-boats from the Russians. The plan apparently is to turn over several of East Germany's older ones, to the Cubans.

"In Prague, Captain Penze is quoted as telling East German representatives that Castro considers a submarine fleet no less than aircraft as Cuba's 'first line of defense.'

"East German officials in Berlin are gleefully acclaiming the Castro arms mission as the Latin counterpart to the Nasser arms-for-cotton deal with Russia with Castro laying sugar on the line instead of cotton.

"Nasser, too, received submarines from the Communist bloc as part of the barter deal.

"Western intelligence officials are exhibiting considerable apprehension over the East Berlin submarines-to-Castro report. The possession of a U-boat fleet would provide Castro with virtually unlimited opportunity for clandestine mischief-making in the Caribbean.

"These possibilities extend beyond the opportunity which Castro would acquire for landing agents, saboteurs, and even armed forces in the Dominican Republic and other such Castro target areas.

"The introduction of a Cuban submarine fleet into the Caribbean would automatically provide a screen for Soviet submarine operations.

"One of Castro's leading officials, Capt. Nuñez Jimenez, chief of the New Agrarian Reform Institute, said Cuba will now proceed at full speed with the purchase of Communist arms now that Britain has refused them."

We are not surprised since we predicted this event in previous editions of the newsletter. We can report that Russian submarines have been regularly circulating around Cuba. Persons completely in our confidence have written through secret channels that from the Isle of Pines Russian submarines have been seen unloading crates the contents of which are unknown.

It is curious, to say the least, that this serious blow to the security of the United States, that is, the purchase of submarines by the Red regime of Fidel Castro, has had very little publicity in the United States. The American people are still not aware of it.

What May Be Good for the Unions May Not Be Good for Airline Safety

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER M. MUMMA
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1960

Mr. MUMMA. Mr. Speaker, airline safety is very important to every one of us and this year has started off with considerable discussion in light of the unfortunate tragedies that have occurred in that transportation industry.

The editorial from the Patriot of January 26, 1960, that follows, may very well point the finger to what may be a major factor. No wonder General Quesada advises "no special interest group can be permitted to hold the pen that writes the rules."

In view of the record this year, congratulations to Quesada for his efforts to enforce to the letter of the law matters of safety regulations and required pilot qualifications.

The editorial from the Harrisburg, Pa., newspaper follows:

QUESADA AND FAA ON BEAM IN AIR SAFETY CONTROVERSY

The year is less than a month old, yet it already looms as the blackest in history for American aviation if the airline crash-death rate continues.

In the face of this and a 1959 record that marked an alltime high in airline fatalities, the enforcement campaign for air safety being waged by the Federal Aviation Agency is worthy of public support.

The embattled Administrator of FAA, Elwood R. Quesada, is calling a spade a spade and a special interest a special interest in carrying forward his comprehensive program for more air safety.

Efforts of the Air Line Pilots Association, an AFL–CIO union, to paint the FAA as a destructive force are inexcusable. What has happened is simply that pilot qualifications have been stepped up and regulations, too often winked at in the past, are being better enforced.

The record of nearly 4,000 rule violation charges filed by the FAA last year, double the previous year's total, stands as evidence, too, that many airline practices have been whistled down and reforms demanded.

We are inclined to accept Mr. Quesada's appraisal that only a hard-core few in the aviation industry are making all the noise. We know of no more safety-minded group than airline pilots, whose own lives depend on their flying practices, and commercial airlines, whose very existence depends upon public confidence.

In the uproar that always goes up after a spectacular air crash, it is easy for the public to overlook the safety strides the industry has made over the years. Yet this record in itself cannot justify the pressuring of some special interests in aviation to force an easing of regulations applied to them and substitution of their own version of what the rules should be.

Although the air safety rate last year continued to show commercial air travel is four times safer than the highway, the death total still set an alltime record and the rate of fatalities per 100 million passenger-miles also went up. This came at a time of vast change in the crowded sky with more jets being introduced while conventional aircraft continue to fly the airways. At the same time, the number of all kinds of aircraft continues to soar.

Every factor argues for more emphasis on air safety, not an easing up. And Mr. Quesada was 100 percent on the beam when he told the Monroney committee that "no special interest group can be permitted to hold the pen that writes the rules."

It is said about nearly everything that the public's interest must come first. If that is true anywhere, it certainly applies to air safety. Mr. Quesada and the FAA have put first things first. They deserve full public support.

Gift to Japan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MERWIN COAD
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, recently the people of the State of Iowa, through the cooperation of the U.S. Air Force, the Foreign Agricultural Service of the Department of Agriculture and the U.S. Information Agency, presented to the people of Japan a planeload of breeding hogs. I was very proud to take part in the presentation of this gift to the representatives of the Japanese people at Des Moines.

The following letter from the Honorable Herschel C. Loveless, Governor of Iowa, to the Honorable Hisashi Amano, Governor of Yamanashi Prefecture, Kofu, Japan, explains why this gift was made and its significance to the people of America and Japan:

JANUARY 15, 1960.

The Honorable HISASHI AMANO,
Governor of Yamanashi Prefecture, Kofu, Japan.

DEAR GOVERNOR AMANO: When you receive this letter, there will have been transported to Japan the plane load of breeding hogs about which I wrote earlier.

These animals are being presented to your people of the Prefecture of Yamanashi as a modest contribution toward offsetting their August and September typhoon losses and also to help further their trend toward greater domestic livestock production.

This presentation is made on behalf of the citizens of the State of Iowa. It represents the sincere interest of our people in the efforts of your people toward continued agricultural improvement.

I very much regret that I could not arrange to travel to Japan at this time. Since I was unable to make the trip personally, this letter is being hand delivered to you by the Honorable LEONARD G. WOLF, Member in the U.S. House of Representatives from the Second Iowa Congressional District. In addition to fulfilling this function, Representative WOLF also is in your country as a representative of the congressional Committee on Science and Astronautics to discusse satellite tracking facilities with officials of the Japanese National Government.

As my spokesman, Representative WOLF will introduce to you Mr. Roscoe Marsden of Ames, and Mr. Albert Miller of Ogden, two central Iowa farmers whom I have designated as my technical representatives to assist in the introduction of the hogs into Japan. Both of these men have farmed for many years and are livestock producers of long experience. They also are directors of the National Corn Growers' Associaiton, which played a large part in planning the hog shipment.

Messrs. Marsden and Miller have come prepared to remain in Japan as long as 60 days to demonstrate and otherwise to transmit information on hog production methods which have been found satisfactory on Iowa farms and otherwise to help your farmers in every possible way.

It is the hope of our people that this token consignment of breeding hogs will prove one day to have been the nucleus for a substantial expansion in meat animal output, which we understand is one of your agricultural goals. Such a development should help assure your people of that very important ingredient for the peace and happiness of a nation, namely, an adequate food supply of desired variety and protein level.

I have written that this shipment is to be considered as coming with the best wishes of the people of Iowa, but in a larger sense it also is an additional demonstration of the good will toward Japan of all the people of the United States. Responsibility for the introduction of these animals into your country is being shared with several agencies of the Federal Government, namely, the U.S. Air Force, the Foreign Agricultural Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, and the U.S. Information Agency.

To an even greater extent, perhaps, the shipment may be said to represent the American Nation because it is in harmony with the President's "People-to-People" program in which thousands of our citizens and private institutions are participating voluntarily outside Government channels. It was in furtherance of this program for strengthening friendly international relations that correspondence here was opened with your office several years ago and also between civic representatives of our capital city of Des Moines and those of your capital city of Kofu.

In evidence of this desire to extend a helping hand across the sea, I may add that participation in the departure ceremony here at Des Moines included, by special invitation, His Excellency Koichiro Asakai, Ambassador of Japan in Washington, D.C.; Mr. Nobuyuki Nakashima, First Secretary of Embassy; and Mr. Hideo Tokoro, Embassy Agricultural Secretary. Among others from my office greeting Ambassador Asakai was Mr. E. J. McManus, Lieutenant Governor of Iowa.

Also participating in the ceremony were six Members of Congress from Iowa; Mr Mark Bortman, general chairman of the "People-to-People" program; Mr. Marvin McLain, United States Assistant Secretary of Agriculture; Maj. Joseph J. Klonowski, representing the Secretary of the U.S. Air Force and official representatives of the U.S. Information Agency.

With every good wish for the future in the Prefecture of Lamanashi, I am,

Very truly yours,

HERSCHEL C. LOVELESS,
Governor of Iowa.

Save Now—Pay Later

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following timely editorial which appears in the January 28, 1960, edition of the Machinist.

I think the simple question now before the Congress is "When is a surplus a surplus?"

DANGER

Fact: President Eisenhower is asking Congress to approve a budget for the Federal Government next year that calls for $4 billion less in expenditures than the total receipts he expects from tax collections and other sources.

Fact: President Eisenhower's new budget takes a smaller proportion (19 percent) of the national income to finance the Federal Government than in any other year of his administration.

These two facts should explode the argument that the United States can't afford to provide its citizens with necessary and long overdue Government services.

By any logic, the United States can afford the necessities of the times. The present administration just doesn't want to spend the money on taking care of people.

They would rather have a dollar surplus than rebuild our public school system. They would rather have money left over than help the States build needed hospitals or help cities clear the slums or redevelop depression areas or even to maintain the world's strongest defense force.

For big business has been arguing that the only good government is a small, ineffective government—a government that puts dollar values above human values. The propaganda has had it effect. Today millions of Americans believe that a cash surplus will do more for the country than an adequate defense force. As a result, our Federal Government has been seriously weakened and so has our Nation.

We're indebted to Walter Lippmann, the newspaper columnist, for a courageous analysis of the President's proposed budget for 1961. Here's what Lippmann wrote:

"Never before in all history have so many people in any country had so much money to spend privately as they saw fit. This would be an unalloyed delight were it not for the disturbing fact that during these years of private prosperity, the President has been presiding over the loss of American primacy among the great powers of the world."

Back through history, great riches and bulging treasuries have tempted many aggressor nations. For the second strongest military power, a $4 billion surplus could be dangerous.

Gates Takes New View

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK KOWALSKI
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1960

Mr. KOWALSKI. Mr. Speaker, as another instances of the disquiet of the American people over the lag in our missile program, I cite an editorial in the Hartford Times, a distinguished Connecticut newspaper.

In its editions of January 23, the Hartford Times commented editorially on the new administration dictum—that intelligence reports can be based on intentions rather than capabilities.

The editorial is as follows:

GATES TAKES NEW VIEW

The rosy picture of our military power given to Congress by Secretary of Defense Thomas S. Gates, Jr., is an interesting one. As Senator RICHARD B. RUSSELL, the Armed Services Committee chairman, said guardedly, "From the way he presented it, it was encouraging."

It should be understood what Secretary Gates and Gen. Nathan F. Twining, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, have done. As Mr. Gates explained, "Heretofore we have been giving you intelligence figures that dealt with the theoretical Soviet capability. This is the first time that we have had an intelligence estimate that says, "This is what the Soviet Union will do." Therefore the great divergence, based on figures that have been testified in years past, narrows because we talked before about a different set of comparisons."

In other words, instead of talking about the number of missiles Russia has—which has been the worry—Mr. Gates turns to consider what she will do with them. Based on the armament we possess, Mr. Gates doesn't think that the Russians are going to do anything. So from that way of looking at it, we have, as he sees it, "a clear balance in our favor."

That takes care of the likelihood of war in the immediate future and it fits well into the President's policy of a deterrent defense. But it offers no hint that the administration intends more rapidly to overcome present Russian ICBM superiority.

The best which is offered on that score is a statement that "on the basis of our current intelligence estimate we do not now believe that the Soviet superiority in ICBM's will be as great as that previously estimated in 1960–63."

That may be, but it has been our misfortune to downgrade Russian capabilities before. There is no security in such an assumption.

Exemptions in the Fair Labor Standards Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN H. DENT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Subcommittee on Labor Standards, I am privileged to revive arguments both pro and con on the question of extension, increased minimum wage, as well as eliminating certain exemptions.

Knowing that this Congress must do what seems so essential in this year of 1960—namely, take this legislation up for consideration—I am passing on for the enlightment of other Members certain arguments advanced by the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen's Union for elimination of the seafood exemption:

SEAFOOD EXEMPTION IN THE FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT

Some of the Nation's lowest paid and most poverty stricken workers are employed in the seafood processing industry. Wages as low as 60 and 65 cents an hour are not uncommon among these workers.

Not far from Washington, in Norfolk and Hampton, Va., women work on fish for 65 cents an hour. On the gulf coast, wages go even below that amount.

Many of these workers cannot get year-round employment. As a result, their problems become even more serious. In the New Orleans area, annual income among shrimp and crab workers are below $1,000 a year.

Workers in the seafood processing industry are among those who need the protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act the most. Yet they are almost completely exempted.

Only seafood canning is covered by the minimum wage provision (not by the maximum hours provision) of the Fair Labor Standards Act. Yet even this coverage is riddled with administrative exemptions.

Cutthroat competition exists in this industry as a result of regional and area differentials in wages. Pacific Coast seafood processing firms pay nearly double the wages of southern coast firms. Consider these 1954 figures of the Census of Manufactures:

Region	Canned seafood	Cured fish	Packaged seafood
Northeast and North Central	$1.19	$1.45	$1.41
Southern	.94	.90	.89
Pacific coast	1.86	1.69	1.67

These figures are the latest available in the Census of Manufactures. The differential has increased since 1954.

In Gloucester, Mass., a large northeastern seafood processing center, the lowest wage at 18 companies is $1.25 an hour. In Maine, workers processing the same seafood for the same markets labor for 85 cents an hour.

With these wage differentials, companies paying a halfway decent wage often find it impossible to continue in business. In Gloucester, some dozen companies have gone out of business in 10 years—three have run away to lower wage areas.

The Pacific coast companies and the firms in other regions under union contracts have shown that they can pay at least a minimum wage of $1.25 an hour and a 40-hour workweek. Organized firms are paying higher wages and provide fringe benefits. Many managements are afraid only of being put at a competitive disadvantage by companies which trade on low wages and human misery.

Profits in the industry are sufficient to pay a $1.25 minimum wage and overtime rates of pay. Many of the giants of the industry pay worse than substandard wages. According to the testimony presented by Benjamin O. Johnson, president of the Sea-Pak Corp. of Georgia, before the Senate Labor Subcommittee on May 14, 1959, this large company has an average wage of 87 cents an hour. The company's minimum wage is 65 cents an hour.

Since the seafood processing exemption was written into the Fair Labor Standards Act, the industry has undergone great changes. New means of spotting fish by airplane, new machinery, new operating procedures, provide much more regularity and productivity in the industry. If there ever was a justification for this exemption, it has disappeared.

The seafood processing exemption in the Fair Labor Standards Act is morally unjust and economically unjustified. It should be eliminated.

FIRST PROCESSING AND SEASONAL EXEMPTIONS IN THE FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT

One of the least known exemptions in the Fair Labor Standards Act are the two which provide a 28-week period in which no overtime or only limited overtime need be paid to workers who process vegetables, fruits, and some other types of food products. These are often referred to as the seasonal and first processing exemptions.

1. Section 7(b)(3) provides that for a 14-week period, time and one-half overtime payments need be made only for work over 12 hours in 1 day or 56 hours in 1 week in an industry which the Secretary of Labor has classified as seasonal.

2. Section 9(c) provides that for a period of 14 weeks (and this is an additional 14 week period) no overtime payments whatsoever need to be made to employees engaged in:

(a) First processing of or in canning, or packing, perishable or seasonal fresh fruit or vegetables, (b) in handling, slaughtering, or dressing poultry or livestock, (c) or in the first processing within the area of production of any agricultural or horticultural commodity during seasonal operations, (d) in first processing of milk, buttermilk, whey, skimmed milk, or cream, (e) in the ginning and compressing of cotton, or in the processing of cottonseed, (f) in the processing of sugar beets, sugar beet molasses, sugarcane, or maple sap, into sugar.

These exemptions are morally and economically unjustified. Their only effect is to keep down workers' wages. S. 1046 and H.R. 4488 would eliminate them from the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Here is why these exemptions are unnecessary and should be eliminated.

1. Overtime in canning and preserving is actually lower than in other industries which have long been fully covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act. The Department of Labor statistics show the following as the average workweek in canning and preserving during the peak months of 1958: July, 40.7; August, 42.1; September, 42.3; October, 40.2; 1958 as a whole, 39.6.

The meatpacking industry, which is fully covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act, works an average of 43 hours a week during peak months. Many key meat plants work 48-hour schedules in some months with full-time and one-half paid for overtime without difficulty. The payment of time and one-half would certainly cause few problems in the canning and preserving industry, which has lower average workweeks.

2. Several dozens of contracts negotiated by the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen with canning and preserving firms throughout the Nation show that processing plants can well afford to pay time and one-half for all overtime. These contracts forbid the use of exemptions and the firms prosper.

3. No harvest season of any vegetable in any part of the country lasts any more than a fraction of the 28 weeks which the exemptions of the Fair Labor Standards Act provide as a time completely free of overtime or one in which only limited overtime need be paid.

In its booklet, Vegetables for Commercial Processing, the Department of Agriculture lists the most active harvest dates for the 11 vegetables chiefly used for processing in some 350 main-producing areas of the Nation. Two-thirds of these area harvesting periods last 4 weeks or less. Only 13, or 3.8 percent, last more than 8 weeks. Here is a breakdown of these regional harvest periods:

2 weeks or less	71
3 weeks	59
4 weeks	95
6 weeks	79
8 weeks	22
10 weeks	5
12 weeks	3
14 weeks	2
16 weeks	1
18 weeks	2
More weeks	0

In other words, corporations or their organizations attempt to justify these exemptions by claiming they are needed to meet the peak work of harvest time. But the fact is that no harvest period lasts anywhere as long as the exemptions.

4. The 28 weeks of allowable exemptions, for all intents and purposes, provides a complete overtime exemption for the canning, preserving, and processing industries. Twenty-eight weeks are more than a half year—nearly 7 months. Many canning, preserving, and processing plants operate less time than that in a year. Others operate on short workweeks during half or more than a half of the year. The 28 weeks total exemptions, therefore, becomes a dodge for avoiding, in practice, the maximum hours provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act in these industries.

5. Processing companies are hardly small firms. Much machinery and, therefore, much capital, is needed for this work. Automation is now coming in. In this industry are giant firms, such as General Foods; H. J. Heinz; Libby, McNeill & Libby; Campbell Soup, etc. The net profits of these firms run into the multimillions and the tens of multimillions. They can well afford to pay full time and one-half for all overtime.

6. Income of workers in the canning and preserving industry not only is below that of workers in manufacturing, in general, but these wages are falling farther and farther behind. In 1958, average hourly earnings for canning and preserving workers were $1.67, as compared with the $2.13 average for all manufacturing workers. They were 46 cents below the average in 1958, as compared with 41 cents in 1956, 35 cents in 1952, 27.4 cents in 1950, and 17.6 cents in 1957.

Further, the wages of these workers have not increased as productivity in the industry has risen. From 1947 to 1958, productivity increased 65.3 percent, but wages increased only 60.2 percent. These workers, therefore, not only need to have the extra income that will come to them from full FLSA coverage, they also deserve it.

7. Eliminating the overtime exemptions will not hurt any firm, as long as each one has to meet the same requirements. Enlightened managements in these industries currently find that the exemptions are a harmful competitive factor since the exemptions, especially 7(c), benefit some firms while not others. If all firms have to pay full overtime, such as all meatpackers do, for example, it will be no burden to any individual firm.

Nor will the cost have to be borne by either the farmer or the consumer. The increase in productivity in this industry has been very large, an average of 6 percent a year. These productivity rises can more than cover the very slight increase in cost which will come with the elimination of overtime exemptions.

In short, processing firms can well afford to pay time and one-half for all overtime. The workers in these industries need and deserve such payments. The cost of overtime can well be borne by companies out of the profits which come from productivity increases. Harvest seasons certainly do not justify the existence of these exemptions, since they are only a fraction of the length of the exemptions. Further, the canning and preserving firms average little overtime, except during short peak seasons. Other fully covered industries actually have longer periods of overtime worked.

Therefore, all evidence points to the justice of removing the exemptions of sections 7(b)(3) and 7(c) from the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Democratic Spending Policies Sound

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, in a recent news column, our colleague, DON MAGNUSON, of Washington, took issue with the contention by some that the Democrats are out to spend President Eisenhower's predicted $4.2 billion surplus at the end of fiscal 1961. On the contrary, as the column points out, there is serious doubt there will be a surplus of anywhere near the expected amount.

MAGNUSON, a member of the Appropriations Committee, and three of its subcommittees, is certainly in a position to know what he is talking about. I concur with him that the Democratic spending policies will remain sound, based on the country's needs.

The column follows:

DEMOCRATIC SPENDING POLICIES SOUND

(By DON MAGNUSON, U.S. Congressman, Seventh District)

WASHINGTON.—As a Democrat in Congress, it is most aggravating to see and hear the constant assumption that President Eisenhower's prediction of a $4,200 million sur-

plus at the end of fiscal 1961 will result in increased spending by the Democratic Congress.

I have seen it stated repeatedly in the Nation's press that "the Democrats have their eyes on that $4.2 billion melon"; "the Democrats are planning to seize upon the projected surplus as an excuse for increased spending," etc.

I know of no Democrat—in the leadership or in the ranks—who has given the slightest hint that the President's rosy prophecy will have any effect whatsoever on Democratic spending policies.

Yet, one sees in print almost daily the implication—if not the outright statement—that this is true, as if it were declared policy of our party.

In the first place, I also know of no Democrat who does not take the prediction of the big surplus with a large grain of salt. I know I do.

The President's hope for a surplus of $4,200 million is predicated on an enormous increase in revenues—an estimated $84 billion in fiscal 1961 as against an estimated $78,600 million in fiscal 1960, which will end June 30. It seems to me this is pretty risky figuring, based more on wishful thinking than on reliable indexes.

In the meantime, of course, it makes fine campaign fodder.

Let's look at the record of the Eisenhower administration, fiscally speaking, since the famous general campaigned his way into the White House on a platform of economy and reduction of the national debt. When he became President, the national debt was $266 billion. Next June 30, it is estimated, it will be $284,500 million.

The curve of the national debt throughout Eisenhower's 7 years has been constantly upward. There is nothing to lead me to believe that that trend will be reversed in his last year in office. So much for the "surplus."

Democratic spending policies are based upon our estimates of national needs, from military to human. For my part, the President's looking through rose-colored glasses will not affect my votes on money measures one iota, and I know I speak for the party's leadership in Congress and the party as a whole.

Hon. Richard M. Simpson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. BYRNES
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1960

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a resolution adopted by the Wisconsin Federation of Young Republicans in tribute to our late colleague, the Honorable Richard M. Simpson, whose tragic passing we all mourn:

Whereas the Wisconsin Federation of Young Republicans has recently lost a firm and loyal friend in the tragic and untimely death of Congressman Richard Simpson of Pennsylvania; and

Whereas the Republican Party has lost one of its clearest-voiced spokesmen and the entire country has lost one of its firmest defenders: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Wisconsin Federation of Young Republicans extend its most sincere sympathy to the family, friends, colleagues, and constituents of Congressman Simpson.

Criticizing Nixon Not Enough

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1960

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I would like to include the following editorial from the Washington Evening Star of January 26, 1960:

CRITICIZING NIXON NOT ENOUGH

(By Gould Lincoln)

Finding a man to defeat Vice President RICHARD M. NIXON in the presidential election next November is today the Democrats' No. 1 task. It is a task that the party leaders, during their Washington weekend just concluded and in their confidential moments, discussed with serious concern. This does not mean they believe the task is hopeless by any means. It means, however, that these Democrats have passed the stage when they believe that any Democratic nominee for the Presidency could defeat the Vice President.

While they pondered this problem, they listened to the Democratic hopefuls Saturday night—seven of them—open a rapid-fire attack on Mr. NIXON during their big fundraising dinner here. These aspirants were able to agree at least on one thing—they all want to tear down the Vice President. Their efforts at the dinner, however, did not develop anything new.

The speakers dealt in vituperation and personalities. That kind of thing is an old story to the American people. It has been going on for 7 years. With the increase in Mr. NIXON'S stature as a public servant, which even his critics will find it difficult to deny, this line of attack sounds particularly futile. The Democrats face today a tough political situation. The country is prosperous, and so are most of the people. The country is at peace, and there are hopes that even the so-called cold war may thaw a bit as a result of President Eisenhower's leadership. Mr. NIXON benefits greatly from this situation.

DISCUSSES OTHER CANDIDATES

So some of the shrewdest Democratic leaders did not pay much attention to the wisecracks of their potential nominees directed at Mr. NIXON. What they discussed in their private conferences were the vote-getting powers of the individual candidates for the presidential nomination. As one canny and experienced leader put it: "The Democratic Party is the majority party in the Nation today. However, some of the so-called front runners for our presidential nomination may lose important groups of voters if they are nominated. I discount talk of giving Adlai Stevenson a third presidential nomination. I believe he is not, indeed, a willing candidate for a draft. Further, the movement now undertaken by a rather amateurish group to draft Mr. Stevenson is not likely to upset the minds of the politicians in the party's national convention who believe that Stevenson's two defeats make him unavailable. A Stevenson nomination, while it is possible, I consider entirely improbable."

Going further, this leader said it was clear that Senator KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, while he might have the support of all the Catholics in the Democratic Party and others who are not Democrats, might lose the votes of many other Democrats and independents. He added that Senator KENNEDY'S youthful appearance may militate against him. As for Senator LYNDON JOHNSON of Texas, now credited with having strong support both in the South and in parts of the West and North, this same party leader said: "I recognize Senator JOHNSON'S undoubted ability. However, I am afraid he would not be able to get the votes needed to win in many of the big cities and States—votes we must have."

Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY, of Minnesota, this leader said, was regarded as too radical, too much to the left, by many people. He obviously was thinking of the solid South, particularly, as well as of some of the more conservative Democrats in other parts of the country.

Coming to Senator STUART SYMINGTON, of Missouri, this leader spoke particularly of his voting record in Congress, which he said should be regarded with favor by the farmers—some of whom would not go for Senator KENNEDY—by workingmen, and by champions of civil rights. "SYMINGTON is no stemwinder as a speaker," he continued, "but he would be less likely to lose the votes of large numbers of Democrats than are others who are pushing for the presidential nomination."

PARTY COOPERATION VITAL

Much will depend upon the ability of the Democratic Party to stick together in firm support of its presidential nominee after the bitter fights in prospect during the preconvention campaign and during the convention itself. Former President Harry S. Truman took occasion to appeal to all Democrats, including the candidates, to get solidly behind the nominee of the national convention next July.

Senator KENNEDY is cleverly making friends in other parts of the country. It still remains to be seen what he can do in New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey and in many States of the West and Midwest. If Senator KENNEDY is able to kill off Senator HUMPHREY in Wisconsin, he and Senator JOHNSON likely will go to the convention with blocs of delegates more than 400 in number. A SYMINGTON nomination will depend very much on whether these two contenders, Senators KENNEDY and JOHNSON, are unable to obtain a majority of the votes of the convention.

If Senator KENNEDY cleans up in the presidential primaries which he is entering, it will be difficult for the Democratic National Convention to turn him down. Indeed, such a turndown might be fatal to Democratic hopes of electing a President.

Today's Education Needs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 27, 1960

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, we will soon be considering proposed legislation which will profoundly affect the education and the welfare of our schoolchildren.

James Carey, president of the International Union of Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers, AFL–CIO, has written an article which sets forth some of the basic considerations we should keep in mind when this legislation comes up for action. He also discusses the interest of the labor movement in enlarging

the educational opportunities for America's young people.

This article makes it clear that trade-union members support our system of education not just for the welfare of themselves and their children, but for the welfare of all Americans.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Carey's article from the I.U.D. Digest of last spring be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TODAY'S EDUCATION NEEDS

(By James B. Carey, president, International Union of Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers, AFL–CIO)

Few people today realize that during organized labor's earliest days—the 1820's and 1830's—its major goal was not higher pay, shorter hours, and better working conditions, but the attainment of free education.

In 1829, the newly formed Workingmen's Party platform declared as its chief objective: "We seek a system that shall unite under the same roof the children of the poor man and the rich, the widow's charge and the orphan, where the road to distinction shall be superior industry, virtue, and acquirement without reference to descent."

The reason for labor's interest in education was simple. Educational opportunity was badly needed. Except for some parts of New England where a few tax-supported schools existed, the Nation had virtually no provisions for the education of workers' children.

Where did the employers stand on this issue? As might be expected, they were almost vitriolic in this opposition to free education. Employers, big and small, used child labor as a means of keeping down costs and free education would have eliminated this cutrate workforce. As one business publication of the day solemnly proclaimed: "Universal, equal education is impossible, if trade, manufacturing and manual labor are to be successfully prosecuted—unless the standards of education be greatly lowered and narrowed."

Despite the opposition to free education by the selfish exploiters of child labor, tax-supported school systems began to appear—starting with Penfisylvania in 1834—in State after State.

By the 1860's free public education had arrived. Unfortunately, attendance was still optional. Once again, organized labor led the fight for compulsory schooling. Once again, too, business was in the opposition with its self-interest in maintaining what it could of the child-labor force.

As late as 1912, the labor movement charged that "of the 25 million children of school age in the United States, 50 percent leave school at the end of the sixth grade, at approximately 14 years of age." And in 1920, it is a matter of record that this country's unions were fighting for academic freedom as well as for compulsory school attendance up to the age of 16.

Since 1920, our unions have continued their campaigns for more and better schools, for more and better trained teachers, adequate financing of school systems, free textbooks, and more State and municipal colleges.

Through the years, we of organized labor have shown our deep sense of responsibility for the scholastic opportunity and well-being of our children.

Today, as much as ever, we are determined to have our voice heard, and our objectives fulfilled. Basically, we are concerned with six specific educational problems that we believe must be solved if we are to overcome our present crisis.

The need for more and better schools.

The need for more teachers, better trained teachers, and better paid teachers.

The swift and complete abolition of segregated educational facilities.

A rethinking of curriculums to meet the new challenges of the space age and the atomic era.

Improved health safeguards for students, expanded medical protection, and enlarged benefits under the milk and lunch programs.

The need for public understanding that our education problem can be solved only by a combination of Federal, State, and local action.

America's educational crisis must be placed in proper perspective. The present crisis cannot be separated from our Nation's heavy defense expenditures, nor can it be separated from the nearly 5 million workers now jobless and the millions more employed on short workweeks. This educational deficiency is also directly related to the the country's tax structure and to the constantly increasing cost of living.

Organized labor has definite educational goals within the specific areas mentioned above. It looks upon these goals as minimums—all badly needed—if this crisis is to be overcome.

We believe, and our belief is shared by a number of educational authorities, that in the realm of school construction, we need a minimum of 132,000 new classrooms this year and at least 400,000 in the next 5 years.

Some 2.5 million children now attend school for only half-day sessions. New schools in our growing suburbs often have overcrowded classrooms from the day they open their doors. Some youngsters suffering the effects of part-time schooling have coined the phrase "drop-day" to describe their abbreviated study week.

ADEQUATE PROGRAM

In the face of these needs, the proposals for school construction aid made by the administration are worse than inadequate. Stripped of its glowing generalities, the administration's program would provide little more than loans to localities to help pay some part of the annual interest and amortization costs of school construction bond issues.

The administration does not propose to spend 1 red cent for school construction aid this year. Even, Health, Education, and Welfare Secretary Arthur Flemming has admitted that such minimal aid as is proposed by the President would not start until fiscal 1961.

If the classroom problem is dismaying, the teacher problem is appalling. It is appalling in numbers, in qualifications, and in salaries.

HEW Secretary Flemming has estimated that this year we need 135,000 qualified teachers. Organized labor thinks he is conservative. We are convinced that the figure should be closer to 150,000 and that 1.5 million new teachers will be needed in the next 10 years.

Needless to say, we are greatly disturbed by statistics indicating that some 300,000 of today's teachers do not meet minimum certification requirements.

DISGRACEFUL SALARIES

The root of the problem is the disgracefully low level of teacher salaries. The average teacher earns about $4,520 a year, with a range of from $5,925 in California to $2,225 in Mississippi. One out of every four teachers in America is paid less than $3,500 annually.

I would point out that these rates show an average annual pay lower than the average for all American factory workers. The average teacher's annual salary is some $3,000 less than the pay of the average professional worker.

In view of these facts, it is easy to understand why so many teachers must work at second jobs, find employment during vacation time, and count on their wives or husbands to earn additional needed income.

Teachers' pay scales being what they are, there is little wonder that our educational system is not attracting enough outstanding people. The starting pay offered to teachers, when compared with the starting pay offered by business and industry, discourages thousands of potential teachers.

The labor movement believes teacher salaries must be significantly improved. We have waited too long to consider only 10 and 15 percent pay increases. HEW Secretary Flemming has said that he believes in doubling present salaries. We are in full agreement. Unless action is taken now, teacher salaries will have to be tripled in a very few years—and then it might be too late.

Labor's stand on the elimination of all school segregation is—I am sure—too well known to need repetition. I would point out, however, that, as in their efforts to obtain free education, unions also spoke out vigorously in favor of complete integration well before the Supreme Court's historic decision.

Regarding the need for a reevaluation of curriculums, the labor movement knows there must be more vocational and technical training, as well as a major revamping of science teaching in both elementary and secondary schools. If we are to meet the challenge of the space age and the atomic era, this new emphasis—coupled with a vastly expanded scholarship program—is absolutely necessary.

Nevertheless, the teaching of the humanities cannot be neglected. In the final analysis, the fine arts and the liberal arts—together with the spiritual values of our Judeo-Christian tradition—constitute the true core of our civilization. If we sacrifice these teachings in the name of science, the brave new world we seek will be devoid of richness and empty of intellectual, esthetic, and spiritual discovery.

Just as we concern ourselves with the mental development of our children, the labor movement also demands healthful physical growth.

We object strongly to tying price tags on immunization shots. We are opposed to school or municipal arrangements where only the children of the well to do receive inoculation against polio, influenza, and other diseases. Free health services of this nature are in order for all the children and labor intends to fight to see that they are forthcoming.

For similar reasons, the labor movement is vitally concerned with the nutrition of our schoolchildren. Our country now has about 138,000 primary and secondary public schools, but only a little more than half participate in a school milk program, while less than half participate in any school lunch program.

With countless thousands of parents, we want to see both the school lunch and school milk programs made available to every schoolchild in America. Looking to the future, I am sure that the labor movement would support the idea of free vitamin pills for schoolchildren whose vitamin deficiencies have been detected.

These are specific steps that must be taken before the educational crisis can be overcome. But words alone will not answer the problem. Organized labor believes that action is urgently needed and is seeking to implement a program designed to meet today's requirements.

Aside from legislative activity, trade unionists traditionally have not been welcome in the educational field. In the past, the few labor officials who attempted to participate in community and State school problems were almost always opposed by

the ultraconservative and status-quo minded leaders of these same communities.

Happily, this picture is changing. Just as labor has been recognized as an essential part of community chest and united fund campaigns, so it is now being asked to participate in school affairs. A generation ago—even 20 years ago—a representative of organized labor on a school board was almost unheard of. Today, hundreds of union members—elected or appointed—are on the school boards of big cities, small cities, and towns.

I have no doubt that in an overwhelming majority of cases, the inclusion of these union members has strengthened and revitalized these school boards. Labor representatives, generally, have brought with them fresh, vigorous viewpoints with the militancy to set and achieve challenging new goals.

LABOR'S ROLE

I am partisan, of course, but I strongly believe that organized labor—to one extent or another—can help find the solution to every problem that public education faces today. I am convinced, in fact, that labor can contribute more to the solution of some of these problems than any other section or group in our society.

First of all, we of the labor movement can throw the strongest possible support behind legislative proposals—at the Federal, State, and city levels—to provide the funds for more schools, more teachers, and higher teacher pay. Additionally, we are helping political candidates sympathetic to these educational objectives by providing them with moral, organizational, and financial aid.

We can help communities and school boards raise funds for new school construction and current operating expenses. We must insist upon the revision of the present antiquated tax structure under which nearly 80 percent of all school revenue comes from property taxes.

In a similar fashion, we can help in the raising of necessary funds by actively supporting school bond issues or equitable new local taxes.

For the purpose of launching school improvement programs, the labor movement can use its influence to combine into one, overall, coordinating group such organizations as the parent-teacher associations, civic leagues, private welfare agencies, fraternal societies, religious bodies, citizens' associations, and neighborhood groups.

Unions can also play an important role in helping the teachers. Higher professional teaching standards can be supported, teachers can be protected from investigative hysteria, witch-hunts, and unneeded and stupid loyalty oaths.

The labor movement also has a responsibility to encourage and aid teachers in the formation of their own unions and in the securing of improved teacher-retirement programs and health insurance plans.

There are other areas where organized labor can be of assistance. We can help local school boards combat false "economy" programs and ruinous penny-pinching policies promoted by the big industry associations. We can champion the cause of full academic freedom and democratic rights within the school system. We can enlarge and diversify our own growing scholarship programs. We can lead community efforts to establish specialized educational programs for both gifted and retarded children, and—of course—we can fully back our other already-mentioned educational objectives.

While organized labor believes that it can make an important contribution toward attaining these objectives, it is not so naive as to think that it can do this job alone. The unions of the AFL–CIO realize that labor is but one part of the community that must stand up and be counted if our Nation's present educational crisis is to be overcome.

Unfortunately, the present administration has steadfastly refused to provide leadership for a program designed to improve the Nation's faltering educational facilities.

Despite the 1958 elections and their seemingly clear mandate for meeting the needs of the people, the present administration continues to sacrifice education to the fetish for a balanced budget.

SAD RECORD

In 1956 and 1957, the White House gave at least lip service to certain pending school construction bills, although even these inadequate proposals were smothered in the House when the President refused to lift a finger to secure their passage.

Today, while the administration is once again mouthing school construction needs, its remedy is almost meaningless. We know from sad experience that it is one thing for the President to suggest a legislative proposal in public statements and quite another for him to fight for his own programs.

The President's present school construction program is a perfect example of this political two-timing. One day after the administration outlined its school aid program, the President told a press conference: "We recognize the national need for better education, but also I am firmly committed to the idea that the primary and basic responsibility in these matters rests with the communities and the States. And the only thing that I think the Federal Government should do is to try to inspire or help them on the basis of need, and where need can be proved."

Largely because of administration opposition, not one scrap of school construction legislation has been enacted by Congress during the past 4 years. We of the labor movement are angry about this disregard for the educational need of America's children and we intend to translate our anger into action.

MURRAY-METCALF SUPPORT

Organized labor has already given its strongest possible endorsement to the Murray-Metcalf bill. This measure would appropriate $1.1 billion the first year and would reach $4.7 billion annually after 3 years for new school construction and teachers' salaries. We have pointed out that the $1.1 billion requested for the first year is no more than the cost of just 10 days of fighting the cold war as measured by current defense appropriations.

Nor are we alone in our endorsement of the Murray-Metcalf bill. It also has the full support of the National Education Association and most other major teacher organizations.

The White House has already indicated its opposition to this measure and the daily press has prophesied that the Presidential veto will be used if the bill is passed. Unfortunately, the Democratic leadership in Congress has not, at this writing, included the measure as a part of its "must" legislation.

Confronted with this antagonism on the one hand and a lack of enthusiasm on the other, organized labor and its friends must prepare to fight hard if they are to take our children out of the corridors and boiler rooms, out of half-day sessions, and out of frightening firetraps.

We are going to have to campaign strongly and loudly for this legislation and we are going to have to talk cold turkey with the Members of Congress. We are going to have to tell our Representatives and Senators bluntly that when they come up for reelection, labor will remember what action they took, or failed to take, on school construction and teachers' salaries.

I have listed several ways that labor must help if we are to be successful in this battle for adequate education. I say that the time to start this action is now—and I mean immediately.

The Need Is To Strengthen, Not Weaken, the Food, Drug, and Cosmetics Act—Testimony on Proposed Color Additives Legislation

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 27, 1960

Mrs. SULLIVAN. The House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce is at present engaged in important hearings on legislation which passed the Senate in the closing hours of the last session dealing with the use of coal tar and other coloring matter in food and cosmetics. The legislation is primarily intended to aid industries in these fields to continue to use dyes which cannot any longer pass Food and Drug Administration tests for harmlessness.

In my testimony before the committee this morning, I urged a go-slow policy by the committee, pointing out, first of all, that the proposed legislation provides virtually no added protections for the consumers and would, as it passed the Senate, actually weaken the consumer protections of the Food, Drug, and Cosmetics Act; and, second, that if any legislation is passed to aid industry and to clear up legal confusions in the use of dyes, that it be only as part of an overall tightening and improvement of the entire Food, Drug, and Cosmetics Act. I particularly urged that several loopholes not related to color additives in the 1938 and 1958 acts be closed, and that we now enact as part of the Food, Drug, and Cosmetics Act the same pretesting requirements on ingredients used in cosmetics as we now require for additives used in food processing.

My testimony this morning was as follows:

THE NEED IS TO STRENGTHEN, NOT WEAKEN, THE FOOD, DRUG, AND COSMETIC ACT

(Testimony of Congresswoman LEONOR K. SULLIVAN, of Missouri, before House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, on proposed color additives legislation, Wednesday, January 27, 1960)

The tremendous turnout you had here yesterday morning when Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Arthur S. Flemming testified on the color additives issue indicated clearly the widespread interest in the subject matter of these hearings. I doubt if you ever tried to squeeze more spectators into your hearing room. Obviously, this legislation is serious to many groups in our society—to the food and chemical and cosmetics industries, and to the general public—particularly the housewife.

My purpose in appearing before you this morning is to urge you to please take your

time on this legislation. I am not going to suggest that you sit on the bills and do nothing about them, but I sincerely urge that you make haste slowly—that you study this matter as carefully as any issue ever to come before the committee, for you are dealing with the health of the American people in the most direct manner possible.

CIRCUMSTANCES OF SENATE ACTION

I make such a point of urging caution because I know you are under strong pressures to act quickly on color additives legislation. We all know that late in the session last year, without any hearings at all and under procedures which seemed to indicate it was a very minor and routine bill, the Senate, by unanimous voice vote, passed a most far-reaching bill on color additives. We know it is a defective bill in a most serious respect. Yet it came out of committee, as I said, without hearings, and was called up under a routine call of the calendar for passage by unanimous consent, with no full explanation and with virtually no debate or even discussion. The only thing we find in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the debate which occurred was a colloquy over the effects of S. 2197 on the right of Florida citrus growers to use a not-quite-harmless coal tar color in coloring Florida oranges. When the Senator from Florida was assured that S. 2197 would not interfere with the use of Citrus Red No. 2 on Florida oranges, the bill passed automatically.

Some of the members of the committee will recall that immediately after the Senate acted on this matter last August, I contacted them to urge that there be no such precipitate action in the House. I appreciate the fact that no attempt was made to jam through a bill in the frantic closing hours of the last session. I appreciate the fact that full hearings are now scheduled into the color additives issue.

DELANEY ANTICANCER CLAUSE A MINIMUM REQUIREMENT

I don't want my testimony to imply anything improper on the part of anyone in the Senate—I just think that in the closing rush of last August this bill could not possibly have received the close attention it deserved. Nevertheless, the circumstances of the Senate's action were such that I find it very hard to feel right about this legislation, even if we close up its most glaring loophole by inserting the same kind of anticancer provision which Congressman DELANEY wrote into the food additives bill in 1958. I cannot understand why the bill as it came from the Senate did not include such a clause. Without it, I think this legislation would be far worse than present law covering the use of coal tar colors. Furthermore, by taking out from under the Food Additives Act of 1958 dyes made from other than coal tar bases, it would increase the danger of carcinogens in our diets, unless, of course, the provisions of the Delaney amendment are written into this bill as a minimum requirement.

Obviously, then, despite its impressive title as a bill to protect the public health, S. 2197 as it passed the Senate would weaken the protections of the Food, Drug, and Cosmetics Act. And this is certainly no time in our history to be weakening the consumer protections of our laws. On the contrary, our laws to protect the consumer need strengthening, and this is particularly true of the Food, Drug, and Cosmetics Act. We have put a number of patches on it in recent years, but it is far from being as strong as it should be.

HOW WOULD CONSUMERS BENEFIT?

Clearly, some of the shortcomings of the present act do exist in this area of coal tar colors. But I am not convinced the deficiencies are as serious to the consumer as they seem to be to many of the industries affected.

The present law says in effect that no coal tar color can be used in or on food or cosmetics unless it is deemed harmless. This law grew out of the conviction of scientists that coal tar colors are inherently risky and should be circumscribed in use to such an extent that if there is any question at all about their safety they should not be used in or on food, or in other substances which may be ingested. In recent years, new testing methods have shown that some of the coal tar colors previously thought to be harmless are not in fact completely harmless although they may be, and probably are, safe in the manner normally used in commercial products. Nevertheless, because these colors cannot pass the test any longer of being harmless under all circumstances, the law states they cannot be used—they must be withdrawn. As a result some of the yellows used in coloring margarine and butter, some of the reds—most of the reds, I believe—in lipsticks, and various other familiar colors used in foodstuffs are in the process of being delisted—of being prohibited for use on products which people eat (or, in the case of lipsticks, swallow).

Mr. Chairman, I am not quite sure I see how the consumer is being damaged by the removal of these colors. Nor do I see why the consumer would benefit from the changes suggested in this legislation. I can readily see why many industries want legislation enacted which would set up entirely new criteria for approving the use of coloring matter, including the setting of tolerances for the use in or on food of apparently harmless quantities of dyes which may not be harmless in greater quantities. But I do not yet see how the consumer interest would benefit from this color additives legislation.

CAN WE BE CERTAIN THAT SAFE LEVELS ARE REALLY SAFE?

True, the proposed legislation would place on the manufacturer, not the Government, the burden of proof for establishing the safe levels of coal tar colors. But as our whole experience with the coal tar colors shows, today's proof of safety may be inadequate in terms of tomorrow's testing methods. Do we then go to the consumer and say, "Sorry, we made a slight mistake; a coal tar color we knew was not completely harmless but which we thought was safe to use in certain concentrations has now turned out to be unsafe and dangerous, and if you've been eating it in your food we're very sorry about it?"

Mr. Chairman, just how important is it to have these artificial colors in foodstuffs if there is any danger whatsoever to the consumer through their use? True, the margarine manufacturers want their product to look like butter; the butter producers want their butter to look like yellow butter regardless of its natural color; the Florida citrus growers want their greenish-looking oranges to be orange in color, and the manufacturers of all sorts of products—sausage casings, cakes, cookies, pies, bread, processed cheese, spreads, canned and frozen vegetables, confectionary, ice cream, gelatin desserts, puddings, and so on—all want to dazzle us with the looks of their products even if they have to create the look artificially with coal tar colors which cannot any longer pass the test of being harmless.

Now we are told that the consumer wants and demands these attractively colored foods and therefore it is an economic necessity for industry to provide them.

CONSUMERS ASSUME DYES ARE SAFE

I do not doubt that a housewife buying oranges will generally select the product which looks more natural by reason of having been dyed to look that way rather than the greenish one next to it which appears to be unripe; I do not doubt that in selecting a lipstick she will want the color which, to her, best matches her complexion and outfit; I do not argue that in buying processed foods, she is attracted by the appearance of the product.

But the point is that the consumer, in buying these brightly colored or natural-looking colored items in the store, believes—takes it for granted—that the coloring dyes used are safe, and that otherwise their use would not be permitted by the Federal Government.

What this proposed legislation would do is to say the coloring matter frequently used may not be entirely safe under all circumstances, but we believe and trust and hope and have reason to think it is safe in the amount used and in the manner used. And so the housewife will then continue to be able to buy margarine which looks like butter, and butter which, because of a deeper yellow shade, looks more like butter, and so on, even if the looks are artificially contrived through use of not-quite-harmless dyes.

Under S. 2197 as it passed the Senate, these dyes could even be cancer-inducing, yet could be used if the manufacturer could establish that the cancer manifested itself only at substantially higher levels of concentration.

CANCER-INDUCTION IS CUMULATIVE PROCESS

This, of course, does not jibe with the findings of outstanding cancer experts that cancer-induction is a cumulative process which begins with the first dose of the cancer-inducing agent. Secretary Flemming referred to this matter at some length in his prepared testimony yesterday and in a technical report he also submitted, so I need not go into it in any detail. Many of you—perhaps all of you— saw the letter I obtained on this matter last year from Dr. Harold F. Blum of the National Cancer Institute and which I placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of August 27 at pages A7482–3 in direct reference to the bill which had just passed the Senate and which is now before you. But in view of Secretary Flemming's technical report from the NIH, I think we can now take for granted the fact that carcinogens must not be allowed in food or in anything ingested. Present law already prohibits this as far as all food colors are concerned—the coal tar colors under the basic Food and Drug Act of 1938 and the other colors under the Food Additives Act of 1958.

So, again, I ask how does this legislation help the food consumer?

We are told that the job of analyzing and retesting all of the coal tar colors already in use or authorized for use to see if they are still harmless would take the Food and Drug Administration at present levels of operations at least 20 years. This legislation would throw that burden onto the manufacturers and they would have to complete the task in 2½ years. Frankly, I think what would happen is that at the end of 2½ years we would either be flooded with anguished demands for an extention of time, or many of the dyes would then go off the market because the cost of proving their safety was too high. I for one would be willing to give the Food and Drug Administration the funds to do this testing itself—under the present law.

BROADEN SCOPE OF HEARINGS

I realize, Mr. Chairman, that I am not helping the committee very much if all I do in testifying here is to say "take it easy." I know you have a problem to contend with and many pressures upon the committee to act quickly. Therefore, I think it would be constructive to make this suggestion.

Broaden your hearings and your studies to include not just this one question of coal tar colors and other color additives but to include all of the aspects of the Food, Drug and Cosmetics Act. It is time for that kind of look at the overall picture. In the past 6 months or so we have had one explosion after another over phases of the law and

its operation—cranberries, stilbestrol in chickens, the lipstick crisis, the food additive clearances, and so on. I think tremendous progress has been made in alerting the general public to some of the issues involved in food, drug, and cosmetics legislation, and that this is an excellent time to take a good, hard look at the basic law and its patchwork amendments and to undertake a tightening of many of their provisions. This would, of course, carry some dangers with it—the danger perhaps that groups which have suffered economically from operation of some of the consumer-protections of the law would attempt to use such hearings and any new legislation as a means for weakening rather than strengthening the law. But I don't think they could succeed—certainly not if all of us who are deeply concerned about this problem are willing to fight off the pressures to weaken the law.

And the end result could well be a general strengthening of the law—so that the Government, for instance, would no longer have to rely on voluntary agreement in the poultry industry to take stilbestrol out of poultry feed; so that, for instance, cosmetics which are now in the twilight zone of Governmental protection can be put under the same stringent tests for safety as our food additives must now pass; so that other loopholes in the law may also be closed.

WE NEED PRETESTING OF COSMETICS

I think color additives legislation in the context of that kind of approach would be far better legislation than either of the bills now before you. For such an omnibus approach would permit you to eliminate the loopholes in the 1938 law under the new drug sanction and the similar loophole in the 1958 amendments which requires FDA to prove the harmfulness of any additive which had previously been sanctioned for use by a governmental agency. Secretary Flemming in his testimony referred to the stilbestrol problem and the unfairness, as well as the danger to the public, of these so-called "grandfather's clauses" covering chemicals once approved and thereafter protected against delisting until the Government can definitely prove their harmfulness.

In the field of cosmetics, the law is hopelessly obsolete. The Government at present cannot move against a suspect cosmetics item until it has proof of the product's harmfulness. My bill, H.R. 1360, and a similar bill by Congressman DELANEY, would provide the same consumer safeguards on ingredients in cosmetics that the food additives amendments of 1958 provided in connection with the use of chemicals in food. These cosmetics bills have been pending before you for some years, without any action or even hearings. I think this is the year and this is the time—in connection with the color additives bills—to take up this closely related subject of safe cosmetics.

The color additives bill makes it imperative that we do so. For the color additives bill would not only change the basis under which coal-tar colors could be used in cosmetics. It would also establish, for the first time, a basis for clearing in advance the safety of non-coal-tar colors used in cosmetics. That would be helpful. But what of all of the other ingredients in cosmetics? If we are going to require manufacturers to prove the safety of their non-coal-tar color additives in cosmetics, why not in the same legislation and at the same time and under the same standards require the manufacturer to establish the safety of all ingredients in his cosmetics product?

At present, as you know, enough women must be harmed by a new cosmetic item to alert the Food and Drug Administration into looking into the matter; then the FDA must prove the product harmful in order to remove it from the market. I receive letters from women from all over the country complaining about various cosmetics they have used—shampoos or wave set products they claim have caused them to lose their hair, polishes which set up allergic reactions, lotions and creams and powders and lipsticks and deodorants and whatnot which caused embarrassment, discomfort, or pain. I usually pass these complaints along to FDA and sometimes they find the product involved warrants a fullscale investigation and other times they will report merely that the reaction was probably a rare allergic one.

WOMEN WANT SAFE LIPSTICKS

But if a woman is allergic, the label on a cosmetics item tells her nothing. She has to learn the hard—and painful—way.

Speaking as a woman as well as in my capacity as a Member of Congress, I urge you, Mr. Chairman, to go slow on this color additives bill and to enlarge the scope of your hearings to include all issues involved at present in the Food, Drug, and Cosmetics Act. As a woman, I am aware of the fact that some of our favorite lipstick shades may soon be off the market unless this color additives bill is passed quickly. But I am not convinced we would be doing the women of this country any favor at all to assure them the continued availability of lipstick shades which are not safe to use. True, it is claimed we don't swallow our lipstick. But I think the people who make that claim don't use the stuff themselves.

We like the bright and light shades but if they cannot safely be produced, then we prefer to do without these particular shades. In any event, I am sure the cosmetics industry is resourceful enough—it is an extremely resourceful industry—often too much so—but I am sure it is resourceful enough to find substitute colors if it has to. And I think every woman would agree that rather than use unsafe coloring matter, we would be quite happy to settle for a darker shade if necessary, just so long as we could be completely assured it was safe.

I don't think, under this proposed legislation, that any such flat and unequivocal guarantee of safety could be made about any coal-tar color for which a tolerance had to be set. I will not and cannot argue with the scientists on that, but it is my personal opinion—if a coal-tar color is unsafe in any quantity, no matter how large, my feeling is it should not be used at all in foods, drugs, or cosmetics.

If, on the other hand, legislation is absolutely necessary to clear up some of the confusion in the color additives field, then I urge that it be done only as part of an omnibus bill closing all loopholes in present law and including comprehensive safe cosmetics legislation.

Harry S. Nicholson, Sr., of Wilkes-Barre

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1960

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader of January 20, 1960, which comments upon the passing of one of Wilkes-Barre's leading citizens and businessmen, Mr. Harry S. Nicholson, Sr.

The article follows:

HARRY S. NICHOLSON, SR.

Another generation of the Nicholsons, one of Wilkes-Barre's leading families for almost a century, disappeared from the local scene yesterday afternoon when Henry Samuel Nicholson died suddenly at 74 after a heart attack. Just a month ago his brother, William R. Nicholson, retired treasurer of the W. H. Nicholson Co., founded by their grandfather, died. Harry S. Nicholson, who was with the firm for 52 years, served as president, general manager, and director. The late Arthur Nicholson, a prominent figure in business and politics, was another brother.

A banker as well as an industrialist, Harry S. Nicholson reminded many older residents of the city of his uncle, George Nicholson, who played a leading role not only in the family business, but in the community. George Nicholson was an organizer and first president of the Hanover National Bank, where his nephew served as a director, secretary, and, more recently, as vice president.

Harry Nicholson easily qualified for a place among the community's most substantial citizens. A good neighbor, churchman, sportsman, and friend as well, he was as unassuming as he was able and dependable. No worthy individual who asked him for a helping hand was ever disappointed if it were within his power to grant the request.

The fourth generation of Nicholsons will have to aim high to match the impressive achievements and record of service of its distinguished predecessors.

Newspapers Which Mislead America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I submit for reprinting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article from the October 1959 edition of the American Mercury which I consider well worth reading. It is entitled "Newspapers Which Mislead America":

NEWSPAPERS WHICH MISLEAD AMERICA

(By Harold Lord Varney)

While admittedly the American press has taken some competitive buffeting at the hands of TV and other media, it has not lost its long lead as the creator of American public opinion. The American newspaper and magazine is the No. 1 source spring of most of the ideas and emotions which move Americans. What the press says today, uncritical Americans, in tens of millions, will be saying and voting tomorrow. The political news writers of the New York Times and the Washington Post and Times Herald—and the anonymous writing factory of Luce—color the very idiom of American political discussion.

Nowhere has this opinion-making power of some of our snob-minded publishers been more evident than in foreign relations. In this area, the press filters all our thinking. Most Americans, unless they are foreign-born or possess specialized knowledge, have only the haziest notions of foreign politics. In place of knowledge, their impression of foreign countries is usually emotional. There are bad nations which they should hate and good nations which they should admire. The newspapers and magazines have identified these nations to them. National foreign policy, which is the product of public opinion, arises largely out of this vast swamp of popular misunderstanding. It has little relationship to actual American self-interest.

In its shaping of public thought, the snob press has a whole mythology which it passes on solemnly to its readers. The heroes and the devils in this mythology are a constantly changing procession. They are chosen according to the current ideological yardstick of the newspaper owner or editor.

It is easy to identify the devils.

At the moment, Soviet Russia heads the demon list. But this emotional attitude could rapidly change. If the best people should revise their thinking on Russia, as such men as Cyrus Eaton have prematurely done, the change could come quickly. There was a precedent for such an altered national mentality in the years between 1942 and 1945 when it was almost unpatriotic for a newspaper to tell the truth about "our noble Russian ally." The cold war could end with surprising suddenness. When it ends we may expect to see a wild scramble of newspaper and magazine writers to find greatness and inspiration in Khrushchev's Russia and Mao Tse-tung's China.

Another of today's devils is Gamal Nasser. But he has not always been so excommunicated. In 1952 when—with Naguib—he expelled suety King Farouk from Egypt, he was the bright symbol of promise for Egypt's tomorrow. If he would abandon his anti-Zionism, his return to sainthood would be sharp and sudden.

Gen. Charles de Gaulle has now regained his luster in the American press. But his career in American public opinion, as shaped by the newspapers, has been a changing and cruel zigzag. Acclaimed as a hero in 1944 when he returned to Paris victoriously, he was undefended by American newspaperdom in 1946 when he defied the Communists and retired. During the succeeding years when he attempted to fight back against the Communists and the ineffectual French Liberals with his "Rally of the French People" he was treated by most American newspapers as a suspect Fascist figure. The American press was chasing after new French heroes, particularly the contemptible Mendes-France. Only since his spectacular return to power has the fumbling American press acknowledged that De Gaulle is actually on our side in the battle for the world. His alternate popularity and disapproval have followed largely the changing myths of newspaper-induced American opinion.

Today the "devils" of the snob American press, aside from the Communists, include Verwoerd, of South Africa; Kassim, of Iraq; Nasser, of Egypt; Trujillo, of the Dominican Republic; Somoza, of Nicaragua; and Batista, late of Cuba. Not one of these foreign government heads can hope to receive fair or even truthful coverage in the influential American press. Usually, when they are discussed, they are mentioned with all the implied moral disapprobation which newspapers traditionally reserve for ladies of the street.

Not quite in the doghouse, but subject to being chucked in there at a moment's notice, is a secondary group of rulers. These probationers include Chiang Kai-shek of free China, Syngman Rhee of South Korea, Francisco Franco of Spain, Antonio de Oliveira Salazar of Portugal—and lately—Arturo Frondizi of Argentina. All these, with the exception of Frondizi, have at some time or other been hated targets of the American snob press. While not today directly in the line of fire, their acceptance is tentative. They are still subject to occasional sniping and name-calling.

And who are the heroes?

The foreign government heads who, today, receive red carpet treatment from the Sulzbergers, the Luces, the Cowles, and the Grahams include such preposterous figures as Fidel Castro of Cuba, Jawarharlal Nehru of India, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Romulo Betancourt of Venezuela and, intermittently, our old friend "Bung Karno" Sukarno of Indonesia. If it is difficult to find a pattern in this surrealist nightmare of favorites, the explanation can be found in the fact that all of them successfully fought rivals in their countries who are on the index of the Times and company. They are lay figures of the snob press imagination who symbolize abroad the ideologies which the editors are ardently press-agenting at home.

We have only to consider this list of "devils" and "heroes" to realize how irresponsible American foreign policy, as defined by the snob press, has now become.

To base American foreign policy, not upon the hard facts of national self-interest, but upon capricious editorial office choices, is an attitude which would have seemed sheer lunacy to an older generation of Americans. And yet this is the folly to which 1959 America has conformed.

The ever-descending curve of American prestige abroad has accurately registered this substitution of Times Square for Foggy Bottom as the decision point of our foreign policy.

Let us take a specific situation which is desperately important to American safety, and in which the press has deliberately betrayed the cause of truth. This is Latin America.

The veriest tyro in the State Department knows that U.S. leadership in this hemisphere hangs perilously upon that narrow thread of the good will of a few key national leaders. These leaders, until recently, comprised such Presidents as Batista of Cuba, Duvalier of Haiti, Trujillo of the Dominican Republic, Somoza of Nicaragua, Perez-Jimenez of Venezuela, Camargo of Colombia, Ydigoras-Fuentes of Guatemala, Kubitschek of Brazil, and Lopez Mateos of Mexico. So delicate is the balance in Latin American politics that U.S. self-interest demands the strictest American neutrality in revolutionary situations. None of the Latin American rulers who vote with us in the OAS or the U.N. and who make U.S. hegemony possible, represents a government which resembles our own. Some of the friendly governments shade toward outright dictatorship or enforced one-party rule. Nevertheless, they are our friends in a troubled situation. The most elementary commonsense should tell Americans to keep out of the internal policies of these, our allies.

Regrettably, the reverse has been our policy. Under the insistence of the snob press, spearheaded by the New York Times, the United States has virtually placed itself at head of a crusade to change the form of government of most of its friends in Latin America. Throwing its influence about recklessly, particularly in the Caribbean countries, the United States has performed the dubious feat of helping anti-Americans supplant pro-Americans in two countries, Cuba and Venezuela, and is in the process of helping pro-Communists overthrow America's friends in two other countries, Haiti and the Dominican Republic. In all this succession of folly the role of the press has been primary.

As we have told in a previous article (American Mercury, January 1959) the Castro revolution in Cuba was hothoused to victory, from the feeblest beginning, by the unashamed press-agency of the New York Times. Later, the Luce publications, and the CBS facilities of Edward R. Murrow joined enthusiastically in the act. At no time, during the 2 years that the Times was building up Castro into an admired libertarian, did it warn its leaders of the dark Communist forces which were lurking in the background of the 26 of July movement and which have now come out into the open. At no time did it point out that President Batista, whom it was smearing, was a 100 percent supporter of American interests, while Castro was not. All these overriding considerations were waived aside as unimportant in order to wage an ideological war against a friendly Caribbean government. When Batista found himself hardpressed to oppose the Castro forces, the United States—with the acclaim of the press—shut off American military supplies to his armies. A similar maneuver by General Marshall in China in 1946, it will be remembered, doomed Chiang Kai-shek to defeat by the Communists.

Likewise, in Venezuela, Romulo Betancourt, after a life-time of subservience to the Communist apparatus, suddenly loomed up as America's choice for president of that strategic country, to the shrill acclaim of the American snob press. The man whom Betancourt supplanted, Marco Perez-Jimenez, had been so staunch an American friend that President Eisenhower, at the recommendation of his brother, Milton, conferred the Order of Merit upon him in 1954.

Spearheading the mischief-making in Latin America is a smug organization, controlled by Americans, the Inter-American Press Association. Including practically all American newspapermen who have the Latin American beat, this Association has shamelessly engaged in activities designed to discredit friends of the United States among Latin American rulers.

Preoccupied with the single issue—freedom of the press—the Association has mobilized virtually every Latin American reporter and writer into the ideological movement to "overthrow dictators." Its activities reached the nadir of hypocrisy when Jules Dubois, its most active member, constituted himself the No. 1 American press agent for Fidel Castro, the bloodiest dictator in Cuba's history, and wrote a misleading Castro biography, rearranging his facts to prove that Castro was an "anti-Communist."

Equally culpable has been the record of the press on Far East coverage. More deliberate propaganda and less factual news has been distributed by the American snob press on China, India, and other Far East trouble spots than in any other area. The result is that American thinking on the Far East has been rooted not in policy but in emotion. The emotions change from year to year.

One of the most shameful chapters in the history of American journalism was the smear job which was done on Chiang Kai-shek between the years 1943 and 1949. The fact that the job was perpetrated by ill-informed foreign correspondents—who got their leads in the booby-trap of Chou En-lai's friendly Chungking headquarters—does not detract from the historic enormity of the offense. In demolishing Chiang Kai-shek in the public mind, the press of the mid-forties was destroying the last chance to save 450 million Chinese from communism. It was, perhaps, dooming America's chances of victory in some future World War III. And yet a large part of the American press rushed enthusiastically into this journalistic lynching party without a thought of the fearful consequences to America which would inevitably result.

But the irony of the Far East situation is that a section of the American press is getting ready to do it again. There are increasing signs that important newspapers and magazines are preparing for a "recognize Red China" offensive. Such newspapers at the Washington Post and Times Herald, the New York Post, and such magazines as Mr. Cowles' Look are already putting out feelers on recognition. The New York Times, whose record on China reporting has been good, is now running "think pieces" by Nathaniel Peffer and Chester Bowles to soften up public opinion on Red China.

Once the State Department weakens on passports for American newspapermen for Red China, we may expect to see a whole new stable of "China experts" sending back glowing stories of the virtues of Red China. The press will make the same mistake twice.

When we shift to the Middle East we find another fetid situation in American press coverage. Here the situation is blurred hopelessly by the fatal bias of the State Department, and most newspaper publishers, in favor of Israel against the Arabs. Any American reporter who dared to send back truthful reporting from Cairo, or Beirut, or Tel Aviv would be in danger of swift decapitation by the newspaper front office.

Although America has been alerted to Russian interest in the Arab world by Khrushchev's exultant cry "There goes the Middle East," the American press continues to play games with Middle East coverage by slanting most of the news to exaggerate the importance of Israel in the total picture. A painful example of the sloppiness of American press reporting in this area was given a year ago when Kassim overthrew King Faisal in Iraq. On the eve of the successful revolution, American newspapers were firmly assuring the American public that Iraq was safely attached to the West. The old crop of reporters who could win the confidence of the Arabs and send back truthful news about the actual conditions has been weeded out by the home editors in favor of reporters with pipelines to Ben Gurion. As a result the American people remain grossly and dangerously ill-informed concerning one of the most politically sensitive areas in the present world.

Yet another part of the world where predigested editorial policies prevent honest and factual field reporting is South Africa. Not since the victory of Dr. Malan and the Nationalists in 1948 has any major American newspaper or magazine attempted to give a sympathetic presentation of the case for the Afrikanders in their homeland. Every magazine article has either been written by a rabid opponent of the Nationalist regime, or by an American observer who saw what he wanted to see in South Africa. Recently, the deep freeze in the American press has been extended to the Dominion Party in Rhodesia. When the New York Times picked out a representative as roving reporter in South Africa its choice fell upon Milton Bracker, hardly an objective reporter, if we may judge by his record in the Latin American area. What the American snob press refuses to concede is that men of good will, in other parts of the world, may choose to handle their domestic problems in a manner quite different from that favored in the United States.

The continual carping and hostility of the press against South Africa—and now Rhodesia—has the effect of inducing distrust of the United States in an area which has been traditionally friendly.

By such slanted and misleading reporting, where ideologies differ, the American press is doing a serious disservice to America's foreign relations. It is making the task of our already irresolute State Department infinitely harder. It is conveying to millions of potential American friends abroad that the United States does not wholeheartedly accept their friendship unless they are willing to accept the political tutelage of papa-knows-best editors and publishers who guide American public opinion.

In a world rocked by uncertainties and perils, the United States cannot afford the luxury of a trouble breeding and preachy press. It cannot carry the load of such a newspaper as the New York Times, which single handedly declares journalistic war upon a friendly and needed foreign government. It cannot hope to win against a single minded Communist world when its organs of public information are irresponsibly working to stultify realistic American foreign policy.

In a period of war, the Nation recognizes the necessity of restraints upon the absolute freedom of the press. Even though a cold war is raging, no one favors legal restraints today. Instead, it is the duty of the press to impose voluntary restraints upon itself to avoid truth distortion and news column editorializing which will mislead national public opinion.

The smug big circulation newspapers and magazines which principally influence public opinion are imposing no such responsible restraints upon themselves. They are slashing out irresponsibly in their efforts to pay off ideological grudges. In innumerable cases they are weakening and stultifying the attempts of the State Department to promote national self-interest.

There is a name for such attempts to wreck Government foreign policy when perpetrated by private individuals. We call it treason. In consciously misinforming, and misleading American public opinion, our privileged press is coming very near to earning that epithet.

Salute to 25 Years of Social Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, Wilbur J. Cohen, professor of public welfare administration, School of Social Work, at the University of Michigan, is a recognized expert on the social security program. On December 3, 1959, in an address to the American Public Welfare Association, Mr. Cohen saluted the program and the people who have made it work. This history of the program is especially valuable today, for congressional consideration of important amendments to the act is already underway. I commend to my colleagues this thoughtful and thorough review which I offer as part of my remarks today:

A SALUTE TO 25 YEARS OF SOCIAL SECURITY
(By Wilbur J. Cohen)

I

Twenty-six years ago, in the depth of the worst business depression of American history, I was a student in the Department of Economics at the University of Wisconsin in Prof. Edwin E. Witte's freewheeling seminar on Wisconsin's economic problems. Under the helpful and guiding hand of Professor Witte, we critically examined the provisions, the philosophy, and the objectives of the Wisconsin Unemployment Compensation Act just recently enacted by the Wisconsin legislature. This was the first State unemployment insurance law adopted in the United States and its origin and design had been formulated out of the seminars held during the early twenties by Prof. John R. Commons, an outstanding labor economist at the university.

I was privileged to study institutional economics and social legislation under the stimulating leadership of Professors Commons, Witte and Perlman. But little did I realize in December, 1933 what importance this topic I was studying would have on my life and the lives of millions of Americans. I was indeed fortunate when Professor Witte took me as his research assistant when he became the executive director of President Roosevelt's Committee on Economic Security in 1934 headed by Frances Perkins, the Secretary of Labor. Rarely does a young man have the unusual opportunity I did to watch and participate in history in the making—as was the formulation of the Social Security Act. The emphasis on ideas, innovation and pioneering in social legislation, stimulated by Prof. John R. Commons, was so strong that there never developed a cohesive Wisconsin school of thought on social security which held all its independent-minded sons and daughters together on all issues. This, to me, seems a sign of strength. Now that social security is a large and complex institution, we need to continue encouraging that sense of creativeness and the responsibility for the development of new ideas in social security during the next 25 years in the great tradition of Professor Commons.

So, tonight, I would first like to ask you to join me in offering a salute to the pioneering men and women who helped create the idea of social security in the United States.

In the short time at my disposal this evening, I cannot, of course, pay tribute to the countless men and women who played a key role in the early evolution of social security, many of whom are in this very room. The roster is long of those whose ideas and energy made a significant contribution to the progress of social security in the past 25 years. I have taken several paragraphs in the Social Work Yearbook of 1960 to record some of the names and their contribution, such as John R. Commons, Edwin E. Witte, Frances Perkins, Abraham Epstein, Harry Hopkins, Robert F. Wagner and Arthur J. Altmeyer. As we talk this evening of the changing sweep of impersonal economic and social forces that have basically influenced the programs in the act, we should also pay tribute to the many men and women of vision who took a dream of the social reformers and translated it into a workable institution. Their efforts made a difference.

Program developments in social security have been the product of many complex social, economic, political, financial and legislative changes. But these factors operated only through the medium of particular human beings with their special capabilities and limitations who took responsibility and leadership for conceiving, achieving, and administering these changes, often under great handicaps. We must never forget the important role in the evolution of social legislation played by responsible and dedicated men and women including politicians, social workers, social reformers, economists, lawyers and administrators.

Mr. Justice Holmes once said that it is only through the effort of human beings that the inevitable comes to pass. And hard work flows only through the minds and bodies of men and women with dedicated purpose. As we point out tonight the achievements of the past, the inadequacies of the present, and the potentialities for improvement in the future, we must place among our objectives for the future:

The development and training of courageous and intelligent men and women who will become good administrators and, at the same time, recognize the importance of social action;

The reaffirmation that good administration today is one of the essentials to future legislative improvements; and

The continual sifting and winnowing of new ideas and the willingness to reappraise the applicability of old ideas in a new setting.

II

Some years ago, Max Lerner wrote a book called "Ideas Are Weapons." Certainly the idea of social security was conceived as one of the weapons of a dynamic society in the war on poverty, dependency, and family disintegration. That we have not achieved all our objectives is not an indication of the fallacy of the basic idea but, rather, the failure to exploit all of its potent possibilities.

Looking backward, and with the wisdom of hindsight, we can now say that the formulators of social security policy in 1934 were bold—but perhaps not as bold as they might have been, or as we now wish they might have been. The breakthrough of the idea of a national social security program came because of a great economic and moral crisis—the depression. The American people were catapulted from the normalcy of the twenties into a world of insecurity and incomprehensible confusion. They demanded that their Government take action—some action—any action. And where did the specific plan come from? It came from the economists, social reformers, social workers, professors, and the so-called idle dreamers who had been studying these proposals when they were impractical and theoretical.

In a way, the social reformers, the social workers, the labor unions, the United States as a whole, were unprepared in the early thirties to fully exploit the historic opportunity. The lack of available administrative skills plagued the planners. The lack of clear constitutional authority created doubts. The low level of economic activity, restricted financial possibilities, and the absence of widespread research and discussion in the twenties left a vacuum that was filled only by the conscientiousness and caution of those in political power.

The Social Security Act of 1935 might have been an even greater piece of social legislation—a more comprehensive attack on social problems—if there had been more research, thought, discussion, and controversy in the twenties about the needs and alternative possibilities, many of which might have appeared impractical at the time. Perhaps then the act might have included some provision for financing medical care costs, some effective Federal standards for unemployment insurance, and Federal grants for general assistance, and the training of needed professional personnel.

I am fully aware of the difficulties and fears that preoccupied the Committee on Economic Security. We cannot change the past, but we can learn from it for the future. I believe that effective social policy is developed by recognizing the critical moment in history when action is possible. This is what we ever must be ready for. And this means continual discussion, debate, and probing of old, new, and controversial issues such as takes place in the American Public Welfare Association.

It is the realization of the importance of timing in social legislation that while a Senator, Walter F. George could oppose disability insurance in 1950, he could also become the man whose support of it in 1956 made it become law as the final achievement of his career—and by only one vote in the Senate. It is the realization that when Senator Vandenberg severely attacked, in 1937, the large old-age insurance reserves, his criticisms eventually resulted in the significant improvements in family benefits in the 1939 law. It is the realization that the broadside criticisms of the chamber of commerce in 1953 unexpectedly helped to assure the two-party endorsement and liberalization of the very insurance system they criticized. It is the realization that the criticisms by the insurance companies in 1958 of the financial condition of the OASDI program unexpectedly helped to adopt an increase in insurance benefits and financing changes which might otherwise not have occurred at that time.

And, so, I would ask you tonight to salute with me the critics of social security. They are our secret, mysterious weapon. They help spur us on to new, and sometimes unexpected, victories.

From the legislative experience of the past 25 years we may draw this lesson for the continued improvement of social security in the future: to take heed of the past but to always be looking ahead, to be ready for immediate action when the critical moment in history arrives, to have several possible legislative alternatives, to appreciate the necessity for both controversy and compromise, and to expect the unexpected and work with it instead of against it.

III

One of the arguments used by the opponents of social security legislation in 1958 was that it was very bad to enact social security legislation every 2 years—and especially in an election year. It was most interesting how the opponents sold themselves this argument, how they convinced themselves of the moral, economic, and statesmanlike soundness of their position. They not only made the argument; they believed it.

They were dumbfounded when they discovered this argument had little appeal to public welfare personnel, the trade unions, and, especially, had no appeal whatsoever to Congressmen.

I have thought about this episode a great deal. It demonstrates that any organization must be very self-critical about the arguments it uses to support its objectives. The arguments which seem to it so logical, so persuasive, so sound, are not always those which are appealing to others.

I feel reasonably sure that Congress will enact additional social security legislation in 1960 and in 1962 and, most likely, in other even-numbered years in the coming decade. To understand this process requires some understanding of the vast economic and social forces that are at work in our society—for example, the tremendous population changes, the vast unmet needs for social services, and the increasing costs of medical care.

Of all the possible complaints, the implication that Congress has been irresponsible or solely motivated by personal political advantages in recurrent social security legislation is not borne out by the facts.

During the past 25 years, the committees which have handled the OASDI legislation have shown a degree of social and financial responsibility which has been of a very high order. Unfortunately, the opponents of social security legislation have not properly recognized this. The responsibility has been there, irrespective of which party has been in power. And so, tonight, I would ask you to salute with me the Congress, the congressional committees, and the legislative process. It is through this mechanism that social legislation becomes a reality; in which consciousness of social need, conflict, cooperation, and compromise all must play a role.

IV

While during the past 25 years the social security program has done much to help in strengthening family life, there are vast problems still unmet and unsolved. There are still too many low-income families with children. There is still a substantial amount of uncompensated wage loss caused by sickness, disability, and unemployment. There are still delinquent, neglected, and deprived children. There are many areas without trained public assistance and full-time child welfare workers. Aid to dependent children is still grossly inadequate. Health, welfare, recreation, and other social services are not available to all families in every community. Social insurance benefits are inadequate in many cases. Social objectives are subordinated to fiscal considerations in unemployment insurance. Medical care of high quality it not actually available to all who need it. These are some of the unfilled needs and some of the controversial areas in which we must work in the years ahead.

I believe that during the next 10 years the productivity of our Nation will continue to grow due to automation, research, inventions, new processes, products, and services. It will be possible, therefore, for our country to afford significant improvements in our social security system from these increased resources so that every aged, disabled person, and every widow and orphan will have sufficient income to enable him to live in health and decency. I look forward to a series of legislative changes by the Congress which will result in:

1. An increase in social security benefits averaging about 40 to 50 percent above present levels;

2. An increase for widows somewhat larger than the average because their incomes are now the lowest among any of the aged;

3. Family insurance benefits to widows with dependent children improved so that when any breadwinner dies his children will not be dependent on charity or relief;

4. An improved and effective system of unemployment insurance;

5. A comprehensive public welfare program including general assistance without any residence requirements;

6. I also believe that the social security system should provide a regular monthly income to all those who are totally disabled for any extended period of time irrespective of age or the type of disability;

7. The social security system also should finance the disabled individual's rehabilitation and retraining and thus provide income security and, at the same time, help him wherever possible to regain independence, self-support, and independent living.

8. I see the social security system taking on a major share of the responsibility of financing hospital, nursing, and other health services for the aged and disabled. By pooling employee and employer contributions, some of the heavy financial burdens of medical care should be spread over an individual's entire working lifetime, and over the entire Nation.

Hospital costs have risen by 100 percent in the past 10 years and will probably continue to skyrocket during the coming decade. The demand by the American people for access to the highest quality of medical services will continue to grow. The principle of applying health insurance on a more comprehensive basis will become practically universally accepted thus eliminating the financial barrier to medical care at the time service is needed. "Group practice" by able, leading doctors should expand which will enable the miracles of medical science to become available more readily to the consumer.

By financing hospital and nursing services for the aged through the social security system, additional funds should become available from the contributory insurance program to raise the standards of nursing home care and to more adequately compensate nurses and other hospital personnel. Visiting nurse services should be available to everyone who might need them. Hospital deficits should decline. The aged and the disabled would have access to the medical care they need as a mater of right and not as an object of charity. And neither the

doctors, hospitals, or patients will be socialized, nor will government intervene into the doctor-patient relationship. Moreover, private insurance, thrift, and economic opportunities for the individual through private enterprise will continue to expand.

The decade of the sixties should be a period of phenomenal economic growth. At the same time, we must make sure that we have an equitable method of distributing this production to our aged and disabled, to our widows and dependent children, and to the unemployed and their families. Social security programs—public and private—are one of the essential institutions that assures that there will be a fairer distribution of goods and services in the economy. Social security is not a handout; it is a cooperative social insurance program that atempts to accomplish both economic and ethical objectives.

In 1960 the social security program will be 25 years old. Even those who have vigorously opposed basic provisions of the program in the past will now admit that it is here to stay in some form or other and that there will be some improvements. Social security is recognized as necessary to the effective functioning of our economy. It is both a businesslike and humanitarian program.

The economic problems of the aged, the sick and disabled, widows and orphans, and the unemployed are part of the problem of persistent poverty in the midst of plenty. We must vigorously continue the attack on poverty and dependency. The United States can, if we wish, accomplish the abolition of poverty and financial dependency before any other country in the world does it. This objective, like flying to the moon, has been the dream of many minds in the past. There is no reason why the United States should not make as its goal the accomplishment of both objectives during this coming decade.

Removal of Disability Payments Age Limit Under Social Security Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ARCH A. MOORE, JR.

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill removing the 50-year age limit for persons receiving disability payments under the Social Security Act, and permitting the payment of such benefits from the beginning of an individual's disability.

Mr. Speaker, I earnestly hope that Congress will thoroughly examine and evaluate the social security program during the present session of Congress. It is apparent to a great many Americans that measures such as the removal of the disability age limit are urgently needed to improve and update Federal programs for the assistance of aged, disabled, and needy persons in our Nation.

Mr. Speaker, there is no reason why a person should have to wait until he is 50 years old before he can qualify for disability relief under the social security program. Such relief should begin when it is needed most; namely, immediately upon the determination that a person who has been paying into the social security trust fund has become totally or permanently disabled. This to me is the only fair and just approach to the overwhelming human problems involved in a person being injured or becoming so seriously ill as to prevent him from pursuing his regular line of work.

In introducing this bill today, I add my voice to those calling for fairer and better treatment of the disabled.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the bill be printed following these remarks:

S. 2897

A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to eliminate the requirement that an individual must have attained age 50 to qualify for disability insurance benefits, and to permit the payment of such benefits from the beginning of the individual's disability

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) subparagraph (B) of section 223(a)(1) of the Social Security Act is amended by striking out "has attained the age of 50 and".

(b) The last sentence of section 223(c) of such Act is amended by striking out all that follows "1957" and inserting in lieu thereof a period.

SEC. 2. (a) Subparagraph (C) of section 223(a)(1) of the Social Security Act is amended by inserting "while under a disability (as defined in subsection (c)(2))" after "benefits".

(b) Subparagraph (D) of section 223(a)(1) of such Act is amended to read as follows:

"(D) has been under such disability throughout a period of at least six consecutive calendar months, or dies as a direct result of such disability".

(c) Section 223(a)(1) of such Act is further amended by striking out "beginning with the first month after his waiting period (as defined in subsection (c)(3)) in which he becomes so entitled to such insurance benefits" and inserting in lieu thereof the following: "beginning with the first month in which he satisfies subparagraphs (A), (B), and (C)".

(d) Section 223(a)(2) of such Act is amended by striking out "in the first month of his waiting period" and inserting in lieu thereof "in the first month in which he is under the disability described in paragraph (1)(C)".

(e) Section 223(c) of such Act is amended by striking out all that follows paragraph (2).

SEC. 3. The amendments made by this Act shall apply only with respect to monthly benefits under section 223 of the Social Security Act, or based upon the wages and self-employment income of an individual entitled to such benefits for months after the month in which this Act is enacted.

Pollution Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 27, 1960

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert into the RECORD an editorial from the Hilo (Hawaii) Tribune-Herald of July 21, 1959, entitled "Pollution Problem":

POLLUTION PROBLEM

Hilo's Coconut Island affords one of the best swimming facilities anywhere on the big island, with dressing rooms and sanitary facilities maintained by the county parks deparment.

Yet the board of health has been warning for years that Hilo Bay is polluted to the degree of being unsafe for swimming, and at the recent meeting of the territorial board here, it was pointed out that this pollution is becoming worse. Long ago the department warned not to eat raw fish taken from the bay.

Pollution comes chiefly from the Hilo sewage outfall off the Puueo shoreline. The sewage is not piped out far enough to prevent its being swept back into the bay by currents flowing through the breakwater entrance.

A further source of pollution is the drainage of cesspools along the shoreline.

That there hasn't ben an outbreak of typhoid doesn't mean that there couldn't be.

And maintaining a swimming facility—without warning signs—where the water is known to be polluted, is inconsistent, to say the least.

Eventually a sewage disposal plant and some method of dealing with cesspools too close to the shore will have to be provided. Coconut Island is a fine recreational asset to the city and this asset would be greatly enhanced if the surrounding waters could be kept reasonably free of pollution.

As it is, the board of health warnings should not go unheeded.

The situation is being reviewed for a report, which we understand will also include the problem of bagasse along the shoreline outside the bay, for presentation to the State legislature to see if a solution can be found.

All along, the cost factor, both as to a sewage disposal plant and the elimination of bagasse, has been the stumbling block.

Gen. Douglas MacArthur

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, as time marches on, great men take their rightful places in the nonpartisan pages of history. In the heat of controversy, our greatest leaders have been subjected to ill-tempered abuse. Years later, in the calm, when a man's true role in history is analyzed, we can properly evaluate his contributions to his country. It is with this thought in mind that I call your attention to the 80th birthday of one of the greatest Americans of all time, Gen. Douglas MacArthur.

A decade ago, he was subject to removal from his command by the ill-advised action of the then President of the United States. General MacArthur was, in fact, punished because he maintained a belief that victory was essential for the protection and integrity of our country. Since we can now look back at that turbulent period, in a quiet and analytical manner, it is apparent that General MacArthur was completely correct in his position, and that the Nation

suffered irreparable harm as a result of his being removed from military command.

Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to salute this truly outstanding American on his 80th birthday and to remind him that the Nation will be forever grateful for his lifetime of service in defense of his country and the cherished ideals he so steadfastly maintained.

Crime Against Humanity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1960

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the RECORD the text of an editorial from the current issue of the Brith Abraham Beacon, published by the well-known American Jewish fraternal order, Brith Abraham. The editorial discusses the current wave of anti-Semitism in Germany and its repercussions here. It makes a strong appeal for steps to eliminate the distribution of hate literature through the U.S. mails. The editorial is written by the order's grand master, Maurice Goldstein.

In similar vein, Grand Master Goldstein has written a letter to President Eisenhower calling his attention to the anti-Semitic wave and urging legislation to bar from the mails publications which spread racial hatred because they "are destructive to our national peace and unity."

I might add, Mr. Speaker, that last year I introduced two bills, H.R. 3127 and H.R. 3128, to prohibit the transmission of hate literature through the mails, but to date no action has been taken on them by the respective committees.

The text of the editorial cited above and the letter to the President follows:

CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY

(By Maurice Goldstein)

The recent grotesque outburst of anti-Semitism and swastika desecration of Jewish temples and Christian edifices has raised the question among Jews whether we should be complacent (be silent) or voice our public protest and demand just punishment for the malefactors.

As your leader, I have pondered this problem and came to the conclusion that we should take the position that the perpetrators of these vicious acts must be stopped and punished. I therefore communicated with President Eisenhower, Members of the Senate, Congress, and Mayor Wagner and made our position known and urged that every means available be taken to stop these "lunatic fringe" persons before this condition gets out of hand.

The destruction of 6 million Jews by Hitler kept steadfastly coming to my mind. Before Hitler, Germany had a most affluent and cultured Jewish community. The 600,000 Jews in Germany lived happily and thrived spiritually and economically. They lived in peace with their Christian neighbors.

After World War I, clouds began to gather around the Jewish population—from time to time small anti-Semitic outbreaks occurred. Hate propaganda began to appear and a hush-hush attitude prevailed. Many of the German-Jewish leaders expressed the belief that the clouds will clear and sunshine will once again spread over that land.

As the years rolled on, Hitler began to assert himself more and more. He accused the Jews as responsible for the economic plight of Germany. Then came November 9, 1938. This was the "black day" in Germany—synagogues were burned; Jewish owned stores were destroyed and looted; Jewish citizens were mistreated. Still the people remained silent. The Nazi marauders took this as proof that they could proceed with their destructive escapades without interference. This was the signal for mass massacres of innocent people.

While the Jews were the target for persecution, many good Christians fell because they took the part of their fellow Jews.

Hitler's persecution of Jews was the beginning of the crime against humanity. It culminated into a Second World War with millions of casualties.

The recent revolting wave of anti-Semitism, which burst out in Germany, had a chain reaction. It spread to many parts of the world—including the United States.

This is a renewed warning that racial prejudice is simmering. Although mild at present, many ask, Will it burst out into a dangerous flame? One wonders whether the recent anti-Semitic vandalism was an organized attempt through a central body, or was it the outburst of immature warped minds?

Brith Abraham for many years has sensed that a growing tide of anti-Semitism in the United States was fanned by hate publications. We have warned again and again against these peddlers of hate—seeking to divide race against race.

Once again we want to call attention to our Government—with emphasis upon our Post Office Department—that hate publications must be barred from the U.S. mails. A careful study of these publications will strongly indicate that they are not published to enhance American culture, education, or improve our American way of life. Instead, they are designed to spew hate.

We are grateful to Congressman VICTOR L. ANFUSO, who in the past has sought legislation to bar these hate publications from the use of the U.S. mails. His bill was regretfully pigeonholed in committee. We understand his feelings about our liberty-loving and peace-loving people everywhere. He again made strongly know in Congress recently his position against the anti-Semitic vandalism. We salute him for that. But we must not fall asleep and say, "It can't happen here." The people of Germany said so and they were dragged into one of the bloodiest conflagrations by Hitlerism.

We therefore made a strong appeal to the President of the United States to take steps to bring about legislation that would bar hate publications from the use of the U.S. mails—

Because they are subversive—contrary to good government.

Because they violate every principle of freedom of religion.

Because they divide race against race which is destructive to the unity of our Nation.

Because they are not educational and do not exemplify the intent of our second class mailing privileges.

JANUARY 22, 1960.

His Excellency DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER,
President of the United States,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Brith Abraham, national fraternal order, with 275 lodges throughout the country, is deeply disturbed over the current epidemic of anti-Semitism. This condition is making deep inroads in our national unity.

After considerable study and survey, we find that hate papers now distributed through the U.S. mails, are responsible for a great deal of this unrest. These publications spare no one as long as they create fear, suspicion and divide race against race. The effectiveness of these hate peddlers has already reached within our city high schools with students wearing swastika pins and armbands.

This is the beginning of a subversive movement—contrary to good government—and must be nipped in the bud. We must not let it get out of hand as it did in Germany during the Hitler regime.

We respectfully urge that you request legislation that would bar any publication, primarily designed to spread racial hate, from the U.S. mails. The intent of mailing privileges for newspaper publications must come under the category of educational value. Surely these hate publications are destructive to our national peace and unity. Therefore, they should be classified as "subversive" and be prohibited from the use of the second class mailing privileges.

We respectfully submit this recommendation for your speedy action.

Very respectfully yours,
MAURICE GOLDSTEIN,
Grand Master.

Continuation of Lamb Grading—Testimony of Arnold Mayer of Meat Cutters Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1960

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, several weeks ago the House Committee on Agriculture conducted hearings on the proposed suspension by the Department of Agriculture of its program for grading lamb and mutton carcasses. My testimony on this matter appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of January 14. Since then, the Committee on Agriculture has unanimously adopted a resolution calling upon the Department of Agriculture to continue lamb grading, and the Department officials, I understand, are to meet on Friday to decide on the course of action they intend to follow. I sincerely hope the overwhelming public sentiment in favor of a continuation of lamb grading persuades the Department to reverse its decision in this matter.

In the meantime, Mr. Speaker, I believe it would be most useful to Members of Congress and consumers generally to be able to read an excellent statement on this subject presented to the Committee on Agriculture on January 13 by Mr. Arnold Mayer, legislative representative of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen AFL–CIO. Mr. Mayer's testimony covers not only the important subject of lamb grading, but the even more important program for meat inspection under which the Department of Agriculture examines and

clears for interstate commerce the wholesomeness of all of the red meats and also poultry.

I believe that the bill which I drafted several years ago to provide for compulsory Federal inspection of poultry for wholesomeness was the first bill prepared by a Member of Congress on this subject since some time in the late 1920's or early 1930's. In that endeavor, I had the wholehearted help and support of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and, in fact, I should report that my interest in this matter was aroused by facts brought to my attention by this union concerning conditions in the poultry processing industry. The union, furthermore, provided a large share of the impetus in enlisting public support for compulsory Federal inspection of poultry.

I want to commend the AMCBW and its executive officers, President Thomas J. Lloyd and Secretary-Treasurer Patrick E. Gorman, for their many efforts in behalf of the consumers of this country. And I want to commend Mr. Mayer, not only for his fine presentation in behalf of his union on the lamb grading issue, but also for the hard work he has performed in the years I have been in Congress on many measures intended to assure the wholesomeness of the food we eat.

The statement on lamb grading referred to above is as follows:

STATEMENT BY ARNOLD MAYER, LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATIVE, AMALGAMATED MEAT CUTTERS AND BUTCHER WORKMEN OF NORTH AMERICA, AFL–CIO, IN SUPPORT OF LAMB GRADING, BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE, JANUARY 13, 1960

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, my name is Arnold Mayer. I am the legislative representative of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, AFL–CIO.

The AMCBW is a labor union with 375,000 members organized in about 500 local unions throughout the United States and Canada. The AMCBW and its locals have contracts with thousands of employers in the meat, retail, poultry, egg, canning, leather, fish processing and fur industries.

It is a pleasure to be able once again to appear before your committee to present the views of our union. We greatly appreciate the opportunity, since we feel the subject you are now considering is not only important in itself, but also in providing a first class example of how things should not be done by the Department of Agriculture.

Before I present our views in detail, I should like to read a resolution which our union's executive board of the AMCBW adopted in its meeting in Chicago last Thursday. The resolution concerns both our opposition to the suspension of lamb grading and our fears on the current dangers to the inspection of processed meat and poultry. Although the latter problem is not the subject of this committee's current inquiry, it, nevertheless, will be of interest to you.

The text of the executive board's resolution follows:

"Instead of having the prospect of gaining new and added protection in 1960, consumers of meat and poultry actually face the unfortunate possibility of losing a vital safeguard for their health and an important aid in determining quality. These possible losses are (1) Federal inspection during further processing operations of meat and poultry, and (2) meat grading.

"FURTHER PROCESSING INSPECTION

"It is vital to consumer protection that meat and poultry be inspected during further processing operations (when it is being canned or processed into such meat or poultry products as sausage, meat pies, soup, etc.).

"The inspection is a safeguard against the deterioration and adulteration which may occur in meat and poultry between the time of slaughter and processing. Also, it prevents the use of further processing operations as a dumping ground for those cheap and impure products which cannot pass inspection. Finally, it guards against the adulteration of the product by the nonmeat items used in further processing, such as easily spoiling vegetables.

"It has been suggested that meat and poultry processors be made to pay for the further processing inspection. In this way, the proponents of this view argue, consumers can have their inspection and yet not have to pay for it. Unfortunately, neither part of this argument is true. Consumers would still pay the bill in several forms, especially in higher prices. And—even more important—the integrity of the inspection would suffer. Experience has shown that when the company, whose product is to be inspected, hires and pays for the inspection, then the firm will be able to exert a variety of pressures on the inspection program. Instead of being a panacea, the idea of processor-paid inspection, if instituted, would do harm to the consumer-protective purposes of inspection.

"As a whole, the attempt to save money by weakening or cutting out inspection of further processing operations is pennywise and pound foolish. The savings which may show up in the budget of the inspection agencies will be spent many times over by health agencies and individual families.

"LAMB GRADING

"After announcing earlier in 1959 that lamb grading would be maintained, Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson suddenly ordered its suspension in early December. When great opposition to this move developed from many organizations, including our union, Benson postponed the beginning of suspension, but did not drop the idea of doing away with lamb grading.

"As President Lloyd and Secretary-Treasurer Gorman pointed out to the Secretary, the suspension decision itself, was surprising, but the reason given for it is positively amazing. The Secretary declared that lamb grading was suspended because various groups in the industry could not agree on standards for it. He did not mention the consumer or consumer interests. Apparently, consumer interests were not considered at all in making the suspension decision.

"Actually, lamb grading is an aid to the housewife in determining that she is getting her money's worth of quality. To take this aid away is definitely a step backward.

"Not only would the suspension of lamb grading be a consumer loss in itself, but it could bring still further harm. It could be used as the opening wedge to do away with all meat and poultry grading. Such an action would do further hurt to the consumer.

"CONCLUSIONS

"The danger to the meat and poultry inspection and grading programs are of great concern to the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen (AFL–CIO). Our union has consistently fought for consumer protection, especially in the industries where our members are employed. For example, the AMCBW was the initiator and the mainforce in the enactment of a poultry inspection law to protect consumers against diseased and adulterated poultry. And it has consistently worked for adequate appropriations for consumer-protective protective programs: Therefore be it

"Resolved by the International Executive Board of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America (AFL–CIO), That this union will continue its long-held policy of battling for consumer protection by strongly supporting new protective measures and opposing the suspension or revocation of existing ones.

"Concerning the current problems faced by the inspection and grading programs, we specifically urge that:

"1. The Administration request, and Congress appropriate, adequate funds to carry out meat and poultry inspection programs which will fully protect consumers. Included must be funds to provide inspection of further processing operations in meat and poultry in the manner that this inspection is currently being performed.

"2. Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson immediately reverse his suspension of lamb grading, and reject all further threats to the grading of meat and poultry.

"3. The Department of Agriculture consider the interests of consumers as paramount in its decision-making and reverse its current usage of neglecting the consumer in the interests of industry."

The resolution expresses our position. I should like to amplify on it somewhat.

We are amazed that in making the suspension decision of December, the Department did not take into consideration at all the needs of consumers. The Department's press release of December 4, which announced the decision, quotes the Secretary as saying that lamb grading would be suspended because various segments of industry could not agree. The release does not even mention the welfare of consumers. Consumers apparently, were outsiders whom not even the Department's press agents thought of.

This is, unfortunately, indicative of many of the Department's actions. The problems of industry become paramount. The welfare of the millions of consumers is secondary—if it is considered at all. It takes blunders like the December 4 press release to demonstrate this unfortunate policy.

Yet, programs with which the Department has been entrusted are of great importance to the consumer in the form of either health protection or buying assistance. Grading is one of the latter. Grading aids the housewife in determining the quality of meat she buys, just as it helps the institutional buyer.

It is vital that lamb grades, as well as those on other meats, effectively differentiate between varying qualities of lamb, so that the consumer has a choice. These grades should be fair and objective to the producer and packer. But we want to emphasize a point which the Department seems to neglect: The welfare of the consumer should be considered paramount in these programs.

As we understand it, a part of the controversy over lamb grading standards has been concerned with whether an inspector should look into the carcass or not. Frankly, this argument brings the whole situation near ludicrousness. If the grader can do his job more effectively by looking into the carcass, then why shouldn't he? Yet, this point appears to have been one of the major controversies which led the Department to conclude that the industry could not agree and grading should, therefore, be suspended.

The suspension of lamb grading would be a step backward in aid to the consumer. It could also be used as an opening wedge against other consumer-beneficial grading programs, as beef grading and poultry grading.

This step backward should not be permitted. Consumer-protective and consumer-

assisting programs should be strengthened and increased, rather than cut back.

We, therefore, urge the committee to indicate to the Department of Agriculture that lamb grading be continued. We urge that you tell the Department that grading standards which effectively differentiate for the consumer varying qualities of lamb should be used.

We also respectfully suggest that the committee make the Department understand that the welfare of the millions of consumers must be considered paramount in policy-making and decisionmaking, rather than the interests of particular industries. We hope that such a warning from the committee will prevent future debacles in which consumer-aiding programs are suspended because various sections of an industry could not agree.

Trees—And Keeping These United States Green

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I submit for reprinting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article from the October 1959 edition of the American Mercury which I consider well worth reading. It is entitled "Trees and Keeping These United States Green":

TREES—AND KEEPING THESE UNITED STATES GREEN

(By Russell Maguire)

During the last 150 years in these United States we have lost one-third of our total arable land. We have cut and consumed seven-eighths of our virgin forests. The future picture is a gloomy one.

Forest and water supply are closely united. Cutting the forests and denuding the earth of its natural vegetation causes the water level to sink and brings death to plant life. As a result, people die. No amount of technical counteraction can stop this process. We may temporarily relieve a bad situation, but sooner or later our present course will lead to disaster.

Therefore, let us awaken the slumbering love of our solid citizens for our forests and plant life. Let us start a crusade of self-preservation through action. This crusade will encompass every phase of our social, economic and political life. It cannot be extinguished because it serves nature and natural law is supreme.

What have we done to correct our wasteful past? With another purpose in mind, Franklin D. Roosevelt made a feeble attempt by creating the CCC Camps and speaking pompously of a tree-army. It failed and bogged down because it had a wrong objective. Our entry into promoted World War II is no excuse. There was simply no sincere spiritual program behind the so-called tree army. Our country's green carpet continues to dwindle away slowly but surely.

Beginning in 1941, with the full encouragement of industry, the American tree farm system has spread to every section of the United States. It was a commendable attempt indeed, and, certainly better than nothing. What is wrong about it, is the fact that it is solely based on profit. It dismissed completely man's natural love for nature. Their basic promotional thought is "tree farming is a profitable enterprise" instead of "Keep these United States green for your children and children's children."

Therefore, success is limited by the desire or need for profit and furthermore limited to the small percentage of citizens who are fortunate enough to own suitable land on which to gamble for profit. Under the system by which we live, there is absolutely nothing wrong about it. Actually, those who do their part for themselves and for the industry are doing something. At least they keep our country green in certain areas and, if we are lucky enough, their heirs may continue the program and replant for their successors. But more can be done by each and every individual.

The United States belongs to all its citizens—men, women, and children and it belongs to their children's children as long as there is a U.S.A. Yet, our country will last only as long as we preserve it. If we destroy its natural vegetation, its forests, we destroy its water supply, its climate, and in the end, life itself.

As a nation we are following the path of many people before us who have gone into oblivion. If we forget, and neglect our highest natural obligation "to preserve and seek perfection," then we deserve to be destroyed by nature. Our children and children's children will pay the price of our policy of waste and neglect. It is barbarous to leave the solution of present problems to future generations because we are selfish and self-satisfied. In most cases we are not yet suffering the total impact of the failure of our forefathers and ourselves. Correction and readjustment are already difficult tasks. They may be impossible in the future. Whoever believes in future atomic plant growth and future atomic readjustment of everything in need of readjustment is definitely insane or a fool.

Wherever Mother Earth dies, man also becomes extinct. This dying process passes on unrecognized from generation to generation because each generation merely sees the environment which nature presents during its lifespan. It has no direct knowledge of the looks of this same environment 100, 200, or 300 years earlier. It does not know how far the impoverishment of plant life has gone, and, with it, life itself.

To this date historic thinking considers its task fulfilled by chronological reference to the life of the numerous peoples, their ascent and downfall. This enables us to know superficially about the history of man for a short period. Lacking is the complete history of the environment.

History, policy, culture can never be truthfully understood without knowledge of the contemporary background of environment, because only man and environment form the totality, the unity. The history of man is, and will also be, bound by thousands of roots to the history of environment. Without it, one cannot understand the life, the soul, the thinking and creating, therefore the fate, of a people.

Innumerable peoples and cultures belong to the past of this earth, and where they once lived is, in many instances, today no-man's land, dead rocks, desert. The great stretches of ruins in the Old and New World are cemeteries of innumerable cultures gone down and disappeared. Many of these peoples have, in the progress of civilization, through senseless methods of land cultivation and destruction, transformed their land into deserts, and thereby destroyed themselves. A people that loses its land through poor management, or destroys the fertility of its soul, is always ripe for its downfall. Every nation whose environment decays will be rootless and be lost in nothingness. Only a settled nation is bearer of a culture, never a nomadic people.

Today, from Morocco through Africa and Asia to Mongolia, there is one long gigantic belt of deserts, interrupted at a few points only. Archeology now has established the proof that these deserts once were fertile land. According to information from Herod, only 2,000 years ago, the great and numerous Garamant people lived in the now bare and totally sun-scorched Fessan. Through Tibet and north of Tibet the famous silkstreets of antiquity led to the West through wide, populous countries. Millions of men once lived in Turan, not to count the once flourishing cities which had to be given up on account of ever-increasing drought.

While Greece rose to its first classical period, desert sand had already swept over the ruins of the decaying cities of the Hittites. Here, in antiquity, once stood evergreen oak forests in Greece, Italy, and Spain—all sung about by poets. Now, since the first century A.D., they are dry, rainless, infertile, rocky landmasses. At the time of Hannibal, the Sahara was far to the south of Carthage. Today the desert extends northward into Spain and Italy. Where was it at the time of the Egyptian pyramid builders who put pictures of forests and hunting scenes upon their reliefs?

What we call the desert of Gobi was once the hunting ground of Genghis Khan. About China we know that more than half of this gigantic land was transformed into steppes and deserts through deforestation during the time from 1700 B.C. to A.D. 1100. Another warning cry is the Judean Desert. Where we see today the bare, stony mountains in Palestine, we found Roman forest boundary stones (64 B.C. to A.D. 330). In the bordering deserts, we see for miles and miles subterranean, interconnected gathering places for water, so-called foggaras. Ruins of dams and aqueducts in Palestine prove the enormous wealth in water in days gone by. The remains of the pipeline of Caesarea, for instance, show us that this city got its daily supply of water of 80,000 cubic meters from a distance of 5 miles. The land between Gaza, the Dead Sea, and the Gulf of Aquaba, the so-called Negev, was once a rich, very populated province of the eastern Roman Empire.

Examples and more examples of this kind could be enumerated, always the same: earth's once glorious cultures today buried under sand dunes. Deserts, fallow land, waterless steppes, poor prairies, in short, gigantic dead regions are the remnants of these numerous disappeared peoples who have not fulfilled their true task in relation to the earth.

We accept this terrible heritage as a given, unchangeable fact. We theorize about ancient and modern natural catastrophies. We search for a proof that these deserts, wastelands, and infertile prairies are part of the original earth from ancient time to our present day, notwithstanding that expedition after expedition confirms that all these lands were once fertile earth.

To keep these United States green now and forever is the duty of all. Our trees shade all of us whether we own them or not, and we all love our trees from deep within our hearts. Just think of the millions of American men and women throughout the land who plant trees and shrubs in their gardens, watering them much of the year round with great love and oftimes at a sacrifice. Is this not a substantial and obvious proof of the very existence of a deep love? Because it is natural, it is so very simple. We can all work to bring about this greatest, natural potential of national thought relationship. A gigantic green carpet will cover our country and bury under its foliage much of the ugliнesses that bother us today.

By flooding teachers and community leaders with reprints of this article, you can help yourself and all others. Let's start planting trees and planting good, sound ideas.

Detention of American Citizens Behind the Iron Curtain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH J. ADDONIZIO
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 27, 1960

Mr. ADDONIZIO. Mr. Speaker, Comdr. E. G. Carlson, American Legion, West Orange Post No. 22, has furnished me with the following resolution that is being sent through channels of the American Legion to the President of the United States. Commander Carlson explains in an accompanying petition bearing the signatures of the membership of post 22, that "our objective is to obtain immediate action of getting a release or an accounting of the American citizens taken prisoner or otherwise detained during the Korean conflict and still in custody of the Communists," and he urges strong action to accomplish this great purpose. As Americans who cherish liberty and freedom, our eyes and prayers must continue to be focused on these fellow citizens who are fated to suffer under the unrelenting and murderous Communist tyranny. Certainly we cannot be indifferent to their fate nor accept it placidly. This is a matter of urgency, and the zealous concern of the members of post 22 is commendable.

Americans cannot be convinced of the Communists' proclaimed desire for peace without some clearcut affirmative acts for peace. As the resolution points out, "improved relations between the United States of America and Communist countries is dependent on a clear demonstration of good faith by the Communist bloc." The prestige and authority vested in the Office of President of the United States must be unceasingly used to unloosen the chain of bondage of these tragic Americans who firmly cling to their hope for freedom and their love for their homeland.

The full resolution follows:

Whereas in his recent visit to the United States, Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev expressed an interest in world peace, disarmament and improved relations with the U.S.A.; and

Whereas various cultural exchanges between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. have been successfully arranged between the respective Governments; and

Whereas estimates from reliable sources indicate that a substantial number of American citizens who were taken prisoner during the Korean conflict are still being held by the Communists; and

Whereas Premier Khrushchev appeared sympathetic to a woman in Des Moines, Iowa, who approached him expressing concern over her two sons who are behind the Iron Curtain; and

Whereas it would appear essential that improved relations between the U.S.A. and Communist countries is dependent on a clear demonstration of good faith by the Communist bloc: Now be it hereby

Resolved, That the American Legion Post No. 22, New Jersey, memorialize the President of the United States, himself or through appropriate agencies, to call for an immediate accounting for and return of all American citizens taken prisoner or otherwise detained during the Korean conflict and still in custody of the Communists; and it is further

Resolved, That other American Legion posts and departments throughout this State and Nation, as well as other civic and patriotic organizations, be encouraged to express concern for the plight of American citizens so long detained behind the Iron Curtain.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

Appendix

Address of Vice President of the United States at Chicago Dinner With Ike

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 28, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, last night the Vice President of the United States delivered an address at the dinner with Ike at Chicago, Ill. It is a remarkable speech in many ways. I quote merely one paragraph:

As far as I am concerned I don't think we need to be too worried about their comments, because if you think what they said publicly about me was bad you ought to hear what they're saying privately about each other.

The Vice President referred to comments made previously about him.

In this speech the Vice President has demonstrated the judgment he has shown through his years in the Vice-Presidency. His office has certainly qualified him to step up higher, and recent polls indicate that is just what the people think.

Mr. President, his salutation of the President was superb.

I ask unanimous consent that the address may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TEXT OF ADDRESS OF THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AT THE CHICAGO "DINNER WITH IKE," AMPHITHEATER, CHICAGO, ILL., JANUARY 27, 1960

This is a proud day in the life of this city, our party and our Nation. Seven and one-half years ago a great crusade was launched from this very hall to drive from our Nation's Capital a discredited administration and to elect as America's 34th President one of the truly great men of this century, Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Never in the history of this Nation has an administration more magnificently realized the dreams and objectives of those who worked and voted for its election. For the achievements of those years, the American people will be eternally grateful—the ending of one war, avoiding others and maintaining peace without surrender of principle or territory; unleashing our economy from abritrary controls and encouraging and stimulating the creative enterprise of our people with the result that our Nation's prosperity has reached an all-time high; and above all the restoration of the highest standards of honesty, dignity, and integrity in the conduct of the people's business by our national administration in Washington, D.C.

Every American who joined that crusade can proudly say tonight that under the leadership of a great President and his Republican administration, the American people in terms of peace, prosperity, and progress have enjoyed the best 7 years of their lives.

Tonight we salute the man who gave our party and our Nation this inspired leadership. We do it by our presence here. We do it with the contributions that this dinner represents. But the finest tribute that we can pay to him is by pledging ourselves to carry on the crusade he has so splendidly begun, by working and voting for another great victory for the Republican Party and for the American people this November.

Incidentally, as you may have noted, some of the Democratic Presidential candidates took a somewhat different view of the President's leadership at their meeting in Washington Saturday night. They also had some things to say about me.

As far as I am concerned I don't think we need to be too worried about their comments, because if you think what they said publicly about me was bad you ought to hear what they are saying privately about each other.

However since this is a salute to the President, I do feel it is appropriate for me to comment, at least briefly, on the constantly reiterated charge of our opponents that "Dwight Eisenhower has been a weak President—what the Nation needs is a strong leader."

His leadership does not need defense by me or by anyone else. But I would like to share with you some of the unforgettable personal experiences I have had in seeing the President in action during the last 7 years.

I have seen him calmly and wisely make the decisions requiring action on Lebanon, Quemoy-Matsu and Suez.

I have seen him make the even harder decisions not to act and talk when a lesser man's rashness could have risked war. Courage is not always shown by strong actions and brave words. Often it takes a far higher form of moral courage to be silent when talk may be harmful, and it takes both courage and judgment to choose a sound course in contrast to a spectacular course. I have often heard the President say in these difficult periods, "In a battle, give me a man who keeps his head when everybody else is losing theirs."

I have seen his magnificent sense of duty—duty that three times brought him back to his desk after illnesses that would have put younger men on the sidelines—going to Panama while still suffering intense pain from an operation—traveling to Europe for the NATO Conference 2 years ago when even speaking was an intolerable strain.

I have seen him deal with Mr. Khrushchev's deft sallies graciously, but with unmistakable and masterful firmness.

And like any great leader he is at his best when the going is roughest. After our defeat in the congressional election of 1958 when he was being written off as a lame duck President, he threw down the gauntlet to the spenders and with the help of a fighting, united band of Republicans in the House and Senate he saved the American people from billions of dollars in higher taxes and higher prices which the massive spending programs of his opponents in the Congress would have made inevitable.

Illinois Republicans can be proud tonight that EVERETT DIRKSEN's splendid leadership in the Senate and the united support of Illinois' Congressional Republican delegation contributed immensely to this magnificent achievement.

And there has never been a more eloquent answer to the charges of "American prestige is at an all-time low—no leadership—no sense of purpose" than the tumultous welcomes the President received on his recent trip abroad. This was a personal tribute. But it was also a tribute to Dwight Eisenhower, the leader of the free world, the living symbol of the greatness of America and its selfless dedication to the cause of peace and freedom.

If there is any further answer needed to the charges of no leadership, let me note one tremendous and revealing contrast between the campaigns of 1952 and 1960.

In 1952 the Democratic candidate for President couldn't run fast enough—away—from the sorry record of the Truman administration which even he termed a mess.

In 1960, every Republican candidate will be proud to defend the Eisenhower record against all comers and to ask the American people to register their approval on election day.

With such an outstanding record, what do we have to worry about? The answer is that the very record which is our greatest strength is potentially our greatest danger. Because we have such a fine record there will be an understandable temptation to stand pat on what we have done, to be smug and self-satisfied about the past and to fail to meet the new challenges of the future. This attitude is not worthy of our party. And what is infinitely more important, it is not adequate for the needs of the nation in these times.

We can and should be proud of our record. And let me serve notice right here and now that I intend to defend it with all the strength at my command against those who attack it. But, we shall look upon our record not as our ultimate achievement but as the solid foundation upon which to build even greater accomplishments in the future.

Why is America a great nation today? Because we Americans have never lived in the past. We are never content to rest on our laurels. We never like to settle for being second best in anything.

Let this be the spirit of our party and our people as we enter the crucial year of 1960.

No administration in our history had more reason to be proud of its record in domestic affairs, but we see exciting challenges in those domestic problems that remain unsolved.

We believe that overall the American educational system is the best in the world. But inadequate classrooms, underpaid teachers and flabby standards are weaknesses we must constantly strive to eliminate, always recognizing in the remedies we recommend that any Federal education program must not infringe upon State and local responsibility for and control of our school system.

We are proud that there has been more progress in the 7 years of this administration in the field of civil rights than in any administration since Lincoln's, but we shall continue to work for constructive programs which will assure progress toward our goal of equality of opportunity for all Americans.

We are thankful that American agriculture is the most productive in the world and that our problem is one of surpluses rather

than scarcity. But we believe there is no higher legislative priority than a complete overhauling of obsolete farm programs under which the prices farmers receive for major farm products continue to go down and the costs to the taxpayer continue to go up.

The fact that there are more jobs at higher wages available to Americans than at any time in history does not weaken our determination to develop effective programs in which areas of chronic unemployment can be restored to healthy, productive units of our economy.

The fact that as a result of our policies 12 million more Americans are covered by social security and that benefits are almost 50 percent higher than was the case 7 years ago dos not in any way slow down our drive to find ever more adequate methods for protecting the aged, the unemployed and the disabled.

And the fact that the American economy has never been more productive than it is today only encourages us to find more effective methods to deal with disputes between labor and management so that the public interest may be more adequately protected but without controls which would stifle the productivity of our free enterprise system.

I am sure that a question which may have occurred to you is this: Aren't all Americans for these objectives, including our opponents? The answer is yes, of course. What is the difference, then?

We Republicans have unshakeable faith that the way to achive these goals is by the free choices of millions of individual consumers, by the productive efforts of free management and labor, and by local and State action wherever possible—supplemented when necessary but not supplanted by the Federal Government.

The philosophy of most of our opponents is just the opposite. They claim that the road to progress has to be paved with bigger Government, more spending, and higher tax bills for the people to pay.

The record proves that our faith in freedom is well placed. Economic policies based on encouraging rather than stifling free enterprise gets results—they work. Because the fact is that for 20 years Democratic administrations promised to give the American people the economic abundance and prosperity that the people, stimluated by 7 years of Republican faith-in-freedom, have in great measure now achieved for themselves. And as long as they are left free of arbitrary controls, the American people will continue to achieve greater and greater abundance with fair shares for everyone.

Great as are our domestic problems, there is another which transcends them all—our survival in the struggle which is going on throughout the world today.

There is no part of our record of which we are more proud than in the area of national security and the conduct of foreign policy. But we know that the challenge which confronts us continues to be massive in character. Because while Mr. Khrushchev and his colleagues claim they have ruled out the use of force as an instrument of implementing their national policies, they have never abandoned their goal of communizing the world. Their people are being driven to superhuman efforts to realize this objective and their leaders have notified us of their intentions.

What should our answer be?

Militarily our objective must be to maintain sufficient strength, not for purposes of attack, but to deter any potential aggressor. Questions have been raised as to whether we have now and will continue to have in the future strength of this magnitude.

We need constant examination and constructive criticism of our defense posture, pointing up our weaknesses where they exist. But constructive criticism is one thing; making America appear weaker than she is to potential aggressors is another. It is time to quit selling America short. We are not a second-rate country with second-rate military strength and a second-rate economy.

Let's get these facts straight right here and now. No aggressor in the world today can knock out the deterrent striking power of the United States and its allies. This is the case today, and it will continue to be so in the future. We know this, our political critics should know it, and, what is most important, Mr. Khrushchev knows it.

What should our policy in the future be? Because we are living in an age of rapid technological advances in military science, we must submit our national security programs to a searching, month-to-month reexamination in the light of any new technological developments and of our best current estimates of the military capabilities of any potential aggressor. On the basis of these appraisals, we must make such readjustments as are necessary to keep our deterrent power at adequate levels. And let us resolve once and for all that America has the resources and the will to maintain the absolute deterrent strength necessary for survival, whatever sacrifices may be required.

But the maintenance of military strength adequate to deter aggression, while absolutely essential for our survival, does not by itself meet the responsibilities of world leadership which are ours.

We must leave no stone unturned in our efforts to find some more effective guarantee against the terrible destruction of nuclear war than the mere maintenance of a balance of terror.

We must continue to follow the President's leadership in his willingness to discuss our differences at the conference table whenever there is a prospect for success; in his search for an effective formula under which we could reduce the burden of armaments and discontinue testing of even more destructive nuclear weapons; and in his steadfast devotion to the principle that the United States must take the leadership in substituting the rule of law for the rule of force as a method of settling disputes between nations.

Above all, we must recognize that the greatest danger we face is in the nonmilitary rather than the military area. Millions of Americans heard Mr. Khrushchev on his recent visit to this country lay down his blunt challenge for peaceful competition between the Communist and the free world.

What should our answer be?

We should make it clear at the outset that we welcome competition, provided both sides compete under the same set of rules and provided the competition takes place both in the Communist and the free world. After all, competition is our idea. It is the motivating drive responsible for the economic, political, and cultural progress of this Nation. We are glad that Mr. Khrushchev recognizes its merits and we welcome his challenge.

Can we win in this competition? The answer is—yes, if we recognize some basic factors.

We must avoid at all costs any overconfidence just because the Communist idea is repugnant to us or because of our belief that the Communist system has built-in weaknesses which will eventually bring about its downfall.

We must always remember that a totalitarian system, in the short run, can concentrate immense power on chosen objectives; that the Russian people are working long and hard under the driving direction of fanatically dedicated leaders who are motivated by but a single objective—the communization of the world; that the leaders as well as the people have a highly developed competitive spirit and that they have the advantage of anyone who is running behind in a race—the stimulus of trying to catch up and pass the front runner.

We can win in this competition, in other words, if we recognize their strength and if we work harder, believe more deeply, and are motivated by an even stronger competitive spirit than theirs.

But in recognizing the seriousness of their challenge, we could make no greater mistake than to go overboard and start to judge American institutions by the Communist yardstick.

They have a patent on the system of bureaucracy, government controls, and government domination. But even they have found it necessary to modify their system by increasingly providing greater rewards for those who make the greatest contributions to their economy.

In other words, they are finding it necessary to turn our way. At a time they are turning our way, the greatest mistake we could make would be to turn their way.

Our answer to them, therefore, in the area of economic competition must not be more government spending and more government controls but stimulation and encouragement of the creative energies of millions of free peoples and of our system of productive private enterprise.

And we must not make the mistake of just meeting them on their chosen battleground. The answer to atheistic Communist materialism is not just more and better materialism.

To put it simply, they offer progress at the cost of freedom. Our alternative is progress with freedom—and, in fact, progress because of freedom.

I realize that there are many who complain that the Communists have a sense of purpose which we lack. And there is no question but that they do have a sense of purpose—that of imposing the Communist system on all the nations of the world.

We can certainly agree that we do not have this sense of purpose. Because, as the President reiterated over and over again on his recent trip, far from wanting to impose our system on other nations, we believe that all peoples must be free to choose the kind of government they want.

But the fact that we have no desire to conquer the world does not mean that our alternative to communism is simply to leave the world as it is—ignoring the misery, disease, and inequity on which communism thrives. We, too, have a purpose and a mission in the world today—and that is what we must make clear as we meet the Communist challenge.

We offer our partnership, our advice, and assistance in helping peoples everywhere to achieve the economic progress which is essential if they are to have better food and housing and health than they presently enjoy.

But we do not stop here. We say, broaden competition between communism and freedom to include the spiritual and cultural values that have especially distinguished our civilization and enriched our lives.

We insist that man needs freedom—freedom of inquiry and information, freedom to seek knowledge, to express his views, freedom to choose his own leaders and hold them strictly accountable, freedom to shape his own destiny—and above all—freedom to worship God in the light of his own conscience.

Let our mission in the world today be to extend to all mankind not just the ideal but the fact of freedom—by preserving and protecting and defending it, by helping others achieve it, by offering our own example of a free society at work.

This mission is not new. It is the heart of the American idea that goes back to the very foundation of this free Republic. It is the essence of the crusade launched here 7 years ago and we can be proud tonight that our great President, Dwight D. Eisenhower, is its living symbol in America and throughout the world.

Vice President Rooney

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE CANNON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from New York, Congressman JOHN J. ROONEY, was nominated for Vice President of the United States at a notable dinner given in his honor in New York City this week.

No more popular candidate could be nominated and I am convinced that if the ballot were taken here on the floor of the House this morning he would receive every vote cast without exception on both sides of the aisle.

Congressman ROONEY's nomination is most timely. Many have been mentioned for the Presidency but there has been a dearth of candidates for the Vice Presidency and no one could serve in that high office with greater ability or better understanding of basic national problems than Congressman ROONEY.

The widespread enthusiasm with which the nomination was received is reflected in the graphic account carried by the New York World-Telegram of January 22, 1960:

ROONEY FOR VICE PRESIDENT—JUDGE SWEEDLER HEADS GROUP PUSHING CANDIDACY

JOHN J. ROONEY was there when they blew the atom bomb at Bikini and this experience has pretty well fortified him against life's surprises. Nevertheless, he was taken back when they told him last night about the committee.

"What committee?" he asked. "Say it again, slowly."

The New York Citizens Committee to Nominate Congressman JOHN J. ROONEY for Vice President of the United States—that's the committee. Puzzlement, disbelief, then shock registered with the Congressman.

Few people, other than Committee Chairman Nathan Sweedler, were carried away with the idea but the sentiment was celebrated. What better way to salute the veteran Congressman, who was the honor guest at the Cathedral Club's 60th annual dinner?

Mr. Sweedler, a former municipal court justice, was quick to confess his friend, Representative ROONEY, was unaware of the committee's existence.

"He doesn't know the first thing about it," Mr. Sweedler said. "I felt it was a capital idea so I had 2,500 cards made up and distributed. Unless Congressman ROONEY stops it, it is my plan to visit throughout the State and encourage committees for ROONEY.

"You know," Mr. Sweedler said, "the only difference between JOHN ROONEY and JOHN KENNEDY is that Senator KENNEDY has a couple of million dollars."

The guest list at last night's dinner read like a Who's Who in Politics.

Among those attending were former Gov. W. Averell Harriman; State Comptroller Arthur Levitt; Joseph M. Swing, U.S. Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization; Tammany Leader Carmie G. DeSapio; Democratic State Chairman Michael H. Pendergast; Brooklyn Democratic Leader Joseph T. Sharkey; his GOP counterpart, John R. Crews, and a contingent of Texas Congressmen whooping it up for Senator LYNDON B. JOHNSON, the principal speaker.

Noting the presence of Lane Dwinell, assistant secretary of state, and other State Department brass, Representative ROONEY cracked: "This belies a great many newspaper stories; I have friends in the State Department."

Mr. ROONEY, it is said, does not have a couple of million dollars, but he does wield considerable power and this makes for irony. If he were ever to move up in government, he might increase his stature but lose several inches off the big stick he holds as chairman of the House Subcommittee on Appropriations.

The Democratic Congressman for Red Hook, South Brooklyn, and Borough Park is widely known as a bulldog on budgets, giving cold shivers to the State Department, Justice and Commerce Departments, the U.S. Information Agency, and others over expenses. Mr. ROONEY is not loath to take on an opponent and argue the positive and negative aspects of a $27 executive-type wastebasket. As a Vice President, for instance, life could prove dull to an old warrior.

The Boy Scouts and the United Givers Fund

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. DODD
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 28, 1960

Mr. DODD. As a member of the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on the District of Columbia, and the Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency, it is a special pleasure for me to call the attention of my colleagues to the outstanding accomplishments of the local chapter of one of this Nation's most important national organizations. I refer to the National Capital Area Council of the Boy Scouts of America and the wholesome benefits which it provides in bringing a strong and virile scouting program to the boyhood of this area. Clearly, the training that the council gives the boys in citizenship, character development, and physical fitness goes a long way in helping to effectively combat the serious problem of juvenile delinquency.

Two facts are especially noteworthy about the Scouting movement in this area: First, more than 43,000 Cubs, Scouts, and Explorers are enrolled in the National Capital Area Council; and second, approximately 16,000 registered adult volunteer Scouters give capable, dedicated, and devoted leadership to these boys. The figures I have quoted represent a growth in membership of 20,000 boys and leaders during the past 5 years. Another point worthy of consideration is that 35 full-time professional Scout executives serve these 16,000 volunteer leaders—or an average of only 1 paid executive for every 450 volunteer leaders. These significant indicators, plus the fact that the Scouting program is brought to the boys of this area on an efficient cost-per-boy basis which is below the national average, means that the operating expenses are lower here than in most metropolitan centers, to insure the best possible program and services for American boyhood.

I cite the above facts because I have been especially interested to read in the Washington newspapers recently about problems facing the Boy Scouts and the United Givers Fund, arising primarily from the cost of the significant and expanding services of the Scouting program, which must be met from the unfortunately insufficient contributions to the United Givers Fund by the Washington community. Because I recognize that the largest portion of the financial support of the Boy Scouts in this area is received from the United Givers Fund, which contributes also to the support of 145 other agencies, I have been impressed by the statesman-like resolution of this difficult problem and the method that was arrived at in an attempt to secure additional funds to meet the minimum requirements.

It is in this spirit, and in a desire to congratulate president Philip Gore and the civic-minded men on the executive board of the National Capital Area Council of the Boy Scouts, president Charles E. Phillips of the United Givers Fund and president Frederick B. Lee of the Health and Welfare Council, that I ask unanimous consent to introduce in the RECORD the following statement that was issued on behalf of these community leaders on January 16 and an excellent editorial about it that appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald of January 18, 1960.

There being no objection, the statement and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UGF-HWC-BOY SCOUTS UNITED ON PLANS FOR SUPPLEMENTAL DRIVE OF SCOUTS

United Givers Fund President Charles E. Phillips, Health and Welfare Council President Frederick B. Lee, and Philip L. Gore, president of the Boy Scouts National Capital Area Council, announced today that complete and satisfactory agreement has been reached on the supplemental membership enrollment to be conducted by the Scouts during February. Mr. Phillips expressed approval on behalf of his agency and stated that Frederick B. Lee, president of the health and welfare council, voiced a similar view in according HWC endorsement to the limited appeal to be undertaken by the Scouts.

Mr. Phillips pointed out that (1) the Scouts may seek to enroll parents of Scouts and active registered adult volunteer Scouters; (2) the scouts will not publicize the drive through mass media channels; and (3) the rules and conditions of HWC and UGF will be observed.

Mr. Phillips explained that, at the request of Philip Gore, president of the Scouts National Capital Area Council, he and Mr. Lee had met with Mr. Gore on Friday, January 15. The group conferred regarding a suitable basis under which the Scouts could conduct a drive without doing a disservice to united giving, inasmuch as the Scouts had previously sought to obtain additional funds for 1960 by enrolling Scout alumni and proven supporters of Scouting in their supplemental appeal. Special attention was directed at increasing their proceeds by more complete enrollment within the approved categories of parents and registered Scouters.

Mr. Gore stated: "The Boy Scouts, as a charter member of UGF, as a member agency of HWC, and as an organization that plays an integral role in the life of this commu-

nity, has acceded to the request of HWC and UGF to conduct its current enrollment in accordance with the provisions they have established. In a desire to cooperate and not to impair the united giving concept, our executive board has agreed to restrict our drive again this year to a nonpublic appeal. Because the need is so great we shall tackle this assignment with renewed dedication." Mr. Gore added that, through the determination and support of the parents of Scouts and the volunteer Scouters in this area "we earnestly hope to be able to meet the minimum costs of the vital program of scouting in order that the benefits it provides to boyhood and the community will be maintained and strengthened."

Mr. Phillips, in mentioning his gratification to Mr. Gore and the Scout executive board, joined with Mr. Lee in expressing the hope that this supplemental enrollment would prove successful. Mr. Phillips acknowledged the important contribution made by the Scouts in their performance of vital services and added that he was glad that this matter was resolved in a way that is clearly in the best interests of the entire community.

CLOSED BREACH

Supporters of both the United Givers Fund and the Boy Scouts of America will be pleased that they have reached agreement on the Scouts' supplemental drive next month. The announcement 2 weeks ago that the Scouts would broaden their solicitation even if it should mean loss of UGF support was a serious blow to the widely-approved concept of a one-package fund-raising campaign. Apparently the Scout leaders came to see that their plan would work to the disadvantage of the entire community and perhaps in the end to the disadvantage of Scouting. In any event, they are entitled to commendation for the subsequent agreement to keep their supplementary drive within the UGF rules. The community now has a vested interest in supplying the Boy Scout organization with the funds it needs through its limited appeal to parents and adult volunteer Scouters, and everyone should understand more clearly the necessity for greater efforts to raise the entire UGF quota in the next drive.

Water Resources of Illinois and the Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 28, 1960

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, on October 21 the Governor of Illinois, William G. Stratton, delivered an address on the water resources of Illinois and the Nation at a dinner sponsored by the Kaskaskia Valley Association at Carlyle, Ill.

The Governor has taken a very active part in the water resources problem in Illinois and he certainly expresses a vast and extended knowledge of the entire question in this address. I herewith append the address in full:

A year ago, approximately, the civic-minded people of this area observed the actual groundbreaking for the great Carlyle Dam, the culmination of the hopes and strenuous effort of many years.

Tonight, we have here many of those who through the years dreamed for this project; we have those who actually planned for it with the skills and talents of engineers, and we have those who are building the project itself with their own know-how and machines. We have, then, represented here, the attributes of foresight, planning, and action.

Here tonight we have also representatives of local, State, and Federal Governments, a display of the cooperation which is possible among these agencies of government, a cooperation which is vital to the continued progress of our Nation under governmental leadership.

Also at this dinner are representatives of the ultimate users of the facility we are creating—the municipal, industrial, agricultural, and recreational facility which this great body of water will provide.

The wealth of a nation or an area is never really represented by dollars or monetary values. It is most truly measured by the abilities of the people of a nation or an area to use—and most important—to conserve—its resources.

This Carlyle Dam, this Kaskaskia development, is a classic example of a drive to use and conserve the most precious asset of water, in which Illinois is vastly wealthy, through the cooperative efforts and abilities of the people of an area, and the governmental and civic agencies which are embraced in that area. This observance tonight, is, in essence, an act in a drama portraying the insistence of a restless and progressive people that there is virtually nothing which can't be made better.

I have mentioned the varied talents and ambitions which are represented at this dinner. A person could make a long speech only by analyzing each of those talents, the dreamers, the planners, the doers, and so forth; in fact, one could make too long a speech doing so. Rather we can only skim over the elements involved here, and be gratified that they exist.

It is important, however, to point out that the resource which we discuss tonight, water, is one in which Illinois ranks high in the scale of measuring the values of a region. It is one of the favorable elements which we in Illinois have to offer commerce and industry as a major contribution in a combination of circumstances that is perhaps not surpassed throughout the world.

When this State was a wilderness, its water resources were not larger than they are today, and the best scientific research tells us that the resource of water in Illinois will be undiminished and constantly refreshed for all ages to come. Wars have been fought for water, and nations have perished for want of it. Here in this State, which actually is almost an island bounded by the Mississippi, the Ohio, the Wabash, and Lake Michigan, it is estimated that 2,000 billion gallons per day of atmospheric moisture are present to renew our water resource, with about 99 billion gallons per day falling as rain or snow. Inside the State some 23 billion gallons per day of streamflow are available, which, coupled with the water on the border make available an average per day of water supplies totaling 43 billion gallons, or five times the present usage in the State. Thus it can be seen that the quantities of water needed for our increasing population and industrial and agricultural growth and expansion are present to meet all foreseeable needs.

These statements, incidentally, are not made on the basis of quick and haphazard research for the expediency of the moment. Our State's water resource records go back to 1895, and Illinois has the best set of records on water and resources, with its tremendous value to industrial development, in the Nation.

Among the results of these long-time studies is the knowledge that here in southern Illinois there is not only a higher mean annual rainfall, there is a greater runoff and streamflow, an ideal combination of circumstances for developments such as the Kaskaskia Reservoir.

In fact, what we are doing here is putting to work a natural advantage of an area, conserving it, and making it available for use in myriad fashions that surpass the imagination even of those who laid the basis for the development.

I know that all at this meeting are well acquainted with the statistics concerning the development—its 26,000 acres of water, its potential as a flood control pool, its shoreline with the vast recreational possibilities, and the miles of dams and levees that will contain the water.

It is generally known, I suppose, that 25 communities will be within economical range to use the water for local purposes and the ultimate plan was adopted after exhaustive research into other methods of providing flood protection, which is a basic reason for the work.

This lake and the future one above us at Shelbyville will afford protection to some 65,000 acres of agricultural land, and increase the potential use of about 70,000 acres of fertile bottom land along the course of the river.

Other benefits will include attraction for industry, better control of flood conditions and navigation on the middle and lower Mississippi River, and great new recreational areas for about 3½ million people within a 100-mile radius of the Carlyle Reservoir.

I have mentioned the cooperation which has existed among agencies of Government and citizen groups in this development, and I want to remind all of you that the cooperation will continue in the future. Our State government, as a matter of fact, is already at work in consultation with Federal authorities planning recreational facilities and areas, operation of which will be a prime function of our own department of conservation.

It has been a policy of this administration to develop new areas for rest and revitalization of our population. It is our belief, and one which has been implemented into action, that these days of exploding urban growth and of a generally stepped-up pace of living have created the requirement that the State provide such facilities. Suburban development is eating up the woods and waters that used to surround our cities and towns, and we must provide a substitute for them. A generally increased standard of living has provided longer periods of leisure time, and a general increase in the economic ability of persons to take advantage of that time. Our development of parks, lakes, hunting, boating, and fishing areas, is the answer to these requirements, and it is my firm belief that the responsibility of the State is just as great in this area as it is in other areas of service, such as providing for the ill and the poor.

While I am not at liberty here tonight to give specific details, I can say that negotiations and planning are already underway by our department of conservation to utilize certain areas of the shoreline of this development as game refuge and hunting areas. We will have hundreds of acres under such control in perhaps three areas to be operated by our department.

The Federal Government will, of course, work closely in cooperation with us in this field. In addition, recreational experts predict that more than 60,000 fishing trips annually will be made available by the water impounded in this development. In the early planning stage by our department are accommodations for the fisherman and the camper, including public boats and launching facilities, and picnic and camping areas.

It is likely there will also be development of commercial docks and launching areas.

They have even reported to me the kind and size of fish they expect to be harvested from the lake—largemouth bass, bluegill, black and white crappie, and catfish. During the early development, or impoundment of the lake, the experts say, the fishes caught will be large individuals, present now in the river, and very fast growing individuals that quickly attain a desirable size because of the vast quantity of food available during the early inundation. This phenomental growth in newly impounded water is rather like the results obtained when virgin lands are cultivated for the first time.

It is in this field that our State government will be most active in connection with this development, which will bring such vast benefit to this entire wide area. We are pleased that we are a part of the creation of this reservoir and are convinced that the State funds we are using now and will use in this area for these purposes are wise investments.

It is only during times such as these that such massive strides toward betterment can be made. Only in periods of peace and prosperity do we have the manpower, the facilities, the materials, and the finances to build for the present and the future.

In wartime, our manpower and our materials are devoted to the waging of conflict. In times of deep depression there is a definite limit to resources, in the face of surplus manpower. With peace and prosperity there are not only the resources, the manpower, the ability, there is the desire to progress along the lines that lead to individual betterment through cooperative effort. This lake we mark tonight is an outstanding example of the drama of improvement. I congratulate all concerned.

Friends Abroad Can't Be Bought

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 28, 1960

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, it is a fundamental truth that friendship cannot be purchased, and the United States has had ample evidence of it in the unhappy results of many phases of its interminable foreign aid program. That point was the subject of a recent editorial of exceptional clarity and perception in the Albany (Ga.) Herald of January 22, 1960, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FRIENDS ABROAD CAN'T BE BOUGHT

As is typical in a presidential year, loud are the cries in Congress about the need for economy. Unhappily, too, much of the verbal anguish is in the form of political lip-service. For instance, in the midst of the economy platitudes may be seen several ingenious schemes for spending the money of American taxpayers on so-called foreign aid projects.

Cuba's Fidel Castro has proposed that the U.S. Government loan $30 billion for a Latin American development program over the next decade. Similarly, other "good neighbors" in that area have suggested that Washington supply fixed amounts of capital every year, create a preferential trading zone for Latin American exports and finance the rapid industrialization of Latin America.

There is also considerable advocacy of America's underwriting the foreign exchange required for India's third 5-year plan, which begins in 1961. The cost is variously estimated at $1 billion to $1.5 billion. The argument advanced here is that Red China has been bounding along economically under communism and that India, with its mixture of socialism and free enterprise, has been lagging in development; therefore, the American taxpayer should fill the breach for India's benefit.

These are but a few of the suggestions for getting the American dollar abroad. They all are being presented to the American public on the ground of necessity. What is being attempted is to induce the conviction that the issue of the cold war will be determined by the willingness of the U.S. Government to sign unlimited blank checks. Yet some of the assumptions on which the pleas for ever bigger Government-to-Government subsidies are founded are downright untenable, and others are very rickety. It simply is not true that this or that amount of dollars will save this or that nation from passing under Communist rule.

For 7 years, the United States has been pouring money into Bolivia on a substantial scale. The argument has been that American generosity has helped to keep in power a left Socialist regime which is accepted as a bulwark against communism. But recent anti-American riots show that this investment has brought little, if any, good will, and Bolivia's economic difficulties seem just as far from solution as ever.

Indeed, it is quite arguable that, in this and other cases, lavish American aid has been of little real benefit to the recipient countries. It has encouraged their rulers to dodge the temporarily unpopular measure which would put the economy on a sound basis.

Brazil is a larger and economically more significant country than Bolivia. Here also there is little economic benefit to show for the loans to a total of some $900 million which Brazil has received since the Eisenhower administration came into power. Some of these loans were granted on the understanding that Brazil, one of the world's chronic inflationists, would take some economic and financial measures calculated to put its house in order. These measures have not been taken to date, and it is not likely that they ever will be.

Truly, America and Americans have not proved wanting in the spirit of international cooperation. But it is well to remember, with the outflow of gold from this country as a periodic warning, that our resources are not inexhaustible and that a gift, as well as a loan, "oft loses both itself and friend." When the Washington Government is asked to commit itself to trying to bail out the ocean of poverty in Africa, in many parts of Asia, in some countries of Latin America, the skeptical instinct of the average American voter and taxpayer is probably a more intelligent guide than the fallacious eloquence of those who make a fetish of unlimited handouts.

Tribute to the Late Justice Johnston

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 28, 1960

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following tribute to the late Justice John B. Johnston, which appeared in the New York Law Journal of Tuesday, January 19, 1960. Justice Johnston served in the House from 1919 to 1921 as a Representative of the Fifth New York District. He had a long and distinguished career as a lawyer, legislator, judge, and administrator.

The article follows:

TRIBUTE TO THE LATE JUSTICE JOHNSTON

At the opening of the appellate division of the supreme court, second department last Friday, Presiding Justice Gerald Nolan, in tribute to the memory of the late former Associate Justice John B. Johnston, addressed the bar as follows:

"It is fitting and proper that at the opening of this court today, some mention should be made of the loss which we have suffered in the death on Monday last of one of our former associates, Hon. John B. Johnston. With his passing, a long and distinguished career in the public service as lawyer, legislator, judge, and administrator, was terminated. I shall not at this time attempt to detail his many outstanding acomplishments or the numerous honors which were conferred upon him. It is sufficient to say on this occasion that the list would be long and most impressive."

Judge Johnston was born in Glasgow, Scotland, on July 10, 1882. In 1885, his father came to the United States and settled in Long Island City. The following year, 1886, his mother Janet, his sister Mary, and young John B., who was then 4 years of age, left Scotland and joined the father in America. Later on, in 1895, the family moved to Brooklyn where the judge resided continuously until the time of his death.

Judge Johnston received his early education at the public schools in Long Island City and Boys High School in Brooklyn. In 1899 he secured a position as office boy in the law office of the celebrated lawyer and orator, W. Bourke Cochran, who encouraged him to take up the study of the law. From 1906 to 1908, he attended the New York Law School, and upon completion of his law studies, was promoted to the position of managing clerk in Mr. Cochran's firm. He was admitted to the bar June 5, 1912. He continued with Mr. Cochran's firm until the latter's death, at which time he engaged in the general practice of the law in his own name at 31 Nassau Street, New York City. In November 1918, he was elected to Congress from the Fifth New York District, where he served from 1919 to 1921. As in his practice of the law, his ability and eloquence won immediate recognition and acclaim in the Congress of the United States. Upon completion of his term in Congress, he returned to the practice of the law until he assumed office as a justice of the supreme court in the second judicial district on January 1, 1928. He served on that bench with outstanding ability and great distinction.

On January 1, 1935, Gov. Herbert Lehman first designated him as an associate justice of this appelate division. Thereafter he was redesignated by Governors Lehman and Dewey, and continued as an associate justice of this court for 17 years. He retired on December 31, 1952, upon reaching the mandatory retirement age of 70.

On January 1, 1953, he was appointed an official referee of the supreme court and continued as such until July 4, 1955, when he assumed the office of State Administrator of the Judicial Conference of the State of New York, a post he held at the time of his death.

It was my privilege to be a very close friend of Judge Johnston for many years. I had for him a genuine and lasting affection. His untimely passing brings to me a deep and keen sense of personal loss. His

gracious and charming manner won for him the esteem and respect of all who had the privilege of knowing him. We shall miss his friendly presence and genial companionship.

Judge Johnston had a keen and brilliant legal mind and the ability to express himself with clarity and vigor. During the consultations of this court, his rich and well-rounded experience, profound knowledge of the law and wise counsel, were of invaluable aid to his associates. Later in our deliberations and activities as members of the Judicial Conference, he was a tower of strength in the movement to modernize and streamline our judicial system. This splendid courthouse in which we are assembled today, the planning and construction of which he supervised, is a lasting monument to his zeal, integrity and vision. In Judge Johnston's passing, our profession has lost a stalwart and forthright advocate, our community an outstanding leader and brilliant administrator.

Many of you, I am sure, had the privilege of knowing Judge Johnston personally or professionally during his long and distinguished career. All of you, I am confident, share our feeling of sadness and loss today, at his passing. To his son John and his family, to whom Judge Johnston was so deeply devoted and so closely attached, we extend our heartfelt sympathy.

When this court recesses today, it will do so in memory of Judge John B. Johnston.

Rail Commuter Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 28, 1960

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, the commuter problem is a part of a much larger transportation crisis caused by inadequate facilities, expanding needs and spotty planning. A thoughtful, consistent Federal policy in these matters could greatly ease the problem and make commuter service an efficient, if not altogether a pleasant means of getting to and from work. Several pertinent thoughts on transportation needs and Federal policy are given in a Newark Sunday Star-Ledger editorial. I recommend these ideas to the consideration of all persons interested in a rapid solution to this deteriorating situation.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Newark Sunday Star Ledger, Jan. 24, 1960]

INCONSISTENT POLICY

In commenting on the failure of the Federal Government to assist in solving the rail commuter problem, Governor Meyner pointed up a contradiction in the policy pursued in Washington.

While the Federal Government refuses to help tackle the problem, it has claimed jurisdiction in permitting service to be curtailed or abandoned.

If the Federal Government assumes this jurisdiction, it cannot maintain that the problem is purely local and outside its purview. In view of the Transportation Act of 1958—under which the railroads are seeking to dump portions of their commuter operation—the claim of the Federal Government to a hands-off policy will hardly hold up.

Commuter service can be considered a part of the national rail pattern, since losses incurred in commuter operations are made up through revenue from freight operations. This certainly has a bearing on the ability of the railroads to maintain all-around service.

One of the reasons for a reluctance to get in the commuter picture may be the difficulty in apportioning aid. One area may well complain that another is getting favored treatment. Such complaints, however, would not be unique in the history of Federal assistance.

A good case can be made out for Federal aid to bolster rail commuter service. Not the least of the arguments is the prospect that steadily deteriorating rail service will mean an added load on the roads. And since the Federal Government already has assumed a responsibility in the matter of highway construction, assistance to the railroads might, in the long run, be much less costly.

Perhaps the Government isn't obliged to follow a consistent policy. But it could find just as much justification for assisting rail commuter operations as for withholding aid.

Nixon Maintains Lead, 55–45, Over Stevenson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 28, 1960

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I know that many people throughout the country have been interested in the relative standings of the candidates for President in both parties in polls now being undertaken by several organizations. One of the most reliable of these is the Gallup poll, taken by the American Institute of Public Opinion, in Princeton, N.J. This poll shows as of January 1960 that the Vice President has 55 percent of the popular vote and Mr. Stevenson 45 percent—that the Vice President has 53 percent of the vote and Senator KENNEDY 47 percent of the vote in a poll between those two candidates.

From this, it would appear that the lead which the Vice President has over Mr. Stevenson and Mr. KENNEDY is approximately the same as it was in October and November of 1959.

The article follows:

THE GALLUP POLL—NIXON MAINTAINS LEAD, 55–45, OVER STEVENSON

(By George Gallup, director, American Institute of Public Opinion)

PRINCETON, N.J., January 27.—Vice President NIXON holds a substantial lead over Adlai Stevenson today in a test of the two men's potential support from the Nation's voters.

In the latest Gallup poll, NIXON's margin is about the same as that he had over Stevenson 2 months ago.

Gallup poll reporters across the country asked this question of a carefully drawn cross section of voters:

"Suppose the presidential elections were being held today. If Adlai Stevenson were the Democratic candidate and RICHARD NIXON were the Republican candidate, which would you like to see win?"

The latest trial heat results:

NIXON VERSUS STEVENSON, JANUARY 1960

	Percent
NIXON	55
Stevenson	45

The Vice President's political fortunes over the past year can pretty well be divided into pre-Moscow and post-Moscow periods—a reference, of course, to NIXON's trip to the Soviet Union last summer.

Before his trip, for example, NIXON was trailing Stevenson in trial heat tests; since his return from Russia, he has run ahead of the former Illinois Governor. This has been the trend of the vote since 1 year ago:

Nixon against Stevenson, 1955–56

	NIXON	Stevenson
	Percent	Percent
January 1959	49	51
July	44	56
(Russian visit—late July).		
August	51	49
September	54	46
November	56	44
January 1960	55	45

Against Senator KENNEDY, a leading choice, along with Stevenson, of the Democratic voters, NIXON's showing has followed much the same pattern. Before his Russian trip, the Vice President trailed KENNEDY—since then, he has pulled up sharply on the Senator, with the latest results as follows:

NIXON VERSUS KENNEDY, JANUARY 1960

	Percent
NIXON	53
KENNEDY	47

The fact that NIXON runs a stronger race against Stevenson than against KENNEDY is due chiefly to Senator KENNEDY's greater strength in his native East.

Here is a comparison of NIXON's vote by regions of the country against both Stevenson and KENNEDY:

	Percent NIXON	
	NIXON against Stevenson	NIXON against KENNEDY
National	55	53
East	56	49
Midwest	55	53
South	50	54
Far West	58	58

The Vice President's apparent vote-getting ability today is particularly interesting when one compares the present Nixon-Stevenson trend with that recorded by the Gallup poll just 4 years ago. At that time, with Eisenhower running ahead of Stevenson in trial-heat tests, this was the trend of Nixon-Stevenson sentiment:

Nixon against Stevenson, 1955–56

	Stevenson	NIXON
	Percent	Percent
February 1955	61	39
October	53	47
November	54	46
December	57	43
February 1956	59	41

U.S. Share of Seaway Tolls Totals $3 Million

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 28, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the completion of the St. Lawrence Seaway, formally dedicated on June 26, 1959, represents a milestone of major progress in creating a stronger economic lifeline between the United States—particularly the Great Lakes region—and markets, people, and Nations around the globe.

The scope and significance of the seaway project has excited and challenged the thinking and imagination, not only of shipping and other commercial and economic groups, but of citizens in almost all walks of life.

Serving the Nation, the seaway is expected to create ever greater economic benefits that will flow veinlike to communities throughout the country.

However, the transformation of the untamed waters of the mighty St. Lawrence River into a harnessed seaway was not accomplished, my colleagues will recall, without sizable opposition, particularly on the grounds of the cost to the American taxpayer.

As a cosponsor of the seaway law, I naturally feel that in accordance with its original provisions, the seaway should "pay its own way."

Recently, the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation issued a report on the first year operations of the waterway.

Despite difficulties of the operation of such a tremendous, complex project—as well as the loss of traffic due to the steel strike—Seaway traffic for the first year of operations with ocean vessels was most encouraging. The volume of cargo tonnage for 1959 was 75 percent over 1958. Indications are even more promising for 1960 season. New lines are reported entering the Great Lakes next year and most scheduled lines which used the seaway in 1959 are expected to return. Bulk cargo potentials are increasing.

From 1959 toll revenues, the Corporation paid all operating expenses of nearly $1 million and in addition repaid to the U.S. Treasury the sum of $2 million.

The seaway will, I believe, not only pay off its costs of construction—as provided in the law—but will also—as we who supported it envisioned—be of tremendous economic benefit to the country.

For the future, the seaway, I believe, will continue to grow to serve the fundamental commercial, economic, travel, shipping and a great many other interests of the Nation.

Recently, the Milwaukee Journal carried a detailed article entitled "Share of Seaway Tolls to Total $3 Million," outlining the way in which the seaway is not only paying the costs of operation, but even during its first year of traffic, making payments on the indebtedness of its cost of construction.

I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SHARE OF SEAWAY TOLLS TO TOTAL $3 MILLION

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The United States' share of ship tolls on the new St. Lawrence Seaway in its first year of operation is expected to total more than $3 million.

That report was given the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Wednesday afternoon by Lewis G. Castle, Administrator of the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation, which built and now operates the American part of the seaway.

Castle asked the committee to approve a $1,414,000 operating budget for the fiscal year beginning July 1. He said the corporation planned to spend $1 million for operation and maintenance and $414,000 for administrative expenses. The operations budget represents a $25,000 increase over the current fiscal year primarily because of pay raises, Castle said.

Congress merely sets a limit to Corporation spending. The money comes from seaway tolls.

Castle said the Corporation had paid $2 million in interest on loans to the Treasury and expected to make a supplemental payment after all accounts were collected.

"With a creditable year of operation behind us, it can safely be predicted that a steady and substantial year by year increase in the flow of commerce through this great international waterway is expected," Castle said.

He added the Corporation's estimate that 50 million tons of cargo would pass through the seaway annually by 1968 "seems assured."

He said cargo ships carried 20 million tons of cargo through the seaway last year, an increase of 75 to 80 percent over the 1958 total carried through the old, shallow seaway.

In reply to a question from Senator ELLENDER, Democrat of Louisiana, Castle said there was no truth to a rumor that the Corporation planned to request permission to deepen the seaway to 35 feet.

PILOT ACCORD REPORTED

Canadian and U.S. officials were reported Thursday to have reached agreement on a future study of safety in Great Lakes navigation.

The House Merchant Marine Committee has approved legislation requiring pilots on Great Lakes vessels, even when they are in open water. Some Congressmen have objected that such an open water requirement would unnecessarily increase shipping costs.

Committee Chairman MAGNUSON, Democrat, of Washington, said that the State Department had told him that Canada, which objected to a provision calling for a joint United States-Canadian commission to study pilotage problems, had agreed on a substitute method. He did not say what it was.

"I hope," he said, "that this forward step will enable our countries to arrive at an agreement that will be acceptable to each of us and make it effective, before the 1960 navigation season opens. In the interest of safety, this matter should be settled without further delay."

Bonded Debts Are Not Cash in Hand

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 28, 1960

Mr. SANTANGELO. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article "Paperwork, Not Profit, Held Worst Arms Excess" which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune on Sunday, January 24, 1960. The author, Allen M. Smythe, is an authoritative financial writer who specializes on defense procurement practices.

The article points out the problems of defense negotiated contracts and shows the large amounts that the Renegotiation Board has ruled to be excess profits of many large airframe firms. The Renegotiation Board has now reviewed nearly all of the 1955 defense contractual earnings, over half of the 1956 earnings and making good progress with its 1957 audits.

Mr. Speaker, I want to again call attention to the fact that these prosperous defense contractors are not now required to refund these abnormal profits after the Renegotiation Board's decision as they were properly required to do in wartime. Most of them merely post bond and then delay their appeals to the Tax Court of the United States. The U.S. Treasury needs this cash more than do these blue-chip defense companies.

I also desire to call attention to the hearings and report of the Hébert Special Investigations Subcommittee in which it was brought out how these same large airframe firms use pressure from retired military officers and advertising in trade and semiofficial service journals to influence both awarding and settlement of contracts. These publications continually berate Congress for not voting more funds for questionable weapons that cost in the billions. Of course, almost all of such advertising is charged off to the contract. President Eisenhower recently had some pertinent remarks to make about such unethical advertising. However, the Pentagon apparently is doing nothing to remedy the situation.

Also, these same large companies who hold billions of dollars in defense letters-of-intent, cost-plus contracts, and negotiated incentive contracts, spend millions of taxpayers' money in raiding each other for technicians and scientists. All such recruiting costs are reimbursible on these types of contracts. Little attention has been paid to the excellent work of the Manpower Subcommittee of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee which has been investigating the artificial shortage of engineers that is being created by these expensive and hysterical recruiting drives.

The article follows:

PAPERWORK, NOT PROFIT, HELD WORST ARMS EXCESS

(By Allen M. Smythe)

Excessive paperwork rather than problems of excessive profits appear to plague defense contractors. The Renegotiation Board is now issuing demands for refunds on abnormal profits on defense contracts in 1955. This 4-year lag means extra accounting and filing problems that are increased when appeals are taken to the U.S. Tax Court.

Large airframe companies claim their fiscal experts are swamped from trying to follow the complicated procedures in contractual negotiations of the Pentagon. This accounts, they say, for their high overhead costs which are not reduced with smaller military aircraft production.

The trend is toward more and more paper work. Defense firm executives point out that the Pentagon is planning to adopt a completely new set of contract cost rules next July 1. Although many increases were made this action has been opposed generally by business and especially by small business. Demands from congressional groups that allowances on some cost items be tightened have been ignored.

These new cost rules will require new accounting practices by 35,000 contractors and subcontractors and will affect $26 billion in outstanding contracts and $14 billion of annually issued negotiated contracts. Some estimates indicate this may increase defense expendings by several hundreds of millions of dollars.

Renegotiation regulations require that all cost records be kept for 5 years under heavy penalties of law. Contractors' costs are subject to review and appeal through several layers of service auditors. Final appeals for contract settlement can be made to the Board of Contract Appeals in the Pentagon. After this final settlement, the contract price is reviewed by the Renegotiation Board for excessive profits. Appeals from their decision can be taken to the U.S. Tax Court.

Renegotiation has a persuasive political appeal. The wartime act has been extended a number of times. It applies now to firms with an annual defense business of more than $1 million.

Boeing Aircraft, the Nation's largest defense contractor, has been renegotiated for the 4 years ending 1955 for a toal of $34,284,165. All four refunds have been appealed to the U.S. Tax Court. General Dynamics, the second largest defense firm, has as yet not been asked for any refunds under the peacetime law.

Other airframe companies which have appealed their refund demands are: Martin ($15,500,000), Fairchild ($2 million), Douglas ($19,500,00), Lockheed ($15,500,000), North American ($29 million), and Temco ($4,250,000).

Another Invasion of States Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 28, 1960

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, the people of the State of Georgia believe the Constitution of the United States means what it says when it leaves to the individual States the right to fix qualifications for voting. Although the State of Georgia repealed the poll tax 15 years ago, Georgians feel that the question of whether such a tax should be levied is one which should be determined by each individual State. The Columbus (Ga.) Enquirer on January 23, 1960, featured an excellent editorial explaining the Georgia position on this issue, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JAVITS COMES UP WITH ANOTHER BILL DESIGNED TO INVADE STATES RIGHTS

New York's JACOB K. JAVITS, one of the Senate's most extreme liberals, has another project that would be a rank intrusion upon States rights and he claimed Wednesday he had nearly a fourth of the Senate's Members ready to sponsor an anti-poll-tax bill.

New York's other Senator, KENNETH B. KEATING, suggested the same day that the registrar bill, the outgrowth of a recommendation of the Civil Rights Commission, could become the core of a broad civil rights measure, with other proposals attached to it as amendments.

The two New York Senators are Republicans but a New York Democrat in the House, Representative EMANUEL CELLER, dared Vice President RICHARD M. NIXON to help force a House vote on civil rights legislation now resting in the House Rules Committee. CELLER said southern resistance to the legislation requires a coalition of Republicans and northern Democrats "to work together on this." He asserted the Vice President should use his influence with GOP House Members.

Another happening of the same day—Wednesday—was action by the Senate Rules Committee in setting February 5 as a cutoff date for hearings on legislation backed by JAVITS and others to create Federal voter registrars in southern areas where Negroes complain local registrars prevent them from registering as voters.

The activities of the three New Yorkers—JAVITS, KEATING, and CELLER—prompted South Carolina's Senator OLIN D. JOHNSTON to say:

"I do not think that I have a right to tell the people of New York what to do in this or any other field. * * * The people of New York or any other State have no right to tell the people of South Carolina or any other State, what to do."

Florida's Senator SPESSARD HOLLAND, who has introduced a constitutional amendment resolution to do away with the poll tax, said his proposal has 67 Senators as sponsors.

He explained, however, that his proposed amendment bars the poll tax or any other property tax qualification only as a requirement for voting on Members of Congress and presidential electors. His provision would not prevent the States from retaining a poll tax for local elections, if they so desired.

Though only five States now have poll taxes, JAVITS is anxious to abolish it by legislative statute. Senator JOHNSTON contends that it is a matter for State determination. This is the idea we always have had.

Georgia years ago abolished the poll tax and this State would not be directly involved if it were abolished by Federal legislation. But Georgia would be put in the position of not being able to revive the levy if it wanted to do so.

The poll tax remains only in Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia. These States alone require an individual tax as a requirement for voting. We dare say the governmental and political leaders of those States vigorously object to the abolition of the tax through Federal action. It is a question for State determination. JAVITS' proposal would be a rank invasion of states rights.

Softness in Training

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 28, 1960

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following column written by the distinguished military affairs analyst of the New York Times, Mr. Hanson W. Baldwin, the column having appearing in the Times on December 22, 1959:

SOFTNESS IN TRAINING—EASED METHODS IN ARMED SERVICES FOUND TO REFLECT SOCIAL MORES

(By Hanson W. Baldwin)

The softening of basic training methods for the military services reflects in large measure the social mores and customs of the Nation.

In a recent tour to Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps basic training centers, this writer was told time and again by officers and noncoms of the training cadres that "we could do a better job if they would let us alone." Interference, sometimes at the lowest echelons of command, is by parents, Congressmen, Department of Defense and other civil servants. It handicaps the establishment and maintenance of hard, tough military training adequate to fit a recruit for the toughest of all taskmasters—the battlefield.

At Lackland Air Force Base, Tex., the "gateway to the Air Force" for most airmen, one officer said he had experienced in his short tour of duty there some six or seven congressional investigations and countless inspections by Pentagon civilians. Most of these were interested in costs, and few in the production of disciplined military fighting men, he said.

DRILL INSTRUCTOR SUSPENDED

At Parris Island last summer a drill instructor was suspended from duty after a recruit had charged the DI broke his jaw. Press and radio took up the charge. New "brutality" at Parris Island became the topic of editorial page and pulpit.

The recruit finally confessed that his jaw had been broken by other recruits who had beaten him up because he had refused to finish a confidence or obstacle course. His platoon had therefore lost an interplatoon competition.

Mothers, who fear their boys will catch cold from wet feet, while being trained to kill or be killed and Congressmen "running" the Armed Forces from their offices, are the bane of many training cadres.

But the Assistant and Deputy Assistant Secretaries and civil servants from the Department of Defense and other Government agencies who stress cost-accounting, uniformity and conformity have done much damage.

The attempt to impose uniform standards on all services, regardless of their differing missions and objectives, has, for instance, handicapped the Marine Corps in maintaining its reputation as an elite service. It was once small and selective. Now it is large and less selective.

FLEXIBILITY WOULD HELP

More flexibility and less outside interference, or, at least, restriction of complaints to the Departments of Army, Navy and Air Force in Washington or to the commanding general of each post, would undoubtedly aid the often harassed training cadres.

Above all, training would improve with a clearer understanding on the part of press and public that basic military training should be keyed to one fundamental purpose—to maintain the peace and to win victory in war. It would also help the services eliminate some subjects that should more properly be taught at home or in school—such as citizenship.

Samuel P. Huntington, in his book, "The Soldier and the State," noted that "the military institutions of any society are shaped by two forces: a functional imperative stemming from the threats to the society's security and a social imperative arising from the social forces, ideologies and institutions dominant within the society."

"Military institutions," he warned, "which reflect only social values may be incapable of performing effectively their military function."

NEW APPEAL HAS HELPED

Greater selectivity in recruiting and a change in the recruiting appeal has helped the services get better soldiers, sailors, marines and airmen.

A Marine sergeant visited a high school which had already been addressed by Army, Navy, and Air Force officers. Each had extolled what his branch of the service could offer in the way of education and pay. The marine epitomized the proper recruiting pitch. He made no address, simply inspected the school and the campus. In curiosity one senior asked him when he would talk.

"I'm not going to talk," the sergeant said. "I'm just looking this place over to see whether any of you guys are good enough to take into the Marine Corps."

Challenge, duty, and obligation rather that "what's in it for me?" is the proper recruiting approach. With it must go careful selectivity.

MORE FUNDS NEEDED

In most cases, basic training facilities of the services need more money. This is particularly true at Lackland Air Force Base in Texas—a World War II base that has only 4 out of some 1,196 buildings of permanent or modern construction.

But the major requirement is for improved officer and noncom leadership at all levels. Many of the junior officers of the training cadres are professionally proficient. But some lack really adequate leadership qualities. Too many are time servers who do not intend to make the services a career.

The noncoms in the training cadres require more careful selection and better training—and more prestige and recognition for their hard, long hours.

The marines have tried hard to provide some compensation to their hard-worked DI's by utilizing the old campaign hat as a badge of distinction and prestige, and by providing extra pay.

JOB IS NOT SOUGHT

But the training job is not sought after in any of the services. The training cadre holds the bag and is too often exposed to criticism of press and public, and to interference by all levels of command.

It is a job that presents perils to a professional career, and few tangible compensations for long and arduous hours, hard on family life.

Yet making men out of boys should be the greatest task and proudest challenge of the Armed Forces. For man and his will to fight is still the ultimate weapon. If the armed services are to be worth their costs the public and the military must key their policies to man.

TV Series From University of Wisconsin Called Breakthrough

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 28, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the challenge of enlarging the scope of our educational facilities and opportunity to meet the ever-increasing needs of a growing school-age population is one of the major issues before the Congress and the country.

We recognize, of course, that this is a national challenge, and that the Congress and the country's leadership need to be deeply concerned about providing sufficient educational opportunity for the youth of today—the leaders of tomorrow.

Currently, the bill, S. 8, to provide additional Federal assistance for expanding our educational system is now pending on the Senate Calendar.

I am always, however, particularly delighted to learn of new developments emerging out of the ingenuity and creativity of our citizens.

Today, I would like to pay particular tribute to one such development which is being considered a real breakthrough in the utilization of television for educational purposes.

Although the details of the project are yet to be revealed, the program generally involves an audiovisual approach, through television, to provide education and more educational opportunities for our people. Specifically, the project would represent the first TV correspondence course which coupled with required reports and assigned reading would offer graduate school credits.

We recognize, of course, that this is a new field in which experiment and exploration will open new vistas of opportunity for the future.

Because of this, however, I believe the individuals involved, from both the teaching profession and the television industry, are to be congratulated for this constructive effort to explore for new and better ways of broadening the education of our people.

The project was developed at the University of Wisconsin—one of the great educational institutions of the Nation—under a $100,000 grant obtained through the National Defense Education Act.

Produced under the supervision of Prof. Walter Wittich, the accomplishment is a tribute both to his supervision and the creativeness of all the individuals involved in the program.

Recently the Milwaukee Journal carried an article entitled "TV Series From University of Wisconsin Called Breakthrough" outlining this splendid development.

Reflective of the kind of examples of ingenuity and creativity which has made this country great, and that may well help to meet some of our country's critical need for expanded educational facilities, I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Milwaukee Journal, Jan. 24, 1960]

TV SERIES FROM UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN CALLED BREAKTHROUGH

(By Willard R. Smith)

MADISON, WIS.—A major breakthrough in educational methods, achieved in a tiny television studio at the University of Wisconsin, soon will be revealed to the Nation.

A team of seven midwestern teachers of audiovisual education worked together in the preparation and presentation of 42 sound films of teacher training lessons, which are the basis of this new concept.

Coupled with 10 required reports and assigned reading, they represent the first TV correspondence course carrying graduate school credit ever offered in America.

Dean Lindley J. Stiles of the University of Wisconsin School of Education, who obtained a national defense act grant of more than $100,000 to develop this pioneering teacher training course, calls it "a major breakthrough of the first magnitude in the area of teacher training."

This televised course was produced under the supervision of Professor Walter A. Wittich of the University of Wisconsin School of Education. It employs the teaching team approach strongly advocated by Dean Stiles—a group of specialists with a varied kind of demonstration that shows the creativeness of each.

All but seven of the kinescopes were produced in the tiny TV laboratory at University of Wisconsin under director Robert Reed. The others were produced at Michigan State University.

The 15-week course, with three lessons a week, already has started on a Detroit station under Michigan State's sponsorship. By the first week in February the course is expected to be in full swing at Milwaukee; Miami, Fla.; St. Louis, Mo.; Rockford, Ill.; Lincoln, Nebr.; East Lansing, Mich., and La Crosse.

The course will be offered over WXIX in Milwaukee three times a week beginning at 4 p.m., Feb. 3. Mrs. Claudine Shannon of the University of Wisconsin extension division in Milwaukee is the coordinator.

Enrollment in this first offering is expected to run as high as 10,000 with 2,200 inquiries in Miami alone. Members of parent-teacher associations and other interested lay people may join teachers in taking the course.

The course points up the question of whether education, on a changing society, can afford to adhere to teaching forms of the past.

It is intended to be a practical experience for the elementary school teacher who seeks information about basic audiovisual principles through which classroom instruction and pupil comprehension may be improved.

Audiovisual tools include the chalkboard, charts, graphs, pictures, opaque projectors, movies, radio, television and tape recorders.

Wittich described the course as learning how education can compete with all the attractions the commercial world uses to attract the attention of children.

Cassandra Go Home

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 28, 1960

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following lead editorial from the Washington Post of Thursday, January 21, 1960:

CASSANDRA GO HOME

No one had better monkey around with us, see, because we'll clobber the so-and-so. New intelligence proves that we're stronger than we thought we were because the other fellow won't have so many missiles as we once supposed, and besides they're not 100 percent accurate. Anyone who says that we're weak doesn't know what he's talking about and may even be part of an infamous plot to force us to knuckle under.

That, in somewhat hepped up paraphrase, seems to be the substance of the testimony by Defense Secretary Gates and Chairman Twining of the Joint Chiefs of Staff before committees of Congress. One may hope fervently that their predictions about American strength and the power balance are right. But perhaps it is not disloyal to express just a teensey weensy doubt about what Chairman GEORGE H. MAHON of the House Defense Appropriations Subcommittee skeptically called "the most enthusiastic and rosy and reassuring presentation that we have ever had."

It is probably quite true, as Secretary Gates impressed upon his listeners, that at the present time the United States and its allies have an edge over the Soviet Union. This country's prowess in manned bombers is formidable, and bombers will remain a major deterrent for several years to come. The likelihood that the Soviet Union could launch enough missiles simultaneously to wipe out all retaliatory power is not great for a year or two.

Then why the big change in approach from that of former Secretary McElroy, who asserted last year that the Soviet Union might have a 3–1 missile lead over the United States by the early 1960's? It is noteworthy that Mr. Gates assures us that there is no deterrent gap—an assurance derived by changing the intelligence method from an estimate of Soviet capabilities to a prediction of Soviet intentions. Does this wipe out the prospective missile gap? Seemingly not. No one has been talking about deterrence in the immediate present. It is the period 1962–64 that will be critical.

During this period, according to previous reports, the utility of the Navy's Polaris missile will be severely limited by the number of Polaris submarines—and, in view of the long lead time, it is the failure to provide already for more such submarines that is the crucial factor. The Air Force Minuteman is a very promising missile indeed, but it is not likely to be available in sufficient quantity to be a strong part of the deterrent until 1964. In the meantime this country must rely upon intermediate-range missiles, upon relatively small numbers of the cumbersome and vulnerable Atlas, and upon manned bombers at a time when defenses against bombers are being markedly improved.

Now it is possible that the significance of the apparent deficiencies, and their influence upon diplomacy, has been exaggerated. If so, however, a lot of expert opinions have been wrong—including the Gaither report, the Rockefeller panel and the recent Johns Hopkins University study, not to mention the views of knowledgeable persons within the Government itself. The demonstrated and acknowledged lag in space activity is further cause for concern.

All of which makes the more curious General Twining's verbal attempt to link criticism of the erosion of American power—criticism directed toward exhorting greater expenditure and effort—with submission to the Soviet Union. To try to pique the complacency and do something about the deficiency is, by an inexplicable inversion, to serve the fatuous notion that "we'd better be Red than be dead."

There is an interesting parallel between this remark and Vice President NIXON's comment in Miami the other day that too much talk about the United States becoming a second-class power could create a danger that a potential aggressor would make a miscalculation. Could it be that there is just a smidgeon of political defensiveness in the glowing portrayals of the defense picture and that such observations reflect—perish the thought—a party line?

No Rank at Bell

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 28, 1960

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to state that the Manpower Utilization Subcommittee of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, of which I am a member, last spring and again this past December conducted hearings in which the questions regarding the influential use of retired military people and former Government people working with defense contractors are continually being brought out. The Hébert subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee recently released information as a result of its investigations, and I note that while the largest contractors had an average of 100 former high-ranking officers on their payrolls, one of the biggest contractors in Buffalo, N.Y., the Bell Aircraft Corp., had only 1 former general who is employed in the capacity of a consultant.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include an editorial from the Buffalo Evening News, Buffalo, N.Y., dated January 19, 1960:

NO RANK AT BELL

The House subcommittee investigating the influence of retired officers on military buying lists 762 former officers now on the payroll of defense contractors. These firms get 80 percent of the weapons business. Among the biggest contractors, the average number of former high-ranking officers is about 100, including scores of general or admiral rank. This compares with only one former general at the Bell Aircraft Corp., and he only in a consulting capacity. Could this be one reason why Bell has had such a tough time getting Pentagon contracts?

Let's Stop This Rush Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT H. BOSCH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 12, 1960

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, in 1946, when considering U.S. participation in the International Court of Justice, the Senate in its wisdom sought to safeguard our sovereign rights by adopting an amendment which has come to be known as the Connally reservation, named for the distinguished former Senator from Texas, Hon. Tom Connally. This reservation gives us the right to determine whether or not a given case comes within the purview of the International Court of Justice.

Now there is a strong move on to repeal the Connally reservation, thus turning over to an international tribunal the right to determine the cases which shall come under the jurisdiction of the court. It would seem to me that any action to repeal the Connally reservation should be the subject of extensive hearings so that the American people may be apprised of what is going to happen and fully understand all the implications surrounding such repeal. This is not a matter which should be rushed through the Congress—I fear that the American people are not fully aware of what is going on.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include an editorial on this subject from the New York Daily News of January 28, 1960:

LET'S STOP THIS RUSH ACT

An attempt to rush repeal of the Connally reservation through Congress is apparently underway in Washington.

The Connally reservation dates back to 1946, and says that the United States reserves the right to decide what cases it will and will not submit to the United Nations' International Court of Justice, staffed by judges from 15 countries.

Senator J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, Democrat, of Arkansas, as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, held a hearing on the repeal plan yesterday, with speakers limited to 10 minutes each.

A sort of echo of the Washington rush act attempt will be heard in New York tomorrow morning at 9:30, when the State bar association is to hold a meeting at 34 West 44th Street, to consider a resolution endorsing repeal.

How about a lot of patriotic lawyers showing up at that meeting and voting against this resolution; and how about people who value our national sovereignty and independence writing their Senators and Congressmen please to fight repeal of the Connally reservation?

If it is repealed, the United States will be at the mercy of the World Court in—for one eminently possible example—a legal move to take the Panama Canal away from us and internationalize it. That could deal our national defense a body blow in time of war.

It is every citizen's duty, we think, to do everything he lawfully can do to keep the Connally reservation intact.

Civil Rights

SPEECH
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1960

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, first permit me to commend the distinguished chairman of the Judiciary Committee, the gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER], and all of our many other colleagues who have participated today in this discussion of the important matter of civil rights.

It is appropriate for me to again call attention to that nice phrase which we found in the President's state of the Union message, to wit, "a storm of semantic disorder." No phrase more aptly describes the conduct of this administration, from its inception to date, on both the national and the international scene. The words and conduct of the President with reference to civil rights emphasizes the point I make.

When the President wants to spend more Government money, when he wants to increase the cost of government, when he wants to make the big banks richer by increasing interest rates, he does not hesitate to send for his Republican congressional leaders and tell them what he wants and how to get it for him, nor does he hesitate to send his Cabinet officers to the Hill to pressure congressional members of his Republican Party to do his bidding.

But when it comes to civil rights we get nothing but empty words from him—fine phrases but no action. I am being a little too harsh on him when I say no action. Did he not appoint a commission to look into the matter? Of course, he did. Did he not pick outstanding Americans to do the job for him? Of course, he did. Did they not bring in a good report with fine recommendations? Of course, they did. Then what did he do? He turned his back on them.

We recall all too well the number of times that the President's Republican congressional leaders stood on the floor of this House and told us what the President wanted and what he needed and what he demanded by way of legislation. But when it comes to civil rights all we hear from them are excuses as to why they will not help us get a civil right bill to the floor.

I can understand why no Member, Republican or Democrat, who comes from any of the Southern States will sign a discharge petition to bring the bill to the floor. Right or wrong, almost all of them campaigned for reelection on promises, explicit or implicit, that they would oppose civil rights legislation. But every other Member of Congress is in dutybound, yes, in honorbound, to do all within his power to implement the pledges in their party platforms on civil rights.

The Democrats are doing that almost to a man. Unfortunately, the Republicans are running away from that pledge, almost to a man.

I want to reiterate on this floor what I have said off this floor. There is no principle involved that can possibly justify any Member of this House not signing a discharge petition. A man is either for or against the bill. That can be a matter of principle. But if he is for the bill there is no principle that can possibly justify his not using every effort, including putting his signature on a discharge petition, to bring the bill before the House for action. As long as the method of bringing a bill before the House by discharge petition is a part of the House rules, it must be recognized as being good principle to sign a discharge petition and bad principle not to sign it unless one is opposed to the bill. One can even justify signing a discharge petition when he intends to oppose a bill or parts of a bill, because the democratic process should always be used to give the Members of the House an opportunity to work their will with reference to every important piece of legislation.

Let us destroy this veil of camouflage once and for all. The Democratic Party has a majority by numbers in the House of Representatives. When we deduct from that majority the number of Democratic Members who year in and year out have opposed civil rights, the Democratic Party no longer controls a majority of the votes of the House. We can bring a civil rights bill to the floor and pass it only if that large number of Democratic Members are joined by those Members of the Republican Party who pretend to be for civil rights. The test of their good faith is not how they will vote on final passage or on any particular amendment but whether or not they will place their names on record on that discharge petition so as to bring the bill before the House for action.

A New Test Ban Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1960

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New York Times of January 28, 1960, entitled "A New Test Ban Plan."

The New York Times today published an editorial on the compromise nuclear test ban proposal which the administration has just proposed. It is a good editorial and I take the liberty of putting it in the RECORD so that all of my colleagues will have an opportunity of seeing it.

This proposal represents another effort on the part of our Government to explore every avenue in order to find areas of reasonable agreement on this all-important subject.

The editorial follows:

A NEW TEST BAN PLAN

In line with its declared policy of seeking a ban on all nuclear weapons tests that can be detected and controlled the United States has advanced, as one way of breaking the Geneva deadlock, a new plan for an approach to the problem.

Under this plan the three nuclear powers and all others ready to follow their lead would conclude a treaty aimed at prohibiting all such tests under an adequate inspection and control system. This ban would apply immediately to all tests on the earth's surface, in the atmosphere, and under water, and also to very large explosions underground. Such a ban would immediately eliminate all further fallout, produced only by the first three types of tests. It is considered feasible because both the West and the Soviets agree that, given an adequate inspection system, all four types of tests are easily detected in case the ban is violated.

But because, as the Soviets concede, there is as yet no means available of identifying smaller underground tests, a ban on such tests would be deferred until the necessary means of detection are found. A British version of this plan would include a ban on such tests in the treaty, but with a time limit to stimulate East-West research on better detection methods.

Certainly this is a just and equitable proposal which, if it does not eliminate mankind's dread of the atomic bomb, at least eliminates the fear of test-produced fallout. Yet the Soviets, which have exploited this fear for their own propaganda, reject this plan without even studying it and continue to oppose an adequate inspection system, on which any kind of ban must depend. This may not be their last word, but for the present they give the impression of campaigning for total disarmament and a total test ban while doing everything possible to prevent mutual agreement on either.

Resolution: Mack Charles Parker

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH J. ADDONIZIO
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1960

Mr. ADDONIZO. Mr. Speaker, the New Jersey State Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has adopted the following resolution on Mack Charles Parker which I commend to the attention of the Congress. This tragedy underscores the urgent need for a strong Federal antilynch law and other meaningful civil rights measures to protect the rights of all our people. I again appeal to the Republican Members of the House to join with me and my Democratic colleagues in obtaining prompt action on the civil rights legislation that has been reported by the House Judiciary Committee.

I join with the New Jersey State conference in urging the administration to take every appropriate action to correct this crime against humanity. As was pointed out yesterday in the discussion on civil rights legislation, much could be accomplished in this vital field by administrative action alone. It is my earnest hope that the President will exert at long last leadership in implementing the noble principles so often enunciated by him. Let us protect the rights of man, let us end forever the

tragedy of mob violence epitomized by the murder of Mack Charles Parker.

The resolution reads:

Whereas the people of the State of Mississippi have shown a callous disregard of the principle of equal justice under the law by failing to identify, locate, and punish those who participated in the murder of Mack Charles Parker; and

Whereas the report prepared by the Federal Bureau of Investigation which has been identified as containing names of the guilty persons was given less than the attention it merits; and

Whereas these actions have embarrassed our Nation throughout the world and made a mockery of our democratic traditions; be it

Resolved, That the New Jersey State Conference of Branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People sharply condem the State of Mississippi for conduct inimical to the best interest of our Nation and respectfully urges the U.S. Attorney General, the Department of Justice, and all Federal law-enforcement officials to correct this crime against humanity; be it further

Resolved, That copies will be sent to the 14 Representatives and 2 Senators from the State of New Jersey.

Civil Rights

SPEECH
OF
HON. ALBERT H. BOSCH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1960

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, I rise to make my position with respect to H.R. 8601 absolutely clear for the benefit of my colleagues and the people. Let me say that my record during my service in this distinguished body will clearly establish my consistent support of civil rights legislation and related situations whether embodied in education, labor, housing, or any other legislation. I will support this legislation now before the House, to wit: H.R. 8601, when the same comes up for a vote.

When I came to the House in 1953, Mr. Speaker, I established certain policies with regard to procedure to which I would adhere under all circumstances. Among these was a policy of not signing discharge petitions. This is not a capricious or frivolous policy on my part, but was prompted by my sincere conviction in the orderly processes of legislative procedure. I know that in my own conscience I am following what I consider to be the best course, and I am not at all impressed by words such as those used in the course of debate on this important legislation—"Republicans arise and sign the petition or else you shall ever be condemned." Condemned by whom, I ask, Mr. Speaker—members of the opposition party? Let me say that I believe the American people who have always demonstrated their desire to be fair and just in all matters will understand what prompts the action of Members of Congress in carrying out their obligations according to the dictates of their conscience and the appreciation of their responsibility.

Let us be frank with one another—this legislation can be brought on the floor for action any time the majority party really wants it to for in the Rules Committee the majority is 2 to 1; namely, eight Democrats and four Republicans. Obviously the majority can vote this legislation out. There are, however, other vehicles which can be used to bring this essential legislation to the floor. The majority party can either suspend the rules or have action on Calendar Wednesday. Those are the proper parliamentary procedures which should be pursued in the interest of assuring all citizens equal protection under the Constitution.

Meet the Provost of the University of Minnesota at Duluth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, one of the fastest growing and most outstanding colleges in the country is the University of Minnesota at Duluth.

In the past 10 years new buildings worth $8.5 million have been erected on a new 200 acre campus. The growth of this fine college is the result of the hard work and cooperation of many people in Minnesota and especially Duluth. Since 1953 the University of Minnesota Provost Raymond W. Darland, an outstanding educator, has contributed greatly to the school's continuing growth.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I insert the following article which appeared in the Minneapolis Sunday Tribune picture magazine for January 24, 1960:

By training Raymond W. Darland, provost of University of Minnesota, Duluth, is an ecologist—a biologist who studies organisms in relation to their environment. With his ecologist's eye he sees UMD as "an organism living in a very favorable environment."

For this Darland gives much credit to the unwavering support of Richard L. Griggs, university regent from Duluth, whose good offices made possible acquisition of UMD's new 200-acre hillside campus, already site of $8½ million of buildings as modern as tomorrow. Darland gives credit also to his two predecessors as provost for planning UMD's development.

But above all he credits the Duluth community. For it, UMD's achieving university status in 1947—after being a normal school, then a State teachers college—represented fulfillment of a 25-year dream of a northeastern university branch. The resultant enthusiasm has made UMD a community center, brought thousands of dollars in gifts and broadest community support.

While Darland gives credit for all this to others, many ascribe much of UMD's success to him: "The place really started to move when he took over," an associate said recently.

And move UMD has: besides its phenomenal 10-year physical growth, enrollment has doubled since 1951 to a record 2,428 undergraduates (and 31 graduate students). They study in four divisions: education and psychology, humanities, social sciences, science and mathematics. UMD is primarily a regional and commuter college: 89 percent of its students come from St. Louis and eight nearby counties.

Energetic Darland is a ruddy-complected 210-pounder who stands 6 feet 1 inch. Although he must constantly wear two hats—as chief UMD drumbeater and yet part of the larger university whole—he shows little strain.

A Kansas native with a bit of his State left in his speech, Darland did undergraduate work at Kansas' Fort Hays State college. After 1933 graduation he married Jewell Royse, who taught for the year by which she preceded him out of college.

Darland's doctorate (botany and plant ecology) is from University of Nebraska, where he taught (with 2 years out for navy duty) from 1941 until unlimited research opportunities—and fishing—drew him to UMD in 1948. He headed UMD's biology department in 1949, became academic dean in 1952 and provost (college head) in 1953.

Darland expects more UMD growth, to 4,000 students in 1970 (UMD grew 5 percent this year while all-university enrollment fell a bit).

This will necessitate a $12,750,000 building program (on top of $2,115,000 in 1959 grants). It also will pose the problem of holding and adding to a quality faculty—something Darland believes university affiliation makes easier.

The Myth About Benson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MERWIN COAD
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, I believe that farm legislation must be passed this session to reverse the increasing decline in the farm economy.

Economic conditions in rural America are deteriorating rapidly in an ever-increasing area which seriously endangers the entire economic growth of our great Nation.

Each day my mail brings more and more letters pleading for legislative action and citing instance after instance of economic breakdown, forced sales, and bankruptcies on the farms in our Nation's breadbasket.

These are the results of the operation of the farm policies which the farmers had to live with for the past 7 years.

In the hope that the Members of the House of Representatives will take action on farm legislation this session, which will really work and be of help to the farmers, I submit the following editorial from the Olgona Upper Des Moines as a thumbnail review of the development of today's crisis in rural America. Editorial follows:

THE MYTH ABOUT BENSON

We've read about all we care to on the subject of how "Ezra Benson inherited the farm program from the Democrats."

Ezra Benson became Secretary of Agriculture in the new Eisenhower cabinet that took office January 1, 1953. He has been Secretary of Agriculture ever since.

It is true that when he took office the farm program then functioning was one that originated under a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress. But in 1953 a Republican President and a Republican Congress took over. There has been a Republican President and a Republican cabinet all of the years since then, and a Republican-advocate farm program since that time.

In 1953 and 1954 when Republicans dominated everything, if Benson had any bright

ideas of solution, he had all the cards stacked in his favor. The Democratic farm program ran out.

Since then, the power of the Presidency has been thrown solidly behind every move that Benson has made. For the most part, the Democratic Congress since then has fairly well gone along with him, except that they stood pat against some points which Benson wanted. Had they been enacted the agricultural outlook would be even worse, pricewise.

We're just plain tired of hearing, also, that the program of 1959 was one the farmers voted for themselves. The vote in question, you will recall, gave the farmer one of two choices, both Benson-inspired. They could have voted for higher supports, rigid controls and a curtailment of acreage that would almost put a family-size farm out of business, or they could vote for lowered supports and no allotments. Farmers chose the latter course, not because they could not foresee what would happen, but because for most farmers this probably meant a chance to make a living compared with what would have been the case otherwise. It was the lesser of two evils. After all, they had to live, have something in cash with which to pay taxes, send their kids to school, and maybe a new pair of pants. It wasn't that they liked the choice they selected. Benson dealt the farmer a stacked hand in that vote, and most farmers know it.

Benson has not been made a scapegoat by anyone. He has had 7 years at the helm. During his tenure of office, the cost of administration and the cost of everything that is labeled farm program cost more than in the entire preceding 20 years under the Democrats. And still times got worse for the farmer, and the surpluses became larger.

His theories just simply have not worked out. His great desire to free the farmer as he terms it has simply made the farmer one of the few segments in the economy which has not shared proportionately in an element of prosperity these past few years.

And, at the same time, he has led the city dwellers to believe that the reason for their high cost of living is the farm program. This, perhaps, is the worst thing of all that this angel from Utah has injected into the national thinking. He has deliberately tried to drive a wedge between the city food purchaser and the producing farmer. Anyone with a lick of sense knows that it makes very little difference at the food store how low the selling price per hundredweight of livestock is at the stockyards. But look at the margin of corporate profits for the big processors and you know where the spread is going.

Benson must also be something of a hypocrite. At least it appears that way. While he virtuously slings psalms about the blessing of the open market and lowered support prices, if any, he at the same time has maintained an above-parity support on wool, a product which just happens to be one of the big income items of his brethren in Utah.

Let's have no more of this myth that Benson inherited it all from someone else. Seven years later no man is entitled to blame his predecessors for anything, in the Department of Agriculture or anywhere else.

Borrowed Time Club Dedicated to Age Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 26, 1960

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, for several years I have watched with great interest the development of the Borrowed Time Club in Bloomington, Ind. This group of "young" men and women over age 70 who have proven that life's later years can be the best—filled with activities that were too luxurious a drain on time prior to retirement.

Dr. Frank O. Beck has been one of the prime movers in the club. Some of my former professors at Indiana University are a part of it. Their remarkable story has been told many times, but it keeps growing longer and more impressive.

Here is one of the latest reports on their achievements, taken from the Indianapolis News:

BORROWED TIME CLUB DEDICATED TO AGE PROBLEM

(By Pat Redmond)

BLOOMINGTON, IND.—There's a busy band of silver-haired citizens here who just won't let go of their "get up and go."

Determined not to be mustered out of society just because they've retired or slowed down a bit, they're organized to fight old age segregation.

The organization, open to all Monroe County residents over 70, goes by the title, "The Borrowed Time Club."

Their aim: To be recognized as a still-active part of the community, able and willing to contribute their talents—particularly to the study of old age.

Formed 10 years ago, the club now includes some 200 active members who meet the first Sunday of every month. A number of committee members meet as often as once a week, however.

HELPED FOUND U.F. AGENCY

Not a games-and-gab group, the Borrowed Timers are dedicated to work on the old-age problem. In its first decade, the club spearheaded the establishment of Indiana's Commission on the Aging and Aged.

Locally, the group engineered the founding of the Monroe County Council on Problems of the Aging and Aged—now a united fund agency.

Panel discussions by club members, first broadcast locally, have been relayed over the world by the U.S. State Department. Requests for information about the club come in from around the country.

The group has two homes in Bloomington which are now being converted into centers for Borrowed Time meetings and for study, counseling and recreation.

Club members glow when they talk about their organization.

B. J. Ragatz, 88-year-old retired farmer and county official from Sterling, Colo., came to visit relatives in Bloomington recently and stayed on. "The club's given me a new lease on life," he said.

NOW IN SECOND PRIME OF LIFE

Mrs. J. B. Dutcher, 80, wiow of an Indiana University professor, said she's found "a friendliness I wouldn't otherwise have."

May Roubadeaux, an active 86, smiled when she said, "It makes life worth living. I used to be a happy little girl—a happy big girl. Now I'm a happy old girl."

Schuyler C. Davisson, 94, professor emeritus of mathematics at Indiana University, said, "We're in the second prime of life."

Much of the club's success can be traced to Dr. Frank O. Beck, 88, a retired minister and professor at Northwestern University. It was in his home that the Borrowed Timers first met in 1949.

Beck, now director and curator of the interdenominational Beck Memorial Chapel on the I.U. campus, is a peppy, tenacious foe of intolerance and discrimination in any form. His frosty eyebrows flashed as he talked.

"We want an intolerant society to become conscious of our age group. Think about it. We're really the only honorable leisure class.

"So far, society's just been driving the ambulance, so to speak, for the old people. This attitude has got to change.

"In the club, we're trying to do for ourselves what society hasn't done—make use of a wealth of cast-off talent and experience."

Beck, who served as chairman of the State Commission on Aging and the Aged after it was formed in 1955, admits his club members have problems.

A PLACE IN LINE OF MARCH

"We can't cut grass any more or shovel snow. There are many who can't properly care for the big homes in which they live. Transportation is a problem, too."

One of the objectives of the club is to establish a clearinghouse for these services needed by the oldsters. And, in turn, the Borrowed Timers are thinking of setting up a program whereby they could offer services such as minor repair work, sewing, baby sitting, and other light tasks.

Not content to eat the dust of the passing parade, Beck and his fellow club members want a place in the line of march.

"We want to live until we die," Beck said.

The Philosophy of Responsibility

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 14, 1960

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, one of the most distinguished citizens of the good State of Pennsylvania is the Most Reverend John J. Wright, bishop of the Catholic Diocese of Pittsburgh.

Bishop Wright is a young man who recently came to Pittsburgh to assume his current responsibiilties, and an active person who has done his job well, as well as taking an active interest in the affairs of the great western Pennsylvania metropolitan area.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am including a speech by the bishop at a dinner in Worcester, Mass., honoring Raymond P. Harold, president, Worcester Federal Savings & Loan Association.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF RESPONSIBILITY

(By the Most Reverend John J. Wright, D.D., bishop of the Pittsburgh, Pa., diocese)

The trials of the so-called war criminals have been subjected to thoughtful criticism by commentators, legal philosophers and historians. The opinion has been expressed that the Nuremberg trials may eventually cause our Nation and our allies very real embarrassment because the courts which conducted them functioned without previous written law and with the doubtful competence of conquerors. Quite possibly, too, apart from these considerations the cases of individual war criminals may have involved injustices or inequities because of passion or partisanship or misrepresentation.

Whatever the final verdict of history concerning the competence of courts like that at Nuremberg or the prudence of the judicial precedent established there, there was one refreshing aspect to the determination to bring to trial the war criminals and to demand an accounting before some bar of justice from some of those who by deliberate plan and conscious choice brought about the appalling evil that was World War II. This determination constituted a dramatic affirmation, before all the world and under

the most solemn circumstances, of a seriously neglected truth, the truth that political, social, and like moral disasters do not merely happen. They are not the blind results of inexorable fate. Even the most complex of these calamities are not the work of irresponsible, mechanical forces alone. Just as great movements forward in the social history of mankind may be accurately attributed to the honorable actions of upright men, so the moral disasters which overtake men and nations must be attributed to the unfortunate use by responsible men of that freedom in which God created mankind from the beginning.

In the rise and fall of societies as in the personal salvation or damnation of individual men, the old truth enunciated by the Sacred Scripture remains valid. It is a law of social history as well as a condition of individual salvation: "He shall have glory everlasting who was free to transgress, but did not, who was free to do evil things, but did not do them." This is the clue to a man's perfection: "Before man is life and death, good and evil, that which he shall choose shall be given him (Ecclesiasticus 15: 18). "Behold I set forth in your sight this day a blessing and a curse; a blessing if you obey the commandments of the Lord your God, * * * a curse, if you obey not" (Deuteronomy 11: 26–28). This is also the key to a nation's progress, its use of the freedom in which God made man from the begininng: "Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou who killest the prophets, and stonest those who are sent to thee. How often would I have gathered thy children together, as a hen gathers her young under her wings, but thou wouldst not" (Matthew 23: 37).

The determination to bring to justice the so-called war criminals constitutes, I repeat, a dramatic reaffirmation of the reality of free will and of personal responsibility for the moral consequences of individual actions. I speak of a reaffirmation because the philosophy of responsibility had lost something of its appeal, certainly in social thinking and possibly in legal thinking, in the generation immediately preceding the war.

There had always been the temptation to shuffle off accountability for moral defect. Shakespeare described and refuted it: "This is the excellent foppery of the world, that, when we are sick in fortune, often the surfeit of our own behavior, we make guilty of our disasters the sun, the moon, and the stars: as if we were villains by necessity; fools by heavenly compulsion; knaves, thieves, and treachers, by spherical predominance; drunkards, liars, and adulterers, by an enforced obedience of planetary influence." But "The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars, but in ourselves, that we are underlings" (Lear and Julius Caesar).

The philosophy of responsibility in modern times has further suffered from impersonal, collectivist theories of society and of history which found favor during and since the last century. These have tended to link human action to material forces and mass controls rather than to spiritual personality and individual responsibility. To be sure, an earlier generation of devout and God-fearing people had recognized the challenge of some environments and the limitations of certain heredities, but they still acknowledged that the generality of men remain free to make conscious choice between moral life and death, good and evil. But recently social theory followed new lines along which it has attempted to lead legal theory and application. As against the old philosophy of responsibility there has grown up the theory that misconduct is always abnormal, that what the law calls crime and what conscience calls sin are to be explained largely in terms of causes beyond the control of the sinner or the criminal. The dedicated to the great task remaining bephilosophy of responsibility has been replaced by the philosophy of excuse.

Under the newer concept, it is not a question of being able to transgress, but refusing to do so; it is rather a question of acting in accordance with the characters which, without our asking, we have received and which, without our choice, we follow. Character is considered a product of circumstances, and delinquency and crime are simply other names for conflict and maladjustment. Criminals are sick people, like the insane. They should be dealt with as sick people and far from seeing in their criminal actions anything for which they are responsible, we must learn to recognize in criminality the existence of something for which society is responsible. This has become the typical doctrine of a whole school of psychology and sociology. Hence the familiar captions under pictures of young criminals, "Who is the real delinquent, this boy or society?" Hence, too, the frequent statements of sociologists and other experts who announce, "We believe in the responsibility of society, not of the individual."

A few years ago I listened to a broadcast over a national network of an extremely effective radio drama. It was clearly conceived by its author and presented by its broadcasters as setting forth a profound and cogent point. Its scene was the cell of a condemned murderer. Every device of skillful radio-theater drove home the idea of the play as stated by the players: "Tonight I am sitting on the edge of a prison cot in the cell of a condemned murderer. Between him and the rope which will break his neck and choke the breath from his throat are 9 hours of tortured darkness. Soon the collective hand of society will reach out and pull the lever that will spring the trap and send his feet kicking in midair in the death struggle. Perhaps the collective conscience of society will permit itself a slight qualm, as I write, the murderer watches me. He is nothing more than a big-boned, hulking, somewhat dull kid who continually trembles. He will die in the first light of the morning. I shall write then about the court which should have tried him. It is a purely imaginary court (a court which sits in judgment on ordinary people who lead what might be called a blameless life, a court established by a law which reads in part): 'Whereas the State decrees that no one lacking 21 full years in age, can now alone be held responsible for any murder, it is ordered that a minimum of six shall then be hanged if one such minor is condemned to die.' And so this court's been called to quickly find the necessary five, the five additional nooses which await along with the one society's decreed for the young murderer."

The five extra nooses, as the play developed, were fashioned for the necks of the boy's school authorities, his parent, a political leader in his community, a representative of organized entertainment, and an average member of the general community. The broadcast was extremely effective. It undoubtedly left in the minds of millions the impression that thus responsibility was placed where it always belongs; not with the individual criminal, but with the total society—and therefore with no one. It was a dramatic example of the philosophy of excuse as opposed to the philosophy of responsibility.

Judge John Perkins, former justice of the Boston Juvenile Court, tells how one morning a probation officer came into his court room and said: "I went to the prison association dinner last night. The principal speaker made a moving address. At the end of it, after describing how a parolee had committed an atrocious murder, he burst into a dramatic peroration. Raising his eyes to the ceiling and with his voice trembling with emotion he exclaimed dramatically: 'Somehow, somewhere, someone of us failed this man.'" The judge remarked ironically: "You mustn't object to that argument. As a matter of fact, it is a wonderful idea for us, too. All these cases we have been worrying about, because they turned out badly, were not our fault. We never failed. Whenever we thought we had failed, someone else had always failed us."

This is the philosophy of excuse—the philosophy of ultimate irresponsibility. For more than a generation it has undermined the moral and legal and individual social responsibilities upon which the stability of society must repose.

The linking of misbehavior to maladjustments and to forces beyond the control of the individual offender may frequently be justified, but not so often as to warrant a general philosophy of law which loses sight of the normal facts of individual responsibility and of personal freedom. Misbehavior, whether sinful or criminal, always includes an element of maladjustment, but sometimes there are adjustments which the individual must make on the level of the spiritual in order to meet the test of the material and the trial of the evil.

We must ameliorate bad conditions. We must strive by social action to lighten the load where it is unjust or unsafe, but we must recognize that in all this adjustment there are adjustments expected of the individual as well. We have rationalized too many ruthless tyrants in terms of their alleged adolescent frustrations. Too many maladjusted criminals have been explained in terms of the alleged conflicts and tensions in the hearts of purportedly great artists who were forced to be obscure paperhangers in Austria or of alleged potential great leaders of social movements who were destined to become gangsters and leaders of antisocial rackets which tore American communities apart because "society never gave them a chance." To much gangsterism and sheer criminality on the obscure levels of the underworld and on the higher levels of international action and diplomacy have been encouraged by this philosophy of excuse in the realm of conscience and on the level of courts. The war crimes trials have caused to resound in our century some echo, at least, of that voice of responsibility which spoke centuries ago with accents divine: "This night do they require thy soul of thee." They have reminded public servants of that accountability which is imposed on every free agent: "How is it that I hear this of thee? Give an account of thy stewardship, for now thou canst be steward no longer."

It is good for civilization that the philosophy of responsibility should be reaffirmed and that the philosophy of excuse should be subordinated to it, cut down to size. Civilization was not achieved by any such philosophy as that of excuse, by vagueness about accountability. Mankind did not emerge from recurring periods of social decline and even savagery by any such formula. Social progress has not been accomplished by swinging along with impersonal destinies, by riding the wave of the future, by the blind operation of uncontrolled, biological, economic, or social forces. It has been achieved by the vision and determination, by the self-knowledge and self-discipline of single individuals and of individuals in groups who have understood the meanings of these responsible, constructive words: "I know; I will. I do."

"'Lord, if Thou wilt, Thou canst make me clean.' And stretching forth His hands Jesus touched him saying: 'I will: be thou made clean.' And immediately his leprosy was cleansed" (Matthew 8: 1–4).

"And returning to himself, he said: * * * 'I will arise, and will go to my Father, and say to Him: "Father, I have sinned against heaven and before Thee. I am not worthy to be called Thy son; make me one of Thy hired servants"'" (Luke 15: 17–19).

"It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here fore us: that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of

devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that Government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth" (Gettysburg Address—Lincoln).

"Poverty is the northwind that lashes men into Vikings. * * * What we call evils, as poverty, neglect, and suffering, are, if we are wise, opportunities for good. * * * If I am left alone, yet God and all the heroic dead are with me still. If a great city is my dwelling place, the superficial life of noise and haste shall teach me how blessed a thing it is to live within the company of true thought and high resolves. Whatever can help me to think and love, whatever can give me strength and patience, whatever can make me humble and serviceable, though it be a trifle light as air, is opportunity, whose whim it is to hide in unconsidered things, in chance acquaintances and casual speech, in the falling of an apple, in floating weeds, or the accidental explosion in a chemist's mortar" (Oportunity, John Lancaster Spalding).

It is easy to satirize these valiant concepts of an age perhaps more rhetorical, but also more resourceful, more self-reliant, more imbued with the philosophy of responsibility, more contemptuous of the philosophy of excuse. But the whole history of human achievement gives meaning to that rhetoric and attests to the worth of those who indulged it, who taught their children and told their fellow citizens and trained themselves to recognize that they could do evil, but must not, that they could transgress, but would not.

So we in our legislation, in our law courts, and in our social theory must recognize and make allowance for the inadequate and the unfortunate, but we must not treat their condition as the normal condition of mankind and we must not spin our moral philosophy around their deficiencies. In our sympathy we must not place emphasis on excuse rather than on responsibility and thus spread a demoralizing social philosophy. We must make responsibility the universal norm and excuse the challenged exception. We must state the rules rather than constantly find reasons why they do not apply. We might well return to a bit of the rhetoric that glorified heroism and achievement and tone down the rhetoric lavished on those who lack the moral wherewithal by which to try or who, having it, prefer to serve themselves and blame society rather than serve society and honor themselves.

We must recognize how the philosophy of responsibility enabled boys with withered legs to become useful citizens, leaders of their community, but above all, masters of themselves—while the philosophy of excuse has allowed men of real intelligence and potential parts to become the instruments of society's confusion and of their own damnation. Social stability and individual salvation still depend on the recognition of the central place of individual responsibility in whatever good may be accomplished or whatever evil must be suffered on the face of the earth over which God gave man dominion.

Specifically, it was the philosophy of responsibility that made America great. It is the basis of free self-government as free self-government in turn has been the basis of American greatness. Woodrow Wilson said some wise things about the relationship of self-government to the kind of character produced by the philosophy of responsibility. He said: "Self-government is not a mere form of institution, to be had when desired, if only the proper pains are taken. It is a form of character. It follows on the long discipline which gives a people self-possession, self-mastery, the habit of order and common counsel, and a reverence for law which will not fail when they themselves become the makers of law."

In business there is needed, most particularly, a constant reaffirmation of the philosophy of responsibility, an acknowledgment that circumstances are never so good but what a man can do stupid and evil things, and that circumstances are never so bad but what another man can do good deeds. The philosophy of moral responsibility is the very heart of good business; the philosophy of excuse is necessarily the blight of business.

To whom, however, does a sound philosophy of responsibility hold business answerable? Not to any abstraction, like government with a capital G, medicine with a capital M, science with a capital S, prosperity with a capital P—or the other divinities of the hour. In point of fact, the philosophy of responsibility is ill served when we invoke these abstractions and give them capital letters, as if they were gods—abstractions such as Labor, Management, education, diplomacy, medicine, science, Business itself. The philosophy of responsibility prefers to talk of these in terms of individual persons, persons who can rebuke me if I let them down, persons whom I please when I do the job properly.

For the philosophy of responsibility, "Labor" is not an abstract force; "Labor" is my father, going out to work at 6:30 in the morning, coming back at 5:30 at night, going to church on Sunday, enjoying a beer in the evening, voting as he pleases on election day. "Management" is not a blind force at work in social history, elusive, omnipotent, operating with occult laws; "Management" is a man, my father's boss, for example, intelligently and conscientiously entering with personal interest into the affairs of his employees' families to encourage and befriend, or absenting himself for 6 months of the year to bask in the sun while his business and his workers take care of themselves as best they can.

It will help break the bonds of the philosophy of excuse and restore the philosophy of responsibility if we reduce to lower case these capital letter abstractions before the presence and problems of which we cringe, and begin again to think in terms of individual persons lost in the maze of the capital letters.

"Education" isn't some sort of demi-urge at work in society. "Education" is a young girl going out to her first teaching job, a priest trying to build a college, a woman giving up the best years of her life to form the hearts and minds of someone else's children.

"Diplomacy" in the age of the philosophy of excuse is another of the blind forces in the vagueness of which we take refuge. In the philosophy of responsibility, "Diplomacy" was a champagne salesman from Germany with a grudge against England, or a man to be watched with great care as, with wily calculation, he meets the press to make a point for the Soviet, or, this month, "Diplomacy" is a stubborn, dogged, admirable man with a firm, clear conscience and a rugged sense of duty—but, alas, a cancer. John Foster Dulles, mourned today by all America, is no abstraction; he was a Christian with a sense of the philosophy of responsibility, totally unprepared to back down before any "waves of the future" in the form of communism, big business, or any other of the magic words which seduce the irresponsible.

So, too, "Medicine" is no abstraction. "Medicine" is a man who took special courses and developed special talents to take care of my mother or your baby; he's a man who answers the phone at night or doesn't; who stays by me as long as I need him—or quits.

"Science" is not a blind force, a capital letter abstraction. "Science" is a professor named Goddard, ridiculed as the "man in the moon" because he knew and loved too soon truths we are slowly coming to discern; "Science" is a young man in Alexandria, Va., married, with two children, preparing to don a space suit and set forth for new heights and depths of space as a new chapter opens in the story of the response of responsible men to God's command that man subdue creation and rule over it, not back down before it and be dominated by it.

"Business," finally, is not a blind law unto itself, another of these fancied historic and social forces which mesmerize the unthinking. "Business" is a storekeeper, worried about his taxes, wondering when the Salem Square project will be underway, trying to balance his books, meet his competition, pay his taxes and send his children to school. "Banking" is not an amoral, suprahuman, economic force. "Banking" is a man named Morgan, or, as I've lately discovered, a man named Mellon, or, as the advertising club has recognized tonight, "Banking" is a man named Ray Harold.

And to whom are all these men answerable? Are they responsible to "History"? "History" is rhetoric, another abstraction. Are they responsible to "Fate" or to "Destiny"? Such words can be illusory. Are they, perhaps, responsible to "America" or to "Humanity"? These are also abstractions, the capital letter words of which the philosophy of responsibility is wary.

Businessmen, like other men living under the philosophy of responsibility, are answerable to persons like themselves—to their clients, their customers, their families, their associates, their investors, their tax collectors; they are answerable to their own consciences, and so to themselves; above all, they must answer to their God, and He is not a philosophical abstraction, but a living person who will one day be their judge. He is not an undefinable force; He is as definite and as personal as that towering son of man whom Michaelangelo painted as coming in judgment to settle accounts with all the "you's" and "me's" crowded into the famed fresco on the Sistine Chapel wall.

We speak too much of abstract concepts as if they were unalterable forces; we too often pose as the victims of the dead hand of the past, the grave problems of the present, the overwhelming demands of the future. These capital letter tyrants must also be reduced to persons—and then we understand and face them.

What is the past? The past is a man named Adam—and it's also a God-man named Jesus. It's a brave man named Columbus and a nuisance named Napoleon; a bold man named Isaiah Thomas, a scholar named Woodrow Wilson, a poker player named Warren Harding, a smart Yankee named Cal Coolidge, an unreliable man named Benedict Arnold, a man of integrity named Al Smith, a devoted man named Herbert Hoover; it is these and a million other men—good, bad, and indifferent—to whose accomplishments and to whose shortcomings we are the heirs.

The present is not quite the abstract mystery we make it seem to be. Viewed from one angle it is a wily fellow named Mikoyan, a sturdy old German named Adenauer, a brave girl named Anne Frank, or some of the less attractive girls whose names turn up in the news from Las Vegas, Cap d'Antibes, and Sunset Boulevard.

And the future is no great mystery either, at least in terms of our responsibility toward it. For you and me, the future is a baby named Joey or a little girl named Jane, most of your obligations and mine can be stated in terms of what we owe them. Our moral stature, in the philosophy of responsibility, will depend on how we serve these and their counterparts for generations to come, our damnation may depend on the extent to which we defraud them.

Ray Harold represents the type of businessman who lives by the philosophy of responsibility in just such human terms. He is a citizen prepared, indeed eager to stand up to be counted, and, if need be, to be knocked down in the interests of the

building of a better Worcester community for individual persons present and future. He may have made mistakes; he may yet make many others. But such mistakes as his type of public servant makes are a cheap price to pay for the great contributions he makes to a community's progress. He can be relied upon not to take refuge in the philosophy of excuse; he believes in and exemplifies the philosophy of responsibility.

The Advertising Club's choice of him for the Isaiah Thomas Award constitutes a timely and effective Worcester endorsement of that proud, constructive philosophy.

The Trend Must Be Reversed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1960

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I have asked consent to insert in the RECORD an editorial appearing in the Bennett County Booster, Martin, S. Dak., in the January 21, 1960, issue of that weekly publication.

This newspaper speaks for a great many people in South Dakota who believe as the editor believes. It is for that reason that I reprint this editorial in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that the people across the Nation may have the benefit of this editor's views.

The editorial follows:

THE TREND MUST BE REVERSED

When a farmer goes to his banker to borrow money, before he gets the loan the banker inquires into his financial status and investigates the business practices of the man.

If the farmer wishes to borrow money to buy more land when he already has more land than he can operate to good advantage, the farmer probably doesn't get the loan. The banker—or any other financial institution—would probably refuse him credit on the grounds that he should sell some of his land and use the proceeds of such sale to operate profitably the holdings he retains.

By the same token, if a businessman goes to a bank to borrow money to establish or buy into a new business, he undergoes the same detailed investigation. If the loaning institution finds that he already is involved in more businesses than he can operate profitably, the loan more than likely will be denied with the advice that he should sell some of his businesses and use the proceeds to operate his other businesses in a profitable manner.

We Americans, generally, are good, sound, level-headed businessmen—except when it comes to government and international relations. Then we throw out the window all the knowledge that we have gained through experience with good business practices.

For instance, on page 221 of the U.S. Government Organization Manual, 1958–59 issue, the Interior Department describes its vast empire by asserting that it has custody of 750 million acres of land. Thus this single agency claims to have jurisdiction over 32.3 percent of the total land and water area of the United States and all of its territories and possessions.

On page 254 of the same manual the Forest Service claims that it administers about 168 million acres. This acreage equals 8.1 percent of the total land and water area of the United States and all of its territories and possessions.

This is the landholdings of but 2 of the more than 700 Federal agencies which have landholdings, but these 2 are the largest.

Yet, the national debt continues to climb. It was estimated in President Eisenhower's budget that by the end of 1960, the Federal Government would be $284 billion in debt.

We, as taxpayers and furnishers of the capital for operation of this huge business, should thoroughly investigate the return the Government is getting from owning nearly half of the land area of the Nation.

If there is not a justifiable return, we should refuse to grant any more credit and advise the Government to sell much of its landholdings and operate its remaining holdings in a profitable manner.

A further investigation bears out the fact that this is very sound advice today, but should have been given years ago.

On this vast land empire the Federal Government operates nearly 20 percent of the Nation's industrial capacity. For the operation of this vast industrial empire, the American taxpayers were required to provide the capital—an estimated $250 billion gathered through taxes or included in the national debt—almost enough to wipe out the national debt.

Most of these businesses were established with the pretense that the Government can do a better job than private enterprise. This is a fallacious belief that is currently becoming far too popular for this country's good.

The contention that private enterprise either failed or refused to perform in any economic area has no basis in fact.

The Federal corporate activities, generally, do not operate in a profitable manner. Instead of assuming normal operating responsibilities and supporting the civic interest, they demand services of all kinds from every level of government. Despite their political preference and privilege, the Federal corporate activities have consistently lost more than $10 billion per year since 1948, and in 1959 the losses are estimated to exceed $19 billion.

The House Government Operations Committee estimates the Government's investment in its properties to be $262 billion. If the property could be sold back to the people at just 25 percent of cost it could cut the national debt by $65 billion and save the taxpayers nearly $2 billion in interest charges per year.

It would also save amortization costs, cut one million people from the Federal payroll that supply free services to the Federal corporations and would save nearly $13 billion per year in goods, services and facilities necessary for the one million Federal employees no longer needed.

Besides the revenue from the sale of the property, a conservative estimate of tax money saved would be nearly $40 million.

Instead of our Government being the greatest pauper in history it could be returned to a solvent position and regain the affection of its citizens.

The trend toward more Government services and more invasion of private enterprise can only lead to socialism and eventually communism. Unless the present trend is reversed we may expect just such a government within a few short years.

The Booster still believes, although we appear to be in the minority, that the least government is the best government.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Appendix

The Common People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PRESCOTT BUSH
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, January 29, 1960

Mr. BUSH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a sermon entitled "The Common People," which was delivered by Dr. William H. Alderson at the First Methodist Church of Bridgeport, Conn., on Sunday, January 17, 1960.

The sermon was inspired by the impact the President made on the people of the world by reason of his visit to the Middle East.

Dr. Alderson is one of the outstanding preachers of the Methodist Church today; in addition to carrying on his parish work, he is chairman of the committee on entertainment of the general conference of the Methodist Church to be held in Denver this year, and he is presently serving as grand chaplain of the Grand Masonic Lodge of Connecticut.

There being no objection, the sermon was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE COMMON PEOPLE

"And the common people heard Him gladly" (Mark 12: 37).

There are verses in the Scripture which suddenly become incandescent, once your attention is fastened upon them. Set off all by itself in the book by Matthew is that verse which has no connection with what goes before or comes afterward, but which has carried strength and hope to countless people: "Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." "The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want," becomes more soothing and consoling the more you repeat it. Paul says: "I can do all things through Him who strengthens me," and the more you read it the more tremendous it sounds. And like a bolt of summer lightning which illuminates a whole landscape in a flash, we have the word of our text: "And the common people heard Him gladly."

These words create instantaneous pictures in the mind. We see crowds of people everywhere. A multitude on a mountainside listening intently to a white robed figure whose eyes and manner and voice fascinated them; a tremendous crowd on the seashore with their attention riveted on a man sitting in a boat and speaking as they had never heard anyone speak before; the air full of shouts and singing as a man on donkey-back rode slowly along a narrow lane formed by pressing, turbulent crowds lining the highway leading from Bethany to Jerusalem; a subdued multitude watching a man die on a cross; these are familiar pictures to us. Crowds everywhere. It seems at times that Jesus lived among crowds.

And when Mark with one bold stroke puts these words into his story he is painting a hundred pictures with one sweep of his brush: "And the common people heard Him gladly."

1. Why did the common people hear Him gladly?

There are several reasons, and I think a brief look at them will help us understand the scope of the truth of this text.

(a) Doubtless many people in the crowds who surrounded Jesus were there out of curiosity. Why wouldn't they be? Life in the long ago could be terribly dull and uninteresting. The villages in which most of the people lived were small and drab. Doubtless they said many times: "Nothing ever happens here." Then rumors started. Travelers brought stories about a roving teacher, the like of whom no one had ever seen. Some claimed He could make the deaf to hear, the blind to see, the lame to walk, and dumb to speak. Someone even declared He had opened a tomb and called a man back to life. Who wouldn't go to have the routine of village and country life broken by a chance to see these things happen.

(b) But there was a deeper reason to be found for the presence of the crowds than the fact that they were curious. Mark in his direct way does not say: "And the common people stood and stared at Him." That would be the record if curiosity was all that prompted them. Mark says: "And the common people heard Him gladly." And one reason was that they could understand what He was talking about. Many of the teachers to whom they had listened had engaged in long, involved, abstract theological discussions. Doubtless they were very learned men, but how many of the common people understood what it was all about. How many ministers have we all listened to and while we felt that it was all very scholarly and contained many historical and literary allusions, yet it left us cold and wondering what the speaker was after.

But this was not true of this teacher who roamed the countryside in Galilee. He talked about sheep and goats, loaves of bread, torn and patched garments, grapes and thistles, children playing in the streets, lost money, boys running away from home, robbery and violence on the highway. And the common people liked it because they understood what He was saying. There were lessons to be learned from these everyday things which they had never thought of before. This man made them plain. They saw it now, though they had never thought of it that way before. No wonder they heard Him gladly.

(c) But there was a still deeper appeal to the words of this teacher. He gave to the common people a feeling of importance. When he talked to them they seemed to have a value no one else had ever ascribed to them. No one had ever really cared. Here was a man who seemed to care and he talked about a God who cared. Many of these people were slaves. They were ashamed of their lowly stations in life. This man raised humble service up to a level where it began to be the most important thing in the world. Here were outcasts and lepers with whom no one would deal. This man talked with them, ate with them, healed them. He looked straight into their eyes and said: "You are the salt of the earth, men can't get along without you. You are the light of the world, you are indispensable. God cares so much about you that even the hairs of your heads are numbered."

Is it any wonder that when it was rumored that he was to pass that way, "flails were flung aside on the threshing floors, hoes were dropped in the gardens, half-empty baskets were left in the vineyards and the forge fires died" while the common people tramped the dusty roads to find a man who talked straight to them about a God who cared for them. No wonder the common people heard him gladly. If the common people had failed to hear him with joy it would have been the most damaging possible reflection on the truth and validity of his message.

Now that brings us to the point where we can give this truth a turn in a direction which bears definitely upon our life today. One of my deepest convictions is the truth that in the long run you can trust the common people and their judgment. Just a month ago at this time our President was on an unprecedented trip around the world. As you all know he was visiting one country after another in the endeavor to build good will for world peace. Through the press, the radio and the television we were able to keep in close touch with the President's progress and the way he was received around the world. I discussed this phenomenon with one of my long time friends in this church, and as a result of that conversation this emphasis is in my message this morning.

What was the most remarkable thing about President Eisenhower's journey? Was it the political significance it will have on the coming election? Some politicians would like to charge that, but they cannot make it stick. Was it the concessions, secret or otherwise, which the President may have secured from various national leaders? Was it the chance to see at firsthand the needs of these countries? No; it was none of these. The great, heartening significance of this visit was the spontaneous response of the common people of the world to the sincerity and leadership of a man who is truly seeking peace. There has never been anything like it in all history and it gives the soundest hope for peace that the world has had in the last half century.

3. And that brings us to this final truth which is both cheering and sobering. It is this: "The people always get, at last, what they want." History is precisely the illustration of this truth. But you have to wait for the verdict of history. You may err in judgment if you draw your conclusions too soon. Back in colonial days the residents of this country were being severely taxed by England and were being given no voice in the matter. The famous protest, "taxation without representation is unjust," was born in those days. But with red-coated British soldiers, with fixed bayonets, marching in the streets, what could be done about it? If you look at history at that point you draw a false conclusion. But that isn't the end of the story. The common people reached the point where they would no longer tolerate such injustice and the embattled farmers who were the common people "fired the shot heard around the world" which led to a revolution and ultimate freedom.

You draw another false conclusion if you look only at a mob of the common people, acting under wicked leadership, standing in front of Pilate's judgment hall and crying for a crucifixion. They got a crucifixion that morning, but the whole world knows that was not the end of the story, but only the prelude to the opening of a new way of life to the whole world.

I think that our ultimate hope regarding Russia lies in this truth, "at last, the common people get what they want." I do not know whether it will come in Russia with a cataclysmic uprising which may make the streets run red with blood again, or whether it will be a leavening movement which will bring about gradual change from within; but I do know there is something invincible in the human spirit and the common people of Russia will not go on indefinitely suppressed by burdens too grievous to be born.

I think the same thing is true of the increasing, and now almost unbearable tax burden in this country. Our personal taxes are now so heavy that they leave nothing for people of modest incomes to save and invest. And I think the time is not far distant when the common people will demand and get an adjustment which will restore to them the spending control of their personal incomes. This will strengthen our free enterprise system and undergird our national economy until it will rest on the surest foundation it has ever known.

We, the common people, get what we want. The books which are printed, the music which is played, the radio and television programs which are offered, the business practices employed, the moral standards observed, are all what the common people want. If they are low in quality they will be changed only when the common people demand it.

This is our great hope for peace or for any other improvement in the life of the world. There is a rising tide of intolerance on the part of the common peoples of the world against this business of living in the constant threat of destruction. This is where Christianity and democracy go hand in hand leading the way to a better, safer world. Christianity gives us the idealism and the spiritual power. Democracy gives the common people the final word, the ultimate judgment. That's why this text is one of the most hopeful words ever written, for it was said of Jesus: "the common people heard Him gladly."

Informational, Educational, and Cultural TV Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 29, 1960

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, I congratulate the three major networks on their decision to devote an hour each week of their most valuable time to cultural and educational programs which will start next November.

Such voluntary cooperation to improve television programing should be encouraged.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement which I made on the subject on January 17.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR CLIFFORD P. CASE

The suggestion by Chairman John C. Doerfer of the Federal Communications Commission Thursday that the television networks set aside a half hour each weekday night for informational, educational, and cultural shows makes a lot of sense.

It would give real meaning to the Federal Communications Act requirement that our television stations be operated in the "public interest, convenience, and necessity."

Such a step toward setting a floor or minimum standard during the preferred evening time would help achieve the goal of balanced programing. Possibly an hour, rather than a half hour, would be required for a realization of the full potential of this type of program. I mention this since minimum standards, once established, so often tend to become maximum ones.

I am pleased to read the initial responses of the three major networks. I recognize the strong pressures which competition forces on them in programing and I feel that this suggestion can help them achieve a higher standard of service by placing all of them on the same basis.

As the ranking Republican on the Senate Communications Subcommittee, I believe our subcommittee should determine promptly whether additional legislation is necessary in order to give effect to this suggestion.

Americans Want Action on Tax, Labor, and Farm Fronts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1960

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, for every citizen who writes to his Congressman about the issues which face the Nation, there are hundreds who do not. Their opinions were sampled in a nationwide survey conducted by George Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion.

According to this poll, three problems loom largest in America's mind—taxes, labor, and the farm situation. As I have worked on farm legislation ever since coming to Congress in 1953, I was interested to see that the public is becoming increasingly aware of the farm problem and lists it as the third most important area in which Congress should act.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to insert the results of this Gallup poll in the RECORD:

TAX CUT IS FIRST IN PUBLIC MINDS

(By George Gallup, director, American Institute of Public Opinion)

PRINCETON, N.J.—As the 86th Congress reconvenes, what problems or issues does the American public believe should be on its agenda for legislative action?

To get the answer, the Gallup poll assigned 158 members of its field staff to talk to a carefully selected nationwide sample of voters. In all, a total of 1,519 people were interviewed.

This survey, just completed, reveals three problems to be uppermost in the minds of the persons interviewed. These are:

1. Tax legislation: The cry for lower taxes has proved to be a persistent one over the years. The greatest number of people say they want Congress to deal with this perennial problem.

2. Labor legislation: A typical opinion often voiced in this survey was "Congress should straighten out the labor situation," or "Something must be done about these strikes, like the steel strike."

3. Farm legislation: With such terms as "surplus," "soil bank," and "subsidy" becoming household words in many quarters, the farm problem is cited next by the public as one with which they would like Congress to come to grips.

Here is the question which was put to a representative cross section of the American public:

"Suppose you were writing your Congressman or Senator about the things you think Congress should do, what would you say you want done by Congress?"

Mr. and Mrs. Average Citizen, disinclined to sit down and write his or her Congressman, has the opportunity to express an opinion through the medium of the public opinion survey.

Here are the problems or issues that the U.S. public would like to see the 86th Congress take up and act upon as it begins its 2d session, in order of frequency of mention:

PUBLIC'S AGENDA FOR CONGRESS

1. Tax legislation.
2. Labor legislation.
3. Farm legislation.
4. Keeping peace.
5. Social security, welfare.
6. High cost of living.
7. Aid to education.
8. Unemployment.
9. Civil rights.
10. Reduction of Government spending.

In addition to requests for legislation on major problems facing the country, this survey reveals a multitude of more specific concerns of the public, ranging from the regulation of the sale of cranberries to the pollution of rivers.

A sizable proportion—about one person in five—is either uncertain about what he or she would like Congress to act upon, or is not sufficiently aroused about any one problem to propose that Congress tackle it.

Tribute to the Late Frank S. Land

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR.
OF MISSOURI
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 29, 1960

Mr. HENNINGS. Mr. President, last November a very distinguished Kansas Citian died, Mr. Frank Land. Throughout the most of his life Mr. Land was devoted to helping youngsters, and whenever the Order of DeMolay meets today Mr. Land is there in spirit.

I ask unanimous consent that an editorial from the Kansas City News-Press entitled "Frank Land, Friend of the Boy," be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Kansas City News-Press, Nov. 20, 1959]

FRANK LAND, FRIEND OF THE BOY

Frank S. Land, although a resident of Kansas City, could truly be called a "citizen of the world."

Because he wished to help boys nearly a half-century ago, a worldwide organization came into being, and today, wherever the Order of DeMolay holds a meeting, the memory of "Dad" Land is revered.

The number of boys given a sense of direction and purpose by being members of De-

Molay is countless. Many a boy who belonged to that organization is a better man today because he was a member.

Frank Land was a civic leader without peer. His many solid contributions to our community will be remembered for generations.

But his wish to help boys will go down through the years as a living memorial of far more value than marble or bronze.

His epitaph could well be a phrase coined by a president of Optimist International, another organization devoted to lending a helping hand to boys:

"A man never stands quite so tall as when he stoops to help a boy."

California Congressman Insists on First-hand Knowledge of Jets

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARLAN HAGEN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1960

Mr. HAGEN. Mr. Speaker, there are many Members of Congress who produce the most effective results in this body through hard work with a minimum of fanfare and national publicity, and without whose efforts this body could not function. One of these persons is the beloved leader of the California congressional delegation, who is also the leader of the Democratic segment of that delegation. I refer to the Honorable HARRY R. SHEPPARD, a devoted legislator whose progress through life has been strictly of his own making and who has engaged in an interesting variety of activities, both humble and exalted.

This background is touched upon in a very excellent article under the byline of Harrison Humphries of the Associated Press, and carried nationally on or about the date of January 1, 1960. This article vividly describes the many splendid facets of the career of this man who is beloved by the California delegation and, I am certain, equally so by all Members of the House of Representatives who know him intimately. The article in question follows:

CALIFORNIA CONGRESSMAN INSISTS ON FIRST-HAND KNOWLEDGE OF JETS

(By Harrison Humphries)

WASHINGTON.—The elderly civilian walked briskly into a Florida airbase and asked to ride a B-52G Stratofortress during an aerial refueling exercise.

It was obvious that officers in command at Eglin Air Force Base would rather have their 75-year-old visitor watch the somewhat risky operation from the ground.

But military men don't say "No" to Representative HARRY R. SHEPPARD, Democrat, of California.

For 20 of his 23 years in Congress, SHEPPARD has been a specialist in appropriations for various functions of the military services, particularly the Navy. He is now chairman of the House Appropriations Committee panel reviewing proposed construction projects at all Army, Navy, and Air Force bases.

The request at Eglin was merely the latest demonstration of SHEPPARD's lifelong, intense curiosity.

A self-styled nomad in his youth, SHEPPARD at 29 had seen so many places and done so many things that he was hired by the fledgling silent movie industry to pick the outdoor settings for the adventures of Pearl White, Tom Mix, William S. Hart, Pola Negri, and other silent film personalities.

In his legislative career, SHEPPARD has been a frequent passenger on the Navy's warships. He had ridden in all types of the Nation's military aircraft, breaking the sound barrier a half-dozen times aboard jet fighters.

Citing his experience before dubious officers at Eglin, SHEPPARD insisted on going up in the B-52G. Thus he became probably the oldest man to ride in a jet bomber while it took fuel from a jet tanker.

"I believe firmly in the visual concept," SHEPPARD said in an interview. "I can get more knowledge from a few minutes actual experience than from listening to the testimony of experts for 10 days in a committee room."

Eglin was only 1 of 61 defense installations visited by SHEPPARD during the recent congressional recess. His inspection tour took him through the Midwest, Northwest, southern California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and Florida.

In previous years, SHEPPARD has been around the world three times looking at U.S. military bases in the remote corners of the earth.

SHEPPARD is serving his 12th term in the House from California's 27th district—San Bernardino County. A Democrat, he already has announced his candidacy for reelection to a 13th term this November. He is a dean of the California congressional delegation.

Born in Mobile, Ala., January 10, 1885, SHEPPARD was an only child. He was orphaned at 16 when his parents, Dr. and Mrs. Edward H. Sheppard, were killed as a train hit their buggy.

SHEPPARD took his $1,680 inheritance, and by stretching it with odd jobs, acquired an engineering education at Georgia Tech.

Jobs were hard to find when SHEPPARD emerged from school with the class of 1907. He landed first in a Birmingham livery stable tending 24 horses for $10 a week and the privilege of sleeping in the harness room.

Then he took to the road.

"I was a nomad—over the hill to greener pastures," SHEPPARD recalled. "I traveled and did about everything."

He worked 3 years for a Michigan farm machinery manufacturer teaching farmers in Wisconsin, the Dakotas, Minnesota, and Kansas how to use their newly purchased threshing machines.

In 1914, when Hollywood was young, SHEPPARD was hired by Independent Picture Corp. as technical adviser on external sets.

His work took him to Alaska to select the settings for a silent thriller starring Tom Sanches. He led a company to New Mexico to film a Tom Mix western, "The Outlaws of New Mexico." He worked out the timing for Pearl White's leaps from horses to moving trains.

"For 3 years, I worked with virtually all of the leading movie characters of that era," SHEPPARD said.

In 1920, he opened his own consulting engineering office in Fresno, a business he sold in 1924 to join a biochemist, O. B. King, in establishing King Laboratories in Yucaipa, Calif., for the extraction of malic acid—used in medicines—from fruit.

SHEPPARD sold his business in 1934 and planned to take his wife, the former Kay Olsen, to Europe. The trip was postponed when he accepted the suggestion of a group of San Bernardino County citizens that he run for Congress.

Victor over seven Democratic opponents in the primary, SHEPPARD was elected in November 1936, to the first of 12 consecutive terms in the House.

A meticulous man, there's never a paper on his big glass-topped desk except the one he's working on. Filing cabinets and bookshelves along the walls are lined neatly on top with scale models of military aircraft, missiles, and ships.

SHEPPARD rises early and retires late. He usually is at his office by 7 a.m.

He and Mrs. Sheppard entertain occasionally at their big 12-room house in Washington and accept invitations infrequently.

"With personal friends, I enjoy dinner and a cocktail," he said. "But the major part of the invitations in Washington are showcase operations—planned for cause and effect. I don't go for them."

Deficiency in Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 29, 1960

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent editorial from today's New York Times.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, I have read the editorial which appeared in the New York Times today regarding educational deficiencies in the United States, and I am delighted to join the Senator from Arkansas in his request that it be printed in the RECORD.

The problems facing our schools will come up before the Senate shortly for serious consideration. It is my sincere hope that, underlying these discussions, will be the clear realization that the quality of education today will determine our status as a nation in the future. I think that the ideas presented in a New York Times editorial today present a straightforward and constructive summary of the deficiencies and needs of our schools. In stressing the need for quality as well as quantity, they have rightly urged that both sides of the problem be faced in a single legislative coin.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEFICIENCY IN EDUCATION

Making all due allowance for the political aroma of President Eisenhower's speech at a Republican fundraising dinner in Los Angeles, one cannot pass unchallenged his optimism on the subject of American education. "Time and again," said the President, "we hear spurious assertions that America's * * * educational * * * efforts are deficient."

So far as this newspaper is concerned, such assertions are not spurious but genuine. Earlier in the same talk President Eisenhower acknowledged that there are "great deficiencies"—the words are his—in the number of classrooms available for the constantly growing number of students. If there are great deficiencies, as there are, then there is nothing "spurious" in stating that America's educational efforts up to the present have been "deficient." The President apparently believes that his plan for

encouraging classroom construction by having the Federal Government help pay the debt service on local school bonds would remove the deficiency. We don't think the administration bill would begin to meet the problem.

What is that problem? Briefly stated, it involves a shortage of over 130,000 public elementary and secondary school classrooms at the beginning of the current school year. Secretary Flemming himself says that "we have barely been building enough schools each year to take care of annual enrollment increases * * *"—though 70,000 new classrooms were built last year. The problem also involves inadequacy of teachers' salaries, now averaging less than $5,200 a year, as well as the wide spread shortage of qualified teachers.

But the problem of American education goes deeper than lack of buildings or lack of equipment or lack of scholarships or lack of pay, or even lack of personnel. It involves something infinitely harder to improve than deficiencies in plant or salary scale. It involves quality: Quality of teachers, quality of instruction, quality of curricula, quality of students, quality of output, quality of standards. Here is the area of greatest deficiency that cannot be cured merely by plant or money.

Nevertheless, new plants and more money are primary essentials if America's educational deficiencies are to be remedied. A satisfactory aid to education bill would help meet this urgent need; and it is difficult to see how either party can face the people with a clear conscience next November if no action is taken in this direction.

Sinews of Strength

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 29, 1960

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, last fall the visit of Premier Nikita Khrushchev to the farming heartland of America inspired Mrs. Margaret Scott Biskeborn of Chamberlain, S. Dak., to write an original oration for her son, Gary Biskeborn, to deliver in a high school public speaking contest. I believe the content of this oration is worthy of attention, and therefore I ask unanimous consent that the oration be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the oration was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SINEWS OF STRENGTH

Mr. Khrushchev's visit to America has caused us to think deeply and to evaluate our beliefs, our freedoms, and the standard of our ideals which represent America. Mr. F. C. Christopherson in an editorial in the September 24 issue of the Sioux Falls Argus Leader said, "Yes, Mr. Khrushchev was in the heart of the Nation, Wednesday, and I like to believe that that great heart of America beat so vigorously and so adequately that he was compelled to realize that the American way has its sinews of strength—a strength so stout that it would be folly to test it."

What are these sinews of strength? What undergirds this great American heart, this American spirit?

Senator KARL MUNDT stated in Chamberlain Friday night, September 25, "America and Russia are competing in a contest between concepts and ideals, using these devices as a means successfully to attain those goals for which each nation is striving."

What are these ideals and ideas that we Americans believe in as a nation?

From our beginning the Declaration of Independence states, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Our Constitution became the cornerstone of our democracy, guaranteeing these certain inalienable rights in the Bill of Rights, to each individual citizen. Our Constitution insured these rights in the establishment of a democratic form of government, which upholds freedom of speech, public education, freedom of worship, wholesome living, justice, private enterprise, private ownership and our reward of merit system as a way of life. Basically then, the spirit of America is first expressed in the right of the individual citizen with respect and consideration for others; it means free hands, free lips, free choice, self-government, justice, education; this spirit of America has a concern to show love, harmony, and equality to all.

Underlying these great rights which we treasure as ours, lies the eternal truth that in order to have them to hold, we, as citizens, must constantly give of ourselves. We must accept our responsibility and fulfill obligations which freedom requires. We maintain that freedom when we cast our vote each election day; when we serve willingly in public service when requested. Each citizen must realize that he must live up to his highest in law observance, right moral living, industry, attainment, and concern for the welfare of others. If we fail in our duties as individuals in measuring up to what our free Nation requires of us, we weaken the great basic sinew of strength undergirding our American spirit.

Good, patriotic, right-minded citizens just do not come into being by "happenstance". The great stronghold for preserving and teaching American ideals and molding citizens is the family and home. Parents must realize and accept their responsibility to build right attitudes and a right spirit by maintaining a discipline in the home which children respect. A child who is allowed to disregard the discipline of a home or to know no discipline in his home, will later disregard the discipline of his school, his community and his Nation. A right home will build that sinew of strength, religious faith and reverence for God and His guidance, through regular family and public worship. A home molding a child in upright citizenship will teach him honesty, fair play, and standards of moral conduct; it will teach respect for law and consideration for others. Parents building right attitudes will teach children that goals are reached by hard work, and not by any sudden shortcut.

We would hope that Mr. Khrushchev felt the throb of Americanism pulsing through those families in America who strive to live up to these standards.

Our schools and our organizations within our communities supplement the family and home in the building of a right American spirit in a growing citizen. Our Y.C.L. organizations in our common schools, our FFA and FHA in high schools, give children their opportunity to measure up to responsibilities that are similar to those they will assume later as citizens. Our Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Church Youth Groups, Campfire Girls and 4–H organizations challenge members to live up to their very best. The 4–H pledge expresses well what the 4-H clubs, sponsored by our National Government, are trying to achieve.

"I pledge—
"My head to clearer thinking,
"My heart to greater loyalty,
"My hands to larger service, and
"My health for better living, for my club, my community and my country."

We believe Mr. Khrushchev must have felt the throb of Americanism expressed through the magnamity of adult leaders and sponsors of youth groups, who go the second mile in service to build our American ideals in youth.

Our adult community organizations who show concern for others in the giving of their time, talent, and money, carry on with the building of American spirit.

In his August 31 weekly report, "Your Washington and You," Senator MUNDT gives us a word picture of America as he would show our country to Mr. Khrushchev. "I would show him a typical American church on a Sunday morning with the happy God-fearing people moving in and out of that place of worship. I would show him a typical American farm in South Dakota, Iowa, or Nebraska, and let him observe firsthand how our American farm families enjoy the opportunities of public education, freedom of worship, wholesome living and the rewards and fruits of private enterprise. I would show him a few of our American small towns ranging from perhaps 1,000 in population to 10,000, because nowhere else except in the Anglo-Saxon countries do people in small communities enjoy the unique advantages and opportunities which they have in the United States. Finally I would show him some State capitols to try to make him understand how our system of states rights and decentralized government operates, while at the same time showing him our National Capitol in Washington with an explanation of its unique system of checks and balances.

"Add to these a few visits to large cities, industrial areas, educational institutions, and the inevitable parking lots which show more clearly than anything else how average Americans join those of vast means in enjoying the advantages of the good life under private ownership and individual freedom. The faces of happy Americans throughout this tour should convince Khrushchev that their grandchildren will also resist communism; that Americans are proud of our system and entranced with their freedoms; and that we are not warlike people with aggressive impulses, but peace-loving individuals believing in the brotherhood of man and the dignity and importance of the individual citizen."

The challenge to us living now and to each generation is to live up to our responsibility in the carrying through and the building up of our American sinews of strength so that the picture drawn by Senator MUNDT will continue to be viewed as the ideal way of life in contrast to the way of life produced by coercion, regimentation, and godlessness in Communist Russia. Freedom is indeed everybody's business and each of us should do our part to keep America American.

Jefferson National Expansion Memorial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR.
OF MISSOURI
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 29, 1960

Mr. HENNINGS. Mr. President, the people of St. Louis, Mo., waited more

than 30 years for the start of major construction work on the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial on the west bank of the Mississippi. That construction began last year, but, under the provisions of the budget recommendations for fiscal 1961, it will be halted at the end of 1961 because of a lack of construction funds.

St. Louis is, I believe, rightly disturbed over this turn of events. The city's dismay is illustrated by editorials which have appeared in both of the city's major newspapers. I ask unanimous consent that these editorials be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Jan. 27, 1960]

CONGRESS AND THE RIVERFRONT

It is good news that Mayor Tucker was favorably received by the House Appropriations Subcommittee, which is considering Federal funds for the national memorial on the riverfront. Since Representative CLARENCE CANNON, chairman of the full committee, attended the meeting and supported the mayor, it is reasonable to hope that Congress will be asked to vote more than the utterly inadequate $1,650,000 recommended in President Eisenhower's budget.

The mayor pointed out that so small a sum would bring all work to a halt at the end of fiscal 1961. This would make the project much more expensive in the end, he added, not only because of possible inflation, but also because of the wasteful expense of an on-again, off-again work schedule. Such inefficiency would be only false bookkeeping economy.

In any case, the Government made a bargain with St. Louis at the outset of the project and again more recently when the National Park Service set 1964 as the date for completion of the work. The city has always kept its part of that bargain. Its share of the needed money is available. It is time for Washington to keep its word, and we believe that Congress will see to that.

[From the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, Jan. 20, 1960]

LET'S FINISH WHAT WE START

The White House was way off base when it asked Congress to cut to the bone funds for the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial on the riverfront. The St. Louis delegation asked for $5,636,875 to continue work on the riverfront project and $2,503,125 to finish what is under construction or under contract now.

The Budget Bureau's recommendation, endorsed by the White House, means that the project would grind almost to a complete halt at the end of the next fiscal year. That would kill any hope of completing the riverfront memorial in 1964—the 200th anniversary of the founding of St. Louis.

Interior Secretary Seaton has promised St. Louis that this project, on which so much of downtown redevelopment depends, would be completed in 1964. Now the Budget Bureau has, in effect, told Seaton and St. Louis to go peddle their papers.

The Federal Government, it might be added, has a commitment of more than 20 years standing to complete the memorial, as Senator STUART SYMINGTON said, in commenting on this stab in the back from the Budget Bureau.

At the same time that the Budget Bureau recommended a cut of 71 percent in the St. Louis riverfront development, it asked Congress for money to start 42 new water resource development projects.

Before Washington embarks on any new projects, it should finish what it has already started.

We are glad to see that the Missouri delegation has promised to fight the Budget Bureau's proposal tooth and nail.

History Is Made by Fuels Like These

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE D. AIKEN
OF VERMONT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, January 29, 1960

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address on the subject "History Is Made by Fuels Like These," delivered by William R. Connole, a member of the Federal Power Commission, at the banquet of the Electric Consumers Information Committee, on January 19, 1960, in this city.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HISTORY IS MADE BY FUELS LIKE THESE

(Address by Commissioner William R. Connole of the Federal Power Commission, at banquet of Electric Consumers Information Committee, January 19, 1960, Washington, D.C.)

In a recent issue of the Law Review of one of the best known eastern universities a story is told about a widely esteemed professor of law at the institution who would begin his first lecture to freshmen students by writing on the blackboard the numeral "2" and underneath it the numeral "4." Drawing a line underneath the two numerals he would turn to the class with an expression which plainly invited comment. An eager young student would invariably rise to suggest that "6" should be placed beneath the two numerals. No sooner would he have the words from his mouth than another would cry out: "No, the answer is '2'." The professor would show dissatisfaction with both of these answers until some bright young man would suggest that "8" would be the proper number.

Professor Schwartz finished the anecdote this way:

"What is the problem?" Ned Keedy asked them. When they had compounded their errors by successively proposing "addition," "subtraction," "multiplication," he triumphantly demonstrated that, for want of a plus, minus, or other sign of the operation to be performed, they could not know what the problem was. "And, gentlemen, unless you know exactly what the problem is, you cannot possibly give the right answer."

I think this classic "Mr. Chips" story, as delightful as it is, points up the message I would like to leave with you today. Surely no one who sets out to solve a problem, whether it be in the field of law, arithmetic, or national affairs, can hope to do so unless he has a complete understanding of what that problem is. In other words, there must be a frame of reference against which he is to relate a given set of facts in order to reach a conclusion.

Conspiciously absent in our national scheme of things is the frame of reference, the expression of national intention, against which our basic natural resource questions have to be resolved. Confronted with a set of facts indicating the types and amounts of energy that are available at home and worldwide and another set indicating possible consumption patterns and quantities at home and abroad, there is absolutely no certainty that any given person or set of interests will come up with anything like a meaningful answer. In short, despite our lengthy history and undeniable dependence on energy as the source of our national prosperity and international security, this country lacks any policy that guides us in the use of that energy. There is no definable, identifiable way in which a new problem can be related to our history or our future resource utilization.

What makes this lack so crucially important is the fact that all natural resource problems eventually reduce themselves to the energy resource problem. Given an abundance of low-cost energy, salt can be taken from the ocean, the vast tar sands and oil shales of the West can be utilized, barren lands can be made fertile, remote and low-grade coal seams made useful and, indeed, every natural resource present in any quantity would be as available as the most advantageously situated is today. Indeed, with the answers to such problems the question of feeding and caring for the teeming millions which will populate this globe will become relatively a simple matter.

Reducing it to the more mundane and immediate, it is difficult, indeed, it is impossible for Government agencies to operate under today's conditions without a clearly stated energy policy. To cite a few examples:

Recently, the Department of State, the Department of the Interior and, indeed, the Congress of the United States wrestled for months with the problem whether to curtail large scale imports of offshore petroleum produced in low-cost areas such as the Middle East and Venezuela. In the absence of a specific policy formulated in advance it was necessary to calculate the effect of large scale imports on the domestic economy and on the national defense in an atmosphere charged with urgency and subject to all the gales and storms of vested interest arguments. It is no wonder that the oil import policy which evolved has been something less than entirely satisfactory to anyone.

Many others can be cited, some in the area of the special concern of the Federal Power Commission. Certainly the so-called dump fuel issue is one of them. Another is the reciprocal issues arising from the imminent imports of natural gas from Canada. Although these certainly should have been apparent many years ago they, too, have never been the subject of national concern on this side of the border or of formal international discussion between Canada and the United States.

I urge the adoption, indeed, I state the absolute need of a national energy policy—clearly stated, soberly arrived at and flexible enough that it can fit conditions reasonably foreseeable.

The need for this policy is not due to the special interests of any one or more industries. No one has a greater stake in it than the consumers of energy in every form, whether they be consumers of electric energy or users of petroleum energy in their homes or automobiles. Indeed, if there is one thing that should be avoided in shaping a policy for energy used in this country it is the suggestion that such a policy is motivated toward one or more vested interest groups.

The American Petroleum Institute, the Texas Independent Producer and Royalty Owners, and similar organizations tried hard and successfully for the creation of a petroleum policy favoring the use of domestically produced petroleum over foreign produced petroleum. The National Coal Policy Conference urges the limitation of imports of residual crude into this country for yet another reason.

There are other groups no doubt who could be identified favoring one or another of these positions. The important thing, it seems to me, however, is to combine efforts of groups such as these who have the energies and, perhaps what is more important, the economic incentive to emphasize one aspect or another of the energy policy question. The efforts of such groups together with an effective, dispassionate and objective consumer or user interest would go a long way toward realizing the dimensions of the problem that we are engaged in solving when we handle energy resource questions.

I have long reocgnized the fatal lack of an energy policy in this country and the need for some study to develop one. I applauded the efforts to make such a study when the President's committee was appointed some years ago to study the energy question. I was encouraged by the creation of a joint industry effort in the form of the National Coal Policy Conference combining as it did the coal industry, mining machinery industry, the electric utility industry, the railroad industry, and the mineworkers. I noted with considerable pleasure the interest in this direction contained in the President's budget message in which it is proposed to provide fuels research under contracts awarded the Secretary of the Interior. But none of these has proved enough.

In 1957, before the Independent Natural Gas Association of America, I urged that industry to place its prestige and power behind an effort to shape a national energy policy. I said: "The American energy picture is approaching a critical stage. We face the need for immediate formulation of a sound national fossil fuels policy, with Government coordinating and streamlining its efforts; industry and consumers assisting with sound planinng for future growth and use."[1]

In 1959, addressing the 42d annual convention of the National Coal Association, I again urged that industry to exert itself toward such an end and made these specific recommendations. A study should be initiated broad enough to cover all energy resources not just coal. This study should decide first in what direction our present energy use pattern is taking us. The study should be made by an objective group dominated by Federal Government using the facilities of industry and independent research groups. Finally the study should have as its aim Federal legislation.

While I doubt that it was the consequence of my suggestions, there was introduced less than 2 months after my suggestions, a concurrent resolution in the U.S. Congress calling for the establishment of a joint congressional committee to make a study leading to the development of a national fuels policy. Unfortunately, the resolution failed.

I now suggest to this group which represents itself as a champion of consumers of energy in this country and has as its purpose the improvement of the use patterns of energy in this country that it put its efforts behind the creation of a meaningful, effective, flexible national energy policy to fill the gap that is now so conspicuously apparent to anyone who addresses himself to this—the basic natural resource question of our time.

I propose to make some rather specific suggestions before I finish. But, lest there be any who still doubt the need for or the practicality of the suggestion that a national policy is necessary for this country, let me make this observation which should appeal to citizens of a democracy like ours. Overwhelmingly the majority of advanced nations whose economy is based on energy utilization are presently engnged in making such a policy or have already done so, yet none of them is dependent on energy to the extent of the United States.

Press reports indicate that France and Great Britain are so engaged. I am informed that the European Community is exploring the need for an energy policy more effectively to use the fuels and energy resources at command and, of course, our good friends the Russians would never miss as certain a bet as this. Izvestia states it this way in part: "In working out a long-range plan for development of our national economy, we are providing for the extensive but integrated use of oil, gas, and coal for our powerplants, industry, and transportation. * * * We intend to keep a very watchful eye on the country's natural energy fuels balance."

There is ample precedent in this country for the adoption of a policy that will state the problem before it sets out to solve it. Perhaps the most successful and familiar to this audience was the remarkably farsighted position of President Theodore Roosevelt who, under the able coaching of Governor Pinchot, made natural resource history in the early 20th century with his classic veto messages striking down piecemeal hydroelectric and river basin development. Because his actions were taken in the infancy of the hydroelectric industry and because we stand today at the threshold of an unimaginably more intensive use of energy resources at our command, I think the language used by President Theodore Roosevelt in the famous Rainy River message is especially timely:

"We are now at the beginning of great development in water power. Its use through electrical transmission is entering more and more largely into every element of the daily life of the people. Already the evils of monopoly are becoming manifest; already the experience of the past shows the necessity of caution in making unrestricted grants of this great power.

"The present policy pursued in making these grants is unwise in giving away the property of the people in the flowing waters to individuals or organizations practically unknown and granting in perpetuity these valuable privileges in advance of the formulation of definite plans as to financial or other ability to utilize the gift, and have sought it merely because it could be had for the asking.

"In place of the present haphazard policy of permanently alienating valuable public property we should substitute a definite policy."

Conceding now the need for such a policy, what should be in it? How should we go about making one? What must we avoid?

The last question, I think, is easiest to answer. Like the proverbial plague, any suggestion of industry domination or of single fuel preferences should be completely avoided.

The answer to the second question is not a great deal more difficult. I have already suggested part of the answer. The first step is the creation of an authoritative, dispassionate study group preferably oriented around the Congress but employing private research organizations and utilizing the mechanics of public hearings, to determine where we are now heading with the helter-skelter, carelessly confused energy use pattern that has accidentally evolved in this country's brief history. This will be the first and, indeed, the giant step in the direction of energy policy formulation.

The first question, of course, is the most difficult. While I hesitate to suggest what the study would finally recommend, it would seem safe to make some forecast based on my exposure to energy use in this country from the vantage of the Federal regulatory bench.

I think the energy policy that should dominate this country's use pattern should have as its bedrock foundation the idea that energy must cost the user as little as possible. Low-cost energy will be abundant energy and abundant energy is indispensable.

In order to implement this idea we must know what the costs of the various energy sources are. The current confusion of costs and value so clearly exemplified in the kaleidoscopic proceedings before the Federal Power Commission attempting to relate the cost to price of natural gas must be eliminated. We must know whether a given energy use source is being sold at a cost to the user which is equal to, more than or less than the input cost required to make that energy available.

In addition to the actual input costs for the several fuels, there are other economic costs that are equally as real, even though less exactly measured. Here I mean the costs to the economy of losing a large segment of, say, the coal industry or the domestic oil industry, if cheaply produced off shore oil were to capture an even greater share of our domestic energy market. Then again, there is the cost to society of not using an energy resource to its maximum advantage.

In yet another respect we must establish costs. I refer here to the cost in terms of national defense of permitting one or more energy source to dominate all others. This question, of course, is one on which I do not dare even suggest an answer. However, we must know what is being surrendered in order to gain some defense advantage. I do suggest that international security and prestige is sometimes made of more subtle stuff than warehouses full of missiles or ocean lanes filled with tankers.

I have indicated that I believe low cost is essential to any energy policy for the good of this Nation. I appreciate that the forces that would oppose any efforts to reduce the costs of fuels or energies are truly formidable. There is no doubt, for example, that the fastest way to reduce the average price per unit of petroleum energy in this country is to permit unrestricted imports of crude and refined products from the Middle East and Venezuela. The obvious and complex reasons which oppose such a suggestion need no telling here.

The point I make, however, is that unless we know exactly to what extent our national economy and international prestige depends on low cost energy no meaningful judgment could ever be made whether the cost of getting cheap offshore crude into this country is greater than the price to those who would buy it.

Before closing I should like to list one or two other areas in which I feel the need for energy policy will be most marked. Soon the vast natural gas resources of western Canada will be available for import into this country. Within a matter of 5 years the natural gas resources of the Middle East and Venezuela in all probability will be available through the use of ocean-going liquefied methane tankers. In this area alone the policy of the U.S. Government whether to encourage or on what terms to limit or indeed whether to discourage such matters is almost guesswork.

Or to cite another, the field of atomic energy with all its dazzling promises has yet to prove itself anything but a large-scale and very expensive laboratory experiment. In what manner does the best interests of this country require us to go on subsidizing this development?

The history of the United States is marked by unprecedented material prosperity. Not even the rigors of several major depressions since the onset of the fossil fuel age has slowed the incredible rate of growth that has characterized our standard of living. Not even several globe-shaking wars have inspired us fully to our international responsibility.

But this is not the result of any preordained, divinely instituted plan. Almost

[1] "Energy, Its Use and Abuse"; address before the Independent Natural Gas Association of America, Sept. 10, 1957, Houston, Tex.

entirely the prosperity and prestige of the United States has been due to the virtually insatiable natural resources at its command and, of course, none of these would be of any value were it not for the greatest resource of all, energy.

Coal, oil, natural gas—the history of the United States was made by fuels like these. They had a beginning, and they will have an end. The principles of prudence and good husbandry that motivate us in their use are yet to be formulated. We simply do not know what the problem is we are so boldly setting out to solve.

The history of this Nation's past was made by fuels like these. But history will make fools of us unless we decide now how we can best use the resources at our command.

Freedom Is Up to You

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, January 29, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, we recognize that the preservation of freedom is a task with which not only the Federal Government is concerned, but also it is the responsibility of private citizens.

Fortunately, there have been many efforts through private initiative which have helped to strengthen freedom in our country. These efforts have found voice through individual efforts and organizations, aimed at strengthening the fiber of our people and to improve our way of life.

Today, I should like to pay tribute to one such organization—Kiwanis International. At its 44th annual convention there was adopted an inspiring preamble to resolutions reflecting an inspired and broad understanding needed to help in today's problems. The preamble reads as follows:

BY OUR LABOR WE MOLD

Man, who is created in the image of God, must in these times have faith, abundant hope, and, most of all, charity. Charity is a virtue of the heart and is the concern of all mankind.

Effective charity demands action, and the activity of yesterday is meaningless unless we perform new deeds of service today.

We who have lofty ideals which inspire ideas, by our labors, mold them into acts. The work we have done is as naught unless we go ever forward and redouble our efforts, and God would have it so.

All men are not gifted with the same talents, but each in his own way and with earnest heart can work sincerely for his God, his community, and his nation.

Not every man can be a statesman, or a scientist, or a warrior; nor did God intend it so; but each as a child of God can be the best of whatever he is as he builds.

The spirit of these words, transformed by action into a living, moving force, will be of tremendous help in meeting the challenges that confront us.

In the December 1959-January 1960 issue of the Kiwanis magazine, there was published a platform for 1960 under the theme, "Freedom Is Up to You."

The issue also contained an editorial by Erwin B. Canham, editor of the Christian Science Monitor and president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, reflecting some of the great significance of this theme.

I ask unanimous consent to have the text outlining the objectives of the editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FREEDOM IS UP TO YOU

(By Erwin D. Canham, editor, the Christian Science Monitor and president, U.S. Chamber of Commerce)

There is no question, it seems to me, that Canadians, Americans, and freedom-loving people everywhere are today facing far graver dangers than ever before. In time of war, public thinking and governmental action are geared and responsive to crisis. In time of prosperity and no hot war such as the free world has enjoyed, with the Korean interruption, for nearly 15 years, the danger of apathy is deadly.

Now comes the thaw: the Nixon and Khrushchev visits, the summit talks, the disarmament proposals, the projected Eisenhower trip to the U.S.S.R. There is every prospect that citizens who must be eternally vigilant to protect their freedoms will sink into deeper sleep than ever. It is well to remind ourselves of some home truths that remain unfinished business:

The armaments race, despite current discussions, remains deeply dangerous and heavily burdensome. There is no real sign of its lessening.

The causes that produce armaments are even more dangerous. Perhaps they are moderating a little. Possibly rivalry in world power is shifting from military to economic grounds.

If so, the economic contest with world totalitarianism may be just as menacing to freedom, in the long run, as military rivalry.

The vast, unsolved problem of Asia remains on the American doorstep, all the way from the looming power of Communist China to the tragic instability of southeast Asia and the uncertain future of India and the Middle East.

The American economy, severely damaged by the steel strike, takes another spiral turn into inflation.

And there is little sign that the Western world is awakening to wage a purposeful economic, political, and idealogical crusade for freedom.

On the other hand, beneath the surface, there are some sound elements of encouragement:

Communism is not penetrating into the great nations of western Europe.

With the opening of the Iron Curtain, many ideas from the West are spreading like wildfire in the Soviet Union. The Soviet people, far from showing hate and anger toward nations their government has attacked with propaganda for 43 years, shows curiosity and friendship, especially toward the United States and a profound hope for peace.

The American economy has elements of strength, as well as of inflation. Technological change is making progress. There is a return to functionalism in the automotive industry.

More Westerners are asking questions about the goals, values, and principles of their society. Some healthy soulsearching is going on.

The battle for individual freedom, people are recognizing, begins in the individual. It begins with his own standards and values: the purposes of his life. Then it extends into society; into business and professional forms and activities, into government. For many years, Americans and Canadians have been finding voluntary methods of solving problems. Voluntarism is the answer to statism. Just as long as any vacuum area of unfinished business or unsolved problems is left, some aggressor will push in. Communism thrusts into any vacuum area left around the world. Statism thrusts into any vacuum area in national society.

So the first way to project individual freedom into organized, social freedom is in voluntary organization for the solution of problems. That is why so many million Americans give freely so much of their time and talent for the solution of civic problems and the advancement of collective goals. Every successful American belongs to more than a few voluntary organizations, which are the channel for his social input. Such organizations help to integrate and articulate a free society.

But government at municipal, State, National, and global levels remains a major challenge. No government will grow smaller in the years just ahead. As we move out into space, we will need government capable of coping with the space age. That means more able, responsible, intelligent, dedicated, and honest men and women in government. The profession of politics must become perhaps our most respected and challenging profession. It needs our very best talent. Our very best people must work at politics—at all levels—but beginning with the levels nearest to the people. This means elective levels. The civil service, important as it is, is not so important as the decisionmaking elected official.

The economic challenges presented in different ways by the Soviet Union—with its impressive growth rate, its advancing technology, its undeniable dedication—by West Germany and other European states, and by Japan are vitally affecting North America. America, with its position as leader of the Western nations, must curb its inflationary spiral while supporting a growth rate that will unfailingly keep its economy ahead of the Soviet Union's. Its technology must be modernized, its productivity advanced so that the Nation will not be outstripped by the new factories and the hard-working peoples of Germany and Japan.

The danger from Moscow is, of course, far the greater. For the Soviet growth rate, without exaggerating it a bit and recognizing the low base from which it started, spells economic power. It spells power to support a vast armaments position, power to invade selected markets and bind nations with economic shackles, power to aid underdeveloped nations with subversively intended economic support. It represents power to proclaim and exemplify to the world the false claim that communism solves people's problems and meets their needs better than the free system does.

We are in the most competitive world of our lives. To preserve freedom, and help it spread, we must work hard, intelligently, zealously, boldly. There is a world to gain—or lose.

From 1959 to 1960; an Opinion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN L. McCLELLAN
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, January 29, 1960

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there may be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "From 1959 to 1960; an Opinion," written by Dr. George S. Reuter, Jr., president of the Educa-

tional Research Association of Arkansas, College Heights, Ark.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FROM 1959 TO 1960; AN OPINION

(By Dr. George S. Reuter, Jr., president, Educational Research Association of Arkansas, College Heights, Ark.)

Some events need no date. It could have been 1959, but it was June 17, 1947, when Ruth C. Reuter, wrote:

"Seated here now
I think of you,
And the sweetness of
Your love—so true.

"I ponder back
Upon the thing
That filled my heart
And made me sing.

"Oft times in nearness
I fail to see
The love that binds
My heart to thee.

"But remember still
What e'er befall
The love is there
And it is my all.

"Though we're apart
One thing stands true:
My heart will be
Always, with you.

"Parting brings sorrow;
But just the same,
Life is made sweeter
On meeting again!"

In 1959, Les Cox wrote "Silver Jubilee" and thus gave the world a reason to rejoice:

"Twenty-five long years ago
A great event took place;
For 'twas that year the 'Sword' was born;
And how it's grown with grace.

"The pilot on that happy year
Was our own John R. Rice;
And how we thank our blessed Lord
For one so great and nice.

"Down through the years he's proved that he's
A man that's more than wise;
For when the Devil tempts with sin
He shouts, 'No compromise.'

"He scoffs at those who dare to change
The great truths that he's heard;
For with a zeal that's born of saints
He takes God at His word.

"His bank account is very large—
But 'monetary'—no;
For his wealth is the souls he's saved,
And Jesus he loves so.

"He's tireless in his ministry,
And travels countless miles;
And when he's blue you'd never know,
Because he always smiles.

"His Christian friends, with prayers and funds,
Have backed each noble deed;
For they all know, to 'harvest souls'
You first must plant the 'seed.'

"His staff and Christian family
Are 'powers behind the throne';
For great things aer not wrought of God
By man's own power alone.

"So to the 'Sword' and John R. Rice:
You've shown us heaven's key
So may God bless you everyone,
This silver jubilee."

It was Emerson who said that "every revolution was first a thought in one man's mind," and it was Andre Malraux, Minister of Culture of France who stated: "• • • Culture has two unsurmountable boundaries: servitude and hunger. That we may have the privilege of contributing to eliminate them, or creating a civilization which resembles our hope and which becomes the first one to place all great human works in the service of all men who long for them."

Last year the educational world looked to the centennial programs that honored Horace Mann and John Dewey. Mann died the year Dewey was born. Both gave much to American education.

Ladies contribute much to any civilization. Dr. John R. Rice recently stated five principles that should make ladies even greater in 1960:

"1. Christians should be more conservative in dress than worldly people.

"2. A Christian girl or woman should not intentionally emphasize sex nor try to have sex appeal for men.

"3. Christian women ought not to make themselves conspicuous by being unnecessarily different from other nice people.

"4. A Christian should set out to observe the spirit of the Scriptures where they speak in matters of dress.

"5. The Christian woman should always remember that her chief adornment is that meek and quiet spirit which in the sight of God is of great price."

To make 1960 the "golden year" that our President expects, the author of the 1959 book, "For Conscience' Sake," has described the ideal citizen: "I believe the answer is that a properly disciplined wife often becomes a better wife again than one who hasn't been married before. From a personal standpoint, I can testify, that no man, royal or otherwise, ever had a more wonderful wife than I do. She bore three fine sons to her first husband and he later died. We were married and she has brought much light into my life. I would put her up against any queen who ever lived as to beauty, charm, goodness, companionship, and Christian virtues."

In conclusion, to go from 1959, where many good events happened, to 1960, America may expect greater activities if the goals are worthy and the determination is strong.

Preeminence of Michigan as Skiing Spot

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP A. HART
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, January 29, 1960

Mr. HART. Mr. President, when we think of skiing and other winter sports, we tend to think of Sun Valley, or Squaw Valley, or one of the New England skiing areas. It will no doubt be of interest to a good many people, as it was to me, to learn that Michigan placed five men among the eight on the Olympic riding team: Bob Wedin of Kingsford, Jon St. Andre of Ishpeming, Dick Rahoi of Iron Mountain, Willie Erickson of Kingsford, and Rudy Maki of Ishpeming. The national championships will be held Saturday, January 30, at Iron Mountain, Mich., where we have the world's highest ski scaffolding.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the interesting article from the Detroit News of January 27 on this subject be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHY STATE, U.S. SKIERS IMPROVE

The eyes of ski jumping enthusiasts have been fixed on Michigan's Upper Peninsula this month. The U.S. Olympic team was selected last week end at Ishpeming and the national championships will be held Saturday at Iron Mountain.

Michigan placed five men among the eight on the Olympic riding team—Bob Wedin, Jon St. Andre, Dick Rahoi, Willie Erickson, and Rudy Maki. Two of them, Rahoi and Maki, are repeaters from the 1956 squad.

To discover what chances our ski jumping team has in the upcoming Winter Olympic games, the Detroit News Sports Quiz has turned to Lloyd Severud, the first American-born skier to serve as coach. Severud, a native of Chetek, Wis., is five-time national senior champion. Staff members Larry Middlemas, Bob Sieger, and Paul Preuss did the interviewing:

Question: "How would you compare our current squad with those that have represented us in past Olympics?"

Answer: "I feel this is the strongest team we've produced so far. We don't have to depend on any one or two skiers. We have good balance from top to bottom."

Question: "Will European countries continue to dominate the ski jumping event?"

Answer: "The Finns will be the team to beat again. They've dominated the sport in recent years. There's no doubt that the Norwegians will be tough and the Germans, too, if they come. The Russians could figure in it."

Question: "Has any ski jumper from this country ever won an Olympic medal?"

Answer: "No. Gordie Wrend finished fifth in the 1948 games. We've never had anyone do better."

Question: "How about this year?"

Answer: "We have our best chance of getting a man higher than ever before. I thing the intense team spirit we have will help. Of course, I haven't had a chance to study the foreigners much. They've been developing just as we have."

Question: "Why do you rate this year's team so highly?"

Answer: "We have four veterans on the team with international competition under their belts and some of the best youngsters we've ever produced."

Question: "When young riders are mentioned, 19-year-old Gene Kotlarek, of Duluth, comes to the fore. How good is he?"

Answer: "Gene has more natural ability than any other American boy I've ever seen. And he's going to reach greater heights. He has to keep going if he doesn't want another American youngster to pass him up."

Question: "Who might that be?"

Answer: "Bob Wedin, a 19-year-old Kingsford, Mich., boy. Bob has been our most consistent rider in training. He reached a new peak in the trials at Ishpeming."

Question: "How would you compare the styles of the two boys?"

Answer: "Bob owns one of the most natural landings you'll ever see. Landings are where you win points, and Gene has been working on his. Their air styles are similar. Both float very smoothly. Gene has been getting longer distances but his jumps vary more than Bob's."

Question: "To us nonskiers, you ski riders look like the bravest or craziest guys in sports. How do you develop that nerve?"

Answer: "We just think there's no feeling to compare with springing into the air and rolling into full flight. It takes a certain cockiness. Not in an unpleasant way, but just confidence. You get in the air and feel like saying, 'Just look at this.' You wish you never had to come down."

Question: "Is there any reason why our youngsters are getting better?"

Answer: "These kids coming up now are the first riders we have who always used the European 'torpedo' style. It's a style we've been trying to pick up for some time. Our older riders had to make a switch."

Question: "Just what are the peak years for a ski jumper?"

Answer: "It's hard to say. The boy between 19 and 24 seems to have the coordination and can time his takeoff best. I'd say these are peak years, but Art Tokle is 37 and he made the team again." (Tokle was on the 1952 U.S. Olympic team.)

Question: "At what age do most ski jumpers get started?"

Answer: "Junior tournament life begins at about 10 or 11. Of course, at 5 and 6 you'll find kids trying out on little backyard 'rabbit ears'."

Question: "What are we doing to develop our top riders?"

Answer: "For the past 4 or 5 years the Central U.S. Ski Association has been running a training camp at Duluth. We take 16 young skiers who show the most potential. Kotlarek is a graduate of the camp."

Question: "Five of the eight riders named to the Olympic team are from Michigan. How do you account for this?"

Answer: "The youngster in the Iron Mountain and Ishpeming area seem to have a team spirit that normally produces better performances. They ski as if on a team, always working with one another. They also get top advice here.

"After all the Upper Peninsula has produced some great skiers. One of the top examples is Ishpeming's Bietila family. Two of the boys, Walter and Ralph, were on Olympic teams."

Question: "How long has the Olympic squad been in training?"

Answer: "We selected the team last year and started training December 25. We've been on skis every day that it was possible."

Question: "How many rides a day have the squad members been taking?"

Answer: "Each man determines his own amount of riding. However, if he shows any signs of tiring and losing his coordination we send him to the showers. We have been making films of two rides of every man each day."

Question: "How have the movies worked out as a training device?"

Answer: "They have proved ideal. Many times a rider can't understand what he is doing wrong until he sees the mistake on film. We try to show the movies the same day they were taken. They help to show us our good and bad points, much the same as they do in football and other sports."

Question: "After all this work, how long are our riders actually on the run at Squaw Valley?"

Answer: "They take only two rides in competition. With all the training and effort that goes into this team, the total time the four boys will spend on the jump will be about 3 minutes."

Question: "What do you think of the hill that will be used at Squaw Valley?"

Answer: "I was out there when they held the North American championships. There's no better hill in the United States."

Question: "Does it differ much from the hill at Iron Mountain where the national championships will be held?"

Answer: "The profiles of the hills are quite similar. There is a difference in that you ride down a natural hill at Squaw Valley while there is a scaffolding at Iron Mountain."

Question: "How does this make a difference to the skier?"

Answer: "You don't notice your speed as much on a natural hill, so it can make timing a little harder. You see the boards go whizzing by on a scaffolding."

Question: "What distances do you think they will make at Squaw Valley?"

Answer: "Somewhere between 85 and 90 meters (slightly less than 300 feet). I don't want our boys to go any farther than that."

Question: "Isn't a rider supposed to get all the distance he can?"

Answer: "If a rider looks down and thinks he is going to outjump the landing area he'll forget to maintain form and come right down. I'd rather have the boys play it safe."

Question: "Then more than distance goes into determining the winner of a ski jump?"

Answer: "The winner is actually determined on a point system. On a hill where 200 feet is the longest possible jump, distance and the skier's form, such as taking off, in the air and landing, count equally. As the jumps go past 200 feet, distance becomes slightly less important and form slightly more. It works the other way when you go under 200 feet."

Question: "How many judges are there at a big meet such as the Olympics?"

Answer: "Five. They all mark down a score, but the high and low scores are thrown out and only the middle three are used. This is to prevent favoritism."

Question: "Do ski jumpers take time to look around or do they concentrate on picking out a landing spot?"

Answer: "I try to encourage a certain amount of looking around. It keeps a rider alert. There is no trouble picking out a place to land unless a rider tenses up. Then things become a blur."

Question: "Where does most of the trouble on a ride develop?"

Answer: "90 percent of it stems from the takeoff. A rider may push off wrong, or early, or light, or weak. There are lots of things he can do wrong then."

Question: "Skijumping is looked upon as a dangerous sport by the layman. Are there many serious accidents?"

Answer: "I'm in my 34th season and I rarely even sprain a knee."

Question: "What keeps the accident rate down?"

Answer: "We never ski on bad areas. Accidents usually occur because the hill is not in good shape. Accidents decreased greatly when we did away with the little upsheots that used to be placed at the end of the runway."

Question: "You yourself only weigh 120 pounds. Is there any advantage in being small?"

Answer: "For one thing, you have less wind resistance. Also, it's easier to coordinate 120 pounds than it is 200. We have no 6-footers on the team. The normal weight is between 150 and 170 pounds."

Question: "What about the national championships Saturday?"

Answer: "All I know is I'm sure the members of the team will give a good account of themselves."

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.